

**“ARE YOU SWEDISH?” - THE HETEROGENEOUS
IDENTITY OF FINLAND-SWEDISH STUDENTS**

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<p>Abstract</p> <p>This study aims to shed light on how Finland-Swedish students perceive and understand their identity and the Swedish-speaking minority. According to the Finnish Constitution, the national languages of Finland are Finnish and Swedish. In Finland, there is a Swedish-speaking minority living mainly on the coast of the Baltic Sea. People who speak Swedish as their mother tongue are called Swedish-speaking Finns or Finland-Swedes.</p> <p>The present study is from the perspective of Finland-Swedish students who go outside the Swedish-speaking area to study in a predominately Finnish-speaking area of Finland. This aspect has hardly been researched to date. At the same time, this study is also a response to the call for more qualitative research on the Finland-Swedish minority. It is conducted through in-depth interviews and a focus group discussion, and the data is analysed using Bamberg's three level model of narrative positioning. The research questions of the study are: How do Finland-Swedish students perceive their identity? How do Finland-Swedish students navigate their positioning in a predominantly Finnish-speaking environment?</p> <p>Interview data was collected from six participants, three of whom also participated in a focus group discussion. All participants self-identified as Swedish speaking Finns and the individual interviews were grouped into four categories: Finland-Swedish identity, Finland-Swedishness in Finnish-speaking areas, encounters, and Finland-Swedishness on a national level.</p> <p>The findings illustrate the heterogeneous identity of the Swedish-speaking Finns and the minority's connection with bilingualism. Despite speaking Swedish, the participants felt strongly about their Finnish national identity. The study also shows how outsiders problematise the bilingual identity of Finland-Swedish students, which underlines the 'one language-one ethnicity' language ideology. However, the study reveals how the participants challenge the language ideology by telling people about their background to prove their Finnishness.</p> <p>The results show how the positioning in relation to other characters in 'small stories' bridges into the positioning in the social context. Furthermore, the study demonstrates that the legacy of the Swedish period is still present in contemporary Finland. In conclusion, there is a need for more interpersonal communication to improve the perception of Swedish-speaking Finns and the Swedish language in Finland.</p>	
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<p>Abstrakt</p> <p>Syftet med denna studie är att belysa hur finlandssvenska studenter uppfattar och förstår sin identitet och den svenskspråkiga minoriteten. Enligt Finlands grundlag är finska och svenska nationalspråken i Finland. I Finland finns det en svenskspråkig minoritet som huvudsakligen bor längs med Östersjökusten. Individer som har svenska som modersmål kallas för finlandssvenskar.</p> <p>Den här studien utgår från finlandssvenska studenter som valt att studera utanför det svenskspråkiga området, på en ort i Finland som mestadels är finskspråkig. Till dato har forskning ur den här synvinkeln knappt genomförts. Samtidigt är denna studie också ett svar på behovet av mer kvalitativ forskning om den finlandssvenska minoriteten. Insamlingen av data bestod av djupintervjuer och en fokusgruppintervju. Datan analyserade genom Bambergs tre nivåer av narrativ positionering. Studiens forskningsfrågor är: Hur förhåller sig finlandssvenskar till sin identitet? Hur navigerar finlandssvenska studenter sin positionering i en miljö som mestadels är finskspråkig?</p> <p>Intervjudata samlades in från sex studiedeltagare, varav tre också deltog i en fokusgruppintervju. Alla deltagare självidentifierade sig som finlandssvenskar och de individuella intervjufrågorna var kategoriserade enligt följande: finlandssvensk identitet, finlandssvenskhet i finskspråkiga områden, möten och finlandssvenskhet på en nationell nivå.</p> <p>Resultaten visar att finlandssvenskar har en heterogen identitet och framhäver minoritetens tillknnytning till tvåspråkighet. Trots att deltagarna pratade svenska kände de starkt för sin finländska nationella identitet. Studien påvisar också hur utomstående problematiserar finlandssvenska studenters tvåspråkiga identitet, vilket understryker språkideologin 'ett språk - en etnicitet'. Studien visar dock hur deltagarna utmanar språkideologin genom att berätta om sin bakgrund för att bevisa att de är finländare.</p> <p>Resultaten visar hur positionering i förhållande till andra karaktärer i 'små berättelser' överförs till positionering i det sociala sammanhanget. Dessutom visar studien att arvet från den svenska tiden fortfarande är närvarande i dagens Finland. Sammanfattningsvis finns det behov av mer interpersonell kommunikation för att förbättra förståelsen av finlandssvenskar och det svenska språket i Finland.</p>	
Nyckelord Finlandssvenska studenter, identitet, narrativ positionering, språkideologi	
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1 INTRODUCTION

According to the Finnish Constitution (Finlands grundlag, 2000), Finland's national languages are Finnish and Swedish. The position of the Swedish language in the Finnish Constitution is therefore strong. When Finland became independent in 1917, the equality of Finnish and Swedish was secured because of the long history of Swedish in the country (Svenska Finlands Folkting & Tankesmedjan Magma, 2010). Finland was a part of Sweden for about 600 years until 1809, when Finland became the autonomous Grand Duchy under the control of the Russian Empire. As a legacy of the Swedish period, the Swedish language has become part of the Finnish society and the people who speak Swedish as their 'mother tongue' are called Swedish-speaking Finns or Finland-Swedes (Liebkind et al., 2007). Furthermore, many societal infrastructures were developed under the Swedish rule and the language of choice was Swedish. Knowing and mastering Swedish became a way of climbing the social ladder and it became a prestige language to know (Cronin, 1995). However, the linguistic conditions have changed since the Swedish period and the Swedish-speaking Finns are now a small minority with about 287 000 speakers, which is about five per cent of the total population in Finland (Tilastokeskus, 2023). Therefore, although Swedish is still one of Finland's national languages, it is now considered a minority language. The status and the development of the Swedish language in Finland is a good example of how historical processes and spatial conditions affect the dynamics of a minority language in society (Cronin, 1995).

Despite its small size, the linguistic rights of the minority are protected by the Constitution and, according to the law, Swedish speakers should be able to receive services in Swedish. In practice, however, it can be difficult to receive services in Swedish, especially in areas where there is a Finnish-speaking majority (Svenska Finlands Folkting & Tankesmedjan Magma, 2010). Nowadays, in some cases, the second language is English, due to immigration and the increasing multilingualism of Finnish society. This is one of three ongoing changes in Finnish society that affect the minority,

according to Svenska Finlands Folktinget and Tankesmedjan Magma (2010). Due to immigration, the percentage of native Finns, which also includes Swedish-speaking Finns, is decreasing. The second change mentioned by Svenska Finlands Folktinget and Tankesmedjan Magma is the increase in bilingual families where one parent speaks Swedish and the other speaks Finnish or a different language. Although these families usually enrol their children in Swedish-speaking schools, the increase in bilingual identity provides an interesting perspective on what it means to be a Swedish-speaking Finn. As a last ongoing change, Svenska Finlands Folktinget and Tankesmedjan Magma point out that “in a society that is largely driven by economic reasons, administrative reforms can easily weaken Swedish administrative structures, which in turn jeopardises the services provided by the authorities in Swedish” (Svenska Finlands Folkting & Tankesmedjan Magma, 2010, p. 2). According to Lindroos (2018), in the process of privatising public services, Swedish language requirement in the Language Act is often forgotten. This is also often the case when public services are digitalised and modernised. There have been several reports of language discrimination against Swedish-speaking Finns in the social and health sectors, and it is also spreading to, for example, the education sector (Lindroos, 2018). For a long time there has been a misconception that Finland is a homogeneous nation, when in fact there are groups of people with different views and cultural habits who struggle for recognition in Finnish society (Pentikäinen & Anttonen, 1985). One of the central questions in a modern centralised society “is how the different ethnic groups can retain their cultural identity in a way that guarantees the existence of their traditional values, norms and conceptions of reality” (Pentikäinen & Anttonen, 1985, p. 6). This dilemma is due to the technological development, which changes the environment and the behavioural patterns and lifestyles of previous generations. Pentikäinen and Anttonen highlight the problem by asking: “Do the social unity and cohesion needed for peaceful co-existence and common societal goals presuppose on the part of the minorities a giving-up of the ways they comprehend and motivate their own social-cultural existence?” (1985, p. 6).

From time to time, the position of the Swedish language is being debated in Finland. Swedish is taught in Finnish-speaking schools because it is the second domestic language for Finnish speakers, and Swedish speakers have Finnish as their second domestic language at school (Opetushallitus, n.d.). However, Hult and Pietikäinen (2014) recognise in their analysis that there is an ongoing political debate about the role of Swedish as a compulsory subject and Finland as a bilingual country. These are both historically embedded discourses, and in their study, Hult and Pietikäinen identified a debate about language politics in contemporary Finland and whether or not Swedish should be described as a “language problem” (Blommaert, 1999). According to Blommaert (2011), such language problems arise when people perceive that larger

and deeper societal issues can be blamed on language differences and oppression. This becomes emblematic and there is “the denial of bilingualism and the dominance of monolingual, homogeneous ideology of linguistic purity in the different territories” (Blommaert, 2011, p. 12). Whenever there is something that does not conform to the criteria of monolingual purity, it is perceived as a problem that causes difficulties. Applied to the situation in Finland, the position of the Swedish language can be perceived as a problem because it disturbs the monolingual purity of the country. Blommaert (2011) mentions that the monolingual ideal tends to deny diversity, and minorities suffer as a result.

Hult and Pietikäinen (2014) found that the language ideology debate in Finland focused on Swedish as a compulsory subject in education. This was not surprising, as education has a substantial role in society and influences future generations. The negotiation about Swedish in school also brought up a discussion about Finland as a bilingual nation. Hult and Pietikäinen identified an argument in favour of Swedish: “to maintain Finland as a bilingual nation, Swedish must be a mandatory subject for everyone” (2014, p. 15). However, this argument is contradicted by the lack of motivation to learn Swedish in Finnish-speaking schools. Furthermore, they mention that the language debate has evolved into a discussion about Finland not being a bilingual nation but a multilingual nation. Instead of seeing Finland “as a space of emigration”, the discourse developed into Finland as “a space of immigration”. Hult and Pietikäinen suggest that the language situation in Finland is linked to the global debate about “which languages and linguistic practices are perceived as useful and valuable, what kind of bi/multilingualism are valued and validated, and who gets to decide” (2014, p. 16). This debate about language ideology places Swedish in an interesting position in Finland.

In parallel with this ideological shift, the composition and position of the Swedish-speaking minority in society also changed. Liebkind, Tandefelt and Moring (2007) explains one reason why the Swedish-speaking minority is interesting to study. The language process that Finland has experienced has changed the language of public administration and education from Swedish to both Finnish and Swedish. It is a unique process because the language dispute was mostly verbal, without, for example language death or marginalisation. Liebkind et al. also mention that “Finland is in fact linguistically a very homogenous nation compared to most other nations” (2007, p. 3) although Finland is officially bilingual. The reason for this homogeneity, is the high percentage of Finnish speakers, around 86 per cent. Moreover, the Swedish and Finnish language groups are nowadays more mixed. At the end of the 19th century, only 15% per cent of Swedish speakers lived in areas with a large Finnish majority. The Swedish minority used to be locally embedded, but today Swedish speakers are no longer as geographically concentrated as they used to be. According to the Association

of Finnish Municipalities (Kommunförbundet, n.d.), about half of the Swedish speakers, 140 000, lives in a municipality where the majority language is Finnish. Liebkind et al. (2007) suggest that this demographic change has had an impact on the minority and created internal differences that can be recognized today.

These changes have also affected me personally and led me to study this topic, which in turn forces me to consider my positionality in this research. CohenMiller and Boivin (2021) discuss how researchers need to consider their positionality and reflect on to what degree their background and the aim of the study influence the ongoing research. In order to understand my positioning as a researcher, I need to clarify my involvement by first sharing my own story.

The idea for this study came from my own experiences as a Swedish-speaking Finn living in a Finnish-speaking area of Finland. I have encountered some interesting situations because of my minority background, and I am interested in hearing about experiences of other Swedish-speaking Finns living in Finnish-speaking areas. As an introduction, I would like to talk about the inspiration behind my chosen topic, so that you as the reader, can get an insight into my perspective. My first language is Swedish and I was born and raised in Finland. On the basis of this, many would identify me as a Swedish-speaking Finn. When I am at my parents' house, I speak only Swedish, and in my home municipality I use Swedish in my daily life. To be clear, I come from a part of Finland where many people speak Swedish as their first language, and I am proud of my minority status. However, not everyone appreciates my first language. Someone once told me that "you cannot choose your parents and the environment in which you are born". This is true and I think it is something that people tend to forget. I cannot change the fact that I was born into a Swedish-speaking family in Finland. Sometimes it is hard to be a Swedish-speaking Finn, but it is part of who I am and I want to cherish it and be proud of my background.

However, the pride I feel has been challenged many times and this has also inspired me to dig deeper. In recent years I have been going through an identity process. A major adjustment occurred when I decided to begin my Master's degree in Jyväskylä. Suddenly I was outside of the Swedish-speaking areas of Finland, and I had to communicate in Finnish to get help and had to adjust to all information being in Finnish. At the same time, I started paying attention to how people reacted when I spoke Finnish or when I told them that my first language was Swedish. The interesting thing is that people recognise me as a Finn, but many people get confused when I speak Finnish because of my accent. For example, I have been asked if I am Finnish because, according to them, my Finnish was so bad that they did not know if I understood them or not. I have also been asked if I am from Sweden, when I say that my first language is Swedish. There has been many questions and discussions along the way and most of them have been positive. The questions I have asked during the

interviews reflect my thoughts and the experiences that I have had. Being a Swedish-speaking Finn myself, I have used my own questions and understanding to open up my own perspective and add more content to this study. The interview questions can be found in the Appendices I and II.

I still remember a lecture we had during a course where we were discussing identity and ethnicity. Someone mentioned Swedish-speaking Finns as an ethnic group in Finland. Surprisingly, I had not thought of myself as a member of an ethnic group in Finland until that moment, and I said so openly in class. They were surprised. I am a Finnish citizen who happens to speak Swedish as my first language. I have not thought about my ethnicity in that way. I would also like to clarify that I do not consider myself bilingual, as I grew up in a Swedish-speaking family. However, I consider myself multilingual because I can communicate in four different languages.

Having lived in Jyväskylä for over a year, I have become accustomed to being asked about my national identity and origin. At the same time, I have also become more careful about how I express myself. I follow the societal discussion surrounding Swedish-speaking Finns in Finland and I know that it has affected me. This study is about investigating and finding out what other people with similar backgrounds to mine have experienced. How they have they been received and what kind of experiences they have had as Swedish-speaking Finns in Finnish-speaking areas of Finland.

Because of my background, I am aware that I am biased regarding my study topic. However, I would not be interested in this topic if it were not for my own background and experiences. It is both a blessing and a curse. My background and experiences are a blessing because I have an 'insider' perspective of Swedish-speaking Finns and I understand the position of the minority in Finnish society. As I have also moved to a Finnish speaking area in Finland to study, I understand what my study participants might have gone through. This thesis also allows me to explore my own perspective and ask questions that I have not been able to ask other Swedish-speaking Finns because they have not studied in a Finnish-speaking area. By conducting interviews and exchanging thoughts, I have learnt a lot about myself, my study participants, the Swedish-speaking minority and Finnish society. Nevertheless, my experiences and background are also a curse because I care about the minority, and I feel protective of it. But now, during the study, I have had to be critical of my own thinking and broaden my own view and listen to Swedish-speaking Finns who may not share all my opinions. However, this is also positive and I am grateful for the participants in the study. Although the topic of the study is triggered by my personal experiences and circumstances, the focus is on the study participants and their experiences. In addition, as a member of the Swedish-speaking minority, I have connections that have helped me to contact potential study participants. As I write, I will talk more about how my positioning has influenced the present study.

In order to explore this topic further in this study, I have chosen to interview people in a similar position to myself in order to get answers to the following research questions:

RQ1: How do Finland-Swedish students perceive their identity?

RQ2: How do Finland-Swedish students navigate their positioning in a predominantly Finnish-speaking environment?

To conduct this current study and answer the research questions, I will use the following theoretical approach and methodology: narrative positioning and narrative analysis. The structure of this thesis is planned in such a way that you, the reader will first get an insight into the history of Swedish in Finland. Then there will be more information about Swedish-speaking Finns and previous research on the minority. The research objective and questions are also presented, followed by a chapter on narrative positioning and methodology. In the methodological section, discourse data, data collection and legal aspects are presented. From there I will move on to the findings and discussion. At the end there will be a conclusion including limitations and future research.

2 SWEDISH-SPEAKING FINNS

In order to study and understand the perspective of Swedish-speaking Finns, it is important to first look at the history of Swedish in Finland. A historical overview is necessary to understand Finnish society today. Historical events have had and continue to have an influence on the development of Finland, and this will be shown in the current study. After this historical overview, I will discuss important definitions concerning Swedish-speaking Finns, as there is a vocabulary associated with the minority and it gives you, the reader, an insight into the challenges of the terms. The final part of this chapter will discuss the heterogeneity of the Swedish-speaking Finns. There are stereotypes about the Swedish-speaking Finns that sometimes create a homogenous image of the minority. There is therefore a need to further examine the heterogeneity of the minority.

2.1 A brief history of Swedish in Finland

The geographical area of present-day Finland has long been a crossroad between Eastern and Western European cultures. While contact with Eastern culture was established during Stone Age (around 7,000 to 10,000 years ago), the influence of newcomers from the south of Baltic and German origin was considerable (Pentikäinen & Anttonen, 1985). During the pre-Roman Iron Age (from ca. 500/400 BC until the beginning of the Christian era), Pentikäinen and Anttonen explain that pressure from the south caused people to move north and east. They go on to describe how, from the 11th century onwards, Finnish territory was targeted by two waves of Christian missionaries. Again, the influence came from the east and from the south. While Karelia was under the influence of the Byzantine-Russian Church, the Roman Catholic Crusades targeted Finland from the south in 1155, 1238, and 1293. As a result of the crusades in the south-west, Finnish territory came under Swedish rule. Pentikäinen and

Anttonen highlight that the Sámi people occupied most of central and northern Finland at that time and that these areas were not under any special rule. At the same time, the early population of Finland had to leave the western and southern parts of the territory to accommodate the new settlers. In 1323, on the basis of an agreement, the Finnish territory was divided for the first time between Sweden and Novgorod. It was also an agreement between the Pope of Rome and the Patriarch of Constantinople. At first it was only an administrative change, but over time the cultural influence became apparent and remains evident in Finnish society today (Pentikäinen & Anttonen, 1985).

Finland was part of the Swedish Empire for about 600 years. The turning point came in 1809 when Sweden lost the Finnish territory to the Russian Empire and Finland became known as the autonomous Grand Duchy under the control of the Russian Empire. Finland was attached to the Russian Empire for more than 100 years before becoming independent in 1917 (Pentikäinen & Anttonen, 1985). According to Pentikäinen and Anttonen, Swedish was the main language until the mid-19th century, when Finnish became an official language in Finland. Until then, the Swedish language was used for administrative and public matters, while the majority spoke Finnish and the language was used by the church and municipalities (Nuolijärvi & Vaattovaara, 2011). While the Swedish speakers were a minority, the Swedish language was socially and politically the most prominent and prestigious language. Knowledge of Swedish was a prerequisite for social advancement (Tandefelt & Finnäs, 2007). During the Swedish period, Northern Sámi was also one of the main languages used (Östman & Mattfolk, 2011). Nuolijärvi and Vaattovaara (2011) explain how the status of the Finnish and Swedish languages changed when Finland came under Russian rule in 1809. Between 1809 and 1917, Nuolijärvi and Vaattovaara state that “Finnish gradually developed into a literary and administrative language through a national awakening and a series of decisions made by the Russian Czar” (2011, p. 67). There were several attempts at Russification, but the will for an independent Finland grew (Östman & Mattfolk, 2011). With the national awakening, Finnish gained popularity and the language was developed to suit the whole society (Liebkind et al., 2007). The movement was called the Fennoman movement and it was created by people who belonged to the Swedish-speaking elite. Östman and Mattfolk describe the period as “[...] a turbulent period which had the effect that many Swedish speakers switched language, learnt Finnish and started speaking Finnish to their children, and many also changed their names into Finnish names – in order to support the ideal of the time of ‘one nation-one language-one state’ [...]” (Östman & Mattfolk, 2011, p. 76). McRae (2007) points out that the tsars did not fight against the development of the Finnish language because it could weaken Finland’s ties with Sweden.

Liebkind et al (2007) mention that as the Finnish language became more popular, other members of the Swedish-speaking Finns created a Svecoman movement to respond to the Fennomans movement, which had gained many followers. They further explain that the Svecoman movement is also the foundation for what is known today as the Swedish People's party (in Swedish: Svenska folkpartiet). Nuolijärvi and Vaattovaara emphasise that "by 1900, Finnish was used in all domains of Finnish society, including newspapers and publications" (2011, p. 67). At the same time, the status of the Swedish language weakened. The number of Swedish-speaking Finns fell from 14.3 per cent of the total population in 1880, to only 5.9 per cent in 1990 (Tandefelt & Finnäs, 2007). Nuolijärvi and Vaattovaara (2011) emphasise that the position of both Finnish and Swedish as national languages was secured in the Constitution of 1919 and in the Language Act of 1922 after Finland gained independence. A new Language Act was adopted in 2003 and Finnish and Swedish are still the official national languages of Finland (6.6.2003/423, 2003).

As the historical overview shows, the Swedish language has a long history in Finland. Swedish has never been the majority language in Finland, but for historical reasons the minority is concentrated in certain parts of the country. It should be noted that the historical overview is limited and many details are missing, but it still gives you, the reader, a historical aspect of the study. Now it is time to analyse the situation of the Swedish-speaking minority today.

2.2 The Swedish-speaking minority today

As the section above shows, Finland has gone through many changes along the way. A historical perspective is essential to fully understand the situation today. An important aspect when discussing minorities is Finland's population structure. The following figures represent "[...] the population permanently resident in Finland on the last day of the year. The permanent population consists of persons who have a personal identity code and a permanent municipality of residence in Finland" (Statistics Finland, n.d.). According to Statistics Finland (Tilastokeskus, 2023), the total population of Finland at the end of 2022 was 5.56 million. In Finland, people have to declare their mother tongue and therefore Statistics Finland knows approximately how many people in the country consider their mother tongue to be Swedish. In 2022, the number of Swedish speakers was just over 287,000 persons (Tilastokeskus, n.d.), which means that just over five percent had declared Swedish as their mother tongue. According to Statistics Finland, only about 2,000 people had expressed that their mother tongue was Sámi. However, it is important to be critical of these figures, as there are about 10,000 Sámi people living in Finland (Sámediggi, n.d.). Since only one mother tongue can be

chosen, many bilinguals may have chosen Finnish as their mother tongue instead. The number of people who had chosen Finnish as their mother tongue was almost 4.8 million in 2022 (Tilastokeskus, 2023). In addition, the number of people who had chosen a foreign language as their mother tongue was almost half a million in 2022. The number of foreign language speakers has doubled in the last 11 years. In percentage terms the foreign language group represents 11 per cent of the total Finnish population. However, it is important to remember that the concept of ‘mother tongue’ is problematic. According to Blommaert (2009), having a mother tongue does not automatically mean that it is the individual’s strongest language. He also mentions that the term mother tongue refers to the language of the mother, which may be different from what the individual uses in everyday life. While it is important to be critical of these figures, they do give us an idea of the language landscape in Finland today.

