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COMMUNITY MEDIA AND IDENTITY
Case of Finnish-Swedish Television

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ABSTRACT

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The study concerns the identity formation among the directors of community media serving a minority in Finland. The research material consists of 12 interviewees from 10 Swedish-language local television stations and two interviewees from the national Finnish-Swedish television service located in the capital, conducted in January and February 2005. The talk of the directors of Finnish-Swedish television stations is researched in relation to Finnish-Swedishness and the ways they relate themselves and their television station within the possible Finnish-Swedish identities. The factors behind this study are, on one hand, the changes that new technology has introduced by facilitating cheaper costs of television programme production and the multiplied media space in which the television stations or online television channels can work. On the other hand the study looks at the increased movement of immigration that is considered to accumulate the importance of community identities in the future. In the interpretation of the research result for instance Stuart Hall's views concerning the formation of identity are used. Moreover, in the part of the analysis of the research result related to manifestation of Finnish-Swedishness in the Finnish-Swedish television I have used the Finnish-Swedish identity symbols defined by Bo Lönnqvist.

The most important identity dispositions appeared to be the Swedish language and the views concerning heterogeneity or homogeneity of the group of Finnish Swedes in relation to the others in their group and also to the other groups, such as the Finnish-speaking Finns. While the differences are considered essential definers of the group of Finnish Swedes, the interviewees still perceive their identity dispositions through common systems of meanings, which they also use in explaining the television stations they work for.

PREFACE

This Master's Thesis completes my studies in the Master's Programme on Information Society that I began in autumn 2003 in the University of Tampere. My Thesis addresses the development of information society by an approach in which the concept of identity and the electronic community media, especially community television, are conjoined. The question of how community television aimed for minorities constructs a minority identity in the view of the personnel working in such community television stations was the most significant source of inspiration in this study.

Furthermore, the exploration of this question provided me with an opportunity to acquire useful information on the field of my professional interest, which I had aimed at since the beginning of my Master's Thesis.

The process required for writing this Thesis consists of a period that is characterized by interplay between the moments of enlightenment and the moments of despondency. Fortunately, I did not have to manage this alone. I would like to thank Lecturer Seppo Kangaspunta for his help in choosing the topic of the Thesis and his regular guidance and enthusiasm, Professor Kaarle Nordenstreng for his contribution to the final stage of the work, Mrs Annikki Skogster and Mr Karl-Oskar Skogster for transcribing a part of the interviews, Svenska Kultufonden for financial support, and my family for making my work seem important.

Helsinki, 15th of December 2007

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1 INTRODUCTION

Television is considered as the single most important medium today and it has been researched much in Finland. However, a relatively small part of this research has been conducted on community television. This scarcity is explained by the fact that community television is not considered important because of its expensive maintenance and small market (Kangaspunta 2006: 273, see also Wiio 2003). The costly production and small audience numbers are encumbering especially community television targeted to ethnic or linguistic minorities and this may well be a reason that it remains a fairly unknown field of research. Even when earlier research has been conducted on community television in Finland, such research has concentrated on the local community television stations (see e.g., Mangs 1987, Lokki 1987, Kettula 1987). An expensive maintenance and small market as the reasons for sparse research have, however, been contradicted by recent developments of technology. Firstly, new technology has introduced less costly television production equipment, and secondly, the media space in which the television stations or online television channels can work has been multiplied by both internet and digital television that, at least by principle, enable larger variety of television channels. With the changed situation it is possible that community television will come more common. Therefore, I consider community television an interesting topic for my research.

I am approaching community television targeted to a linguistic or ethnic community from the perspective of identity formation. Stuart Hall (1999) notes that the immigration and emigration between the countries, accelerated by globalisation, have changed the unity of the cultural systems related to the traditional idea of a nation state by introducing new cultural systems, which have challenged the importance of national identity and placed more emphasis on local, regional and community identities (61). I believe that these new identities will gain more importance in the future and, therefore, I consider that research over community identity of ethnic or linguistic minority is important.

My research concerns both community television serving a linguistic or ethnic minority and identity of that community. The question of **how identity, language and media together relate to each other** has been researched quite little. While there is research conducted on identity and media or on language and media or on identity and language, studies analysing all of these three concepts together is less common. Especially true this is in terms of the minority media, which as such is a

neglected research field, as Tom Moring (2002) notes and continues that even in those cases where the topic of the research analysis has been the minority and the media, it has been more common to study the representation of the minorities in majority media rather than the minority media as such (189-190). Because of sparse research, very little is known about the mechanisms linking media, language and identity formation in minority situations. The only thing seemingly sure is that the representatives of minority languages act on the basis of the belief that the impact of media in their language is important (Ibid: 189-190).

There is no official information available about **the links between the self-definition of ethnic communities and their media**. However, Roza Tsagrouasianou (2002), who has studied the Asian and Greek ethnic media in Britain, notes that ethnic community media are surely involved in the processes in which the ethnic community defines itself. First, the ethnic community media have to be aware of the already existing ethnic community self-definition since they profess to serve the needs and culture and experience and values of the communities they address. Secondly, the ethnic community media are engaged in the process of minority community redefinition, as they need to appeal to a viable audience. The continuous re-definition of the communities is a necessary task faced by ethnic media in order to avoid confrontation and addressing of the internal diversity or even fragmentation of their audience (Ibid: 226). In this work the internal diversity of ethnic or linguistic audience has been speculated as well as the ways

In my study I want to further research the identity formation of ethnic or minority communities and their medium in relation to the case of the Finnish Swedes and their television. I approach the issue from the perspective of the managerial personnel of the Finnish-Swedish television station by scrutinizing the values and systems of meanings that are connected to Finnish-Swedish identity. In analysing the material I use the discourse-analytical approach.

I shall introduce my research questions and matters related to framing of my research in chapter 2. Chapter 3 presents an essential concept of my research: the Finnish Swedes or the Swedish-speaking Finns, and matters related to that concept such as the position of the group as a minority. Chapter 4 speaks about another concept that is essential to my work, the concept of identity, and about the matters that earlier research has connected to the identity of the Finnish Swedes. Chapter 5 deals with community television in Finland, specifically about the Finnish-Swedish community television. Chapter 6 presents my material and the methods used in collecting and analysing it. My analysis is given in chapter 7 and chapter 8 draws conclusions of my research results.

2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The aim of this research is to answer the following questions by qualitative analysis of the material that I have gathered by using the general interview guide approach or so-called “thematic interviews”:

- What kind of identity positions do the directors of Finnish-Swedish television as representatives of the personnel of community television serving a minority create in their speech to themselves and to the others?
- How such identity positions are understood in relation to both the local and the nationwide Finnish-Swedish television stations and how are they manifested in these stations?

By asking what kind of identity positions do the directors of Finnish-Swedish television as representatives of the personnel of community television serving a minority create in their speech to themselves and to the others I aim to discover how the interviewees conceive their identity as the members of a minority and what kind of identity positions they adopt? Are the language or the manners and the opinions considered crucial in conceiving identity? To find out the manifestations of Finnish Swedes identity in community television stations serving a minority I ask the interviewees to name such manifestations and to speak about both their presence and meaning for the station. Moreover, I also ask the interviewees evaluate the manifestations related to the minority identity of the group of the Finnish Swedes in the earlier academic literature.

I research identity formation is approached in relation to community televisions serving a ethnic or linguistic minority through the Finnish-Swedish television stations located in different parts of west-coast and southern Finland, a traditionally Swedish-speaking area known as Svenskfinland (Swedish) Finland. What is meant by the Finnish-Swedish television stations in this research are those television stations, both local and nationwide, that are, as collectives, identifying themselves Finnish-Swedish. The interviewees are chosen from both a capital based television station representing the nationwide Finnish-Swedish television (Finlands Svenska television, FST) and from several local television stations in different parts of Finland. The interviewees differed very much from one another: they live in different places of 'Svenskfinland' and they are from very different age groups. Also the television stations vary in size, in frequency of transmission and in many other ways from one another, while the common issue among them is, as noted above, that all

of these stations enunciate the self-identification as Finnish-Swedish. FST does so in its official publications by presenting itself as 'the Finnish Swedes' own television' (finlandssvenskarnas egen television). The local television stations considered in this study enunciate their identification as Finnish Swedish by belonging to an organisation called Förbundet Finlandssvensk Lokal-tv r.f. (Association for Finland's Swedish Local TV) , which as such acts as a head-organisation for Swedish-Finnish local television stations in Finland and states the advancing of the common issues of the Finnish-Swedish local televisions as it's main task¹. Moreover, the local television station taken into this study fulfil the criteria of minimum one hour programme per week².

The concentration on only the members of the personnel of Finnish-Swedish television station as the definers of Finnish-Swedish identity makes my research sturdier. However, it must also be noted that the results gained in this research are also limited since they concern only one part of the Finnish-Swedish group and some other parts of the group might relate very different values and views to Finnish-Swedish identity. For instance, in terms of the level of Finnish-Swedish identity, it can be referred to a recent study (Liebkind, Teräsaho and Jasinskaja-Lahti 2006:147) concerning the Finnish Swedes, which noted that persons who were more active in Swedish-speaking than in Finnish-speaking organisations had also better skills in Finnish than had those who were more active in Finnish-speaking organisations, while it is found in another study (Ståhlberg 1995) that persons with weak or non-existing skills in Finnish felt themselves more strongly Finnish-Swedish as did the bilingual persons. In the light of these earlier studies, the interviewees in my research may possible speak about Finnish-Swedish identity from an angle that bears a relatively weak identification as Finnish-Swedish. However, because of a lack of comparison groups it is not possible to scrutinize differences between the values and views related to Finnish-Swedish identity by persons with less associational activity.

Furthermore, to choose the directors of the Finnish-Swedish organisations as the target of my research does not mean that I would consider them as some sort of average group, whose opinions and views I would aim to use, through the material I have gathered, as a ground for me to state generalisations concerning the entire group of the Finnish Swedes. My choice is mainly motivated by the need to frame the work. Instead of explaining Finnish-Swedish identity and its formation in and by the Finnish-Swedish television, I aim to both understand the characteristics that are

¹ Translated from the Finnish language statement in the association's website explaining general issues about the association (<http://www.lokaltv.org/pages/index-fin.html>). Original text: "Liiton päätehtävä on edistää suomenruotsalaisten paikallistelevioiden yhteisiä asioita."

² More information about the local televisions considered in this study is collected in the appendix ?

considered important in relation to this identity and its formation, and also the reasons given for these considerations. The study and its results concern the speech over Finnish Swedish identity and its formation in and by the Finnish-Swedish television, not the reality of Finnish Swedish identity and its formation. However, it must be noted that the interviewees as members of their own culture are not free to produce their own interpretations, since the interpretation of meanings is regulated by the culture in which the meanings are created. Therefore, I believe that the results gained in my research can be related into certain extent also to those Finnish Swedes who are outside this study.

One of the key concepts used in this paper of is **the concept of community**. As such, the conceptualisation of community has been occupying sociologists for more than a century and resulted in an exhaustive list. For the purposes of my research it is sufficient to note that generally two types of communities can be identified within the relevant literature (Carpentier, Lie and Servaes 2003, Jankowski 2002). According to Jankowski (2002), first type of communities, 'geographical community', refers to a community with a relatively limited structure or geographical region, such as a neighbourhood, a village, a town or a city. This traditional geographical community is often contrasted with 'community of interest', in which members share some cultural, social or political interest independent of geographical adjacency (Ibid: 5-6). Moreover, the conceptualisation of community as 'community of interest', also known as 'interpretative community' or as 'community of meaning', emphasizes on a symbolic construction of community and takes culture as a point of departure, whereas the conceptualisation of community as 'geographical community' places more emphasis on the structure of community (Carpentier et al. 2003: 240-241). In this paper I shall approach my topic by using the concept of 'community of interest', while the concept of 'geographical community' shall also be considered here. Furthermore, while the objects of my research can, in a sense, be considered to base on different types of 'geographical communities', the nation-wide and the local, I do not emphasis on this but rather consider the objects of my research to base on single type of 'community of interest', that is formed by the Finnish-Swedes and by Finnish-Swedishness.

The concept of community media, as such, refers according to Nick Jankowski (2002:6) to a wide variety of mediated forms of communication including print media, electronic media and electronic network initiatives. Jankowski notes, that the community media is often characterized, for instance, by that its ownership is shared by community residents; its content is locally oriented and produced, the production involves non-professionals and volunteers; its distributed via the ether, cable television infrastructure or other electronic networks and that it aims to provide news and

information relevant to the needs of community members and to engage these members in public communication. Moreover, the audience of community media is often located to a relatively small area and the community media is essentially non-commercial, while it might draw incomes partly from adverts. However, while these characteristics are outlining the concept of community media, the diversity in the field is wide and emphasis on these features varies much (Ibid:7). Donald Browne (2002) has gained similar results from his researches concerning 111 minority community media service provider in 11 countries. This diversity in the field of community media is seen also in the literature concerning it. For instance, Ed Hollander and James Stappers (1992) note that the community media often confronts the establishment, such as the mass media institutions because these cannot, due to their institutionalized character, serve such specific audiences and local topics according (16-17). However, in an academic book concerning the community media, Tom Moring (2002) speaks about a digital channel for Swedish (ethnic) minority in Finland, FST5, which is a part of the public broadcasting company of Finland, Yle. These seemingly contradictory views are, again, understood by different ways of conceptualising the community which the community media targets at. With the introduction of new technology the research of community media has become interested about communities of networks formed in Internet. For instance, the community media services for ethnic or linguistic minorities aim at a community characterized by ethnic or linguistic features rather than a community defined by a geographical proximity. In this paper I concentrate on community television, since that is the object of my study, but I shall also refer to radio and print media into some extent.

The concept of community television includes also several different televisions that vary in terms of their target audiences, level of commercialism, content, production, objectives, ownership and control. These televisions can also be divided into two main categories, as Seppo Kangaspunta (2005) notes, according to the type of community, which they serve: the geographical community or the community of interest. The community televisions serving the geographical community include cable televisions and local or/and regional community televisions, whereas the community televisions serving the community of interest include more different televisions varying from the commercial life style -channels to ethnic minority service channels. These classifications are not, however, stable and many televisions considered as community televisions fit in more than one of the classifications (Ibid: 258). In this research the concept of community television refers primarily to the televisions serving a community of interest, a part or the whole of the group of the Finnish Swedes of Swedish-speaking Finns, while the majority of the televisions included in this study also serve a local of unit of geographical community.