At the municipality level, the Language Act (2003) states that if at least 3,000 speakers or eight per cent of the local population speak Finnish or Swedish, the language in question can be used as an official language in the municipality. In some cases, the municipality also votes to be a bilingual municipality (Kommunförbundet, n.d.). Thus, there are both monolingual and bilingual municipalities in Finland. In 2023 there were 309 municipalities in Finland, of which 33 were bilingual Finnish-Swedish and 16 were monolingual Swedish (see map on next page¹). All 16 monolingual Swedish municipalities are located in the Åland Islands, an autonomous Swedish-speaking region of Finland. The Åland Islands are located between Finland and Sweden in the south-west and are shown in light grey on the map. There are 15 bilingual municipalities where the majority of the population speaks Swedish (dark grey on the map) and 18 bilingual municipalities where most people speak Finnish as their mother tongue (black on the map). These bilingual municipalities are located on the south and west coasts. The rest of the municipalities are monolingual Finnish, except for some municipalities in Lapland that also have Sámi as an administrative language (this information is not included in the map).

In addition to the coastal area, Östman and Mattfolk (2011) highlight that there are so called “Swedish language islands” (in Swedish: svenska språköar), which are larger cities where children can enrol in Swedish-speaking compulsory education. This is possible because of the large number of Swedish speakers living in the cities. For example, there are Swedish schools in Kotka, Tampere, Oulu, and Pori (Utbildningsstyrelsen, n.d.). However, most Swedish-speaking Finns still live on the coast,

¹ The map was drawn by Linda Hildén. It was inspired by the map on the website of the Association of the Finnish Municipalities (Kommunförbundet, n.d.).

where the bilingual municipalities are located. Östman and Mattfolk mention that nowadays both Finnish and Swedish are often spoken in families, with one partner speaking Finnish to the child or children and the other speaking Swedish. Therefore, they emphasise that bilingual families are common today and that being a member of the Swedish-speaking community is based on self-identification.

In Finland, there are day-care centres, comprehensive schools, upper secondary schools and universities where the language of instruction is Swedish. While there are about 80 dialects of Finland Swedish, the Swedish language in Finland follows the standard of Swedish in Sweden (Östman & Mattfolk). However, there are variations in vocabulary and speech, which differentiates Finland-Swedish from Swedish in Sweden. One example is the use of Finnish words in sentence, known as codeswitching (Gardner-Chloros, 2009). Furthermore, there are Swedish newspapers in Finland, two radio stations in Swedish and a national television channel that broadcasts programmes in Swedish. Östman and Mattfolk also mention that as we live in a digital age, people can easily watch TV programmes from Sweden. As shown here, the Swedish-speaking Finns have had and still have the resources to maintain a community. This community is a source for creating networks in Swedish-speaking Finland. Because of the small size of the minority, there is a metaphor for the community. It is called the 'duck pod' (in Swedish: ankdammen) (Henning-Lindblom, 2012).

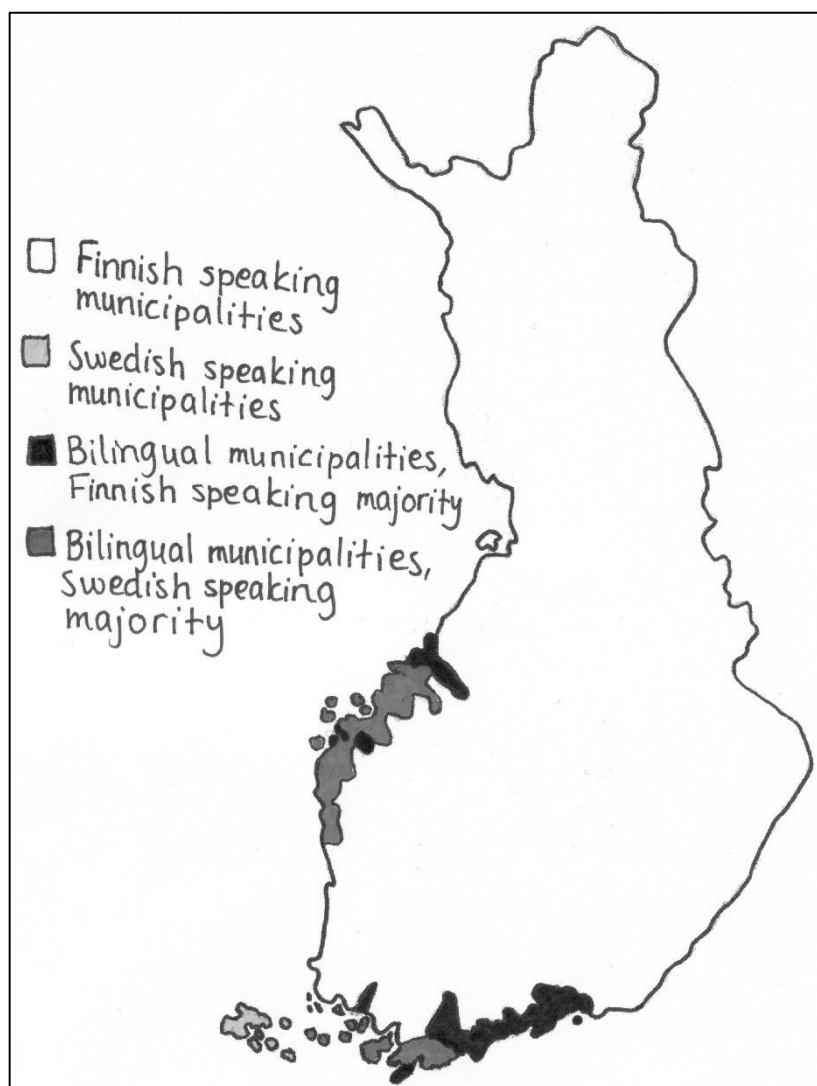


Figure 1 Swedish-speaking and bilingual municipalities in Finland 2023 (Kommunförbundet, n.d.)

However, there are variations in vocabulary and speech, which differentiates Finland-Swedish from Swedish in Sweden. One example is the use of Finnish words in sentence, known as codeswitching (Gardner-Chloros, 2009). Furthermore, there are Swedish newspapers in Finland, two radio stations in Swedish and a national television channel that broadcasts programmes in Swedish. Östman and Mattfolk also mention that as we live in a digital age, people can easily watch TV programmes from Sweden. As shown here, the Swedish-speaking Finns have had and still have the resources to maintain a community. This community is a source for creating networks in Swedish-speaking Finland. Because of the small size of the minority, there is a metaphor for the community. It is called the 'duck pod' (in Swedish: ankdammen) (Henning-Lindblom, 2012).

Sometimes the term ‘language bubble’ (in Swedish: språkbubbla) is also used to illustrate the Swedish-speaking community. Terje (2020) discusses how the Swedish-speaking Finns are described as an ‘elite minority’, because of the language rights in the Language Act. In addition, other studies show that the Swedish-speaking minority is happier, healthier, and, wealthier than the Finnish majority (Hyypä & Mäki, 2001; Saarela & Finnäs, 2003; Terje, 2021).

However, according to Liebkind, Tandefelt and Moring (2007), “the Swedish-speaking Finns are socially heterogeneous and geographically scattered in unconnected regions, and that their loyalties are manifold” (p. 5). Henning-Lindblom and Liebkind (2007) discuss that the Swedish-speaking youth create multiple identities because of the close contact between Finnish and Swedish in certain areas of Finland. Therefore, they point out that Swedish-speaking Finns may belong to different groups depending on “home region, social classes, professional groupings and political parties” (2007, p. 5), which may result in multiple identities for Swedish-speaking Finns.

The previous section has shown that the connection to the Swedish language is the unifying characteristic for the Swedish-speaking Finns, but otherwise the minority is diverse. This is important to highlight and consider when studying the minority. Next, there is a section on previous research on Swedish-speaking Finns in Finland.

2.3 Previous research on Swedish-speaking Finns in Finland

Some of the earlier research has already been mentioned above, but this section will examine the earlier research in more detail. Karmela Liebkind, a social psychologist from University of Helsinki, co-edited a special issue of the *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* in 2007 that specifically focused on Swedish-speaking Finns, the Swedish language and bilingualism in Finland (Liebkind et al., 2007). The articles in the special issue discuss the historical background of Swedish-speaking Finns (Liebkind et al., 2007), compare Finland with three other countries with two or more official languages (McRae, 2007), study the demography of the minority and the Swedish language (Tandefelt & Finnäs, 2007), and examine institutions and organisations of Swedish-speaking Finns (Kreander & Sundberg, 2007). The special issue also includes articles that discuss the role of Swedish language media in relation to linguistic vitality (Moring & Husband, 2007), classroom discussions in a Swedish-speaking school in a Finnish-dominated area (Slotte-Lüttge, 2007), linguistic attitudes of Swedish-speaking youth (Broermann, 2007), local ethnolinguistic vitality and identity among Swedish-speaking youth (Henning-Lindblom & Liebkind, 2007), and the loss of the Swedish language in Finland (Leinonen & Tandefelt, 2007).

Furthermore, the Swedish-speaking minority has been the subject of health studies, as research shows that Swedish-speaking Finns live longer than Finnish speakers in Finland (Hyypä & Mäki, 2001; Saarela & Finnäs (2005)). According to Hyypä and Mäki (2001), the results are surprising because ethnic minorities usually have worse health than the majority population. They suggest that the difference can be explained by the higher social capital of the Swedish-speaking Finns due to the strong minority community. Research, therefore, shows the importance and benefits of the social networks that Swedish-speaking Finns have access to as members of a minority. However, a study by Liebkind, Henning-Lindblom and Solheim (2006), compared two generations of Swedish-speaking Finns in terms of ingroup favouritism and outgroup derogation. The study shows that Swedish-speaking Finns favour their own ingroup, while they show derogation towards Finnish speakers, who were the outgroup in this study. Swedish-speaking Finns who identified more strongly with their own group displayed more ingroup favouritism and more outgroup derogation, while those who had a strong Finnish national identity showed less. This demonstrates how the Swedish-speaking community favours itself, which can be seen as negative, but also as beneficial for the health of the minority members.

Swedish-speaking Finns have also been included in studies of identification, belonging and community. Terje (2021) conducted an ethnographic study on a small island where most of the people were Swedish-speaking. She highlighted that studies on the Swedish-speaking minority are often quantitative, so she chose to conduct qualitative research. Terje found that minority status was not the main identifier for the islanders. Instead, they identified themselves as 'islanders', while the 'others' were people from the mainland rather than Finnish speakers. Therefore, the Swedish language was not the main common factor that united the people. The sense of belonging was created in relation to place, history, stories, and social interaction within the community. Terje points out that instead of focusing on the diversity of the minority, we should "try to understand the nature of it" (2022, p. 25). She suggests that in order to get a broader view of the lives of Swedish-speaking Finns, there is a need for more qualitative studies in different areas.

While all the previous research mentioned is relevant and important, the present study has a unique context and is from a perspective that has hardly been researched before. No studies were found that considered the perspective of Finland-Swedish students who go to study in predominately Finnish-speaking areas. The present study explores, from a qualitative perspective, the thoughts and experiences that the move has brought them, and how the change of environment has influenced their identity and thoughts about the Swedish-speaking minority. In this way, the study responds to Terje's call for more qualitative research on Swedish speakers in Finland. Moreover, the study is not about a 'traditional' community (such as the Islanders (Terje, 2021)),

but about contemporary ‘mobile’ Swedish speakers who have chosen to move outside the Swedish-speaking area of Finland. There is a clear research gap that I would like to contribute to with this study. I believe that there is a lack of discussion about Swedish-speaking Finns who choose to study in other places in Finland other than the usual bilingual cities such as Helsinki, Turku and Vaasa. Before I present the aim and research questions of the current study, there is a need to clarify some Swedish and Finnish terms. This clarification will hopefully help you, the reader, to understand the vocabulary involved in studying Swedish-speaking Finns.

2.4 Clarification of Swedish and Finnish terms

In order to understand the vocabulary surrounding Swedish-speaking Finns, it is important to mention some terms and definitions. When communicating in English, I usually use the term ‘Swedish-speaking Finns’ to describe the minority when the subject is discussed. In Swedish, however, we use the term ‘finlandssvensk’, which directly translates ‘Finland’s Swede’, which is a little different from the term I mentioned earlier. According to Liebkind, Tandefelt and Moring (2007), the terms ‘Swedish-speaking Finn’ and ‘Finland-Swede’ are fully synonymous, but can have a slight difference in meaning. The term ‘Swedish-speaking Finn’ emphasises Finnish national identity, and the fact that the individual’s mother tongue is Swedish. The term ‘Finland-Swede’ accentuate the connection with Sweden. In this present study, the terms Swedish-speaking Finn and Finland-Swede are used as synonyms. The Swedish ethnonym ‘finlandssvensk’ has not always been used. Liebkind et al. (2007) mention that the word originates from the late 19th century and that its use expanded during the 20th century. Previously, the Swedish word ‘svenskar’, which means ‘Swedes’ in English, was used to refer to people with Swedish as their mother tongue in Finland. Even today, the Swedish word ‘svensk’ is used for institutions and organisations that operate in Swedish in Finland and they are not associated with the country of Sweden.

Östman and Mattfolk (2011) highlight that when talking about the Swedish language in Finland, the word ‘finlandssvenska’ is used, meaning Finland Swedish. This distinguishes the language from the Swedish spoken in Sweden. They go on to explain that the geographical area where Swedish-speaking Finns typically live is called ‘Svenskfinland’. In English, Östman and Mattfolk translate this as Swedish-language Finland or Swedish-speaking Finland.

It is also important to mention the Finnish translation of the word ‘finlandssvensk’ as it plays a crucial role in this study. In Finnish the word ‘suomenruotsalainen’ can be translated into English as ‘Finland’s Swede’ (suomen: Finland’s, ruotsalainen: Swede or Swedish).

Moreover, other Swedish words to consider when reading this study are 'finländare', 'finne', 'finsk' and 'tvåspråkig'. According to Liebkind et al. (2007), the term 'finländare' means Finnish citizen and is a neutral word without any linguistic connection, while 'finne' is a label used for a Finnish-speaking citizen. However, from my own experience in Sweden, the word 'finne' is also used for Finnish citizens, but in Sweden. As for the word 'finsk(a)', it can refer both to the Finnish language (finska), and to Finnish culture, or it can be used without any association to language and mean that something is Finnish, such as Finnish citizenship (in Swedish: finskt medborgarskap) (*Finsk* | *TEPA Termbank*, n.d.). It is worth noting that the English word Finnish can refer to Finnish (in Swedish: finländsk), as in nationality, or Finnish (in Swedish: finsk(a)), as in the language and culture. This is something to bear in mind, as I will discuss it further below. Lastly, the Swedish word 'tvåspråkig' means bilingual and in this study, it will refer to people who consider themselves to be both Swedish and Finnish speakers because of their family background.

The reason why it is important to go through all these different Swedish words is that it shows the various terms that can be used when discussing the perspective of Swedish-speaking Finns in Finland. It is important to understand the complexity of the labels in order to comprehend their meaning and how the words can be perceived. Also, the method used in the study is interviews and they were conducted in Swedish, but more about that later. In the analytical chapter of this study, I will explain my interpretation of the word usage in more detail.

2.5 Research objective and questions

Based on previous findings, there is a lack of qualitative research on Swedish-speaking Finns. Therefore, this study responds to Terje's call for more qualitative research on Finland-Swedes. In addition, while the articles in the special issue mentioned above might provide an overview of the Swedish-speaking minority in Finland, they do not pay attention to the identity, experiences, and perceptions of Finland-Swedish students in higher education. This study focuses on Swedish speakers who have moved to a predominantly Finnish-speaking area, which gives this study a unique context that has hardly been researched before. For practical reasons, I will focus on the part of the community with which I am most familiar: the student population. The aim of the present study is to gain further knowledge about how Swedish-speaking students in higher education perceive their identity, how they view the minority, and what kind of interactions they have had when the Finland-Swedish identity has been addressed. The main focus of this current study is to understand the perspective of Swedish-speaking Finns who choose to study in a Finnish-speaking area of Finland.

The participants' answers are compared and reflected upon with the help of Bamberg's three level model of narrative positioning and previous studies on Swedish-speaking Finns, which have been mentioned earlier in the text.

By conducting the current study, I hope to broaden the perspective of Swedish-speaking Finns and contribute with a unique aspect of Swedish-speaking students who have chosen to study outside the Swedish-speaking area of Finland. In order to achieve the aims of the study and to gain knowledge about Finland-Swedish students, the following research questions were asked:

RQ1: How do Finland-Swedish students perceive their identity?

RQ2: How do Finland-Swedish students navigate their positioning in a predominantly Finnish-speaking environment?

The present study thus uses narrative analysis to find out how the participants create and negotiate a sense of self in a world that is constantly changing.

3 THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter presents the theoretical and methodological framework of the study. It begins by introducing narrative positioning and the identity perspective in this study. The non-essentialist aspect of the study is then briefly discussed, followed by a presentation of Bamberg's three level model of narrative positioning. Then there is a review of previous research using narrative positioning as an approach. The next section of the study discusses interviews as discourse data. The final part of the chapter covers the data collection and analysis as well as ethical and legal aspects. This chapter is utilized to further conceptualise and justify the study. The reasons for the theoretical and methodological choices are explained and linked.

3.1 Identity as a narrative construction

The main idea behind narrative positioning is that people perform themselves (Bamberg, 1997). The concept of narrative is linked to personal experience and sense-making and is a temporary performance by the speaker. Bamberg discusses positioning as a way for the narrator to navigate and negotiate themselves in relation to others. By reflecting on past experiences, speakers recreate themselves over and over again (Bamberg et al., 2007). Prior to positioning, the use of roles was the main organising concept for analysing people performing themselves, and Harré was one of the first to empathise the immanent view of positioning in constructionist social psychology. Davies and Harré (1990) highlight that in the role theory individuals are separated by different roles they perform, whereas positioning takes into consideration the way the discussion affects the speaker or writer. Moving to positioning as the central organising concept for analysis draws attention to the context in which the narrator has to

navigate their positioning (Davies & Harré, 1990). Using positioning as an approach introduces the possibility of considering the changing contexts and situations in which identities are created (Bamberg et al., 2007). As a result, narrative positioning is utilized as a tool for identity construction and identity analysis (Bamberg, 2011).

Previously, the traditional approach to linking narrative to identity and self was based on an essentialist view, which meant that identity and self were considered as fixed (Bamberg, 2011). Bamberg suggests that human life can be viewed as a continuous pattern of events that can be made into stories and narrated. He thus problematises identities based on life stories because life stories are told for a purpose and do not necessarily encompass all the experiences an individual has had. It may be that harmful content is left out in order to paint a more pleasant picture of oneself for the listener. Therefore, Bamberg mentions that “Maybe the actual events are not that relevant; and more relevant is what they stand for, i.e., how they connect with other events and how they differentiate *ourselves* as special and unique (or as everyday and mundane)” (2011, p. 5). He focuses on the functionality of self and identity. Bamberg offers an alternative understanding to the description of identity and self as “[...] self-representations, i.e., mental constructions about us as individuals in terms of what we are identifying with and how we are identified (usually by others)” (2011, p. 6). Identity is an internal understanding of who we are and is hard to unload. Instead, Bamberg suggests that speakers can choose how to identify themselves by choosing from a variety of socio-cultural categories. In this sense speakers can choose from different characteristics in space and time and present themselves as an imagined “human good” (Bamberg, 2011, p. 6).

As this study is based on a non-essentialist understanding of identity and culture, the use of narrative positioning as a theoretical approach suits the conditions of the study. The non-essentialist understanding allows identity and culture to be approached as something that changes but is performed locally rather than something that is fixed (Bamberg, 2011). This includes ethnicity, which is seen as an attribute of an individual’s identity in the present study. The non-essentialist perspective recognises the heterogeneity of people and allows them to perform themselves in space and time, which supports narrative positioning.

3.2 Narrative positioning

Bamberg distinguishes three interrelated levels of positioning (Bamberg, 1997). First, positioning of the narrator in the story being told. As an example, De Fina and Georgakopoulou (2011) mention how the narrator positions themselves in relation to the other characters in the narrative. This level analyses the descriptions and evaluations

of the characters and the pattern of events in relation to, for example, social categories. Secondly, the positioning in relation to the other actors in the speech situation. The story is co-created in the local interactional context and how the narrators present themselves is relevant in this situation. Thirdly, positioning in the social context, which examines how the story situation can be positioned beyond the local context and related to society. According to De Fina and Georgakopoulou, Bamberg's "focus is on how people use stories in their interactive engagements to convey a sense of who they are and not on how stories represent the world and identities" (2011, p. 164).

In terms of this study, the focus will be on 'small stories', which tend to be short narratives, such as news, projections and references to events (Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008). According to Bamberg and Georgakopoulou, 'identity work' takes place in everyday interactions that form "a sense of who we are - a sense of us as 'same' in spite of continuous change" (2008, p. 379). They mention that the formulation of self and identity in interactive encounters has not been sufficiently theorised and may sometimes be missing from the traditional narrative (i.e. biographical) approach. Small stories have previously been rejected in narrative research as a sign of a failed interview or simply as not being proper stories. However, they highlight that there is value in the smallness of talk, since short conversations can reveal details that would otherwise go unnoticed in the analysis of identity construction. Small stories can include argumentative points or incidents that may or may not be true. To outsiders, the interaction may seem pointless, while to those involved in the conversation, the content is important and meaningful. Bamberg and Georgakopoulou discuss the importance of analysing small stories because it is through interactive and relational activity that 'identity work' takes place and this needs to be considered in narrative research (2008).

One of the characteristics of narrative positioning is that it explicitly includes an analysis of the situation in which identity construction takes place (Bamberg, 2011). In this study, this takes place in the interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee. Taking into consideration the interview context is important because of my own personal involvement with the topic, which makes it necessary to consider my own positionality in the analysis of the interviews.

Narrating has been used to shed light on a wide range of social issues. Lynn Sorsoli (2007) used narrative to examine the intersection of race and trauma by exploring statements, personal narratives, and dialogue. She used layered methods to understand the experiences of the interviewees and how they have affected their lives. By exploring the narratives extensively, the researcher was able to analyse the language and meaning and gain a deeper understanding of the interviewee's life experience. In this case, the analysis helped to comprehend how the individual saw themselves as a trauma survivor (Sorsoli, 2007).

The narrative approach has also been used to examine how ethnic minority employees cope with the challenge of identity in a work environment where most employees belong to ethnic majority (Van Laer & Janssens, 2014). In their study, Van Laer and Janssens (2014) found that ethnic minority employees attempted to balance their work identities and their non-work identities by constructing hybrid identities. However, the construction of hybrid identities is not unproblematic due to ongoing social and political processes. They highlight that while the ethnic minority professionals try to adapt to both audiences, this can create identity tensions. This is due to the effort of trying to fit in with one group of people while being judged by them and by the other audience. The researchers found that the ethnic minority employees who tried to build relationships with the different audiences could establish sameness with people, but simultaneously the individuals could feel incomplete or stuck between two groups of people. Furthermore, Van Laer and Janssens discovered that it is not only about the self-positioning of the individual, but also about the validation or rejection of the audience. Groups may not accept the hybrid identities of individuals, which may cause ethnic minority professionals to reconsider their identities, but at the same time individuals may choose to abandon the idea of complete assimilation and stabilisation and instead give positive meaning to their hybrid identities.

Van Laer and Janssens thus show that narrative positioning can be useful in gaining a better insight into the complexity of identity and the political and social processes that may influence ethnic minority professionals. Furthermore, their study suggests that self-positioning also is influenced by the validation and rejection of audiences. Context matters and affects the construction of identities, which is important when conducting research with narrative positioning as the theoretical framework (Van Laer & Janssens, 2014).