Moreover, in relation to the concept of 'Finnish Swedes' (finlandssvenskar), there is another concept, 'Swedish-speaking Finns' (svenskspråkiga finnar), that is often used interchangeably with the reference to the same part of Finland's population. While they might appear to have same meaning, Bo Lönnqvist (1981) has noted that there is a difference between the meanings of them. He clarifies that the concept of 'Swedish-speaking Finns' is older and it bears the idea of a Swedish-speaking group that is part of the 'one nation' of Finland. The concept of 'Finnish Swedes' was created more recently in the cultural awakening of the Swedish-speaking part of the Finland's population from 1870s and onwards. This concept is then related to the internal identification process of the Finnish Swedes, which both created a group identity and was supported by it. Moreover, the concept of 'Finnish Swedes' has been used to underline the distinctive cultural characteristics of the Swedish-speaking language group, which separate them from the Finnish-speaking population. (Ibid:10) These two concepts put forth perhaps the most essential questions for the coherence of this specific group; are the members of this group 'Swedish-speaking Finns', in which case the only uniting factor for the group is the language, or are they 'Finnish Swedes' in which case there would be more distinctive characteristics uniting the group and differentiating them from other groups. The relevant literature uses both the concept of 'Finnish Swedes' (Moring and Kivikuru 2002; Ståhlberg 1995; Herberts 1995, Lönnqvist 1981) and the concept of 'Swedish-speaking Finns' (Liebkind, Broo and Finnäs 1995). In my paper I shall use both of these concepts into certain extent, since both of them are essential to a research aiming to find out more about the identity of this group and the variations of that identity. I shall, however, in my analysis refer to the group as the Finnish Swedes. I do this, first, because it clarifies that writing of the analysis and, second, it seems preferable as the aim of my study is to scrutinize the internal identity construction processes of the members of this group.

3 FINNISH SWEDES AS A MINORITY

The Finnish Swedes are a heterogeneous group partly because of their unique history. The heterogeneity is reflected into certain extend in the current regional cleavages within the group. Moreover, because of the heterogeneity of Finnish Swedes, they form a group that is difficult to approach in a research. One way to do this is to approach them as a minority and there are several categories of minorities that the earlier academic research has used in relation to Finnish Swedes: they have been approached as a geographical minority (Lönnqvist 1981) or as an ethnic or cultural minority (Ståhlberg 1995: 26; Allardt and Starck 1981) or as a linguistic minority (Liebkind et al. 1995). In the following I shall throw some light on the history of Finnish Swedes and explain the heterogeneity of them as a group. I shall also introduce the different categories of minorities that have been used in approaching them as a group and how these categories relate to my research. At first, however, it is necessary to give an official definition to a Finnish Swede.

3.1 The official definition of a Finnish Swede

Ground for that a person is considered a Finnish Swede is based on the information that each individual gives about his or her native language or mother tongue (äidinkieli/moderspråk) to Population Register Centre of Finland. One person can, however, have only one language as a native language (Liebkind et al. 1995: 54). Thus, officially a Finnish Swede is a person who both is a citizen of Finland and states to have Swedish as his or her mother tongue (Herberts 1995:41). This way, a lot emphasis is placed on the individual identification, especially when compared to the ways the members of some other minority have been defined in Finland and in other countries. For instance, in relation to another minority of Finland, Sámis, the way to count the Finnish Swedes has its negative aspect as well. A person is considered a Sámi if he or she or one of his or her grand parents has learned Sámi language as their first language. Allardt and Starck (1981) note that the way to define a Finnish Swede, in which so called minimum principle is used and the definition is done according to the self-categorisation of each person, does not give as big total number of the persons considered as Finnish Swedes as could be gotten by using so called maximum principle that used with Sámis. The maximum principle would define a person Finnish-Swedish if, for instance, her or his family background is Finnish-Swedish (Ibid: 115). In relation to the minimum principle, Allardt and Starck also point out, that many other minorities would have wiped from the map of Europe if their members would be counted with the same principles as those used in counting the Finnish Swedes (Ibid:116).

Besides these disadvantages, the system in Finland is problematic in some other ways. In terms of the bilingual persons, who come from the families where both Finnish and Swedish are spoken and who have to decide which language they want to register as their native language, the possibility to choose only one of the languages and that way to choose, for instance, whether to be a Finnish Swede or a Finnish-speaking Finn might not lead to a situation that describes their identification in a best possible way. The meaning of the decisions made by such bilingual people effect, however, strongly the total number of the persons officially counted as Finnish Swedes, since today approximately 40 percent of the Finnish Swedes marry a Finnish-speaking Finn and form a bilingual family (Herberts 1995:41). Furthermore, if the registration of native language or mother tongue is not directly related to the identification with the registered language or the speakers of that, the registration is important since it has a direct correspondence on the registration of the language of a municipality, which in turn defines the language of the services given in the municipality respectively. Unlike a person, a municipality in Finland can be bilingual or unilingual. The basic rule is that a municipality is unilingual (Finnish or Swedish) if the minority (Swedish-speaking or Finnish-speaking respectively) constitutes either less than 8% of the population or consists of less than 3 000 persons. In case that the minority exceeds the 8% level or 3 000 persons, the municipality is bilingual. The bilingual municipalities do not, however, become unilingual unless the minority drops below 6%. On the basis of official figures about the language of the citizens it is decided whether the municipality is regarded as unilingual Finnish, unilingual Swedish or bilingual with the exception of the province of Åland Islands, which is a unilingual Swedish guaranteed by an international law convention (Liebkind, Broo and Finnäs 1995: 54). In the mainland of Finland today, without counting the Åland Islands, there are today 415 municipalities, of which 3 are unilingual Swedish. Besides this, there are 23 bilingual municipalities in which the Swedish is spoken by majority and 21 bilingual municipalities in which the Swedish is spoken by minority (Kunnat...2006:36).

In everyday life this means, for instance, that inhabitants of a bilingual municipality have an absolute right to obtain documents in their own language, while in a unilingual municipality these rights are restricted to one's right to get documents in one's own language only from courts and provincial governments. Also the decisions concerning, for instance, the number of the Swedish language schools in respective areas are related to the number of children registered as Swedish-speakers in the area. However, the choose of the official language has no direct consequences and a person can, for instance, choose the language in daycares and school irrespective of the official

language (Liebkind, Broo and Finnäs 1995: 56-57). Moreover, many children registered as Finnish-speakers in bilingual families do apply to the schools based on Swedish language (Herberts 1995:41).

The increase in the total number of Finnish Swedes can thus be seen positive to the group of Finnish Swedes since it has direct consequences in the number of public services offered in Swedish. The situation in relation to the registration of the bilingual persons looks better now than it looked some 30 years ago. Currently, approximately 60 percent of the children in bilingual families are registered as Swedish-speakers, while in 1970 the correspondent number was 40 percent (Finnäs 2001:23). Based on the official registrations the number of the Finnish Swedes constitutes currently 5,5 % (respectively 289 751 persons) of the Finland's population³ (Taskutiето/Fickfakta 2005:10).

The interviewees in my study are officially Finnish Swedes and their mother tongue is Swedish. They live in municipalities which are either unilingual or bilingual with the Swedish language domination. Since this study is concerning mainly their work in Finnish-Swedish television, regardless of is it voluntary or paid, it is not important to find out do they have children or not and do they register their children as Swedish-speakers or not.

3.2 Heterogeneity of the Finnish Swedes

The identification with a specific group has been considered easier in such case the status of that group is seen positive (Liebkind et al. 1995:16). Today in Finland the status of both Swedish language and the Finnish Swedes as a group is good. Karina Liebkind (1984) notes this and states, that there is even a popular stereotype of the Swedish-speaking minority as an upper class population, which is based on that the only Swedish-speakers many Finns from totally Finnish-speaking regions have met have been individual managers or white collar workers in industrial enterprises located in these areas. Popular images easily allow these individuals to represent the entire Swedish-speaking minority (Ibid: 107, see also Allardt and Starck 1981). The fact, however, is that the Swedish-Finns are a historically heterogeneous group and the Swedish-speakers do not generally define themselves in terms of the upper class stereotypes (Liebkind 1984:107). While Swedish speakers were predominant in the tiny upper class, this class was so small in the country as a whole that both language groups must have consisted predominately of rural populations of modest social status (McRae 1999:128). Thus, majority of the Swedish-speaking Finns has never

³ of the total number 5 236 611 of the population in the year 2005

belonged to the upper classes, but they have had manual occupations in farming, fishing, transportation and industry (Liebkind et al. 1995: 71).

The primary reasons for the stereotype of the Swedish-speakers as the members of the upper class are not based on statistical facts, but rather on a historical symbol value. The language of the ruling class in Finland was Swedish until the end of the 19th century. Therefore, it was necessary for all the Finns to adopt the Swedish language in order to become upwardly mobile. Furthermore, the memory of the status of Swedish language lasts longer than does the reality and the stereotype of Finnish Swedes has not faded albeit the objective cultural, political, social and economic mobility of the Finnish-speaking Finns has changed (Liebkind et al. 1995: 73).

The heterogeneity of the Finnish Swedes comes clearer when scrutinising the origins of the Swedish settlement in Finland. Historians agree generally that the vast majority of the present population settlement in the coastal area arose in the population movements around 13th century, in the era of the Swedish crusades and the colonisation of Finland. However, since the era of these large population movements two historically distinct parts can be specified among the Finland's Swedish-speaking minority. The first one, the rural part, has been consisting of farmers, fishermen and persons connected with shipping on the southern and western coasts of Finland, while the second one, the upper classes part, has been including the higher estates of the bourgeoisies and nobility of Finland. In comparison to the rural population, the ruling class was quite heterogeneous and consisted over the centuries of several groups, such as the officials and merchants and noble immigrants from Sweden, the upwardly mobile Swedish-speaking peasantry and the upwardly mobile Finnish-speaking peasantry adopting Swedish language, as well as the artisans and the merchants originating from all over the Baltic region and adopting the Swedish language (Liebkind et al. 1995: 69).

Thus, while Swedish was the language of the ruling class until 19th century, the great vast of the Swedish-speaking Finns had, however, little or no contact with the politically and economically ruling elite. Before the last decade of the 19th century, when the Finnish national popular movement caused a counter-reaction nationalism as a popular movement among the Swedish-speaking Finns united the Swedish bourgeoisies and the Swedish lower classes, language was not a ground for a social bond between the two distinct parts of the Swedish-speaking population. Furthermore, while the popular stereotype views the Finnish Swedes as a homogenous, upper class group, the heterogeneity of the Swedish-speaking Finns has always been a soil for some conflicts

and cleavages within the group. The cleavages were earlier more common between the social classes than between the regions, but recently the regional cleavages seem to have become more important (Liebkind et al. 1995:69-70).

The regional cleavages within the group of Finnish Swedes are based on many differences. Besides the different structure of industries also the different linguistic environments in the various Swedish regions give rise to different interests and patterns of identification. The rural west-coast is traditionally the most unilingual Swedish area, while the Swedish-speaking population in the coastal towns and in the southern areas has experienced a bilingual environment for a longer time. Moreover, the rural and urban parts of the Finnish-Swedish population are also facing different problems in terms of vitality. The problem of emigration is more acute in the west-coast rural areas, while the finnicization problem is more severe in the densely populated, southern urban areas. From this follows that the question of vitality for the Swedish-speakers in the rural areas is how to maintain unilingual Swedishness, and the Finnish Swedes in the urbanized bilingual or Finnish environments have to find an answer to the question of how to maintain a living bilingualism (Liebkind et al. 1995:73-74, see also Grönroos 1978).

Because of the different approaches to it, the bilingualism as such causes very different reaction within the rural and the urban Finnish Swedes. The persons living in the bilingual environments are usually proud of their bilingualism, while the unilingual Swedish-speakers in the rural areas hold very negative attitudes towards this phenomenon (Liebkind et al. 1995: 74). The internal conflicts takes a provoking form in the way the unilingual Swedish-speakers from rural areas tend to call the linguistic pliability of the bilingual from the urban areas a "noxious weed which has spread too much among the Swedish-speaking Finns" (Allard and Starck 1981; Rosenberg 1981:66). Moreover, this inbuilt conflict within the group of the Finnish Swedes causes also different forms of linguistic protests. On one hand, there is a protest against ongoing Finnish 'penetration' of the last Swedish regions and a struggle for the right to be unilingual Swedish presented in the rural regions, while on the other hand, there is an urban centre protest against the strive towards separatism expressed by the rural regionalists and a struggle for the right to be bilingual (Liebkind et al. 1995: 74, see also Rosenberg 1981).

In my work I interested in the heterogeneity of the Finnish Swedes and how is it unfold in the speech of the interviewees who are located in both urban and rural regions that vary traditionally much from each other especially in relation to bilingualism. I am, however, not interested about, for

instance, the personal language skill of the interviewees, but rather about the positions they take for themselves and to their television stations, for instance, in relation to bilingualism. These positions that are formed in the speech can be considered as ways to perceive relationships to bilingualism which are reaching wider than to personal conceptions and related to culturally shared structures of meanings. Moreover, I am researching into what extent the interviewees consider that this heterogeneity is manifested in the Finnish-Swedish television stations.

Moreover, the heterogeneity of Finnish-Swedes makes them a group that is difficult to approach. One way to do this is to approach them as a minority, while even this approach is, according to Allardt and Starck (1981:76) not self-evident. I shall in the following chapter clarify this statement by introducing the different approaches and minority categories that earlier academic research has used in order to define the Finnish Swedes as a group: as a linguistic minority (Moring 2002) as a geographical minority (Lönnqvist 1981) or as an ethnic or cultural minority (Ståhlberg 1995: 26; see also Allardt and Starck 1981).