Importantly for my purpose, De Fina and King (2011) show that narrative analysis can also be used to examine how respondents cope with language obstacles and to study the language ideologies that can be revealed as people tell their stories. This in turn can provide insights into, for example, migration experiences (De Fina & King, 2011). Their analyses show how language ideologies are not only reproduced but also challenged and resisted in the narratives of Latin American immigrants living in the United States. By analysing the stories of immigrants, they illustrate how language causes social and linguistic problems and how the current language ideologies surrounding Spanish and English in the US can be experienced by individuals. De Fina and King highlight that “language is an important form of cultural capital given that it has the potential to be transformed into symbolic capital and therefore into a tool for individuals and communities to ensure better social positions” (2011, p. 164). However, values are connected to languages, and this influences society and individuals. It is therefore important to understand what is meant by language ideologies. Collins

and Slembrouck define language ideologies as “ideas about language circling in various discourses” (2005, p. 192). These are not only ideas about ‘good’ or ‘bad’ languages, but also include the evaluation of individuals based on their language use. For example, individuals may be described as ‘intelligent’ or ‘ignorant’ depending on the languages they use. In addition, language ideologies influence discourses about places and communities and are overall evaluative frameworks that influence the language environment in society (Collins & Slembrouck, 2005).

3.3 Using interviews as discourse data

In this study, the method of data collection is interviews, and the interviews are treated as discourse data. According to Nikander (2012), “discursive research on interviews clearly demonstrates that both parties are equally implicated in meaning making and participate jointly as active agents and agenda setters” (p. 401). As I will be approaching the interview from a semi-structured perspective, it will allow the interviewee to actively participate and we can interact and create meaning together, but the focus will be on the participants. Talmy (2011) considers the research interview as a social practice and emphasises that interviews are co-constructed between the interviewer and the interviewee. He explains that the interview data is socially constructed, and the focus should be not only on the content but also on how the meaning is negotiated. It is therefore crucial to acknowledge the role of the interviewer and my positionality. Bamberg’s three level model of narrative positioning (2011) and treating the interviews as discourse data are important approaches in this study because it does not hide the interviewer’s involvement, but explicitly draws attention to the active role the interviewer has in the situation. This previous section has established a solid foundation for my choice of data collection for the current study.

As a consequence of the interviewer’s involvement, the present study regards interview data as discourse data, which in this case is utilized as narrative discourse. During the interviews, participants were asked questions and then provided responses as they preferred within the framework of themes. By answering the questions, the participants construct a character in time and space and create an image of who they are. While the interview design for the current study was not narrative, the participants mostly answered the questions with small narratives, which makes it possible to utilize narrative positioning. Very often these answers are ‘small stories’, often very minute and not as elaborate as the complex structures described by Labov (1972) as an example. Bamberg and Georgakopoulou (2008) suggest that people use such ‘small stories’ to create a representation of themselves and to position themselves in relation to the co-conversationalist. Furthermore, the narrator uses situated language

to position themselves and create an identity in the specific context. According to Bamberg and Georgakopoulou (2008), by using narrative analysis, we can analyse how the participants construct themselves and their understanding of the world in time and space. This in turn shows “[...] how the teller *wants to be understood*, what sense of self they index” (Bamberg and Georgakopoulou, 2008, p. 380).

The present study uses narrative analysis to explore how the participants create and negotiate a sense of self in a world that is constantly changing. The above shows how narrative positioning can be used to study how participants narrate on past events and position themselves in time and space by telling the interviewer their thoughts and creating an image of themselves. It is through social practices that identity and self are constituted, and this is therefore the approach used in the current study.

3.4 Data collection and analyses

In order to reach Finland-Swedish students in Finnish-speaking areas of Finland, self-identification was chosen as a criterion for selecting potential interview participants. I designed a poster to recruit interview candidates, where I mentioned three criteria for participation in my study. The poster was in Swedish to attract the attention of Swedish speakers. Here is the text in Swedish, followed by an English version (my translation):

“Hej på dig! Jag söker efter finlandssvenskar som är villiga att delta i en intervju för min pro gradu. Du är välkommen att delta i en intervju:

- du identifierar dig som finlandssvensk
- du bor i en finskspråkig kommun/stad (som exempel bor och studerar jag själv i Jyväskylä)
- du är studerande

Kontakta mig gärna om du eller någon som du känner är intresserad av att delta i en intervju. Jag svarar gärna även på frågor. Kontakta mig via min e-post XXX.

Varma hälsningar, Linda”.

“Hi to you! I’m looking for Swedish-speaking Finns who are willing to participate in an interview for my Master’s thesis. You are welcome to take part in an interview if:

- you identify yourself as a Swedish-speaking Finn
- you live in a Finnish-speaking municipality/city (for example, I myself live and study in Jyväskylä)
- you are a student

Please contact me if you or someone you know is interested in participating in an interview. I'm also happy to answer questions. Contact me via email XXX.

With warm regards, Linda.”

Because of these criteria, the participants could first think about their identity and if they felt that they fit the criteria, they could contact me, as my student email was included in the text. I knew that selecting participants in this way could be risky as I was dependent on people contacting me. To increase my chances of finding participants, I began to spread my poster through my own social media on Facebook and Instagram. I also became a member of a Facebook group for Finland-Swedish students in Finland and posted about my study there. Then I wrote a message in the IDESCO students Whatsapp group, which is a group chat for international students in Jyväskylä. IDESCO ry is short for the International degree student community in Jyväskylä (IDESCO, 2016). Furthermore, I contacted different student unions at University of Jyväskylä and asked them if they could include my poster in their mailing list for their members. Some said yes, while others said no. I also contacted the student union at the Police University College in Tampere, because I know that the Police University College organises teaching in Swedish. Furthermore, I wrote to the student union at the Emergency Services Academy Finland (in Swedish: Räddningsinstitutet) in Kuopio, because I know a Swedish speaker who went there and became a firefighter. The Police University College in Tampere and the Emergency Services Academy Finland are the only places in Finland where you can study to become a police officer or a firefighter. In addition, I knew a Swedish-speaking Finn from before, and I asked them personally if they would be interested in participating in my study. We had only talked superficially about being Swedish-speaking Finns, so therefore I concluded that our previous discussions would not interfere with my research.

As a result of all the messages sent to student unions and organisations, I was contacted by 6 people who volunteered to take part in my study. I will not mention where they are from or where they study in order to protect their identity. All interviews were face-to-face. In preparation for the interviews, I booked rooms and sent a short text about my inspiration for the study. Below is the text I sent to each participant. First in the original Swedish and then in an English version (my translation).

”För att ge dig lite mer bakgrundsinformation tänkte jag berätta lite om min studie redan nu. Min studie 'Swedish-speaking Finns in Finnish-speaking areas in Finland' är inspirerad av mitt eget liv. Jag är själv finlandssvensk och flyttade till Jyväskylä i augusti 2021 för att börja mina studier vid Jyväskylän yliopisto. Under min tid här i Mellersta Finland har jag fått ett större perspektiv av Finland och mött många människor och haft många intressanta diskussioner. Folk har

frågat mig om mina rötter och diskuterat det svenska språket med mig. Alla de här möten och samtalen har inspirerat mig att göra en studie och ta reda på mer. Det här är min utgångspunkt.”

”To give you some background information, I thought that I could already tell you a little about my study now. My study ‘Swedish-speaking Finns in Finnish-speaking areas in Finland’ is inspired by my own life. I am myself a Swedish-speaking Finn and I moved to Jyväskylä to begin my studies at University of Jyväskylä in August 2021. During my time here in Central Finland, I have gotten a wider perspective of Finland and I have met a lot of people and had many interesting discussions. People have asked me about my roots and discussed the Swedish language with me. All these encounters and conversations have inspired me to do a study and find out more. This is my starting point.”

For me as a researcher, it was crucial to tell them about my positionality regarding the study and my inspiration behind it. As the participants had self-identified themselves as Swedish-speaking Finns, I wanted to create a safe environment where they could share their thoughts and be aware that I may have had similar experiences. I also told each interviewee by e-mail that I would be recording our discussion. When it came to interviewing, I felt it was important to make them feel comfortable, so we talked a little before starting the recorder. I went over my research notification, privacy notice and consent form (cf. section 4.3) before starting the recorder. I asked for their consent at the beginning of the recording and each participant agreed. After each interview I mailed them my research notification, privacy notice and consent form.

The interviews were conducted in Swedish, since it felt most natural to use our shared language. When I prepared my interview questions, I designed the structure so that we would start by talking about the participant’s identity and their perception of the Finland-Swedish identity. Then I asked them about their life in the Finnish-speaking city and whether their Finland-Swedish identity had become visible during encounters. As the final theme, I wanted to discuss Finland-Swedishness on a national level. I have included the interview questions as Appendices I and II at the end of this present thesis. You will find both the original Swedish version and the English version. It is worth noting that I have translated the questions into English myself. I approached the interview in a semi-structured way. Although I had questions, it was important for me to let the interviewee share their perspective, and if something was unclear, I would ask a question that was not on my list of questions from earlier.

After interviewing my first respondent, they asked if it would be possible to put them into contact with the other respondents. The individual wanted to meet other Swedish-speaking Finns in the area, and I said that I would ask the them. While I was

interviewing, the idea of conducting a focus group discussion came to mind. As I had only had the opportunity to interview them separately, I became interested in what kind of discussions would take place if I gave them the opportunity to talk to each other. Therefore, after having interviewed four participants, I contacted them again and asked them if they would be interested in participating in a focus group discussion. At this point, I thought that a focus group discussion would be a good complement to the four individual interviews, as the fifth and the sixth participants had not yet contacted me. In the qualitative research for this study, I therefore used two different interview techniques. The potential participants all accepted the invitation to the focus group discussion and we found a time that was convenient for everyone. Prior to the focus group discussion, I listened to all four of the interviews and thought about what more I could discuss with the participants. As mentioned by Ryan, Gandha, Culbertson and Carlson (2014), focus group discussions are a type of group interview in which participants interact with each other while the moderator asks targeted questions to stimulate conversation. They also acknowledge that the moderator can be active or allow the discussion to flow more naturally. I encouraged the participants to share their thoughts, but they also expected me to lead the conversation. Therefore, I used my questions as a way of creating conversation.

Each interview was unique and thus, I could never know what kind of thoughts the interviewees would share with me. The interviewees knew beforehand about my background and that I might understand their perspective as a fellow member of the minority. Through the interview, we co-constructed an opportunity for the participant to reflect on their identity and understanding at the time (Talmy, 2011). This relational aspect creates a unique communicative event.

As I had conducted the interviews, I transcribed them, focusing on the discourse. To analyse the interviews, I went through all the data and selected excerpts that showed contrasts and were particularly rich in terms of identity construction. As the questions were inspired by my own experiences, I also used my background as an advantage when analysing the data. My positionality thus influenced the analytical process by encouraging me to find details that an outsider might not have noticed. The present study utilizes Bamberg's three level model of narrative positioning (1997) to analyse the findings. As Bamberg (2011) suggests, a key aspect of this approach is to consider the context in which the speech event takes place. By using Bamberg's three level model of narrative positioning, it is possible to also consider the positioning of the interviewer during the interviews.

As explained earlier, this study focuses on 'small stories' and most of the excerpts contain short narratives, but there are some exceptions. This present study also includes non-narrative excerpts, which means that Bamberg's three level model of narrative positioning is less applicable in these excerpts. The reason for including the

excerpts is that some of them show interesting societal perspectives that can be linked to Bamberg's third level model of narrative positioning. The excerpts are thus not excluded from the current study. Further insights into the analytical process can be found in the findings chapter, where the data is analysed.

As a first-time researcher, writing this Master's thesis has been a learning process. I have tried to be as accurate as possible, but in the course of this study, I have realised that some of my decisions could have been better. When I planned my interview design and created the interview questions, I wrote the outline in both Swedish and English because I wanted my supervisor to comment on it and he does not speak Swedish. As the language of instruction in the Master's programme is English, I had done most of my research and writing in English. Although Swedish is my first language, I was more familiar with the vocabulary in English than in Swedish. Even though I went through the Swedish interview questions several times, it was only after I had conducted half of the interviews that I realised that I could have used a more appropriate word than I did. One of the questions I asked was: What kind of image do you have of Swedish-speaking Finns in the Finnish society? I think the question is understandable in English, but in Swedish the word Finnish can refer to two things in this context. That is why my earlier comment about terminology was so important. According to the TEPA-termipankki (n.d.), the word Finnish can refer to Finnish (in Swedish: *finländsk*) as in nationality or Finnish (in Swedish: *finsk(a)*) as in the language and culture. When I drafted the question, I used the word 'finska' when I should have written 'finländsk' to be precise. In some interviews I corrected myself, but not in all. As a result, some interviewees might have understood the question as if I was asking about the Finnish-speaking part of society, when I in fact was interested in the whole society. Even though I cannot know how the participants interpreted the question, the answers I received still made sense in the context.

Furthermore, I gradually realised that I had designed my interview questions from the perspective of a monolingual Swedish-speaking Finn. Although I also speak Finnish, I was born and raised in an environment where I practically only used Swedish. Therefore, I certainly have a different perspective than those who grew up in bilingual families with both Swedish and Finnish. When I designed the interview questions, I did not consider the perspective of a bilingual Swedish-speaking Finn. I realised this during the interview phase, and I think it is important to mention it here. Although I could have thought about this before I started the interviews, I think that the responses of the bilingual Swedish-speaking Finns are interesting. The answers create diversity, and this will be discussed in the findings chapter.

I also think it is important to reflect on my participation in the focus group discussion. There were supposed to be four participants in the focus group discussion but one of them had to cancel the night before due to illness. As I thought it was too

late to cancel the focus group discussion, I decided to carry out the focus group discussion. It had already been difficult to find a day that suited everyone. The absence of one person reduced the participation to three, which is acceptable in focus group discussions but can become problematic. As a first-time researcher, I did not know what to expect and whether the participants would be talkative. The introductory round went well, but I soon realised that I would have to take a bigger role than I had thought. I began to participate in the discussion, but in a limited way. If the conversation went on without my participation, I stayed quiet. Sometimes, however, I had the feeling that I needed to explain the question further during the focus group discussion in order for the participants to understand the question. This may have been due to my monolingual Swedish-speaking background. Some questions might not have been relevant to them because of their bilingual upbringing. Immediately after the focus group discussion I felt disappointed. I thought that I would not be able to use the data since the discussions were not extensive. However, as this study focuses on “small stories” I realised, during the transcribing, that there were some interesting and important perspectives that needed to be considered. I will write more about this in the findings chapter.

In the course of the current study, I have been making use of technical tools in order to facilitate my work. The University of Jyväskylä has a personal U:drive for students, and I have used the U:drive for storing sensitive data, as it is the most secure place. Collecting personal data through interviews is sensitive, because a voice sample is a unique identifier and this must be taken into account. I also listened to the recordings using VLC Media Player and wrote the transcripts in Microsoft Word. As I have translated from Swedish to English and vice versa by myself, I have used the MOT dictionary and DeepL Translate to help with translations. As I am not a professional transcriber, there may be some minor errors in the text, but I have tried to be as careful as possible. To find English synonyms, I used Thesaurus.com and for searching for books and articles I utilized JYDOK and Google scholar. These are the main tools I used, but I may have used other translation and dictionary tools as well.

3.5 Ethical and legal aspects

I have already explained my positioning, which is an ethical concern to take into consideration when reading my study. Nevertheless, I would also like to consider other ethical issues that I have noticed during the current study, as I believe transparency is a key factor in research.

When I started looking for interview participants, I quickly realised that there are not so many students who are Swedish-speaking Finns in the inner parts of

Finland. I thus decided to pseudonymise the research data and remove details about locations that could help to identify participants. As questions about identity and personal thoughts can be sensitive, it is important to respect the privacy of the participants. Interview participants self-identified as Swedish-speaking Finns based on my criteria and I sent each participant an email explaining my background and the starting point of my study. I also made it clear that I would use a recorder during the interview. Before each interview, I explained the required Privacy Notice, Consent Form and Research Notification and asked if they had any questions or if anything was unclear. These documents were required by the University of Jyväskylä and follow the standards of the European Union's General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR.EU 216/679). The protection of personal data and the rights of the data subject (participant) were carefully explained to all the study participants.

I also clarified that they could share whatever they felt comfortable sharing. It was important to me that they did not feel pressured, and that the atmosphere remained comfortable throughout the interview. I told them that they could contact me afterwards if they had any questions. As I had explained the Research Notification to them, they were aware that they could stop and cancel their participation if they wished.

This chapter has described the theoretical and methodological framework of the present study. The next chapter presents the excerpts and analyses the data.

4 FINDINGS

The aim of the present study is to gain knowledge about the identity of Finland-Swedish students and their thoughts and perception of their minority status in Finland. The study's objective is also to obtain knowledge about the students' impressions of living in a Finnish-speaking environment outside the Swedish-speaking area of Finland. The data were collected through individual in-depth interviews and a focus group discussion. The individual interview questions were divided into four themes, which were identity, Finland-Swedishness in Finnish-speaking areas, encounters and Finland-Swedishness on a national level. Based on the individual answers, I prepared more detailed questions for the focus group discussion related to the four themes. This chapter presents and analyses the participants' responses on being a Swedish-speaking Finn and their experiences and perceptions of what it means to be a member of the minority in Finland. The analysis shows that while all the interviewees have a fairly similar perception of Swedish-speaking Finns, studying in a Finnish-speaking area has made their identity more explicit. A re-current element encountered in the data is that Finland-Swedes are forced to normalise a situation that outsiders seem to find problematic. It is normal for Finland-Swedes to speak Swedish or to be bilingual, while to outsiders it can feel strange. In this way, the analysis shows that 'one language-one ethnic identity' language ideology is strongly present in the discussions about Swedish-speaking Finns. In spite of the fact that the interviews were not meant to elicit elaborate narratives, the participants repeatedly recounted situations or interactional encounters in which others confront them with something and they formulate an idea or a response.

Depending on their backgrounds and experiences, the Finland-Swedish identity becomes visible in different ways in the participants' lives. Some varieties of positioning and identity, as well as perceptions of the minority, can be recognised by listening to participants' narratives. Most participants emphasise that they feel a sense of togetherness when they meet other Swedish-speaking Finns. However, there are those

who identify as Finland-Swedes but, due to fewer connections to the community, they express that they are not 'in the circle', meaning they partially position themselves outside of the Swedish-speaking community. This can be both voluntary and involuntary, since for some participants moving to the Finnish-speaking area has distanced them from the Swedish-speaking community and they have made new friends in the local environment. On the other hand, for one participant the distance has been more negative since they wish to be part of the community to a greater extent.

Before presenting my analysis, I would like to mention that the participants are pseudonymised. I have chosen letters to represent them, and they are: F, H, J, O, S and T. In the findings chapter, the excerpts are translated into English, and I have translated them using the tools I mentioned earlier. When translating, I have prioritized faithfulness to the original over fluency. This is why some translations may seem a little odd, but I hope that the meaning of the quotes is still clear. The original excerpts in Swedish can be found in Appendix III. Furthermore, the letter X stands for cities and places or something else mentioned by the participants, which have been removed in order to preserve their anonymity. As a final note, I would like to point out that this chapter is divided into three sections, each of which deals with a distinct level of identification: the individual level, encounters with others and the societal level. The individual level focuses on the background and identity of the study participants, while the encounter section addresses interpersonal relations. The societal section covers the bigger picture and discusses the minority on a societal level. It is also important to keep in mind that these levels are not set in stone and sometimes they overlap each other.

4.1 The fluctuating identity of Finland-Swedish students

In response to the question about their identity as a Swedish-speaking Finn, all the interviewees referred to their family. At least one of their parents was a Swedish speaker and they had learnt Swedish during their childhood. All but one had attended compulsory school in Swedish in Finland. Therefore, most of the participants had had Swedish as their language of education.

In addition to family, most participants highlighted attending Swedish-speaking schools as something that was part of their Finland-Swedish identity. For this reason, it is interesting to begin the analysis with an excerpt from the interview with the participant who had attended compulsory school in Finnish. In spite the fact that they did not attend Swedish-speaking school, the Finland-Swedish identity and the feeling of belonging to the minority was nevertheless strongly developed. The participant explained that they had experienced an identity crisis because the Finland-Swedish part

of their identity was not as strong as they would have liked, and they did not use the Swedish language as much as they would have liked. The lack of contact with the Swedish-speaking community has affected them. When asked if there had been a significant situation that had influenced them, the participant began to tell a story about an event for Swedish-speaking Finns that they had attended:

EXCERPT (1):

- 1 Interviewer: has any situation particularly affected you
2 Interviewee J: in X [the study place, LH] or
3 Interviewer: yes or in general
4 Interviewee J: well
5 I was once at such an event for Finland-Swedish students
6 and it was the first time that I
7 was in such or on such a party
8 then it was like
9 it was very nice to meet other Finland-Swedish people
10 it felt like
11 I belong here and I don't know
12 it was very nice because I haven't
13 I haven't had such experiences
14 Interviewer: what do you think it is that makes you feel that you belong
15 Interviewee J: well
16 maybe it's just that you have always anyways identified yourself
17 as a Swedish-speaking Finn
18 but then when you haven't had such people
19 or situations where you feel like a Swedish-speaking Finn
20 maybe
21 or yes
22 that's why it was so nice to
23 meet others that yes and then when I was a little unsure that my
24 Swedish was not so good
25 so everybody was like "we understand you really good"
26 and then it was really aww
27 that I belong here and these people understand me
28 I don't know yes
29 Interviewer: so for you it's so that
30 you mentioned that with Finnish it's like you have used it
31 but with Swedish you are like unsure
32 Interviewee J: yes because I haven't used it so much

- 34 Interviewer: yes
35 Interviewee J: so yes and maybe you felt such a togetherness
36 with those people there
37 and it was very nice

Let us begin with a brief review of the narrative included in this excerpt. First of all, the interviewee could have chosen any story, within the theme to tell, but they chose this one. It is a story about belonging to a group, and in this case to the Swedish-speaking Finns. It is also a story about doing something for the first time, linguistic insecurity and a sense of homecoming and feeling accepted. In the further analysis of the story, I will use Bamberg's (1997) three level model of narrative positioning, starting with the first level, the positioning of the narrator in the narrated story. First, the respondent narrates an interaction they had at a Finland-Swedish event, and it is this short story that serves as the vehicle for the narrator to project their emotions. The participant J narrates that they have not experienced similar events before, but nevertheless describes the event using the word belonging. The respondent seems to have a longing to be part of the Swedish-speaking community, but they position themselves outside of the community due to low social contact. Furthermore, the respondent expresses linguistic insecurity, which affects their perception of their identity. Their linguistic performance does not match their presumed identity, and this is perceived as a problem by the respondent. Thus, the event was important because it provided a solution to their problem and other Swedish-speaking Finns confirmed their belonging to the community during the event. This fragment shows how identity is perceived as closely related to language, which is also a language ideology (Blommaert, 2011).

Moreover, the second level is the positioning in relation to the other participants in the speech situation and in this case in the interview situation (Bamberg, 1997). The topic is predetermined by the interviewer, who also asks the questions. During the interview the language is Swedish, and the respondent is aware of the Finland-Swedish background of the interviewer. Thus, the respondent can position themselves as a fellow Swedish-speaking Finn and share something that the interviewer is likely to understand and perhaps even look for support in their thinking.