3.3 Linguistic minority

Since the only official characteristic of the group of Finnish Swedes is language, some academics have considered them as a linguistic minority. For instance, Tom Moring (2002) considers the Swedish-speakers in Finland as an autochthonous language minority, a traditional group of nationals of a country who speak a language different to the mother tongue of the majority of the population (189). This is not, however, a definition without problems. While the actual situation of the Finnish Swedes reminds in many ways the situations that the linguistic minorities have in other countries, this is not the case according to Finnish legislation. In fact, in a legislative sense the Finnish Swedes are not a linguistic minority at all since the legislation considers the Swedish language equal to the Finnish language. In the Constitution Act of 1919 and the new Constitution Act of 1999, both Swedish and Finnish are defined as national languages of Finland. Besides this, the Language Act of 1922 gives a right for each citizens of Finland to use either Finnish or Swedish while having a contact with the government and the judicial system. Moreover, in legislation the equal provision for “cultural and economic needs” is confirmed for both language groups (Kauranen and Tuori 2002:2, Moring and Kivikuru 2002:22). However, in practice the position of the Swedish language has changed more and more towards the position of a minority language. This becomes evident in, for instance, that while the Finnish Swedes are increasingly bilingual, only few of the Finnish-speaking population can express themselves in Swedish (Allardt and Starck

1981:76). For these reasons, the Finnish Swedes are officially considered as a *de facto* language minority (Report...2004: 18-22).

3.4 Geographical minority

Besides presenting the Finnish Swedes as language minority, the group can also be considered, according to Bo Lönnqvist (1981), a geographical minority, since the vast majority of the Swedish-speaking people of Finland live or have roots in a relatively clearly defined area, Svenskfinland. This Swedish-speaking area, which took shape in 1890s, is a narrow, in some places only 20 kilometres wide and in total 600 kilometres long strip, located in the west-coast line, in the regions of Ostrobothnia, Turku/Åbo and Uusimaa/Nyland and the island of Åland (Lönnqvist 1981:142). While the border between the bilingual or unilingual Swedish-speaking and the unilingual Finnish-speaking regions has moved slightly from time to time, the size and the shape of Svenskfinland have remained remarkably same throughout the years (Allardt and Starck 1981:123). Regardless of the fact that the population movements of the Finnish-speaking Finns to Svenskfinland have increased the level of bilingualism in the area, Svenskfinland still forms a core of the Finnish-Swedishness. For most of the Swedish-speakers the coastal area is the home and childhood neighbourhood. Besides this, for the urban Finnish Swedes, the area represents a place to spend summers and it is also considered a milieu, in which the Swedish-speakers have their genealogical 'roots'. Furthermore, Svenskfinland forms the area in which the Finnish-Swedish organisations and associations are active (Lönnqvist 1981:142).

3.5 Ethnic minority

The Finnish Swedes have also been represented as an ethnic minority (Höckerstedt 2000), while the definition of an ethnic group may include many factors that are not necessarily related to the Finnish Swedes. Karmela Liebkind (1995) explains these multiple factors present in the literature concerning ethnic groups and refers to earlier research that has noted that an ethnic group is a group that is biologically self-producing, shares common values and norms and has an established field for communication and interaction. Moreover, the members of an ethnic group should identify by themselves and the others as a distinct group differing from other similar groups. More modern ways of defining the essence of an ethnic group, the ethnicity, place emphasis on the subjective criteria in defining ethnicity, while the objective substance is acknowledged as most important in all the theories (Ibid: 32). Thus, an ethnic group can be seen as a historical-cultural group that shares common biological and/or linguistic ancestry, which does not need to be visible. The race and biological differences become markers of an ethnic group only after historical separation. The social

factors of separated groups create the linguistic and cultural differences between the groups. Besides these factors, it can be said that most members of an ethnic group usually identify themselves with the group, they have common ancestry, and they display some distinctive cultural patterns (Ibid: 32-33).

Allardt and Starck (1981) have defined four criteria for an ethnic group. Out of these at least one should be fulfilled by every member of the group, so that the group could be considered ethnic. The criteria are following; self-classification (identification), ancestry, special cultural characteristics such as ability to speak certain language, and social organisation for the communication within the group and with the other (Ibid:38). Currently it seems that the subjective factor of identification and the social organisations have become more significant factors for the sense of ethnicity, while the meaning of ancestry and even special cultural characteristics have diminished (Ibid: 41-42).

The Finnish Swedes can be approached as an ethnic group via these four criteria. The Finnish Swedes do have more or less common ancestry, while it is good to keep in mind that this is same as is the ancestry of some of the Finnish-speaking Finns (Liebkind et al. 1995). Moreover, the Finnish Swedes not usually have ancestry with which they are familiar in Sweden (Moring and Kivikuru 2002:28).

The social organisation of the Finnish Swedes is well-established both nationally and locally. In fact, it has been stated that the existence of the Finnish Swedes and the Swedish language in Finland is fairly strongly dependent on the Swedish-language institutions and organisations (Allardt and Starck 1981:221).

In education, the Swedish-speakers are entitled to study with their mother tongue, which means that they have their own Swedish-speaking schools, from elementary schools up to Swedish-speaking institutions of higher education (Åbo Akademi, Svenska Handelshögskolan etc). The Swedish-language schools are state-funded in a same sense as are the schools for the majority. Moreover, the National Board of Education has an autonomous department for the Swedish-language schools (Liebkind et al. 1995:60). According to opinion polls conducted in Helsinki and Vaasa, going to school was considered as the most 'Swedish' life experience among the Finnish Swedes (Allardt and Starck 1981:218).

The Swedish-Finns have also mobilised themselves politically well around a right-wing party known as Swedish People's Party ("Svenska Folkpartiet"), which continually gets the support of the vast majority of the Finnish Swedes (75-80%). The language questions and linguistic rights of the Finnish Swedes have been in the heart of the Swedish People's party since its establishment in 1906. This is a reason why the party has gotten the support of many Finnish Swedes from the right-wing to the liberal left-wing, although the right-wing party ideology is estranging the working class part of Finnish Swedes. The Swedish People's party has a great influence on language legislation, on education and economic support concerning Finnish Swedes (Liebkind et al. 1995:59).

There also exist specific Finnish-Swedish economical organisations, such as book publishers publishing books written by Finnish Swedes or cultural foundations, such as Konstsamfundet (Art Foundation), who own considerable stock in some Finland's biggest companies (Liebkind et al. 1995:62; Allardt and Starck 1981:220-221).

The institutions and associations that create integration or act as expressions of the belongingness together of a group are often founded for other purposes, while they do have a strong impact on the integration of a population group (Allardt and Starck 1981:218). For the Finnish Swedes such an organisation is the culture and population policy interested group known as Svenska befolkningsförbundet (Association for the Swedish section of the population) (Ibid: 218).

Moreover, the integrative organisations have often several purposes. An example of this is the Swedish-language mass media. Some 15 Finnish-Swedish daily and weekly newspapers have an impact on both the experiences of existence of the Finnish Swedes as a group and also on the Swedish language in Finland as such (Ibid:218, see also Moring 2000: 214). Besides the newspapers, there exist Finnish-Swedish radio and television channels. The Finnish Broadcasting Corporation has a Swedish-language programme unit, which independently broadcasts on both radio and television in the Swedish language. This has a budget of its own and its director is a member of the Corporation's board of directors. The National Swedish-language Radio within the Finnish Broadcasting Corporation offers a full-service radio channel in two radio channels, Radio Xtreme and Radio Vega (Liebkind et al. 1995: 60-61). The Swedish-language television, Finlandsvensk Television (FST), acting within the Finnish Broadcasting Corporation and the Finnish-Swedish local television belong to the integrative organisations. I shall, however, for the purposes of this research speak more about them in the following chapters.

While the organisations mentioned above do not necessarily serve only for the purpose of integration of the Finnish Swedes, there are, however, other institutions that have been established

solely for such purpose (Allardt and Starck 1981:219). A fairly young example of such institution is the celebration of St. Lucia's Day on December 13th (Liebkind et al. 1995:61).

Moreover, several researches conducted in the field agree that Finnish Swedes have several cultural characteristics (Ståhlberg 1995, Lönnqvist 1981). For instance the views and practices of the Finnish Swedes do differ partly from the views and practices of the majority Finns. These differences can, however, also be considered to relate more to the external cultural characteristics such as folk traditions and opinions and at the moment it seems that the Finnish Swedes and the other Finns coming from similar backgrounds do not differ much from each other in elsewhere than in the language (Allardt and Starck 1981:40).

The identification or self-classification of the Finnish Swedes as Finnish-Swedish has been researched lately and some level of identification has been found among the Finnish Swedes (Wolf-Knuts 1995, Herbets 1995, Ståhlberg 1995, Sundback 1995). According Allardt and Starck (1981) the self-classification or identification is the most important of these four criteria. They note that while it is fairly unclear what makes an ethnic group, the only thing that seems for sure is that the existence of the ethnic groups requires classification made by self and the others (Ibid: 38). However, there are no guarantees for the stability of such classifications. Therefore, while it is possible to approach the Finnish Swedes as an ethnic group, such act is based more or less on uncertainty (Ibid: 39). Moreover, to count the Finnish Swedes as an ethnic minority is not without problems, since the ethnic groups are not officially recognised in the Finnish legislation nor are there any official statistics available over such groups. The national population registry collects information such as name, nationality and mother tongue about the Finnish inhabitants, while no records are made in terms of ethnicity or race (Kauranen and Tuori 2002 :6; Report...2004: 18).

The borders between these ways of categorising a minority are not clear and some combination of categories is also seen possible. For instance, the Finnish Swedes can be approach as an ethno-linguistic minority (Liebkind, Teräsaho, Jasinskaja-Lahti 2006:89-122; Liebkind et al.1995: 48-58). This approach suggests that the Finnish Swedes have some ethnic, cultural and geographical characteristics, while the language is the most important common characteristic of the group.

While it is not the aim of this research to scrutinize what kind of minority the Finnish Swedes are, the different ways that the earlier research has perceived them as minority are interesting for my study since they relate to an essential question concerning the Finnish Swedes: are the members of

the group a linguistic minority, the Swedish-speaking Finns defined by only their common language or are they an ethnic or cultural group defined by some other common characteristics than the language? The following question can be derived from this question for the purposes of my study: do the interviewees consider the language as the only factor in the process of identification as Finnish-Swedish or do they relate something more to that? Moreover, I shall also scrutinize through my analysis how the geographical proximity of the area of Svenskfinland is weighted in relation to Finnish Swedish identity: is it considered that the proximity of the area is strong that it creates one common Finnish Swedish identity within the framework of Svenskfinland or are there several local manifestations of Finnish-Swedish identity that are considered so important that it is not realistic to speak about a common identity defined by the area of Svenskfinland?

Since I am aiming in my research to take the material as the point of departure of my analysis I want to avoid giving my interviewees any ready-formulated models of Finnish-Swedish identity, but I ask them to explain with their own words what matters, such as for instance language or the area of Svenskfinland, they consider to form Finnish-Swedish identity or Finnish-Swedishness. In this I am not interested about their identity as such and because of that I shall only concentrate in their speech on the identity positions that they take to themselves and to the other members of the group in relation to Finnish-Swedish identity. These identity positions can be viewed, not only as personal opinions, but as reflections of the ways to perceive Finnish-Swedish identity with reference to a deeper and culturally shared structure of meanings.

4. IDENTITY

In the modern world people are not as much tied down with the groups into which they were born as they were before. For this reason, also the engagement with the group requires in fact more self-classification than before. The emphasis on the self-classification is been expressed with the concept of identity, which has become important concept as the essential role of the subjective factors has increased (Allardt and Starck 1981:42). Regardless of the essential roles of identity or self-classification, and perhaps precisely because of them, the academic researchers have not been able to give a simple definition over the concept of identity. The origin of the word identity comes from a Latin word *idem*, which means *the same*, something that is similar than something else. Thus, the formation of identity or identification takes place in between two factors; by what one is in relation to what something else is. For this reason, the identity has always its intern and outer aspect (Ståhlberg 1995:3-4).

The internal aspect of the identity is known as *ego*, which consists of the idea that the identity is essentially related to a personal plan and to a self-image; how a person sees himself or herself and the possibilities he or she has (Ståhlberg 1995:4). The outer aspect of the identity is known as *alter*. This aspect includes the idea of the other in relation to what one is himself or herself (Ståhlberg 1995:5). The identity is formed in between these two aspects and it's therefore tied down not only with the internal and outer aspect, but also with specific moments of history and time. Stuart Hall (1996) explains the identity as the meeting point, the point of suture, in which the outer aspect, consisting of discourses and practices attempting to 'interpellate' or hail us into places as social subjects of a particular discourses, is meeting the internal aspect, which includes the processes that produce subjectivities. Thus, the identities are the attachments to the subjective position, which is formed by discourse practices. Furthermore, because the identities are a result of articulation between the subject and the discourse, they not stable, but temporary and constantly changing (Ibid: 5-6). The process of articulation or the process of identification is the one in which a person gets the idea of who he or she is.

For these reasons, the identification is, on one hand, always relative. A person can explain his or her identity in differently ways in different situations. For instance, the opinions of a person to whom one is explaining one's identity have an impact on the explanations. If a person believes that the other person is interested in categorising him or her according to the language, the person can place

emphasis on the language when explaining him or her identity. For this reason, identity is always relative and in relation to circumstances, and this may have impacts on how the results of a research over identity are interpreted (Wolf-Knuts 1995:9). On the other hand, the process of identification is always contrastive and comparison to the others is an essential part in all the identity formation. Indeed, on the contrary to the traditional reference that identity has to sameness, identities are, according Stuart Hall (1996), constructed through, not outside, the difference. Moreover, it is only through the relation to the Other, the relation to what it is not and what it lacks, that the positive meaning of any term, its identity, can be constructed (Ibid: 4-5).

Moreover, the language plays an essential role in identity formation, since without language, without having learned to use the words, it is not possible to understand who one is or who one's group is. As Barker (2000:15) notes, "Indeed, without language, a social resource, I could not even use the pronoun 'I'".

In this study I am not interested in identity of my interviewees on individual level as such but rather I scrutinize the identity positions they take to themselves in relation to Finnish-Swedish identity as a collective identity. In fact, as Kivikuru (2004) notes, identity as a concept is collective and its roots should be sought in the community, rather than on the individual level, although it is expressed on the individual level as well (20). The aspects of individual identity introduced above are, however, interesting to a research concerning collective identities, since the aspects of individual identity and its formation are the same as are the aspects of collective identities. In the following I shall speak about these aspects in relation to collective identities known also as social identities.

4.1 Social identities

Identity is essentially related to subjective self-classification (Allardt and Starck 1981: 42) and therefore connected to individuals. The identity has, however, a social aspect as well and therefore it concerns also groups of people. The social identity is formed by persons who consider themselves as sharing same values, attitudes, symbols or other uniting factors, which create a specific way for them to view themselves (Wolf-Knuts 1995: 7).