As the third level, Bamberg (1997) identified societal positioning, which is intended to position the story beyond the interview situation. It is already known that the respondent attended Finnish-speaking school and experienced an identity crisis due to the lack of Swedish in their life. Language can create opportunities, but it can also be a source of limitation. If an individual does not have a network, there can be a feeling of being an outsider. Knowing a language can be a gate opener to new opportunities and people. In the short story, a shift can be seen from being doubly marginalised to being recognised as a minority member. It seems that the participant may not

be a member of either the Finnish majority or the Swedish minority, but attending the event gave a sense of certainty about their minority status.

Moving on to excerpts two and three, it became clear during the interviews that bilingualism was part of the participants' lives. Out of all the six participants, five had a bilingual background, where one of their parents spoke Swedish to them and the other parent spoke Finnish. This information appeared early in the interviews since most of them mentioned being bilingual as part of the first question about their Swedish-speaking identity. In the next two excerpts, the participants express that the Finland-Swedish identity is something that they think about or have thought about at some point in time. Interestingly, both participants still wanted to participate in the present study and identified themselves as Swedish-speaking Finns. Next, the participants share their thoughts and experiences of being a Swedish-speaking Finn.

EXCERPT (2):

- 1 Interviewer: and I thought that we begin with that you elaborate about your
2 identity
3 you have identified as a Swedish-speaking Finn
4 can you elaborate
- 5 Interviewee F: hmm
6 I can tell you that it's not something I actively think about very
7 often
8 but I still identify myself as a Finland-Swede
9 maybe mostly because Swedish is my mother tongue
10 so it probably comes from there
11 but still I don't know can you
12 well I identify myself also as bilingual because I'm quite equally
13 strong in both Finnish and Swedish
14 that there are often people who ask at least people who are not
15 from Finland question just how can you can you be
16 how can you speak two languages
17 so then it's still
18 but then yes
19 so maybe it comes from there I have completely
20 from or I've always known both languages
21 so then it feels like that already makes me Finland-Swede
22 and then I've attended all schools in Swedish and
23 so I would say that it comes from there
24 in that way
- 25 Interviewer: okay so you have attended all schools in Swedish

26 but you still got the bilingualism
27 Interviewee F: yes
28 so with my dad I have always spoken Swedish and with my
29 mom Finnish
30 and it has then always been so from the first beginning

EXCERPT (3):

1 Interviewer: according to yourself you identify as a Swedish-speaking Finn
2 can you elaborate
3 Interviewee O: oh yeah
4 it's actually
5 I haven't thought about it that way for a long time and
6 I would say that I haven't identified myself always
7 as a Swedish-speaking Finn that
8 it actually only came in upper secondary school when it felt that
9 it became more like this that we even had a course in mother
10 tongue [Swedish, LH]
11 that was about language identity
12 and then
13 what's it called
14 I think one of the first tasks was to describe or how do you feel
15 about your Finland-Swedish identity and then I was like "oh I
16 haven't thought about it at all"
17 but then when I began to think about it
18 that I began to think about why I have been like that
19 that perhaps according to the criteria I'm still Finland-Swedish
20 or have always been
21 and but maybe it depends on that for example my dad he is half
22 Swedish [nationality, LH]
23 but then my mum that I have always spoken Finnish with
24 so she has a Finland-Swedish background but in her family they
25 have stopped speaking Swedish
26 at a certain time
27 so actually my mum is more Finland-Swedish than my dad
28 although I have always spoken Swedish to my dad
29 A little confusing with that
30 I'm a bit in my family first generation Finland-Swede
31 Interviewer: first generation Finland-Swede?
32 Interviewee O: in a way yes

33 because I have a Finnish mum and a Swedish-speaking dad
34 and then it somehow feels that way
35 in some way
36 if I think like that okay I mix Finnish and Swedish then I become
37 a Finland-Swede
38 Interviewer: okay
39 Interviewee O: but then because I've been speaking Swedish ever since
40 I was little
41 and I feel much more Finnish
42 than a Finnish person who speaks Swedish
43 than for example that I'm a quarter Swedish or something like
44 that
45 so yes it's something
46 yes
47 I feel like I've thought about it a lot but it's not something and it
48 feels like it's a personal thing
49 this Finland-Swedish identity
50 and that it feels like a lot of people have had to in a way build it
51 up themselves in a way
52 that there are no such specific criteria for belonging to this
53 minority
54 mmm yes

Let us first analyse the two excerpts separately and then draw some similarities between them. These excerpts are examples of situations where respondents use a narrative of an encounter to answer the question and the stories can be analysed in terms of Bamberg's three level model of narrative positioning. In excerpt two, participant F recounts times when they have been asked "how can you speak two languages". It seems that interviewee F is questioned about their bilingualism by people who are not from Finland. The outsider raises a critical question about something the respondent has always considered normal (lines 14-18), and in the response the interviewee begins to contemplate about their identity and eventually comes to define their identity in terms of bilingualism. Hearing the interviewee say that they are bilingual problematizes the situation for the outsider and underlines the force of the ideology of 'one language-one ethnic identity'. This is relevant in terms of Bamberg's (1997) first level of narrative positioning as the participant narrates that they identify as a bilingual since they know Finnish and Swedish and have attended Swedish-speaking school.

Furthermore, participant F says on line six that “I can tell you that it's not something I actively think about very often” after being asked to elaborate on their Finland-Swedish identity. This is important in terms of Bamberg’s (1997) second level of narrative positioning as the participant has accepted the invitation to participate in the study, but begins by downplaying their Finland-Swedish identity. The participant has identified themselves as a Swedish-speaking Finn by reaching out and participating in the current study. By agreeing to participate in the interview, they self-identify as Swedish-speaking Finns. During the interview, I force them to think about their identity and elaborate about the Swedish-speaking minority. With some uncertainty, the participant positions themselves as bilingual in the speech event since the respondent expresses on lines 12-13 that they are “quite equally strong in both Finnish and Swedish”. It seems that it is normal for them to speak both languages and they mention on line 30 that “it has then always been so from the first beginning”. Their mother speaks Finnish to them, while their father speaks Swedish.

While half of the participants in the study do not even hesitate about their Finland-Swedish identity, being part of a minority was not obvious to all respondents. According to interviewee O, they had not thought about their Finland-Swedish identity before they were given the assignment on language identity in upper secondary school. The assignment forced them to think about their Finland-Swedish identity and why they had not thought about it before. This is another example of a respondent answering a question using a narrative, which can be analysed in terms of Bamberg’s (1997) three level model of narrative positioning. The participant narrates an encounter by first talking about a task they were given in class and then recounting how they reacted to this encounter (lines 14-16). This is relevant in regard to Bamberg’s first level of narrative positioning. The interaction triggered a process in which the respondent starts to reflect about their identity, and again bilingualism becomes part of their identity. The interviewee mentions later in the interview that “it has perhaps not been such a thing that we have that I have needed to hear so very much that we are Swedish-speaking Finns” (excerpt 4, lines 23-25). It is worth noting, that the respondent mentions during the interview that their dad does not identify as a Finland-Swede even though he speaks Swedish and lives in Finland (excerpt 4, lines 19-21). The interviewee arrives to the conclusion that if they put a Finnish-speaking mum and a Swedish-speaking dad together, they can perceive themselves as a Finland-Swede and also think of themselves as a “first generation Finland-Swede” (line 30). It is noticeable that the respondent gives a new interpretation of the term Finland-Swede by explicitly referring to their bilingualism. The interviewee emphasises a Finland-Swede as someone who is bilingual instead of a Swedish speaker living in Finland.

In addition, participant O mentions that they may have always been a Swedish-speaking Finn in terms of criteria, but that they personally did not consider themselves

as a Finland-Swede. Nevertheless, participant O has self-identified as a Swedish-speaking Finn by participating in the study and, this is another example of an interview situation that can be applied to Bamberg's second level of narrative positioning (1997). During the speech event, participant O positions themselves in a reflective way as a fellow Swedish-speaking Finn. It seems that the participant has thought a lot about their identity after the event in the upper secondary school and the participation in this study gives them the opportunity to express their thoughts.

What is also interesting is the mentioning of participant O's mum, who has a Finland-Swedish background but in their family, they had stopped speaking Swedish. Now the interviewee has attended Swedish-speaking school and was considered part of the minority. During the interview, the participant mentions that when the interviewee was younger their mum used to tell people that the participant spoke Swedish. I asked the participant later in the interview why they thought that their mum told people that. The respondent replied by expressing "that they think that them speaking Swedish makes their mum proud, since their mum did not get the same opportunity to learn Swedish". In a way, the interviewee's ability to speak Swedish has restored the Swedish language in the family. In addition, the interviewee expresses that they "feel much more Finnish" despite their family background and mentions that it feels like many Swedish-speaking Finns must build up their own identity as there are no specific criteria for being part of the Finland-Swedish minority. However, the respondent does suggest that combining Finnish and Swedish creates a Swedish-speaking Finn.

What is central to both excerpts is the fact that a third party (a question from a foreigner or an assignment at school) problematises something that the participants had never given much thought to and which had always seemed normal to them. This in turn forces them to reflect on their identity and in both cases the participants embrace bilingualism. In both speech situations, the structuring power of the language ideology is present. Firstly, a foreigner questions participant F's language skills and finds them problematic. Secondly, a participant attends a language course that forces them to think about their identity. Furthermore, a common element in the two excerpts is that the participants do not produce elaborate narratives as such, but recount situations or encounters in which others confront them with something, for example, questioning their identity or language skills. In response, they begin to formulate an idea and a response to express their thoughts and understanding of their selves.

As discussed earlier, embracing bilingualism is relevant to Bamberg's first level of narrative positioning (1997), but in this case the first level bridges into the third level of Bamberg's model of narrative positioning. In both above examples, the narrated encounter forces the respondent to position themselves in relation to larger social categories. Being bilingual, for example, has a social significance because of the

language skills the individual possesses. Bilingual Swedish-speaking Finns are perhaps not as dependent on receiving service in Swedish as monolingual Swedish speakers. This difference creates an interesting contrast within the minority. Embracing bilingualism can imply that the Finland-Swedish identity is perhaps not as strong as monolinguals' Finland-Swedish identity.

As identity is not considered fixed, an individual's identity can change and develop over time, which means that how people identify themselves can change over time and space (Bamberg, 2011). While it is important to highlight the local character of identity positioning in interviews, an interesting question in this study was whether the participants' Finland-Swedish identity was self-evident or whether there was a special occasion that had influenced their identity. The first excerpt below is a continuation of excerpt 3 (the interview with participant O). The second excerpt beneath is from the interview with participant S and contains their response to the same question.

EXCERPT (4):

- 1 Interviewer: yes yes you mentioned that it was in upper secondary school
2 so it [Finland-Swedish identity, LH] has not been a self-evident
3 thing for you
4 Interviewee O: well not really
5 although I have as
6 well firstly it feels like
7 that a lot of this that belong
8 because I'm from X
9 that it feels and I have lived in the south of Helsinki
10 that it feels that there is very specific
11 type of Finland-Swedes
12 and maybe it becomes a bit of a stereotype
13 but it feels like I have never
14 really identified myself with them
15 and then there's my dad who in that way also hasn't
16 he has lived since he was X [age, LH] in Finland that he has in a
17 way he has grown up as Finland-Swede because he has
18 continued to
19 speak Swedish here in Finland and so
20 but for example he does not identify himself at all as a Swedish-
21 speaking Finn
22 although he to some extent I think he could be quite good
23 but that it has perhaps not been such a thing that we have that I
24 have needed to hear so very much

25 that we are Swedish-speaking Finns that it has probably just
26 been a thing
27 that I speak Swedish
28 and I live in Finland
29 and I still speak different Swedish than my relatives in Sweden
30 and so on
31 that but I have not in such a way thought about it
32 that yes that how much it belongs like this own culture
33 and that there is like much more
34 after these different stereotypes as they are
35 you can like be something other than
36 these examples that you have seen maybe

EXCERPT (5):

1 Interviewer: mmm like has your Swedish-speaking Finn identity always
2 been self-evident or has it changed somehow?
3 Interviewee S: hmm
4 I would say yes that it has been pretty self-evident
5 but maybe even more now when I moved here like
6 that I feel even more as a Finland-Swede when I'm here [the
7 study place, LH]
8 because I feel maybe a bit different from the others
9 or just that it is probably noticeable that I have Swedish as my
10 mother tongue
11 and I may have a little difficulty with Finnish so that is why it's
12 also more noticeable
13 Interviewer: okay you said different
14 Interviewee S: yes or then
15 yes but maybe still a little bit or so
16 like it's not
17 not different as a human or so but still that
18 yes
19 or maybe it's mostly up to how I feel myself
20 I would not say that other people would see me as different
21 but still like that
22 or I feel like a different person when I socialise in Finland-
23 Swedish circles and when I socialise in Finnish
24 Interviewer: hmm
25 Interviewee S: or perhaps more about the language itself

Let us first have a brief look at the two excerpts and then draw a common conclusion. Although the two excerpts above do not contain narratives as such, both excerpts are important on a societal level. During the interview, participant O feels that the Finland-Swedish identity has not always been self-evident, and it is related to the area where they grew up. The respondent O mentions that they have lived in the south of Helsinki but expresses on line 10-14 that “it feels that there is very specific type of Finland-Swedes and maybe it becomes a bit of stereotype, but it feels like I have never really identified with them [Finland-Swedes in the south of Helsinki]”. As the interviewer, I probably should have asked the respondent to elaborate on “very specific type of Finland-Swedes”, but as I am part of the minority, I understood what the interviewee meant. Interestingly, the most popular places to live in Helsinki are the southern areas. Of all the Swedish-speaking Finns in Helsinki, about 11 per cent live south of the Boulevard or Southern Esplanadi (Småros, 2018). These areas are also known to be some of the most expensive places to live in Finland (Asuntojenhinnat.fi, 2023). From an ethnographic point of view, the Swedish-speaking Finns living in the south of Helsinki tend to be members of the upper class. Studies have shown that high-status groups of Swedish-speaking Finns tend to have more distinctive tastes (Heikkilä, 2011; Heikkilä & Rahkonen, 2011), which can separate them not only from other Finland-Swedes but also from Finnish speakers. The participant’s reflection seems to show that even within one area in the south of Helsinki there is a variation within the Swedish-speaking minority. In a way, this again problematises the language ideology of “one language–one ethnicity”, but from a different perspective. In the previous excerpts, the problematisation revolved around bilingualism, whereas in this excerpt it has more to do with the fact that identity is also based on other characteristics than language. As Terje (2021) mentions, the feeling of belonging to a community can also be related to a place, history, stories, and social interaction. Sharing a common language does not mean that the group is homogeneous. On the contrary, other characteristics such as place, history, stories, and social interactions may be the main identifiers. The respondent also expresses on lines 35-36: “you can like be something other than these examples that you have seen maybe”.

As far as participant S is concerned, the change of environment makes them feel different from the others in the study area. It is worth noting that participant S grew up in a family where both parents spoke Swedish. The respondent has difficulties with Finnish and expresses that they feel different when communicating in Swedish and Finnish. The reason for this is a shift in external circumstances, and this is again a problematisation of something that is otherwise considered normal. The respondent

has moved from an area where they could speak Swedish, but now the familiar environment has changed and so has the language.

Although the two excerpts above do not contain narratives as such, both excerpts illustrate the third level in Bamberg's model of narrative positioning (1997). In both excerpts, participants separate themselves from groups based on different identities, accents, or languages. As a result, the respondents position themselves in terms of larger social categories, including place, history, stories, and social interactions (Terje 2021). Although people may share a common language, this does not mean that they identify with each other. There are stronger identifiers that can influence an individual's identity and make them feel different from a group.

A common feature of all the participants was that they identified as Finns. They all expressed this in different ways, but they all explained that although they have spoken Swedish their whole lives and identify as Swedish-speaking Finns, they see themselves as Finns because they are all from Finland. In the following excerpt, I asked the participant what Sweden and the Nordic countries meant to them.

EXCERPT (6):

- 1 Interviewer: what does Sweden and the Nordic countries mean to you
- 2 Interviewee H: I don't think that Sweden or individual countries
- 3 have any great significance or
- 4 importance or
- 5 yes
- 6 I strongly identify myself as Finnish
- 7 I'm from Finland
- 8 but of course there are some kind of community maybe there too
- 9 you understand each other
- 10 on some level
- 11 in one's mother tongue of course
- 12 yes

Let us start with a review and then a short analysis. This excerpt is non-narrative but still it includes important insights into the social context. Participant H does not feel that Sweden or the Nordic countries mean that much to them, and they clearly state that they "strongly identify as Finnish" and are "from Finland". It seems that it is the Swedish language that connects the Swedish-speaking Finns as a minority and gives them a sense of togetherness, while it is Finnishness that differentiates them from Sweden and the other Nordic countries. This may seem paradoxical to someone who is not familiar with Swedish-speaking Finns, but it is not surprising. This finding once again problematises the 'one language-one ethnicity' language ideology. The

Swedish language is a factor that connects Finland-Swedes in the sense that it differentiates them from other Finns, but it is not a “strong enough” link to establish a direct connection to Sweden. Swedish-speaking Finns are still Finns. Therefore, parallels can be drawn with Terje’s (2021) study on the Swedish-speaking islanders. Places, history, stories and social interactions seem to carry a lot of weight, sometimes even more than the common language. Although this excerpt does not contain a narrative as such, it is relevant to Bamberg’s (1997) third level of narrative positioning. The participant’s reflection shows how respondent position themselves in relation to larger social categories. While the interviewee is part of the Finland-Swedish minority, they are also part of a larger group, namely the Finns.

Furthermore, the participant also recognises that there is a connection because of the similarities in the language. The Swedish language makes it possible to communicate with other Nordic people in their own mother tongue. This is an advantage for people who know Swedish.

According to all participants, there is a Finland-Swedish culture. It may be difficult to describe, but some participants do mention a feeling of togetherness. Some interviewees also acknowledged that there are different cultures within the minority and that some areas in Swedish-speaking Finland are more influenced by Sweden than others. Because of the common language, it is easy to watch Swedish television and films and read Swedish literature if you have access. The following two excerpts are longer answers to the question about Finland-Swedish culture:

EXCERPT (7):

- 1 Interviewer: do you think there is a certain Finland-Swedish culture
- 2 Interviewee F: mmm
- 3 yes
- 4 Finland-Swedish culture
- 5 yes well there are at least different
- 6 if you say Finland-Swedish culture
- 7 so different things that come into my head immediately
- 8 Maybe just not immediately I wouldn’t say duck pond
- 9 but maybe it [duck pond, LH] comes first like
- 10 I don’t know crayfish party
- 11 and sailing boats
- 12 and so on
- 13 not that it’s the kind of thing that I perhaps been so
- 14 so close to because then again my dad is maybe not
- 15 he has also been a bit mixed or so

16 because he is not from or from [a Finnish city, LH] so that it's not
17 so Swedish-speaking as a city in that way
18 so that's why he is
19 he also said that he has always been a bit in between
20 even though he is Swedish-speaking
21 but that has also perhaps made me and my X [sibling, LH] not
22 so in that we still have Finland-Swedish culture in us
23 but not as strongly as some others who
24 at least if they have both parents from Swedish-speaking
25 perhaps a little more
26 Interviewer: so what what what
27 you mention different traditions
28 what traditions have you come in contact with
29 Interviewee F: well
30 at least during the upper secondary school years we probably
31 always had crayfish parties
32 with friends and then
33 just also Regattan or sailing
34 or just such different
35 yes quite many just such different parties that have since then
36 so we have been in like Finland-Swedish circles quite a lot
37 I don't know what else
38 or it's perhaps what I've mostly come to think of

EXCERPT (8):

1 Interviewer: if we talk culture do you think there is a certain Finland-Swedish
2 culture
3 Interviewee O: mmm
4 yes what is it called I think that
5 there is
6 Interviewer: how would you describe it
7 Interviewee O: I would maybe say that
8 that
9 it can sometimes be like hidden and forgotten
10 that you have sort of forgotten how in some way
11 like varied it has been and how you
12 how it
13 that if I like think back in time at artists and
14 writers who are Finland-Swedes who are no longer alive

15 so it feels like
16 that what is it called
17 that many appreciate like that culture and it becomes a bit
18 like high classical and like
19 that maybe you don't think
20 as much on such like today's culture
21 that it feel like you maybe don't really uhm develop it in such a
22 way that it's possible to do anything
23 it feels that
24 that it like
25 that is it okay on YLE [Finnish Broadcasting Company, LH] so
26 then it's like Finland-Swedish culture that develops
27 but just for an example
28 ah I was completely delighted
29 I listened for a very long time to this podcast called
30 well it changed name it was called 'I samma säng med Ronja
31 Taika' [In the same bed with Ronja and Taika, LH]
32 and it was Taika Mannila and Ronja Stanley who are DJ
33 musician and artist
34 who do their own thing but then it's that they are Swedish-
35 speaking Finns
36 and I thought that it was really cool
37 that they just did their own thing
38 and then it was like oh we are also Finland-Swedes
39 that it felt like
40 that what you have learnt about that culture is just maybe more
41 like that
42 in a way a bit conservative and that is also very important
43 but it feels that it maybe belongs a bit
44 so that it reflects more the historical time that
45 that it was a bit for everyone
46 but then if you think Finland-Swedish it feels that
47 this culture still wants to live in a certain style
48 and certain criteria that I think that it would be really cool like
49 that there would be like a lot complex and if you still
50 say that this is Finland-Swedish so then yes
51 it feels like there isn't much of that maybe

Let us do a short review and then examine the excerpts in more detail. Although the excerpts do not follow a narrative structure, they contain positionings that can be analysed in terms of Bamberg's (1997) third level of narrative positioning. At the beginning participant F emphasises that there are different Finland-Swedish cultures, but what comes to their mind is the duck pond (a metaphor for the Finland-Swedish community, cf. section 2.2), crayfish parties and sailing boats. These are some general characteristics of the minority, but at the same time the respondent mentions on lines 30-36 that they have also participated in them. To clarify, Regattan refers to Hangö Regattan, which is a sailing boat competition during the summer in Hankoo. In addition to the competition, a lot of young people get together and party during the weekend. The respondent also distances themselves a bit from the Finland-Swedish culture, as they do not feel as strongly about it as some others might do because of their dad's background. The interviewee points out that in families where both parents speak Swedish, the Finland-Swedish culture might be stronger. Again, although these are not narratives per se, the respondent expresses their view on a number of issues. This excerpt illustrates what Bamberg (1997) referred to as the third level of (societal) positioning. The respondent differentiates Swedish-speaking Finns according to whether the families are bilingual or monolingual, proposing that monolingual Swedish-speaking families have a stronger connection to Finland-Swedish culture. Nevertheless, the interviewee mentions that they have participated in crayfish parties and sailing, as well as various other parties, so they at least partly (perhaps to a lesser extent) identify as a Finland-Swede.

In excerpt 8, the interviewee O describes Finland-Swedish culture as something "hidden and forgotten", referring in particular to the art of artists who have died. It is worth noting here that participants F and O seem to understand culture in different ways. Participant F clearly adopts a more 'sociological' understanding of culture, meaning culture as a group-specific patterns of behaviour, whereas participant O seems to understand the questions as referring to 'High culture', which includes art, literature, etc. Furthermore, participant O seems to think that contemporary culture lives in the shadow of old art. While the interviewee seems to appreciate the 'old' culture, they also want Finland-Swedish culture to develop and become more complex. The respondent was pleasantly surprised by the podcast they listened to and seems to want more than just following traditions. During the speech event, participant O problematises Finland-Swedish culture and the focus on older art. Although the respondent emphasises that old art is also important, they tend to hope that Finland-Swedish culture will continue to develop and that new aspects of culture will be presented. The interviewee appreciates the more conservative part of the culture but calls for a new way of thinking.