The social identity reminds the individual identity; just like the individual identity also the social identity has inner and outer perspective. The inner perspective consists of auto-stereotypes, which include different ideas of how the group looks outside and how it acts in relation to other people

who do not belong to the group. Moreover, the positive auto-stereotypes strengthen the self-confidence of a group. The negative auto-stereotypes, on their behalf, might cause that the members of a group try to please the members of other groups, even into such an extent that they form their own group's identity according to the expectations of the other groups. The outer perspective of social identity consists of hetero-stereotypes, which include the views that the group has about other groups (Wolf-Knuts 1995:6-8). The idea of one's group is positive if the comparison is between the strengths of one's own group and the weaknesses of the other group. Similarly, if the comparison is between the weaknesses of one's own group and the strengths of the other group, the idea of one's own group seems negative (Ibid:10).

In terms of social identity it is also confirmed that identity is not "something given, fixed or unchangeable" (Lange and Westin 1981:219). On the contrary it seems that there are several different identities; the same individual and therefore also the same group of individuals may present several identities. These multiple identities are in a constant interplay and in all the situations some of the possible identities is set off and represented. The number of different possible identities is very large and the borders between different identities are not clear. Moreover, identity changes constantly and relatively, it is generated both subjectively and objectively, while the emotions and feelings also have an impact on it. For these reasons the categorisation and research of different identities is not easy (Wolf-Knuts 1995:11-12).

While the categorisation of identities is difficult, some identity categories have been formulated in the earlier research. I shall in the following introduce such of those categories, which I consider important for the purposes of this study.

4.1.1 Ethnic identity

In sociological literature, ethnic identity is often used interchangeably with ethnicity, which may consist of anything between specific cultural characteristics, such as language, to the social position of a particular race (Liebkind 1995: 33). Moreover, sometimes ethnicity is connected with same origin, common customs or physical characteristics (Wolf-Knuts 1995: 13). These objective criteria are, however, not unchangeable; marriages that cross over borders defined by cultural, religious or physical characteristics are not rare and the assimilation may be so total that the person married into a family can feel stronger belongingness to the ethnic group of his or her partner than to his or her own. Therefore, the ethnicity is also about subjective criteria (Wolf-Knuts 1995: 14). For these reasons the most correct definition of ethnicity includes both the objective and subjective criteria.

Lange and Westin (1981) connect the language to the ethnic identity. Through the language a person gains the means to 'know' oneself. The language plays also an important role in the socializing processes (324).

Moreover, the language serves also cultural codes that are connected with the ethnic identity (Lange and Westin 1981: 324). Associations, categories, stereotypes, norms, roles and attitudes are created and they are given form through language. While the role of these mechanisms in the formation of identity and in drawing of the borders between us and the Other is rarely approved, the role of the folk culture is more commonly acknowledged. The folk culture is very difficult to change and it has, therefore, a great power over the pre-conceived notions over certain truths of life, which a group has (Wolf-Knuts 1995:16-17). Besides these, the language is meaningful for the ethnic identity also because it is deeply grounded in the individuals and it has a great emotional value for the bonds connecting the primary family group and it also is the premier link that ties together an ethnic group (Lange and Westin 1981:324).

While the important role of the language in the identity formation or identification is noted, that role is not, however, unambiguous. This is especially true in terms of the bilingual persons.

In speaking about the linguistic identity of a minority, Allardt and Starck refer to Skutnabb-Kangas (1981) who notes that a person belonging to a linguistic minority group and speaks also the language of majority can have at least two different kind of attitudes towards the majority language; instrumental and integrative. A person might have a strong motivation to learn a majority language for instrumental reasons, since the majority language is needed as a social resource. However, despite learning the majority language, a person may hold a minority identity in case that the integrative attitudes are perceived as a threat for the future existence of the minority group (Allardt and Starck 1981:76). For this reason, the language proficiency and linguistic identification must be considered as two separate phenomena. While the language proficiency is usually a resources for bilingual individuals it does not need to be followed by bilingual identification (Allardt and Starck 1981:75-76). Similarly, a person can be said to have a bilingual identity only when he or she has an integrative attitude to two languages simultaneously almost irrespective of his or her proficiency in these languages (Liebkind 1995:34).

4.1.2 Cultural identity

The cultural identity reminds the ethnic identity in many ways. In practice, both the ethnic identity and the cultural identity are associated with a minority culture and both of these concepts are often used as synonyms. However, some researchers such as Wolf-Knuts (1995) make a note that there are some differences between these concepts. Where the ethnic identity can be viewed as something different than and delimited from the 'majority identity', the cultural identity can be described as a variation of the majority culture; it stands for a life-model that reminds the majority identity, but has some certain characteristics of its own. In addition to that, the cultural identity comes close to the concept of *local identity*, which is connected to a peculiar feeling towards a common region (Wolf-Knuts 1995: 17). Cultural identity is one aspect of social identity. Within this aspect are the goals, values and norms of a group. They are debated, denied or adapted within the group by unveiling the grounding structures of a culture and by testing essential symbols. These symbols and structures appear from folklore which, sometimes specifically, expresses the group's views about itself and about the others. The members of same group share same traditions, same folklore and same collection of codes with the other members, and with these it is possible for the members to communicate with each others (Wolf-Knuts 1995: 18).

Like the ethnic identity also the cultural identity is in practise associated with a minority culture. However, unlike the ethnic identity, the cultural identity consists of those symbols, values and attitudes related to the "majority identity", but besides these the cultural identity has its own symbols, values and attitudes. In this sense, cultural identity comes close to the definition of local identity, which consists of a peculiar feeling towards a shared region. The local identity has become more and more important (Wolf-Knuts 1995: 17-18).

The cultural identity, like all the identities, is far from being unambiguous. The vagueness is explained by Stuart Hall (1995), who presents that the cultural identity can be perceived in two different ways. First, the cultural identity can be viewed through one, common culture; through a certain collective and 'real' me. According to this definition the cultural identities reflect those shared historical experiences and cultural codes, which give people their true history behind the changes and periods, and which makes these people to feel themselves as 'one nation'. This 'oneness' is behind all the other differences, which are more superficial than it (Ibid: 224).

Second way to view the cultural identity has some relations to the first one, but differs from that in some ways. This way admits that besides many common factors there are always also some deep

and important differences, which are forming a basis to 'what we really are' or rather 'who we have become' (Ibid: 227). As a summary of these two views, Hall (1995) presents the cultural identities as some uncertain points of identification or 'suture', which are shaped within the discourses of history and culture. They are dispositions, they take positions. Moreover, the 'meaning' of a position is never finished, but it continues its way to get surrounded by other meanings, which serve to add into it. Therefore, all the cultural identities should not be treated as something stable and natural, but rather as something arbitrary, resulting from coincidence (Ibid: 229, 233).

As stated above, identity is formed by subject and by object, by the external and the internal factors. Because of this, all identities are in a constant interplay and in all the situations some of the possible identities are set off. Furthermore, the borders between the identities are also constantly changing and reformed. For these reasons, the identity formation or identification process is not a finished but an ongoing process, which is always both relative and reflective, it is tied down with the moment and it is formed in comparison to the Other. Moreover, every person has several identities, and these multiple identities do not exclude one another. In this way, the ethnic and cultural identity may exist side by side and for instance the local identity can be connected both to cultural and ethnic identity; cultural or ethnic identity might seem homogenous while it actually consists of several subgroups based on linguistic dialects or locality (Wolf-Knuts 1995:15, 18).