In terms of Bamberg's societal positioning (1997), the respondent describes the Finland-Swedish culture as "conservative" and wishes for new perspectives on Finland-Swedish culture. This suggests that within the minority there is a focus on traditions and, for example, old art, while there is also a desire for new aspects in the Finland-Swedish culture.

The previous section shows that the common feature of the Finland-Swedish student's identity is the Swedish language, and that it creates a 'sense of togetherness'. Furthermore, outsiders problematise bilingualism, while for some participants it is normal and part of their Finland-Swedish identity. The outsiders' problematisation show the force of the 'one language-one ethnicity' language ideology in Finnish society. Sometimes, however, a common language is not the main identifier. Instead, the sense of belonging is created in relation to places, history, stories and social interactions (Terje 2021). In terms of the local interview context, the respondents position themselves as fellow Swedish-speaking Finns. The interview gave them the opportunity to reflect and sometimes to seek support from the interviewer. As for as societal positioning is concerned, the data analysis shows that there may be a contrast between bilingual Swedish-speaking Finns and Finland-Swedes who grew up in monolingual Swedish-speaking families. In the next section, the focus is shifts to encounters in the predominately Finnish-speaking area.

4.2 Finland-Swedish students discussing encounters with Finnish speakers

Moving to a Finnish-speaking area means not only leaving the Swedish-speaking area, but also getting to know a new part of their own country. As the participants are moving to study, they meet people from all over Finland and even international students. This change has brought attention to their own identity because they have told people that they are Swedish-speaking Finns. All participants have mentioned their Finland-Swedish identity to some of their fellow students. Because the minority is so small, only about five per cent of the population, many Finnish speakers have not had the opportunity to meet a Swedish-speaking Finn, and this can lead to questions during encounters. All the participants said that they have had to explain what it means to be a Swedish-speaking Finn, and most of them were asked: "Are you from Sweden?". Some participants even problematised the Finnish word for Swedish-speaking Finns 'suomenruotsalaiset' (in English: Finland's Swedes). The term can be confusing for outsiders who are not familiar with the minority, because it contains words associated with two countries and combines them into one term. During the focus group discussion, the participants talked about how, as Swedish-speaking Finns, they are often

asked about their origin. People wonder whether one of their parents came from Sweden or whether they have lived in Sweden before. It has therefore become a habit to tell people about their origin. This is an excerpt from the focus group discussion in which the participants collectively burst out laughing:

EXCERPT (9):

- 1 Interviewer: do you have a routine or a well-thought-out plan on how to tell
- 2 Interviewee F: I believe I always tell pretty similarly
- 3 but not that I think about that I
- 4 Interviewer: no no but that you have told so many times that it like
- 5 Interviewee F: routine
- 6 Interviewer: yes
- 7 Interviewee F: that I would say
- 8 Interviewee T: yes it comes quite automatically
- 9 no
- 10 no
- 11 my dad is completely from Finland and my mum is from
- 12 Finland
- 13 always this
- 14 Interviewee H: bringing out the family tree
- 15 Interviewee T: yes
- 16 Interviewee F: yes
- 17 nobody is from Sweden
- 18 Interviewee H: yes a powerpoint presentation
- 19 Interviewee F: that you should send to them here is some information [...]

Let us begin with a quick review before analysing the short story further. This excerpt from the focus group discussion illustrates how often Finland-Swedes are confronted with the question of their origin, and the fact that everyone starts laughing at the answer show how recognisable it is. It seems that Finland-Swedes have to justify their Finnishness when mentioning their origins, since the Swedish element raises questions. In this excerpt the respondents again use the technique of recounting an encounter with an outsider in order to make their point to the others in the discussion. However, the respondents do this in a very specific way, where they humorously draw attention to the routine nature of their own replies. In a sense, this excerpt is a parody created in a collaborative way to highlight the routine nature of such encounters. This discussion shows how Swedish-speaking Finns share their experiences and create mutual understanding together. During the discussion, the participants realise that they have something in common despite their different backgrounds.

Furthermore, this is another example of respondents answering a question with a short narrative, which can be analysed in terms of Bamberg's (1997) three level model of narrative positioning. At the first level, the participants narrate an encounter where they all had to explain their Finland-Swedish background because they can all relate to this type of situation. In telling the narrative, everyone positions themselves as Swedish-speaking Finns in the story. With regard to the second level of Bamberg's narrative positioning, the participants position themselves towards each other as fellow Swedish-speaking Finns because of the common experiences, and in the course of the speech event a mutual understanding is reached in a humorous way. As for Bamberg's third level of narrative positioning, the common experience in the short story shows that this confrontation of origin is something that creates recognition among the Swedish-speaking Finns and perhaps unites them at a societal level. Again, Bamberg's first level of narrative positioning bridges into the societal level. The constant questioning creates a sense of togetherness, 'we are all in the same boat', but also a gap between the minority and the majority because of the lack of understanding.

In general, Swedish-speaking Finns seem to have to explain their background and their knowledge of Swedish quite often when the subject comes up. It has become a routine, as the analysis above suggests. However, the questioning of identity can also take another direction, as in excerpt ten below. Here participant J, who attended Finnish-speaking schools, shares their thoughts about incidents in which their Finland-Swedish identity was called into question.

EXCERPT (10):

- 1 Interviewer: have your Finland-Swedish identity at some time been brought
2 into question
3 Interviewee J: well
4 some have sometimes asked how can you feel Finland-Swedish
5 although you have studied in Finnish
6 and although you have lived with you mum who is Finnish-
7 speaking
8 and all your friends are Finnish-speaking but not well
9 maybe some have sometimes asked that what does it mean
10 for you to be Finland-Swedish
11 or if you have not used Swedish so much or so
12 but if I'm like explain that my dad's family is Swedish-speaking
13 and my dad
14 or I have used Swedish with my dad so
15 so they have probably that okay
16 but of course people ask things

- 17 yes
18 Interviewer: have your Finnish identity at some point been brought into
19 question
20 Interviewer J: no
21 I wouldn't say that

Let us begin with a brief review of the narrative included in this excerpt. In excerpt 10, participant J narrates an encounter with outsiders, who questions their Finland-Swedish identity because they attended school in Finnish and not in Swedish. In addition, the outsiders highlight that the respondent lived with their Finnish-speaking mother and that the interviewee has mostly Finnish-speaking friends. Nevertheless, the respondent positions themselves as a Swedish-speaking Finn in the narrative and begins to explain their linguistic background. After the respondent has answered, the outsider responds with "okay" on line 15. In this excerpt there is again a clear interactional structure between the respondent and the outsider. When the respondent mentions that they identify as a Finland-Swede, the outsider's attention is drawn to all the ways in which the respondent is connected to the Finnish language, rather than to the Finland-Swedish part of the respondent. By clarifying their linguistic background, a mutual understanding is achieved and the outsider gives a simple acknowledgement. Once again, the language ideology of 'one language-one ethnicity' appears as the outsider mentions all the ways in which respondent is connected to the Finnish language on lines 5-8. It seems that the interviewee has to prove that they are a Swedish-speaking Finn. Perhaps it is taken for granted that all Swedish-speaking Finns attend Swedish-speaking schools, whereas this is not necessarily the case, as participant J's story shows.

This excerpt is another example of a respondent answering a question using a narrative, which can be analysed in terms of Bamberg's three level model of narrative positioning (1997). In spite of all the questions from the outsider, the respondent still positions themselves as a Swedish-speaking Finn by explaining that their dad is a Swedish speaker. This is relevant for Bamberg's first level of narrative positioning. As for the second level, the speech event occurs between two Swedish-speaking Finn. While the interviewee has a strong connection to Finnish speakers, they position themselves as a fellow Finland-Swede in the interview situation. With regard to the third level of Bamberg's narrative positioning, the excerpt illustrates how the first level of narrative positioning intertwines with the societal level. This happens because the narrated encounter is an instance of situations in which the outsiders force the respondent to question their third-party positioning. Despite the fact that the interviewee seems to have more contact with Finnish speakers, they still choose to identify as a Finland-Swede, and this can be applied to the societal level. There seems to be Swedish-

speaking Finns who have not attended Swedish-speaking schools, but they are still part of the minority. Perhaps this group is a bit in the shadow and should be talked about more because they bring a different perspective on the Swedish-speaking minority.

According to most of the participants, their Finland-Swedish identity would not have become visible in encounters if they had not mentioned separately that they could also speak Swedish. The reason for this was that most of them were bilingual and knew Finnish very well. Some even said that they now spoke more Finnish than Swedish, and it was sometimes difficult to find the right words when speaking Swedish. However, some participants expressed that their Finland-Swedish identity becomes visible in contexts where the discussion turns to topics with which they are less familiar. Perhaps because they do not know the right vocabulary in Finnish, the respondents were not able to communicate their thoughts fluently (more on this in excerpt 12 and 13).

In terms of visibility, one of the participants had previously studied in Sweden and expressed how their Finland-Swedish [language] had attracted attention in Sweden. In the next excerpt, respondent F tells us about their experiences in Sweden.

EXCERPT (11):

- 1 Interviewer: okay now it is more about encounters between people
2 has it happened that your identity as a Swedish-speaking Finn
3 has become visible in encounters with other people
4 Interviewee F: visible
5 hmm
6 how would it perhaps be maybe
7 if maybe the language if it has come out in some way
8 yes is this just here in X [study location, LH]
9 or at all
10 Interviewer: well, you tell me what you want X [study location, LH]
11 or some other situation in your life that you are thinking about
12 in particular
13 Interviewee F: well so in Sweden it came every single day almost
14 that because people listen to
15 to the way to the dialect that you are not from there
16 but then here X [study location, LH] it maybe has not come out
17 as much as if you have not began to talk about it
18 but now I have quite then that way quite proudly said that yes
19 yes I'm a Finland-Swede to the others that have questioned or
20 asked about it

21 but that it would have come out in any other way
22 difficult to say
23 don't know
24 Interviewer: but you talking about Sweden
25 Interviewee F: there it was that you didn't need to say many words before
26 before people then asked
27 that if you were from Finland
28 and then we also were actually two Finnish
29 like or I and another friend
30 we didn't know each other before
31 but then it was almost always we two who went to each place
32 we were also in the same class
33 so then we became like the two Finns
34 and it kind of became a thing that I think was just simply funny
35 but also if I I worked at a café there
36 so then it felt that I had to slightly change my
37 because I became perhaps frustratingly sometimes because it's
38 still Swedish but then still they are
39 it felt like they didn't really want to understand me all the time
40 although
41 so then maybe sometimes it felt like you have to change some
42 some words so that it would be easier
43 that you wouldn't have to explain yourself much
44 Interviewer: so do you feel that people react more in Sweden than in Finland
45 Interviewee F: yes
46 absolutely
47 a lot more
48 but perhaps it was because here the first language spoken here
49 is usually Finnish
50 and as I said earlier people
51 usually not heard that I'm in some way Swedish-speaking
52 if I speak Finnish but then in Sweden like
53 so it's still Finland-Swedish that I speak there
54 So then they hear it right away like

Before analysing the excerpt further, let us have a quick review. When asked about visibility, the participant F highlights that in Finland, Finnish is usually the first language spoken and they communicate fluently in Finnish, so it does not cause any problems for the respondent. However, during their time in Sweden, the interviewee's

Finland-Swedish attracted a lot of attention because of the different varieties of Swedish. This shows that the ambiguity of the 'one language-one ethnicity' language ideology lies in the fact that one can never determine in advance which particular variety will be chosen as the 'unifying factor': Standard Swedish or the Finnish variant (Finland-Swedish). It is important to note that there are many different varieties of Swedish in both Sweden and Finland. It is thus crucial to take this into account when talking about Standard Swedish and the Finnish variant. Furthermore, when responding to the question, participant F describes situations and interactions with others when they have been confronted with something. In response, the interviewee recounts their time in Sweden.

This excerpt is another example of a respondent answering a question using a narrative, which can be analysed in terms of Bamberg's three level model of narrative positioning (1997). At first level of narrative positioning, the respondent positions themselves in relation to the others in the story because of the attention that their Swedish attracts. A peculiar feature in this excerpt is when participant F includes the second Finn in the short story. Suddenly the respondent goes from referring only to themselves to using "we" as a unifying factor and expresses on line 33: "we became like the two Finns". The narrative thus involves the creation of a shared "we" based on their common Finnishness. In this micro-narrative, the first level of narrative positioning yet again bridges into the third level, because in the narrated encounter the other party forces the respondent to question their third-party positioning. In the short story about their experience in Sweden, the participant positions themselves and the other Finns as "the two Finns". In spite of the fact that the common language in Sweden is Swedish, the interviewee brings out the Finnishness, and this is significant at a societal level. While the respondent speaks the official language in Sweden, it does not make them Swedish. This shows that the interviewee is part of the Finnish population. As for the second level of narrative positioning, the interviewer and the respondent were aware of each other's Finland-Swedish backgrounds. During the interview, the respondent showed some frustration of the experience in Sweden but it ended as they began to narrate about the second Finn.

As mentioned in the excerpt above, some of the participants in the study who were not so fluent in Finnish expressed concerns about their Finnish language skills and how this affected their ability to communicate in Finnish in certain contexts. Moving to an exclusively Finnish-speaking area and studying full-time in Finnish for the first time represents a significant change in the linguistic environment for a Swedish-speaking Finn, as most of them come from an area of Finland, where both Swedish and Finnish are spoken. In addition, the distance to family and friends increases and they have to communicate mostly in Finnish in order to create a new network. Because of the change in the linguistic environment, some participants expressed concerns

about their Finnish language skills. This was not the case for all participants, but some mentioned struggling with vocabulary and insecurity.

EXCERPT (12):

1 Interviewer: yes you talked about that you have sometimes thought that it's
2 difficult to express yourself
3 that you somehow feel that people
4 you want to say one thing but then in Finnish it becomes
5 different
6 can you tell me what kind of situations
7 are there any typical situations that repeat themselves
8 Interviewee S: hmm
9 well what I have found most difficult
10 during these studies has been when you talk about equality
11 gender equality
12 such things that to be able to express yourself ethically
13 that I think it's difficult to just use
14 correct language when you can't otherwise use the language one
15 hundred percent either
16 so that I always think
17 I have been reluctant to things because I have been
18 oh is this something that someone might take offence to
19 is this well expressed
20 or like could someone become like
21 what should I now say
22 yes can someone be offended by this
23 and then I think it's more difficult to be funny in Finnish
24 to make jokes
25 yes especially this situational humour is very difficult because
26 it takes so long to come up with what would like to say
27 like in Swedish I'm like this would be appropriate to say here
28 but in Finnish I have to think about how to translate it
29 and then when I come up with okay this I can say the situation
30 is has already gone
31 that then you're okay then I'm silent here again like I find that
32 difficult
33 and then just so otherwise
34 just to be impulsive
35 and like just spontaneous

36 that it feels like that yes
37 that I must think in my head before I say
38 or before I start a sentence that how how I end it because I can't
39 be like in the middle of everything
40 okay I can't then say this
41 yes but it has perhaps eased
42 it was more in the beginning but now I think I can begin with
43 something and then if it doesn't really work I say it in some other
44 way and go around it
45 but in the beginning I thought it was difficult

EXCERPT (13):

1 Interviewer: have you noticed that people react to the way you speak Finnish
2 Interviewee T: hmm
3 no not really
4 I myself am perhaps a little uncomfortable
5 or in the beginning when I moved here I was with my Finnish
6 even though I know it's good enough so then it was always that
7 I had to say that I'm Swedish-speaking that if they wonder why
8 I said this word instead of perhaps the correct word
9 so then it became but maybe just what I got to hear from them
10 that oh are you Swedish-speaking because I wouldn't have
11 believed
12 because you speak Finnish
13 so in that way I've had to maybe explain to myself that maybe I
14 didn't say the right thing
15 but it otherwise I haven't got so much
16 Interviewer: have your thoughts changed inside of you're here in X [study
17 location, LH] or do you still suspect
18 Interviewee T: well sometimes
19 sometimes I still suspect myself
20 that I don't know this
21 but I've become stronger in Finnish
22 and anyway I still don't like writing in Finnish either
23 but that I little have to
24 you have to write in Finnish here but sometimes
25 but not as much as
26 in the first year
27 here in the first year

Let us begin with a brief review of the small stories before analysing them further. The two excerpts above have different approaches because of the different questions asked at the beginning, but the discourses still have some common features. Both respondent S and T have struggled with the insecurity of communicating in Finnish, being unsure about the “correct language” or “correct word”. It seems that participant S and T share a feeling of being visible or exposed when communicating in Finnish, which affects their behaviour. Participant S has problems communicating in Finnish because they cannot find the right words or is afraid of offending someone. This has been so difficult for them that respondent S has sometimes chosen to be silent instead.

These excerpts are examples of participants answering questions using short narratives, which can be analysed in terms of Bamberg’s three level model of narrative positioning (1997). Regarding the first level of narrative positioning, participant S positions themselves as an outsider who try to communicate in Finnish but still lacks the words to express themselves properly. Respondent S describes situations in which they have wanted to participate in discussions, but their language skills became a barrier to expressing themselves. However, the more respondent S’s Finnish improves, the more they have the possibility to become an insider and to communicate fluently in Finnish.

Furthermore, participant T mentions that at the beginning they felt so insecure that they revealed that they spoke Swedish in case someone wondered. This can also be applied to Bamberg’s first level of narrative positioning. Respondent T positions themselves as a Swedish-speaking Finn, because of their linguistic insecurity. However, the others’ are surprised that they are Swedish speaking and express: “oh are you Swedish-speaking because I wouldn’t have believed because you speak Finnish” (excerpt, 13, lines 10-12). In terms of the second level of Bamberg’s model of narrative positioning, the participants are both aware of the interviewer’s background and that they belong to the same minority. They may even think that there is the possibility of a shared experiences of linguistic insecurity and therefore shares their perspective. Both respondents talks about their linguistic insecurity at the beginning of the discourse but in the end they express that their Finnish has improved.

To conclude this section, the analysis shows Finland-Swedes getting questioned about their origin which results in them elaborating their background. In the focus group discussion it turned into a parody because of the mutual experiences of the study participants. Furthermore, one narrative included a creation of we instead of only the respondent in the small story. The section ended with two narratives which touched upon linguistic insecurity. In the next section Finland-Swedishness at the societal level is discussed.

4.3 Finland-Swedishness at the societal level

Now it is time to shift our attention to the societal level and analyse some parts that were directly related to the Finnish society. It is worth noting that most of the participants sometimes mentioned that the questions focusing on the national level were quite difficult. Nevertheless, there were some interesting answers, and they are presented in this section. Since we have already analysed Finland-Swedish identity and how Swedish-speaking Finns negotiate their identity in encounters, it is time to look at what kind of thoughts they share about Finland-Swedishness at a societal level. The next two excerpts deal with the same issues and discuss the image of Swedish-speaking Finns in the Finnish society.

EXCERPT (14):

- 1 Interviewer: what kind of image do you think that Swedish-speaking Finns
2 have in the Finnish society
- 3 Interviewee O: hmm
4 well it's fairly included that
5 that I think so to speak that it
6 is a linguistic minority and I think that differentiates it from
7 many other kinds of minorities
8 which means that I don't think
9 there is that awfully much difference
10 from my perspective
11 hmm
12 but as I said maybe that
13 that many people say that they have perhaps encountered such
14 hostility so that I have never
15 but just maybe such that you hear like some odd things
16 and just like that you might not understand that
17 we are not Swedish [nationality, LH]
18 that I don't know if it's more about a word thing in Finnish when
19 it's 'suomenruotsalainen' [Finland's Swede, LH] and
20 'ruotsalainen' [Swede, nationality, LH] that is it something
21 that is so difficult
22 but well I don't want to separate like that
23 that I think that it's pretty much like that
- 24 Interviewer: if I ask you that
25 do you think that Swedish-speaking Finns differ from the
26 Finnish majority somehow

27 Interviewee O: well I think just that
28 that my my answer is maybe
29 I would say no
30 because I think that nowadays also
31 that identity and language it does not always go hand in hand
32 or national identity and linguistic identity
33 really now nowadays
34 when everything becomes more global
35 like people also speak much more than other language than
36 Finnish
37 and such so
38 yes maybe from my perspective it's a no

EXCERPT (15):

1 Interviewer: what kind of image do you think that Swedish-speaking Finns
2 have in the Finnish society
3 Interviewee S: well
4 you hear a lot of those
5 stereotypes about that Finland-Swedes are very rich
6 and so
7 sailing boats and
8 that and well it's perhaps mainly that
9 I think
10 then I might have experienced that maybe
11 when Swedish-speaking Finns want to have service in Swedish
12 so I have got the idea that Finnish speakers think we want to
13 have service in Swedish only because
14 only because
15 to maintain our Finland-Swedish identity
16 but for me it's at least about that I want to have service in
17 Swedish it's because
18 I have difficulty expressing myself in Finnish
19 and if you go to the doctor
20 so it's difficult to describe my
21 how it feels
22 or my ailments in Finnish
23 when it's still an official language in Finland
24 and it's in the law that it should be possible to get service in
25 Swedish

26 so not just like to mess with you [Finnish speakers, LH]
27 or that “we want to have service in Swedish”
28 but because it is because we don’t know Finnish that like they
29 might have gotten the picture
30 that all Swedish-speaking Finns know Finnish that why should
31 they always demand service in Swedish
32 so it might have been have been one of those things that I have
33 realised
34 when I moved here
35 then I don’t know like that
36 yeah
37 but like that

Although both excerpts do not contain narratives as such, the societal aspects that can be recognized during the speech events are interesting. Let us analyse the excerpts separately. Participant O suggests that Swedish-speaking Finns are a linguistic minority and that Finnish speakers might be confused because of the Finnish word ‘suomenruotsalainen’, which means Finland’s Swede. Again, the term’s association with two countries is questioned. Furthermore, participant O explicitly criticises the ‘one language-one ethnicity’ language ideology, stating on lines 31-32 that “identity and language it does not always go hand in hand or national identity and linguistic identity” and referring to “everything become more global” on line 34. Earlier in this current study, the ‘one language-one ethnicity’ language ideology has influenced how outsiders view Finland-Swedes, but in this excerpt, the participant O challenges the language ideology.

On the other hand, participant S mentions hearing stereotypes and talks about service in Swedish. Although excerpt 15 does not contain a small story, Bamberg’s third level of narrative positioning can be applied to the excerpt. During the speech event, respondent S refers to Swedish-speaking Finns who may not know Finnish so well and prefer to be served in Swedish instead. Not all Finland-Swedes are fluent in Finnish and they have the right to be served in Swedish due to the official position of the Swedish language in Finland. At a societal level, this leads to discussions about the position of the Swedish language in the country. There are ongoing debates about this, and at a societal level the Swedish language divide people (Hult & Pietikäinen, 2014).

The next excerpt is from the focus group discussion where we talked about the public perspective on the Swedish language and the minority. This was one of the longer discussions during the focus group session. In the excerpt, standard Swedish is mentioned and standard Swedish is the general term used for the Swedish language.

In Finland, the Swedish that is written and spoken in Sweden is often referred to as standard Swedish, while the Finnish variant is called Finland-Swedish. This is important to note here because there is one respondent who finds it strange that Finnish speakers learn standard Swedish at school and not Finland-Swedish.

EXCERPT (16):

1 Interviewer: I'm always interested in the future
2 how it is because it's like
3 I think there are very discussions maybe in the public and that
4 have you followed anything or so
5 Interviewee H: we are talking about the Swedish language or
6 Interviewer: yes or Swedish-speaking Finns and Swedish language
7 and Finland in general and so on
8 future
9 we are of course here for a reason but you can say anything
10 Interviewee F: well of course sometimes from Finnish-speaking friends you
11 hear that they kind of hate Swedish in school
12 I have not heard perhaps a single person who has liked it
13 it's I think that it comes from that you have to study
14 but then again if it's removed because I have not been so awfully
15 active to read about the subject
16 but if it's removed altogether so then I believe
17 I believe that no one takes it in that case
18 or there will be fewer who knows Swedish today in general
19 that it's maybe not so simple
20 it's quite hard
21 in the sense that you don't belong to the group
22 you don't have so much to say
23 but then again myself if I someday possibly receive a children
24 so certainly I want them to be like
25 if we say that my partner would be entirely Finnish-speaking so
26 certainly I would like to be the Swedish-speaking parent then
27 and try to keep it so that they would become bilingual
28 but this is quite far into the future I believe but still I have
29 of course already thought about it
30 Interviewee H: my friends here when it comes up sometimes
31 that I speak Finnish
32 Swedish of course understands Swedish
33 they are like why have I not studied that I could have gone to

34 Sweden and Norway and do it
35 and that it would be easier
36 so in retrospect they are like that
37 wish that they would have really put some energy into it
38 and learnt Swedish for real when they studied it in school
39 Interviewee T: but then I think it's also difficult for them because they start
40 now it has become that they have to start to learn Swedish in
41 fifth or sixth grade or something like that
42 but before it has been that they begin to learn it in seventh eight
43 ninth
44 so if you begin a language so so it is quite hard
45 and then you learn it three years
46 and then they have like one or two courses in upper secondary
47 school if they go to upper secondary school
48 so it is not easy to learn the language quickly
49 Interviewee F: and so late
50 Interviewee T: yes yes
51 Interviewee K: and that time is not when you are most motivated
52 Interviewee T: no and I was just and observed to X [name, LH] school
53 so a Swedish lesson and I was sitting in the back and just
54 thinking that okay
55 what did I do in Finnish
56 I had for that matter mother tongue oriented Finnish
57 but like my friend who is not like bilingual but entirely a
58 Swedish speaker so she had Finnish as second domestic
59 and then what they went through
60 and then what they went through there during Swedish
61 so they really went through in Swedish approximately
62 or they went through food dishes
63 only in Swedish
64 the whole lesson so I don't know if
65 you need those food dishes so very much
66 and then they went thought those Sweden's
67 something such odd as Cinnamon Bun Day
68 and went through Sweden's such days
69 Interviewee F: how strange
70 Interviewee T: the entire lesson I just sat in the back
71 and I didn't wonder if they don't know Swedish
72 after this lesson

73 so yes

74 Interviewee F: but do they learn like standard Swedish or is it Finland-Swedish

75 Interviewee T: standard Swedish

76 Interviewee F: that is also a little odd

77 Interviewee T: mmm

78 Interviewee F: yes it's the same language but

79 still a little odd

80 Interviewee T: yes and then maybe if they take Swedish away

81 so then they should basically remove also for entirely Swedish-

82 speaking students

83 as for example in Larsmo

84 nobody speaks Finnish there nobody speaks Finnish

85 so they still should remove the Finnish language if they remove

86 Swedish as a compulsory subject

87 Interviewee H: well it's maybe not that simple either

88 Interviewee T: well no just like

89 Interviewee H: percentage-wise there are not that many people in Finland who

90 ultimately speak Swedish so Swedish and Finnish are not in the

91 same positions at all

92 Interviewee T: no but if you want to think at all that Finnish speakers don't

93 want to learn Swedish

94 well Swedish speakers don't want to learn Finnish

95 not everyone but some don't want to

96 so if you want to be completely fair then in that way

97 Interviewee F: but then again you must

98 otherwise you might have to switch to English

99 but if you go outside such a place you must speak some Finnish

100 I think it becomes quite difficult

101 I wouldn't say hard life

102 but I'm at least happy that I know Finnish if you like live in

103 Finland

104 Interviewee H: I would imagine that it would be difficult if you didn't speak any

105 Finnish at all

106 Interviewee F: absolutely

107 Interviewee T: yes

108 Interviewee F: but I understood your point mmm

109 Interviewee H: but perhaps it's easier when you have lived here

110 no one speaks any Swedish

111 no and yet they should learn Swedish

112 perhaps it's easier to understand why they do not want to learn
113 Swedish either
114 if they don't have any use for it
115 Interviewee T: mmm but then if they move to for example Helsinki or
116 Ostrobothnia they should know Swedish
117 anyway
118 Interviewee H: yes of course at the same time I would hope that everyone wants
119 to learn Swedish [...]

There is a lot to analyse in this excerpt, but it is impossible to include every detail. Let us do a quick review, followed by an analysis that highlights the most important events. The main theme of the excerpt is the Swedish language and its position in Finnish-speaking schools and society in Finland. Firstly, interviewee F expresses how their friends express dislike of the Swedish language at school and the respondent talks about the challenging situation of the Swedish language in Finnish society. An addition, interviewee H refers to their friends who question respondent H's decision to study in Finland rather than in Sweden, since the interviewee knows Swedish. The discussion then focuses on learning Swedish in Finnish-speaking schools and interviewee T, describes their experience of observing Swedish lesson. Both respondent F and T comment on the teaching of standard Swedish in Finnish schools, which they find strange. There is then a discussion about the removal of Swedish as a subject in Finnish-speaking schools and the fact that some Swedish-speakers do not like learning Finnish either. This is followed by some conversation about how not learning Finnish can make your life in Finland more difficult. At the end of the discussion, interviewee H emphasises that living in a Finnish-speaking area has given them a different perspective on learning Swedish and perhaps an understanding of the reasons why Swedish is not a popular subject in Finnish-speaking schools.

In the course of the speech event, many of the turn-takings are characterised by respondents referring to an encounter or experience. This is an example of respondents sharing their thoughts using narratives, which can be analysed in terms of Bamberg's third level model of narrative positioning (1997). Furthermore, in this excerpt the participants express a stance, some more than others, but it is visible in the discussion. Respondent T is the most explicit in expressing a stance, because it is clearly a topic about which they have experience and has formulated a view. Interviewee T, who is a bilingual speaker, recounts their experience of observing a Swedish lesson in a Finnish-speaking school and they problematise Swedish language learning and draws attention to the fairness of learning Swedish and Finnish. Respondents F and H, on the other hand, have their opinions but also show understanding in a more and broader sense. By taking a stands, they position themselves differently in the

discussion. The different positionings while taking stance are relevant to Bamberg's first level of narrative positioning.

The participants are all aware that they are Swedish-speaking Finns sitting around the table, but this excerpt also shows that they have different opinions. This can be interpreted as a situation that can be applied to Bamberg's (1997) second level of narrative positioning. When the respondents take a stand, they are not only positioning themselves in the narrative against each other, but there is also a change in the room that influences the positioning of the participants in the local environment. Respondent T shows more determination, while participants F and H are more careful with their opinions. Furthermore, this discussion can be mirrored to the positioning at the societal level, which refers to Bamberg's third level of narrative positioning. Swedish language learning is an ever-occurring subject of public discussion in Finland and especially in the Swedish-speaking part of the country. As stated in the beginning of the thesis, the Swedish language divides people politically and the stancetaking transfers from the local environment to the societal level.

Next, the last two excerpts are presented. The first excerpt is from an individual interview, while the second is an extract from the focus group discussion. During the individual interview, the participant expressed that they felt that there was a lack of understanding or something missing between the Finland-Swedes and the majority population. It should be noted that this was a situational topic. No specific question was prepared in advance for the individual interviews. Surely there are as many perspectives on the subject as there are people, but instead of concentrating on the lack of knowledge or understanding, it was necessary to focus on the possibilities. A question on this topic was prepared for the focus group discussion. This was the last question but before discussing possibilities there was a question about services in Swedish and this had drawn attention to some problematic situations. Therefore, there is not only one question at the beginning, but my aim as an interviewer was to open a broader discussion about possibilities.

EXCERPT (17):

- 1 Interviewer: you have said a lot and so
- 2 but well you mentioned majority and minority
- 3 do you think that there is like an opportunity to in some way
- 4 build more understanding between or that there would be a
- 5 better understanding
- 6 because you have expressed yourself that there is a lack of
- 7 that something is missing
- 8 Interviewee S: mmm
- 9 well yes it's maybe what you experience when you move here

10 like
11 and especially with people that are from Eastern Finland
12 or like middle Finland
13 Central Finland it might be called
14 that somehow there may not have been the same understanding
15 there
16 but then I have perhaps had easier discussing with people who
17 have been from such areas where there are few Swedish-
18 speaking Finns even though they themselves have not really had
19 anything to do with Finland-Swedes
20 but just that they have heard
21 that they might have met someone before
22 that you are not the first one that they have met
23 that I think that there is a very big difference on where in
24 Finland you are located
25 or such that
26 yes I think I also contribute to more understanding just
27 because I have moved here
28 that I think that somehow
29 I still think that Finland-Swedes also have an obligation to be
30 more open
31 and tell what they experience not just withdraw and only
32 socialise in Finland-Swedish circles
33 Interviewer: yes I believe that is pretty good or it's good
34 Interviewee S: then I might still want to say that yes
35 I don't want to say in any way that we are discriminated against
36 or something like that even though we might be a minority
37 or such
38 that for that I think
39 we cannot in any way compare ourselves to the Sámi people for
40 example where there is like a
41 yes we have many rights and
42 so there is still very good
43 that it's more those interpersonal relations that you sometimes
44 experience
45 not problems but just such maybe misunderstandings
46 or such unawareness so that
47 yes we have it very good

EXCERPT (18):

- 1 Interviewer: is there any opportunities
2 will it be like this
3 is there any alternatives
4 Interviewee T: it is a difficult question
5 Interviewer: it is
6 Interviewee F: it might feel a bit like
7 that you're difficult
8 if you ask for Swedish because
9 there are so few of us compared to everyone else
10 that then I make it easier for them
11 and whatever it would be
12 but then again if nobody asks for it will soon be that we don't
13 need it [Swedish, LH]
14 will anyone even offer it
15 I don't know
16 Interviewee H: I don't know anything specific
17 but maybe if you think about the Nordic countries
18 there are a lot of possibilities if you speak Swedish
19 you can communicate immediately with
20 Swedes and Norwegians at least
21 Danish is starting to be a bit difficult for me
22 Interviewee F: they don't want to really understand us either
23 Interviewee H: there are many opportunities
24 Interviewer: but then it went beyond the country's borders
25 Interviewee T: but then maybe in Finland when you are bilingual
26 you can apply for example you become a teacher at Swedish-
27 speaking schools
28 and then you can apply to Finnish schools
29 if you do the language test so that you get qualifications in
30 in Finnish as well
31 but then if you have done that you have quite a wide range of
32 possibilities
33 Interviewee H: certainly there are jobs that require you to know Swedish or
34 write Swedish
35 so of course you have better opportunities then too
36 for example I think my X [family member, LH] they doesn't
37 know

38 but they work at the X [workplace, LH] and there they were one
39 of the two they chose between and they themselves thought that
40 it could be that they speak and write Swedish well
41 and therefore they [recruiter, LH] chose them instead of the
42 other so of course there are great opportunities there too and
43 advantages
44 Interviewee F: I would say that knowing several languages
45 is just a good thing like
46 I tend to bring it up quite often if I'm applying for a job or
47 something
48 so probably quite directly
49 and just like that
50 or then also about being international at least in the Nordic
51 countries with Swedish
52 and then also I think and I believe that English has come faster
53 and easier
54 because Swedish is so strong or like that
55 or like that I wouldn't have said that I would ever have had rally
56 English either because
57 that many people would say that I don't sound like a Finnish
58 person who speaks English or so
59 so maybe it's my own dialect I have too
60 yes but but I see it as a great opportunity only
61 and you would kind of hope that more people would be able to
62 like
63 that more would know at the end Swedish too
64 so it would give more opportunities to them as well I would say
65 Interviewer: yes language is a fortune
66 opportunities
67 anything to add
68 Interviewee T: I think it went really well
69 not so very much discussion like this but
70 Interviewee H: I think it is so hard in such a short time
71 that you would somehow come deeper into
72 Interviewee F: exactly
73 Interviewer: yes it is also a question of comfort

These two excerpts were the last discourses during the focus group discussion and the individual interview with respondent S. Although the excerpts are mostly

non-narrative, they can be applied to Bamberg's (1997) third level of narrative positioning. Before analysing the excerpts further, let us do a brief review. Both speech events focused on possibilities, but the way the discourse unfolded was different. During the individual interview, participant S discussed possibilities from their own perspective and reflected on the position of the minority in Finland, while in the focus group discussion the focus was more on the Swedish language. In the course of the speech event, participant S talks about how the change of environment has given them new insights into the Finnish people and their perception of the Swedish speaking minority. The respondent mentions on line 26 that studying in a Finnish-speaking area can "contribute to more understanding" and that Finland-Swedes also "have an obligation to be more open and tell what they experience not just withdraw and only socialise in Finland-Swedish circles" (lines 29-32). Furthermore, the respondent highlights that the Swedish-speaking minority is not discriminated against and that the Finland-Swedes cannot compare themselves to the Sámi people (line 39). This affirmation can be applied to Bamberg's (1997) third level of narrative positioning. The Swedish-speaking Finns have many rights in Finland, while the Sámi people have had to experience forced "finnicization" and assimilation (Lehtola, 2015). Furthermore, Swedish-speaking Finns live mostly along the coast and, as Finland is a large country, there are people who are not familiar with the small minority.

In the excerpt from the focus group discussion, the discourse focuses on the Swedish language and the possible advantages of knowing Swedish. Interviewee F starts the discourse by problematising the use of Swedish because they do not want to be difficult, but at the same time they point out on lines 12-13 that "then again if nobody asks for it [Swedish] will soon be that we don't need it". There is then a discussion about the different advantages of knowing Swedish in Finland and the Nordic countries. Respondent H narrates about a family member who may have got their job because of their knowledge of Swedish. Finally, interviewee F concludes the discussion by emphasising that they wish that people would learn Swedish so that they too could have more opportunities.

In spite of the fact that only a small part of the Finland's population has Swedish as their first language, it still seems to be an advantage to know Swedish when looking for a job. Perhaps not all workplaces value Swedish in the same way, but it still seems to be beneficial for an individual at a societal level. This is relevant when considering Bamberg's (1997) societal level of narrative positioning. While Swedish may be problematised in Finnish society, on a personal level knowing another language is of great benefit to the individual.

The previous section has shown discourses and narratives concerning Swedish-speaking Finns and the Swedish language on a societal level. The different perspectives illustrate how complex the situation of the Swedish language is in Finnish society.

The stance taking, which is happening in a local interactional situation, can easily be transferred to the societal level.

Now that the analysis is complete, it is time to continue the discussion in the next chapter. Although it was not possible to include every aspect of the individual interviews and the focus group discussion, the above analysis has provided a comprehensive and important insight into the perspective of Finland-Swedish students studying in a predominately Finnish-speaking area. These findings will be used in the following discussion to answer the research questions and to shed light on the previously mentioned issues.

5 DISCUSSION

The present study was set to investigate Swedish-speaking Finns studying in a predominately Finnish-speaking environment. The aim of the interviews was to find out how Finland-Swedish students perceive their identity and how they navigate their identity in their environment. By reflection on what Terje mentioned in her article, the goal was also to gain a deeper understanding of the “nature of the [Finland-Swedish] minority” (2022, p.25). This chapter offers findings to answer the research questions and links them to the background literature.

The research questions of the study were:

RQ1: How do Finland-Swedish students perceive their identity?

RQ2: How do Finland-Swedish students navigate their positioning in a predominately Finnish-speaking environment?

Through the lens of Bamberg’s three level model of narrative positioning (1997), the analysis shows that the participants’ common features for constructing their Finland-Swedish identity are the Swedish language and the Finnish national identity. Otherwise, the minority is heterogeneous, and the participants construct their identities in several ways, mostly through small stories. In spite of the fact that interviews were not designed to elicit long, elaborate narratives (as in biographical interviews), participants recounted situations or interactional encounters in which others confronted them with something and they formulated an idea or response to the circumstance.

The positioning of the respondent in relation to other characters in their narratives (Bamberg,1997) shows that the language ideology of ‘one language-one ethnic identity’ (Khilkhanova, 2023) influences both outsiders’ and participants’ perceptions of language in Finnish society. As the study shows, the language ideology of ‘one language-one ethnic identity’ is not only reproduced in the narratives, but also challenged and resisted. These results are similar to those reported by De Fina and King (2011) on the

narratives of Latin American immigrants living in the United States. One of the participant's stories illustrates how bilingualism was problematised, which led to the participant explaining their background. Through the small stories told by the participants, it became clear that for most of the respondents bilingualism was part of their Finland-Swedish identity. Another example was when a participant's linguistic performance did not match their presumed identity, leading to signs of linguistic insecurity in the discourse. The language ideology of 'one language-one ethnic identity' was also criticised for failing to recognise the multifaceted perception of identity and language in today's global world. National identity and linguistic identity do not always go hand in hand (see also Kulyk, 2011).

Another important aspect of the respondent's positioning in relation to other characters in the small stories is stereotyping. The Finland-Swedish stereotype seems to be common both within the minority and nationally (Liebkind et al., 2006). When discussing their Finland-Swedish identity and the minority, the participants sometimes referred to hearing stereotypes, which suggests that outsiders already have a perception of Swedish-speaking Finns before the conversation. Interestingly, some participants had experiences of being in an environment where the characteristics of the stereotype were present. Nevertheless, the current study shows how some participants dissociate themselves from the Finland-Swedish stereotype and challenge the perception by formulating their own idea of who they are at that moment. By dissociating themselves from the stereotype, the participants show the heterogeneity within the Finland-Swedish minority in Finland. Moreover, dissociating from the stereotype again problematises the 'one language-one ethnic identity' language ideology but in a different way than mentioned above. The current study shows that identity can be based on characteristics other than language. As Terje (2021) notes in her study, a sense of belonging can be created in relation to a place, history, stories and other social interactions. In the same way, the findings show that although Finland-Swedes have a connection to the Swedish language, this does not mean that the bond is strong enough to create a direct attachment to Sweden. It seems that it is the Finnishness that unites the Finland-Swedes. This illustrates the ambiguity of the 'one language - one ethnic identity' language ideology. In some situations, language can be used as a unifying factor, but not in this case.

In terms of the respondent's positioning in relation to the other actors in the speech situation (Bamberg 1997), the participants were aware of the interviewer's background. As the present study is based on self-identification, there was mutual awareness of each other's identity, and the respondents could position themselves as a fellow Swedish-speaking Finns. Nevertheless, the interviewer had an agenda and asked questions, while the respondent answered them. The interviewer thus forced the participants to think about and elaborate their Finland-Swedish identity. In this

way, the interviews were co-created in the local interactional context. The speech event gave the participants the opportunity to share something that the interviewer was likely to understand and perhaps even to seek support in their thinking. Because of the predominately Finnish-speaking area where the students studied, the interview may have given the participants an opportunity to reflect on the change in the external environment that they had experienced. In addition, hearing other Finland-Swedes share their thoughts and reflections also broadened the interviewer's perspective. Furthermore, the participants took a stance in the narratives during the speech situation, which also influences the positioning of the actors in the local environment. Some participants had stronger opinions, while others were more cautious due to perhaps the difficult questions.

With regard to the positioning in the social context (Bamberg 1997), a recurring element in the small stories was that the respondent's positioning in relation to the other characters in the narrative bridged into level three (societal) positioning. Participants often narrated how they were posed a question by an outsider that forced them to consider their positioning at the societal level. For example, by being asked about their origin, the participants had to prove their "Finnishness" to the outsider and at the same time they positioned themselves on the larger societal level.

In addition, there were discourses where Bamberg's (1997) three level model of narrative positioning was less applicable, but the speech event was still relevant to the positioning at a societal level. These interactional situations were characterised by stancetaking and this emerged, for example, in the focus group discussion. According to Kärkkäinen (2006), stancetaking is an interactional process rather than an activity of a single individual. The present study shows how participants engage in conversation about the position of the Swedish language at a societal level and take a stance in the interactive situations. What the participants discuss in a local setting can be transferred to the discourse that takes place at the societal level in Finnish society (Hult & Pietikäinen, 2014). At the same time, the discourse at the societal level is also transmitted to the individual level as well. As the analysis shows, it is a complex situation with many nuances and opinions that need to be taken into account.

The current study reveals contrasts within the Swedish-speaking minority that influence its positioning at the societal level. As the analysis shows, bilingualism is part of the Finland-Swedish identity, but there are also Swedish-speaking Finns who have grown up in families where only Swedish was used. The study illustrates some contrasts between bilinguals and monolingual Finland-Swedes, for example in terms of Finnish language skills. Bilinguals may be accustomed to using Finnish in their daily lives, whereas the Finland-Swedes who come from Swedish-speaking families may not be as familiar with using Finnish and may be more dependent on receiving services in Swedish. This is an interesting contrast within the minority and is reflected

in the discourses on the position of the minority and the Swedish language in Finnish society.

Lastly, there is one topic that was not been included in the study, but which emerged several times during the interviews. Some participants have the right to write their assignments, exams, and theses in Swedish, even though the teaching is in Finnish. This is because the education is considered bilingual. However, some participants have expressed that it was not possible to complete some of the tasks in Swedish during an exam because of the differences between Finnish and Swedish. The participants therefore did the task in Finnish instead. Furthermore, participants talked about situations in which their Swedish-speaking background caused some concern and was problematised. Each situation was resolved, but as these questionable situations occurred not once, but several times during the interviews, I felt it necessary to mention them in this study. It might be good to investigate the practices of bilingual higher education in further studies. Higher educational institutions have a responsibility to be able to manage bilingual students who have the right to write their assignments, exams, and theses in Swedish. It would thus be favourable for the higher educational institutions to have clear guidelines on how to manage these situations more smoothly.

In conclusion, the study shows that while the Swedish-speaking Finns have a strong national identity, the Swedish-speaking minority is diverse and especially bilingualism adds another dimension to the minority. The findings illustrate that the 'one language-one ethnicity' language ideology is strong as a result of the problematisation the Finland-Swedish identity by outsiders. However, individuals challenge these beliefs by negotiating and sharing their perspective. Furthermore, this study shows that identity is linked to language, but by exploring the nature of the minority, this study shows that identity is not only based on language but is established in relation to places, history, stories, and other social interactions. In terms of positioning in a social context, the analysis illustrates that there is a connection with the respondent's positioning in relation to other characters in the narrative. Outsiders force the respondent to question their third-party positioning.

As a closing to this study, a conclusion is presented, including limitations and recommendations for future research, as well as academic and social implications.

6 CONCLUSION

What began as an idea based on my experiences and thoughts has evolved into a serious study aimed at investigating the identity, thoughts and perceptions of Finland-Swedish students studying in a predominately Finnish-speaking area of Finland. While it has been crucial to remain critical of my own perspective, it has also enriched the present study. By being a Swedish-speaking Finn myself, I have taken advantage of my own questions and understandings. I created the interview questions myself, with some inspiration from previous research. Therefore, I believe that one of the strengths of my study is the questions I have asked. While the questions were formulated by me, the participants in the study were given the freedom to share their thoughts and perceptions within the chosen framework. This has added variety to my study and allowed me to reflect on my own views. The present study has broadened my understanding of the Swedish-speaking minority in Finland and I have conducted research that shed new light on the Swedish-speaking Finns.

The aim of this study was examine Finland-Swedish students' thoughts and perceptions of their Finland-Swedish identity and the minority in Finland. This was accomplished through in-depth interviews, where the study participants were able to share their thoughts within the framework. The interview data were analysed using Bamberg's three level model of narrative positioning (Bamberg 1997).

By analysing small stories it was possible to illustrate the interactive and relational context in which identity construction takes place. The study shows the multidimensionality of being a Finland-Swedish student in a predominately Finnish-speaking area of Finland. The study also demonstrates the force of the 'one language-one ethnic identity' language ideology in Finnish society, but also the fight against it. Furthermore, identity is about belonging but also about distinguishing oneself from others. What united the participants was the Swedish language, the Finnish national identity and the fact that they were studying in a predominately Finnish-speaking area. However, they still had their own stories that made them unique. In addition, this

study illustrates that language is not strong enough to directly connect Swedish-speaking Finns to Sweden. There are other factors to consider, such as place, history, stories, and social interactions. The small stories show that identity construction is complex and contextual.

The following sections discuss the limitations of the present study and some recommendations for future research. Lastly, academic and social implications are considered.

6.1 Limitations and recommendations for future research

The present study gives an insight into the thoughts and perceptions of Finland-Swedish students in a predominately Finnish-speaking area of Finland. Although the Swedish-speaking Finns are a small minority in Finland, these six individual interviews and one focus group discussion do not represent the whole minority. Even though the insights are interesting, they do not offer the universal truth and cannot be generalized. The participants' answers vary depending on the individual's background and experiences. The current study highlights some interesting perspectives and shows Finland-Swedes in a new context that has hardly been researched before. Therefore, there is a need for more qualitative research about Finland-Swedish students in a predominately Finnish-speaking environment in order to enhance the field of research.

Furthermore, this current study has other limitations. Firstly, there is a lack of resources and practical skills in conducting research. The sample size was good for a thesis, but it would need to be larger if similar research were to be conducted. As some of the topics were difficult for the participants, one possibility for the future would be to increase the number of focus group discussions and to have different topics for the sessions. This would allow participants to get to know each other over a longer period of time. Here, a lack of time was a reason for not being able to conduct such research. Furthermore, the excerpts in this study were translated by the researcher, who is not a professional translator. It is possible that differences in the English translation can be detected and may have influenced the results of the study.

In addition to the limitations, it is important to consider my positionality as a researcher. For a deeper understanding of how my positionality may have influenced my study, see Introduction. All in all, I am satisfied with how the study turned out, although I would change some things if I were to conduct similar research with the experience I have now.

The current study has raised many further questions since there is a general lack of research on Swedish-speaking Finns and especially on Finland-Swedish students who go to study in a Finnish-speaking area. As mentioned above, more long-term

research would be recommended. As some participants commented that the interview questions were difficult and that it was hard to formulate an answer in such a short period of time, it would be interesting to interview participants more than once to give them additional time to think about the issues. In this way, it might be possible for the participants to form boarder answers to the questions. It would be interesting to apply a similar style to focus group discussions.

One of the main findings of the present study is the continuous problematising of the background of the Swedish-speaking Finns. As there seems to be a lack of understanding about the Swedish-speaking Finns, it would be interesting to find out more about where this comes from. Could it possibly be the Swedish word 'finlandssvensk' and the Finnish word 'suomenruotsalaiset' for Finland-Swedes that confuse people or is there something else? One alternative is to research Finland-Swedes from a Finnish-speaking perspective and to investigate what the Finnish-speaking population knows about Finland-Swedes focusing on the background of the Swedish-speaking Finns. Such a study could be focused on predominately Finnish-speaking areas in Finland. Finding out more about the causes of this lack of understanding may have a positive effect on interpersonal relations between the majority and the minority in a positive way.

6.2 Academic and social implications

The findings of this present study contribute to the research on Finland-Swedish students in predominately Finnish-speaking areas of Finland and their thoughts and perceptions of their Finland-Swedish identity and the minority. The context of this current study provides a unique insight into the identity of Finland-Swede students identity and how a change in the external environment can create different perceptions of the minority. Furthermore, this study strengthens the findings of Terje (2022) by showing that the sense of belonging can be created in relation to place, history, stories, and social interactions rather than language.

In terms of Bamberg's three level model of narrative positioning (1997), the results show how a respondent's positioning in a narrative can be bridged into the positioning in a social context. This illustrate how intertwined the two levels can become in narrative analysis. Moreover, the current study demonstrates the importance of considering 'small stories' in narrative research. By analysing 'small stories', it is possible to achieve valuable insights into identity construction that might not be possible through long narratives.

The present study shows how being bias can be an advantage when studying a minority. By being a member of the Swedish speaking community myself, the research

has a depth that would perhaps not be possible without the interviewer's background. This was of course not only been positive but also challenging at times. Therefore, the positionality of the researcher is crucial and needs to be taken into account in similar future studies.

From a practical and societal perspective, the findings of this present study show how complex the topic of the Swedish language and the Swedish-speaking minority are in Finland. This is not a topic that has only recently been brought to attention, but one that has been discussed since Finland's independence and goes back even further. The ongoing discussions about Swedish-speaking Finns and the Swedish language illustrate how the Finnish society is still connected to the time when the territory was a part of the Swedish Empire. Finnish is considered the independence language and the Swedish language and the minority is a heritage from the Swedish period and a constant reminder of the common history between Finland and Sweden. Nevertheless, this study shows how established bilingualism is within the minority and how strongly the Swedish-speaking Finns feel about their Finnish national identity, and this is something that needs to be discussed more at a societal level. Furthermore, a dialogue about what it means to be a Finland-Swede in today's Finland could bring some new insights to the minority and improve the perception of Swedish-speaking Finns.

Raising awareness is not only a matter for the majority of the Finnish population, but also requires the openness of the Swedish-speaking Finns. This current study shows how Finland-Swedish students are confronted with problematisation by outsiders and the force of the 'one language-one ethnicity' language ideology. However, by studying in a Finnish-speaking area, where very few speak Swedish, there is also an opportunity to spread more awareness and communicate what being Finland-Swedish means from a personal perspective. This challenges the language ideology and the stereotype which broadens the recipient's perspective.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

Original Swedish individual interview questions:

Identitet

- Så, låt oss börja med några tankar om varför du tycker att du passade forskningskriterierna. Enligt dina egna tankar identifierar du dig som finlandssvensk. Kan du berätta mer?
- Har din finlandssvenska identitet alltid varit en självklarhet eller har den förändrats?
- När vi nu är in på finlandssvensk identitet, vem tycker du passar som finlandssvensk?
- Hur viktig är det svenska språket för dig?
- Tycker du att det finns en viss finlandssvensk kultur?
- Vilken roll spelar det finska språket i ditt liv?
- Reagerar människor på sättet du pratar på finska?
- När det gäller din identitet...vad är de viktigaste faktorerna för dig?
- Om jag säger ordet modersmål, vad tänker du på först?
- Vad skulle du säga är ditt hemspråk?
- Vad betyder Sverige (Norden) och kulturen där för dig?

Finlandssvenskhet i finskspråkiga områden

- Kan du berätta lite om ditt liv här i X?
- Varför valde du X som studieort?
- Hur länge har du bott i X?
- Har din tid här i X påverkat din syn på finlandssvenskhet?
Har du möjlighet att använda det svenska språket här i X?
 - Om ja, i vilka situationer?
- Har du påträffat situationer var du har haft svårt att uttrycka dig själv på ett annat språk än svenska?
- Finns det situationer där du önskade att du kunde prata svenska?
- Känner du dig hemma här?
 - Kan du berätta mer?
- Finns det något som du saknar här i X?
- Var det något som överraskade dig då du flyttade hit?

Möten

- Har det hänt att din identitet som finlandssvensk har blivit synlig i möten med andra människor?
 - Om ditt svar är ja, kan du berätta mer?
 - Är det här något som sker ofta?
- Har någon situation berört dig speciellt mycket?
 - Hur hanterade du situationen?
- Har din finlandssvenska identitet blivit ifrågasatt?
 - Kan du berätta mer?
- Har din finska identitet blivit ifrågasatt?
 - Kan du berätta mer?

Finlandssvenskhet i Finland

- Om vi fokuserar på nationell nivå. Hurdan bild har du av finlandssvenskar i det finländska samhället?
- Tycker du att finlandssvenskarna skiljer sig från Finlands befolkningsmajoritet på något sätt?
- Har du någon gång upplevt att folk interagerar med dig på ett annat vis för att du är finlandssvensk?
- Hur ser du på framtiden som finlandssvensk i Finland?
- Hur ser du på svenska språkets framtid i Finland?
- Är det något annat som du skulle vilja berätta?

Swedish individual questions translated into English by Linda Hildén:

Identity

- So, let us begin with some thoughts about the reason why you think you suited the research requirements. According to yourself, you identify as a Swedish-speaking Finn. Can you elaborate?
- Has your Swedish-speaking Finn identity always been self-evident or has it changed?
- As we are talking about Finland-Swedish identity, who do you think is Finland-Swede?
- How important is the Swedish language for you?
- Do you think there is a certain Finland-Swedish culture?
- What role does the Finnish language play in your life?
- Do people react to the way you speak Finnish?
- When it comes to your identity, what are the most important factors for you?

- If I say the word mother tongue, what do you first think about?
- What would you say is your home language?
- What do Sweden and the Nordics countries and mean to you?

Finnish-Swedishness in Finnish-speaking areas?

- Can you tell me about your life here in X?
- Why did you choose X as your place of study?
- How long have you lived in X?
- Have your time here in X affected your view on Finnish-Swedishness?
- Have you had the opportunity to use the Swedish language here in X?
 - If yes, in what kind of situations?
- Have encountered situations where you have had difficulty expressing yourself in a language other than Swedish?
- Are there situations where you wish you could speak Swedish?
- Do you feel at home here?
 - Can you elaborate?
- Is there anything that you miss here in X?
- Was there anything that surprised you when you moved here?

Encounters

- Has it happened that your identity as a Swedish-speaking Finn has become visible in encounters with other people?
 - If yes, can you elaborate?
 - Is it something that happens often?
- Has any situation particularly affected you?
 - How did you handle the situation?
- Have your Finland-Swedish identity at some point been brought into question?
 - Can you elaborate?
- Have your Finnish identity at some point been brought into question?
 - Can you elaborate?

Finnish-Swedishness in Finland

- If we focus on the national level, what kind of image do you have about Swedish-speaking Finns in the Finnish society?
- Do you think Swedish-speaking Finns differ from the majority of the Finnish population in any way?
- Have you ever felt that people interact with you in a different way because you are a Swedish-speaking Finn?

- How do you see the future as a Swedish-speaking Finn in Finland?
- How do you see the future of the Swedish language in Finland?
- Is there anything that you would like to tell?

APPENDIX II

Original Swedish focus group interview questions:

- Ska vi börja med att alla presenterar sig kort?
- Hur känner ni efter den individuella intervjun?
 - Är det något som ni funderat på efter intervjun?
- Är det något som ni har diskuterat med andra (familjen, vänner, etc.)?
- Är det något angående er identitet som ni har funderat över efter intervjun?
- Vad tycker ni om den finlandssvenska bubblan? Några av er nämnt den under den individuella intervjun. Är det gott eller ont?
- Skulle ni rekommendera finlandssvenskar att bo på andra ställen än i Svenskfinland?
- Har ni någon gång under er tid här i X känt att ni vill ge upp och flytta bort?
- Finns det situationer var ni har velat säga något på svenska men ni har undvikit er att göra det för att inte väcka uppmärksamhet?
- Kan vem som helst vara finlandssvensk eller är man född som finlandssvensk?
- Baserat på era erfarenheter, finns det någon skillnad mellan endast svenskspråkiga och tvåspråkiga finlandssvenskar?
- Har ni märkt någon skillnad mellan att umgås med finskspråkiga och att umgås med internationella studerande?
- Följer ni med den allmänna samhällsdiskussionen kring finlandssvenskar och det svenska språket i Finland?
 - Vill ni dela några tankar?
- Hur skulle ni beskriva Svenskfinland?
- Vilka rättigheter och skyldigheter har finlandssvenskar?
- Hur ser ni på framtidens Svenskfinland?
- Är det okej för er om ni inte får service på svenska i framtiden?
- Samhörigheten mellan svenskspråkiga och samhörigheten mellan finskspråkiga?

Swedish focus group interview questions translated into English by Linda Hildén?

- Why do not we start with everybody introducing themselves briefly?
- How do you feel after the individual interview?
 - Is there anything that you have thought about after the interview?
- Is there anything that you have discussed with others? (family, friends, etc.)?
- Is there anything about your identity that you have thought about after the interview?
- What do you think about the Finland-Swedish bubble? Some of you mentioned it during the individual interview. Is it good or bad?
- Would you recommend Swedish-speaking Finns to live on elsewhere than in Swedish-speaking Finland?
- During your time here in X, have you ever felt like giving up and moving away?
- Are there situations where you have wanted to say something in Swedish but have avoided doing so in order not to attract attention?
- Can anyone be a Swedish-speaking Finn or are you born a Swedish-speaking Finn?
- Based on your experience, is there any difference between only Swedish-speaking and bilingual Swedish-speaking Finns?
- Have you noticed any difference between socialising with Finnish speakers and socialising with international students?
- Do you follow the general societal discussion about Swedish-speaking Finns and the Swedish language in Finland?
 - Would you like to share some thoughts?
- How would you describe Swedish-speaking Finland?
- What rights and obligations do Swedish-speaking Finns have?
- How do you see the future of Swedish-speaking Finland?
- Are you okay with not getting service in Swedish in the future?
- The affinity between Swedish speakers and the affinity Finnish speakers?

APPENDIX III

Original Swedish excerpts:

EXCERPT (1):

- | | | |
|---|-------------------|---|
| 1 | Intervjuare: | finns det någon situation som har berört dig extra mycket |
| 2 | Intervjuperson J: | i X [studieort, LH] eller |
| 3 | Intervjuare: | ja eller överhuvudtaget |
| 4 | Intervjuperson J: | nå jag var en gång i så där evenemang för finlandssvenska |
| 5 | | studerande och det var första gången som jag |

6 var i sån eller på sån fest
7 då var det liksom
8 det var jättetrevligt att träffa andra finlandssvenska
9 människor
10 det kände som att
11 jag hör hit och jag vet inte
12 det var jättetrevligt för jag har inte
13 jag har inte haft sådana erfarenheter.
14 vad tror du att det är som gör att du känner att du liksom
15 hör till
16 Intervjuperson J: nå
17 kanske just ändå att man alltid har ändå identifierat sig
18 som en finlandssvensk
19 men sen när man inte har haft så där människor
20 eller situationer där man får känna sig som en
21 finlandssvensk kanske
22 eller ja
23 därför var det så fint att
24 jag träffa andra att ja och sen när jag var lite osäker att min
25 svenska inte är så bra
26 så var alla så där att vi förstår dig jättebra
27 och sen var det jätte awww
28 att jag hör hit och dom här människorna förstår mig
29 jag vet inte ja
30 Intervjuare: så för dig är det så att
31 du nämnde att med finskan så är det liksom har du så
32 mycket använt men med svenskan så är du osäker
33 Intervjuperson J: jo för att jag inte har använt det så mycket
34 Intervjuare: ja
35 Intervjuperson J: så ja och kanske man kände sådan där samhörighet
36 med dom där människorna där
37 och det var jättefint

EXCERPT (2):

1 Intervjuare: och jag tänkte att vi börjar med att du själv berättar om din
2 identitet
3 du har identifierat dig som finlandssvensk
4 vad menar du med det
5 Intervjuperson F: hmm

6 nå det kan jag säga rakt att det är inte sånt som jag tänker
7 aktivt på hemska ofta
8 men jag ändå nog identifierar mig som finlandssvensk
9 kanske mest därför att svenska är mitt modersmål
10 så det kommer nog därifrån
11 men ändå jag vet inte kan man
12 nå ja jag identifierar mig också liksom som tvåspråkig för
13 att jag är ganska lika stark i både finska och svenska
14 att det ofta är människor som just frågar det åtminstone
15 människor som inte är från Finland ifrågasätter just hur
16 kan du kan du vara
17 hur kan du två språk
18 så sen det är ju ändå
19 men alltså ja
20 så det kommer kanske därifrån jag har helt
21 från eller jag har alltid kunnat båda språken
22 så sedan känns det att då redan gör mig till finlandssvensk
23 och sen också jag har gått alla skolor på svenska och
24 så jag skulle säga att det kommer därifrån på det sättet
25 Intervjuare: okej så du har gått alla skolor på svenska
26 men du har ändå den där tvåspråkigheten
27 Intervjuperson F: jo
28 så med min pappa har jag alltid pratat svenska
29 och med mamma finska
30 och det har liksom alltid varit så från första början

EXCERPT (3):

1 Intervjuare: enligt dina egna tankar så identifierar du dig som
2 finlandssvensk kan du berätta mer om det
3 Intervjuperson O: äää jo
4 det är faktiskt
5 jag har inte på det sättet tänkt på det på en lång tid och
6 jag skulle säga att jag har inte identifierat mig alltid
7 finlandssvensk att
8 det kom faktiskt först i gymnasiet när det kändes att det
9 blev mer en sådan här att vi hade till och med i modersmål
10 en kurs
11 som handlade om språklig identitet
12 och då

13 vad heter det
14 tror jag en av de första uppgifterna var så där att beskriv
15 eller hur känner du dig om din finlandssvenska identitet
16 och så var jag så där åh jag har inte alls tänkt på saken
17 men sen när jag börja fundera på saken
18 så började jag tänka varför har jag varit så
19 att kanske enligt kriterierna är jag ändå finlandssvensk
20 eller har alltid varit
21 och men kanske det beror på att till exempel min pappa
22 han är halvt svensk
23 men sen min mamma som jag har alltid talat finska med
24 så hon har finlandssvensk bakgrund men i hennes släkt har
25 man slutat tala svenska
26 i ett visst skede
27 så egentligen är min mamma mer finlandssvensk än min
28 pappa fast jag har alltid pratat svenska med min pappa
29 lite *confusing* med att
30 jag lite i min familj första generation finlandssvensk
31 Intervjuare: första generation finlandssvensk
32 Intervjuperson O: på ett sätt ja
33 för att jag har en finsk mamma och en svenskspråkig pappa
34 och sen känns det på något sätt så där
35 på något sätt
36 om jag tänker så där okej att jag blandar finska och svenska
37 så blir jag finlandssvensk
38 Intervjuare: okej
39 Intervjuperson O: men sen för att jag har liksom tala svenska ända sedan
40 jag var liten
41 och jag känner mig mycket mer finsk
42 än en finsk person som pratar svenska
43 än till exempel att jag är en fjärde del svensk eller något
44 sånt här
45 så ja det är någonting ja
46 det känns som om jag att jag har funderat på det
47 jättemycket men det är inte någonting och det känns som
48 att det är en personlig grej
49 den här finlandssvenska identiteten
50 och att det känns som att jättemånga har på ett sätt har att
51 många får bygga upp den själv

52 att det inte finns något så här specifika kriterier
53 att tillhöra den här minoriteten
54 mmm jo

EXCERPT (4):

1 Intervjuare: jo jo du nämnde att det var i gymnasiet
2 så det har inte varit en självklarhet för dig
3 Intervjuperson O: nå inte riktigt
4 fast jag har som
5 nå för det första så känns det
6 att mycket sånt här som hör
7 för att jag är från X så det känns och jag har bott i södra
8 Helsingfors
9 som det känns att där är väldigt specifika
10 slags finlandssvenskar
11 och kanske det blir lite så där stereotyp
12 men det känns som att jag aldrig
13 riktigt identifierat mig med dem
14 och sen är det min pappa som på det sättet inte heller har
15 han har bott sedan han var fjorton [ålder, LH] i Finland att
16 han är på ett sätt har han växt upp som finlandssvensk för
17 att han har fortsatt att tala svenska här i Finland och så
18 men till exempel han identifierar sig inte alls som
19 finlandssvensk
20 fast han i viss mån tycker jag skulle kunna vara helt bra
21 men att det har kanske inte varit en så där grej att vi har att
22 jag har behövt höra så där jättemycket
23 att vi är finlandssvenskar att det har nog bara varit en grej
24 att jag pratar svenska
25 och jag bor i Finland
26 och jag pratar ändå annorlunda svenska än mina släktingar
27 i Sverige och så där
28 att men jag har inte på det sättet funderat på det
29 att ja att hur mycket det hör liksom så här egen kultur
30 och att det finns liksom mycket mer efter de här olika
31 stereotypierna som det är
32 man kan liksom vara annat än
33 dom här exemplen som man har sett kanske

EXCERPT (5):

- 1 Intervjuare: mhm och alltså har din identitet som finlandssvensk varit
2 en självklarhet eller har den på något sätt förändrats
- 3 Intervjuperson S: hmm
4 nu skulle jag säga jo att det har varit en ganska självklarhet
5 men kanske ännu mera nu
6 när jag flytta hit liksom
7 att jag känner mig ännu mera som finlandssvensk när jag
8 är här för att känner mig kanske lite annorlunda ändå än
9 dom andra
10 eller just så där att det märks nog att jag har svenska som
11 modersmål
12 och jag har kanske lite svårt med finska
13 så det därför är också mera kommer fram
- 14 Intervjuare: okej du sa annorlunda
- 15 Intervjuperson S: ja, eller då
16 ja men kanske ändå lite eller sådär
17 att det är inte
18 inte annorlunda som människa eller sådär men ändå att
19 ja
20 eller kanske det är mest fast i vad jag själv känner
21 att inte skulle jag säga att andra människor skulle se mig
22 som annorlunda
23 men ändå sådär att
24 eller jag känner mig som en annan person när jag umgås
25 med finlandssvenska kretsar och när jag umgås på finska
- 26 Intervjuare: hmm
- 27 Intervjuperson S: eller kanske mer som språket i sig själv
28 inte kanske bara finlandssvenska kretsar utan på svenska
29 och på finska är skillnad
- 30 Intervjuare: okej så du tycker liksom att språket förändrar situationen
- 31 Intervjuperson S: jo jo jo

EXCERPT (6):

- 1 Intervjuare: vad betyder Sverige för dig eller Norden också
- 2 Intervjuperson H: jag tror inte att Sverige eller enskilda land
3 har någon större betydelse eller
4 ja
5 jag identifierar mig starkt som finsk

6 jag är från Finland
7 men visst finns det någon sorts gemenskaper kanske där
8 också
9 man förstår varandra
10 på någon nivå på sitt modersmål så visst
11 ja

EXCERPT (7):

1 Intervjuare: okej tycker du det finns en viss finlandssvensk kultur
2 Intervjuperson F: mmm
3 jo
4 finlandssvensk kultur
5 jo nu finns det ju alltså åtminstone olika
6 om man säger finlandssvensk kultur
7 så olika saker som kommer i mitt huvud direkt
8 kanske just direkt inte skulle jag säga ankdammen
9 men kanske den kommer först typ
10 inte vet jag kräftis
11 och segelbåtar
12 och så vidare
13 inte att det är på det sättet sånt som jag kanske själv har
14 haft så
15 nära för sen igen min pappa är kanske inte
16 han har också varit lite blandat eller så
17 för han är inte från eller från X så det är inte så
18 svenskspråkigt som stad på det sättet
19 så därför är han
20 han sade också att han har alltid varit lite emellan
21 fast han är svenskspråkig
22 men det har också kanske gjort så att jag och min syster inte
23 så i
24 att vi har nog finlandssvensk kultur i oss
25 men inte så starkt som vissa andra som
26 åtminstone om dom har båda föräldrarna från
27 svenskspråkiga så kanske då lite mera
28 Intervjuare: så vad vad vad
29 du nämner olika traditioner
30 vad har du kommit i kontakt med för traditioner
31 Intervjuperson F: nå

32 åtminstone under just gymnasieåren hade vi nog alltid just
33 käftisar
34 med kompisar och sedan
35 just då också Regattan eller segel
36 eller just så där olika
37 ja ganska mycket just så där olika fester som har sedan då
38 så vi har varit i liksom finlandssvenska kretsar ganska
39 mycket
40 vet inte vad annat
41 eller det är kanske det som jag har liksom mest kommit att
42 tänka mig

EXCERPT (8):

1 Intervjuare: om vi pratar kultur
2 tycker du att det finns en viss finlandssvensk kultur
3 Intervjuperson O: mmm
4 jo nu vad heter det tycker jag det
5 det finns
6 Intervjuare: hur skulle du beskriva det
7 Intervjuperson O: jag skulle kanske säga att
8 att
9 det kan ibland vara sådär dold och glömd
10 att man har liksom lite glömt bort som hur på något sätt
11 liksom varierande det har varit och hur man
12 hur den
13 att om jag sådär tänker bakåt i tiden på konstnärer och
14 författare som är finlandssvenskar som inte är i liv längre
15 så känns att
16 att vad heter det
17 att många uppskattar liksom den kulturen och det blir lite
18 sådär högklassiskt och liksom
19 att man kanske tänker inte
20 lika mycket på sådan där liksom på dagens kultur att det
21 känns att man kanske inte riktigt uhm utvecklar det på ett
22 sånt sätt att det finns möjlighet att göra vad som helst
23 det känns att
24 att det som
25 att är okej på YLE så det är liksom den finlandssvenska
26 kulturen som utvecklas

27 men just till exempel
28 ah jag blev helt förtjust
29 jag lyssna jättelång tid på sån här podcast som hette
30 nå den bytte namn den hette *I samma säng med Ronja och*
31 *Taika*
32 och det var Taika Mannila och Ronya Stanley som är
33 dj musiker och konstnär
34 som gör lite sin egen grej men sen är det att dom är
35 finlandssvenskar
36 och jag tyckte att det var jättecoolt
37 att sådär att det gjorde bara sin egen grej
38 och sen var det så där att ajaa vi är också finlandssvenskar
39 att det känns sådär
40 att vad man har lärt sig av den där kulturen är just kanske
41 mer sånt där
42 på något sätt lite konservativt och sånt där är också
43 jätteviktigt
44 men det känns att det kanske hör lite
45 så där det speglar mer den historiska tiden att
46 att det var lite för alla
47 men sen om man tänker finlandssvenskt så känns det att
48 den här kulturen ändå vill leva kvar i en viss stil
49 och vissa kriterier att jag tycker att det skulle vara jättecoolt
50 liksom att det skulle finnas liksom mycket komplext och
51 om man ännu
52 säger att det här är finlandssvenskt så sen ja
53 det känns som att det inte finns så mycket av det kanske

EXCERPT (9):

1 Intervjuare: har ni liksom en rutin eller uttänkt plan hur ni berättar
2 Intervjuperson F: jag tror jag berättar alltid ganska likanande
3 men inte att jag tänker på att jag
4 Intervjuare: nej nej men att du har berättat så många gånger att det
5 liksom
6 Intervjuperson F: rutin
7 Intervjuare: jo
8 Intervjuperson F: det skulle jag säga
9 Intervjuperson T: jo nog kommer det ganska automatiskt
10 nä

11 nä
12 min pappa är helt från Finland och mamma är från Finland
13 allting det här
14 Intervjuperson H: tar fram släktträdet
15 Intervjuperson T: jo
16 Intervjuperson F: jo
17 igen är från Sverige
18 Intervjuperson H: jo en Powerpoint presentation
19 Intervjuperson F: det borde man
20 skicka till dem här är lite information [...]

EXCERPT (10):

1 Intervjuare: har din finlandssvenska identitet någon gång blivit
2 ifrågasatt
3 Intervjuperson J: nä
4 några har ibland fråga att hur kan du känna dig som
5 finlandssvensk
6 fast du har studerat på finska
7 och fast du har bott med din mamma som är finskspråkig
8 och alla dina vänner är finskspråkiga men inte ja
9 kanske några har ibland fråga att vad menar det för dig att
10 vara finlandssvensk
11 eller om du inte har använt svenska så mycket eller så
12 men om jag är så där förklarar att min pappas släkt är
13 svensk
14 och min pappa
15 eller jag använder svenska med min pappa
16 så har det nog så där förstått att okej
17 men klart människor frågar saker
18 jo
19 Intervjuare: har din finska identitet någon gång blivit ifrågasatt
20 Intervjuperson J: nä
21 inte skulle jag säga det

EXCERPT (11):

1 Intervjuare: okej nu är det lite mera om möten mellan människor
2 har det hänt att din identitet som finlandssvensk har blivit
3 synlig i möten med andra människor
4 Intervjuperson F: synlig

44 så att man inte skulle måsta förklara sig så mycket
45 Intervjuare: så känner du att folk mera reagera i Sverige än dom i
46 Finland
47 Intervjuperson F: joo
48 absolut
49 jättemycket mer
50 men det var kanske för att här är det första språket oftast
51 ändå är finska som man pratar
52 och som jag sa tidigare så oftast har
53 människor inte hört att jag att jag på något sätt är
54 svenskspråkig
55 om jag pratar finska men sedan i Sverige liksom
56 så är det ändå finlandssvenska som jag pratar där
57 så sedan hör dom det direkt liksom

EXCERPT (12):

1 Intervjuare: ja du har ju prata om at du har någon gång tyckt att det är
2 svårt att uttrycka sig själv
3 att du på något sätt känner att folk
4 du vill säga en sak men sen på finska så blir det annorlunda
5 kan du berätta om vad för sorts situationer det är
6 finns det några typiska situationer som upprepar sig
7 hmm
8 nå det som jag har tyckt att ha varit svårast
9 under som dom här universitetsstudierna har varit när
10 man pratar om så här jämlikhet, jämställdhet
11 sådana här saker att kunna uttrycka sig etiskt
12 att jag tycker att det är svårt att bara använda sig av ett
13 korrekt språk när man inte annars heller kan använda
14 språket hundra procentigt
15 så det tycker jag alltid
16 jag har dragit mig för att säga saker för att jag har varit
17 åh är det här något som någon kan ta illa upp
18 är det här bra uttryckt
19 eller liksom kan någon bli sådär
20 vad skall man nu säga
21 ja kan någon ta illa upp av det här
22 och sen så tycker jag det är svårare att vara rolig på finska
23 att skämta

24 ja särskilt sådan här situationshumor är jättesvårt för att
25 det tar som så länge att komma fram till vad man skulle
26 vilja säga liksom på svenska är jag sådär att det här skulle
27 passa in att säga här
28 men på finska så måste jag fundera hur jag översätter det
29 och sen när skulle ha komma fram till okej det här kan jag
30 säga har situationen redan farit
31 att då är man okej då är jag tyst då här igen liksom att det
32 tycker jag är svårt
33 och sen bara så annars bara
34 vara impulsiv
35 och sådär just spontan
36 att det känns som att ja
37 att jag måste fundera i mitt huvud före jag säger
38 eller före jag början en mening att hur jag slutar den för att
39 jag kan som inte mitt i allt "okej inte kan jag sen säga det
40 här"
41 ja men det har kanske lättat
42 det var mer i början men nu ja tycker jag nog att jag kan
43 börja på med något och sen ifall det inte riktigt går så säger
44 jag det på något annat sätt och gå så där i runt det
45 men i början tyckte jag det var svårt

EXCERPT (13):

1 Intervjuare: har du märkt att folk reagerar på något sätt när du pratar
2 finska
3 Intervjuperson T: hmm
4 nä faktiskt inte
5 jag själv är kanske lite obekvä
6 eller i början var jag när jag flyttade hit på min finska fast
7 jag vet att den är nog bra så då var det alltid att jag måste
8 säga att jag är svenskspråkig att om dom funderar på
9 varför jag sa det här ordet istället för kanske det korrekta
10 ordet
11 så då blev det men kanske just vad jag fick hör av de
12 att "Ajaa, är du svenskspråkig för att jag skulle inte ha trott
13 för att du tala finska"
14 så på det sättet har jag fått kanske själv förklara för mig
15 själv att kanske jag inte sa det rätta

16 men inte har jag annars fått så jättemycket
17 Intervjuare: har tankar förändras inom dig här i X [studieort, LH] eller
18 är du fortfarande misstänker
19 Intervjuperson T: alltså ibland
20 ibland misstänker jag ännu mig själv fortfarande
21 att inte kan jag ju det här men nog har jag blivit starkare på
22 finska
23 och alla fall som och att skriva på finska tycker jag inte
24 heller ännu om men att man måste ju lite
25 man måste ju skriva här på finska men att ibland men inte
26 lika mycket som på ettan
27 här på ettan

EXCERPT (14):

1 Intervjuare: om vi nu fokuserar på nationell nivå på Finland
2 hurdan bild tycker du att finlandssvenskar har i det
3 finländska samhället
4 Intervjuperson O: hmm
5 nu är det ganska inbakat att
6 att jag tycker liksom att det
7 är en språklig minoritet och jag tycker att det skiljer sig från
8 att många andra slags minoriteter
9 som gör att jag tycker inte
10 på det sättet skiljer sig sådär hemskt mycket
11 från min synvinkel
12 Hmm
13 men som sagt kanske det där att
14 att många talar ju om att man kanske har bemött någon
15 sådan där fientligheter så det har jag aldrig
16 men just kanske sånt där att man hör lite så där lustiga
17 grejer
18 och just så där att man fattar kanske inte det där
19 med att vi inte är svenskar
20 att jag vet inte om det handlar mer om en ord grej på finska
21 när det är suomenruotsalainen och ruotsalainen att är det
22 någo
23 som är så där svårt
24 men ja jag vill inte skilja åt det sådär
25 att jag tycker att det är ganska så där

26 Intervjuare: om frågar dig att, tycker du att finlandssvenskar skiljer sig
27 från finländska befolkningsmajoritet på något sätt
28 Intervjuperson O: nå
29 jag tycker just att
30 att mitt mitt svar är kanske
31 jag skulle säga nej
32 för att jag tycker att nuförtiden också
33 att identitet och språk det går inte alltid hand i hand
34 eller nationell identitet och språk identitet
35 verkligen nu nuförtiden
36 när allt blir mer sådär globalt
37 liksom att människor talar också mycket mer än andra
38 språk än finska
39 och sådär så
40 ja kanske min egen synvinkel är att nej

EXCERPT (15):

1 Intervjuare: om vi fokuserar på nationell nivå
2 så hurdan bild tycker du att finlandssvenskar har i det
3 finska samhället?
4 Intervjuperson S: nå
5 nu hör man ju mycket sådana här
6 stereotyper om att finlandssvenskar är väldigt rika
7 och så här
8 segelbåtar och
9 sånt
10 och ja det är ju kanske främst det
11 tycker jag
12 sen kanske jag har upplevt det kanske
13 att när finlandssvenskar vill ha service på svenska
14 så jag har fått den bilden att finnar tror att vi vill ha service
15 på svenska bara för att
16 bara för att
17 upprätthålla vår finlandssvenska identitet
18 men för mig är det i iallafall om jag vill ha service på
19 svenska är det för att
20 jag har svårt att uttrycka mig på finska
21 och ifall man far till läkaren
22 så är det svårt att beskriva mina

23 hur det känns
24 eller mina krämpor på finska
25 när det ändå är ett officiellt språk i Finland
26 och det finns i lagen att det skall gå att få service på svenska
27 så inte bara liksom för att jävlas
28 eller så där att vi vill ha service på svenska
29 utan för att det är för att vi inte kan finska
30 att liksom dom kanske ha fått en bild
31 att nog kan alla finlandssvenskar finska att varför skall
32 dom alltid kräva service på svenska
33 så det har kanske varit en sådan här grej som jag har fått
34 upp ögonen
35 för när jag har flyttat hit
36 sen vet jag inte så där
37 ja
38 men typ det

EXCERPT (16):

1 Intervjuare: jag är alltid intresserad av framtiden
2 hur det är för det är ju liksom
3 jag tycker det är väldigt diskussioner kanske i allmänheten
4 och så där att ha ni följt med någonting eller så
5 Intervjuperson F: vi pratar nu om svenska språket eller
6 Intervjuare: ja eller finlandssvenskar och svenska språket och allmänt
7 Finland och så där framtiden
8 vi är ju här förstås för en orsak men man kan ju säga vad
9 som helst
10 Intervjuperson F: nå förstås ibland från finskspråkiga kompisar hör man det
11 att dom typ hatar svenskan i skolan
12 jag har inte hört kanske någon enstaka som har tyckt om
13 att
14 det är jag tror att det kommer från att man måste läsa
15 men sen igen om den tas bort för att jag har inte varit så
16 hemskt aktiv på att läsa om ämnet
17 men om det tas bort helt och hållet så då tror jag
18 jag tror inte att någon tar det i så fall
19 eller det blir ännu färre som kan svenska idag
20 överhuvudtaget
21 att det är kanske inte så simpelt

22 det är ganska svårt
23 på det sättet att man inte hör till den gruppen
24 man har inte så mycket att säga
25 men sen igen själv att om jag någon dag möjligen får barn
26 så nog vill jag att dom skulle vara liksom
27 om vi säger att min partner skulle vara finskspråkig helt
28 och hållet så nog skulle jag vilja vara den svenskspråkiga
29 föräldern då
30 och försöka hålla det så att de skulle bli tvåspråkiga
31 men det här är ganska långt i framtiden tror jag men ändå
32 förstås har jag tänkt på det förstås redan
33 Intervjuperson H: mina kompisar här när det kommer upp ibland
34 att jag pratar finska
35 alltså svenska förstås förstår svenska
36 är dom sådär att varför har jag inte läst att jag kunde ha åkt
37 till Sverige och Norge och göra det
38 och det att det skulle vara lättare
39 så såhär i efterhand är dom sådär att önskar att dom på
40 riktigt skulle ha satsat lite energi i det
41 och lärt sig svenska på riktigt när dom har läst i skolan
42 Intervjuperson T: men sen tror jag också det är som svårt för dem för att de
43 börjar
44 nu har det väl blivit att det måste börja läsa svenska på
45 femman eller sexan eller något såhär
46 men förr har det varit att de börjar läsa på sjuan åttan nian
47 så om du börjar ett språk så så nu är det ganska svårt
48 och då du läser de tre åren
49 och sen har de typ en några kurser i gymnasiet och de far
50 till gymnasiet
51 så inte lär man sig så jättelätt språket snabbt
52 Intervjuperson F: och så sent
53 Intervjuperson T: ja ja
54 Intervjuperson H: och den tiden är inte då man är bäst motiverad
55: Intervjuperson T: nä och jag var just och observera till X koulu
56 så en svenska lektion och jag satt nog där bak och bara
57 fundera att okej
58 vad gick jag i finska
59 jag hade för sig modersmålsinriktad finska
60 men som min kompis som inte är som tvåspråkig utan

61 riktigt svensk så hon hade vanlig finska
62 och sen vad de gick igenom
63 och vad de gick igenom där på svenskan igenom de gick
64 på riktigt igenom i svenskan ungefär
65 att eller de gick igenom maträtter
66 på svenska bara
67 hela lektionen så inte vet jag heller om
68 man behöver de där maträtterna så jättemycket
69 och sen gick de igenom de här Sveriges det här
70 någo sådana udda dagar som Kanelbullensdag
71 och de här gick de Sveriges sådana dagar
72 Intervjuperson F: vad konstigt
73 Intervjuperson T: hela lektionen jag satt nog bara där bak
74 och inte funderade jag på om de inte kan svenska
75 efter den här lektionen
76 så jo
77 Intervjuperson F: men lär dom sig liksom mer rikssvenska eller är det
78 finlandssvenska
79 Intervjuperson T: rikssvenska
80 Intervjuperson F: det är också lite konstigt
81 Intervjuperson T: mmm
82 Intervjuperson F: jo det är samma språk men
83 ändå sådär lite konstigt
84 Intervjuperson T: ja och sen kanske om de tar svenskan bort
85 så då skulle de ju *basically* borde ta bort också för helt
86 svenska studeranden elever
87 som till exempel i Larsmo
88 inte talar igen talar finska där
89 igen talar finska
90 så de skulle ju ändå borda ta också finskan bort om de tar
91 svenskan som obligatorisk bort
92 Intervjuperson H: nå inte är det kanske helt sådär enkelt heller
93 Intervjuperson T: nå nä bara sådär
94 Intervjuperson H: procentuellt är det inte så hemskt många i Finland som
95 pratar svenska sist och slutligen så inte svenska och finskan
96 alls i samma ställning
97 Intervjuperson T: nå men om man alls vill fundera att finska vill inte lära sig
98 svenska
99 nå inte vill riktigt svenskar vilja lära sig finska

100 inte alla men vissa vill inte
101 så om man vill vara riktigt rättvis så på det sättet
102 Intervjuperson F: men sen igen måste man
103 annars måste man kanske byta till engelska
104 men om man går utanför ett sådant ställe så måste man
105 prata någonting finska
106 jag tror det blir ganska svårt
107 inte skulle jag säga svårt liv
108 men jag är åtminstone glad att jag kan finska om man bor
109 liksom i Finland
110 Intervjuperson H: jag skulle nog kunna tänka mig att det skulle vara svårt om
111 man inte skulle prata någon finska alls
112 Intervjuperson F: absolut
113 Intervjuperson T: jo
114 Intervjuperson H: och ändå bo i Finland
115 Intervjuperson F: men jag förstod din *point* liksom mmm
116 Intervjuperson H: men nog kanske är det lättare också
117 när man har bott här
118 inte pratar ju någon svenska
119 nä och ändå skall de lära sig svenska
120 nog är det kanske lättare att förstå varför de inte vill
121 lära sig svenska heller
122 om de inte har någon användning för det
123 Intervjuperson T: mmm men sen om det flyttar till till exempel Helsingfors
124 eller Österbotten så borde de ju kunna svenska
125 ändå
126 Intervjuperson H: jo förstås samtidigt skulle jag hoppas att alla vill lära sig
127 svenska [...]

EXCERPT (17):

1 Intervjuare: du har sagt väldigt mycket och så men ja du nämnde
2 majoritet och minoritet
3 tror du det finns liksom möjlighet att på något sätt bygga
4 mer förståelse mellan eller att det skulle bli bättre förståelse
5 för att du har ju uttryckt dig att det inte finns
6 att det saknas någonting
7 Intervjuperson S: mmm
8 nå ja det är kanske just att man upplevt när man flyttat
9 liksom hit

10 och särskilt med folk som är från östra Finland
11 eller som mittersta Finland
12 Mellersta Finland kanske det heter
13 att där liksom kanske det inte har funnits samma förståelse
14 men sen har jag kanske haft lättare att som
15 diskutera med folk som varit ändå från sådana områden
16 där det finns lite finlandssvenskar fast dom själv inte
17 egentligen har haft något med finlandssvenskar att göra
18 men bara att dom har hört
19 att dom kanske har träffat någon tidigare
20 att man inte är den första dom har träffat
21 att jag tycker att det är väldigt som stor skillnad på var i
22 Finland man befinner sig
23 eller så där att
24 ja nog tror jag också att jag bidrar att mer förståelse bara
25 för att jag har flyttat hit
26 att nog tror jag att liksom
27 nog tror jag att finlandssvenskar också har skyldighet att
28 vara mer öppna
29 och berätta om vad dom upplever att inte bara dra sig
30 undan och bara umgås i finlandssvenska kretsar också
31 att inte är det
32 ja att från båda sidor att vara öppen för nytt
33 Intervjuare: ja jag tror att det är ganska bra eller det är bra
34 Intervjuperson S: sen kanske jag ännu vill säga att ja
35 jag vill inte på något sätt säga att vi är diskriminerade eller
36 något sånt fast vi kanske är en minoritet
37 eller så där
38 att för det tycker jag
39 vi kan inte på något sätt jämföra oss med samerna till
40 exempel där det finns som en
41 ja vi har mycket rättigheter och
42 så där har det ändå väldigt bra
43 att det är mera dom mellanmännsliga relationerna som
44 man ibland upplever
45 inte problem men just så där kanske missförstånd eller så
46 där ovetskap så att
47 ja att vi har det väldigt bra

EXCERPT (18):

- 1 Intervjuare: finns det någo möjligheter
2 att kommer det att vara såhär
3 finns det några alternativ
4 Intervjuperson T: det där är en svår fråga
5 Intervjuare: det är det
6 Intervjuperson F: det kanske känns lite typ bara att
7 att man är svår
8 om man skulle be om svenska för
9 vi är ändå så få mot alla andra
10 att då gör jag det enklare för dom
11 och vad det skulle vara
12 men sen igen om ingen skulle be så sen blir det snart att
13 behöver vi inte det
14 kommer någon att ens erbjuda det
15 vet inte
16 Intervjuperson H: inte vet jag något specifik
17 men kanske större till exempel tänker på Norden
18 så nog finns det mycket möjligheter om man pratar
19 svenska
20 så kan man kommunicera genast med
21 svenskar och norrmän åtminstone
22 danska börjar vara lite svårt för mig
23 Intervjuperson F: dom vill inte heller riktigt förstå oss
24 Intervjuperson H: det finns mycket möjligheter
25 Intervjuare: men då gick det ut utanför landets gräns
26 Intervjuperson T: men just i sen kanske Finland då man är tvåspråkig
27 så kan man söka till exempel jag nu som blir lärare till
28 svenska skolor
29 och sen kan jag söka till finska skolor
30 om jag nu gör det här *kielikoe* så att jag får mina *pätevyidet*
31 till finska också
32 men sen om man har gjort det så sen har man ganska brett
33 med möjligheter
34 Intervjuperson H: visst finns det arbete som kräver att man skall kunna
35 svenska eller skriva svenska
36 så förstås har man bättre möjligheter då också
37 jag tycker till exempel min x [familjemedlem, LH] inte vet
38 hon ju

39 men hon jobbar på X [arbetsplats, LH] och där var hon en
40 av de två sen som de valde mellan och hon trodde själv att
41 det kunde vara att hon pratar och skriver svenska bra
42 och därför valde de henne istället för den andra
43 så visst finns det stora möjligheter där också och fördelar
44 där också

45 Intervjuperson F: jag skulle nog säga att det att man kan flera språk
46 är bara en bra sak liksom
47 jag brukar nog ta upp det ganska ofta om jag söker jobb
48 eller någonting
49 att så nog ganska direkt
50 och just så att
51 eller sen också om att vara internationellt åtminstone i
52 Norden med svenska
53 och sen också tycker jag och tror jag att engelskan har
54 kommit snabbare och lättare
55 för att svenskan är så stark eller liksom att
56 eller sådär att inte skulle jag säkert ha sagt att jag någonsin
57 skulle ha haft *ralli-englanti* heller för att
58 det sku många säger just att inte låter jag som en finsk som
59 pratar engelska eller så
60 så det är kanske min egen dialekt jag har också
61 ja men men jag ser det nog som mycket möjlighet bara
62 och man skulle typ hoppas att fler skulle kunna ändå
63 liksom
64 sådär i slutet ännu mer skulle kunna svenska också
65 så skulle det ge mer möjligheter till dem också skulle jag
66 säga

67 Intervjuare: ja språk är en rikedom
68 möjligheter
69 något att tillägga

70 Intervjuperson T: jag tycker att det gick riktigt bra
71 inte var så jättemycket diskussion så här men

72 Intervjuperson H: jag tycker att det är så svårt på så kort tid
73 att man skulle på något sätt komma djupare in

74 Intervjuperson F: precis

75 Intervjuare: jo sen är det en bekvämlighetsfråga också.