The different categories that the earlier research has presented in relation to identity are interesting for my study since they explain the complexity behind identity and its formation. This complexity is also noted in the earlier literature on Finnish-Swedish identity. I shall in the following introduce some part of that research, which I consider important in relation to my own research.

4.2 Earlier research on Finnish-Swedish identity

Because of the complexity of the identity and the identification processes the research over a Finnish-Swedish identity forms a challenge. This challenge has, however, over the years been taken by several researchers, who have approached the Finnish-Swedish identity from different angles. I shall in the following present some of these angles and matters that the earlier research has connected to the Finnish-Swedish identity and its formation.

4.2.1 Symbols of Finnish-Swedish identity

Bo Lönnqvist (1981) separates four dimensions in the Finnish-Swedish identity, that as such has the Swedish language in its core: the regional-linguistic dimension, the political-linguistic dimension,

the social-cultural-linguistic dimension and the ethnic-linguistic dimension. The only common characteristic to all of these dimensions is that the Swedish language acts as the *only* form of communication in certain situations (Ibid:143).

The regional-linguistic dimension is connected to the unilingual and currently also bilingual Swedish-language region known as 'Svenskfinland'. The political-linguistic dimension is related to the Swedish Party (Svenska Folkpartiet), which is known as the supervisor for the linguistic rights of the Swedish-speaking part of the population. The social-cultural-linguistic dimension is related to the Swedish-language institutions and organisations. The ethnic-linguistic dimension is connected to the view, which portrays the Finnish Swedes as a minority group rather than just a linguistic group. Lönnqvist presents that at the same time as the linguistic region of 'Svenskfinland' has become more bilingual through the population movements, the Swedish-speaking people are also politically more scattered in other parties than traditionally Swedish-speaking and the number of the Finnish Swedes has diminished (Lönnqvist 1981:142-144). This view is supported by Kjell Herberts (1995) who notes that Svenskfinland is not a region, but rather an institutionalized Svenskfinland, which has been cemented into one piece by common organisations and institutions holding the entity together (43). Because of these reasons, the role of the first three dimensions defined by Lönnqvist (1981) has been constantly decreasing while the fourth dimension has become more important. This importance of the ethnic-linguistic dimension can be seen in the popularization of the use of the terms Finnish Swedes and minority (Ibid:142-144).

Furthermore, according to Lönnqvist (1981), the diminishing of both the area and the people have enforced two kinds of consequences for the Finnish-Swedish identity and the Finnish Swedes. Within some part of the group the changes have increased a passive attitude towards Swedishness, while within the other part the changes have provoked more active attitude, which can be seen in seeking one's way to traditions, to the identity symbols that were created once upon the time (Ibid:144).

Lönnqvist (1981) defines four ethnic identity symbols of the Finnish Swedes, which are related to culture that was, in the beginning of the 20th century, considered as the folk culture of the Finnish Swedes. These symbols are a peasant wedding, a Midsummer pole, a traditional costume and the celebration of Lucia (Ibid: 145).

The peasant wedding is a tableau that consists of traditional dance, violin music and speeches. According to its name this tableau describes traditional peasant wedding, where the local heritage has an important place in the form of dialects and local songs. The strong verbal tradition puts emphasize on the regional and ethnic dimension of the tableau. The peasant wedding has been popular scene within the Swedish-speaking youth and home-district associations since the beginning of the 20th century (Lönnqvist 1981:147).

The Midsummer Pole is a part of the summer festivals at the coastal area already since 1890s, but it became a symbol of Swedishness in 1907. The Midsummer Pole has been considered as a sign of something 'real' and 'Swedish', probably since it was known to be common in Sweden (Lönnqvist 1981:148).

Traditional costumes are, according to Lönnqvist (1981), the traditional dresses, that were designed in the 1920s by several organisations. While all of the both Finnish and Swedish speaking parishes, had their own traditional dress, the traditional dress from the parish of Tjock/Tiukka in the Southern Ostrobothnia can be understood as the prototype of the Swedish speaking parishes' traditional dresses. These dresses became the ethnic-linguistic symbols of the Swedish-speakers and they started to be known as 'svenskfolket speciella högtidsdräkt' (the Swedish people's special festival dress) and 'Svensk-Finlands bygdedräkter' (the traditional costumes of the Swedish Finland) (Lönnqvist 1981:148).

Celebration of St Lucia Day (13th of December) was started in Finland by the Sweden's Swedish school teachers in the beginning of the 20th century. At that time, as Lönnqvist (1981) notes, the event was a family party: a girl dressed in white served coffee for the family early in the morning of St Lucia Day. In 1930 several organisations, following the model from Stockholm, arranged a competition in which Lucia of the year was nominated and brought to the capital followed by a procession. While many areas today nominate their own Lucias, it is still the capital's Lucia who is considered as 'Svenskfinlands Lucia' (Lucia of the Swedish Finland). As a public and collective custom the Lucia procession is, especially among the Swedish-speakers in Vasa/Vaasa and Helsingfors/Helsinki, a manifestation of the ethnic and linguistic identity (Lönnqvist 1981: 148-149).

These symbols have gained more importance lately because the folk tradition of the Finnish Swedes in which they belong to has become more stabilized and normative. Moreover, these symbols suit

well into the situation and role liabilities of identity since they both act as complement to language and are movable; they work as well in the countryside and in the towns or inside and outside houses. These symbols can be also said to ease the individual's acting in such roles that the identity requires. For instance, with these symbols it is possible to avoid such identity conflicts, which the bilingualism might possibly cause. In other words, it is possible to put the 'set' in the closet, when one prefers to show one's Finnishness, but the 'set' is easy to take out when one wants to show that one is a Finnish Swede (Lönnqvist 1981: 151-152).

4.2.2 Multiple identities among the Finnish Swedes

Usually people form the idea of themselves according to who they socialise with and with whom they spend time together. Therefore it is also typical that a person has several identities. Indeed, when a person has contacts to several groups and he is active in many areas, the result is usually the system of several identities (Allardt and Starck, 1981:49-50). The earlier research on Finnish Swedes suggests that this is also the case with the Finnish Swedes as a group. I shall in the following go through some of the research concerning the multiple identities among the Finnish Swedes.

While the language and linguistic orientation can be seen as an essential factor among the group consistency of Finnish Swedes, the language is not, however, necessarily, according to Kenneth D. McRae(1999), the single most important factor to form the Finnish-Swedish identity. For McRae (1999), the most obvious way to measure subjective ethno-linguistic identity is to ask survey respondents to compare their language ties with other social categories such as regional or class loyalties. This can be done by asking them which type of solidarity or affinity is most strongly felt (158). McRae refers to a survey conducted by Suomen Gallup in 1983. In the survey, which used the instrument of sympathy scale, the respondents from each language group were asked to choose which groups of the thirteen selected target groups they felt most and less sympathy towards. The target groups included four domestic groups in Finland, which were the Finnish speakers, the Swedish speakers, the Sámi and the Roma and nine external groups, which were selected so as to include some cultural kin-groups for each set of respondents. In the nine external groups for the Swedish speakers there were, for instance, the Swedes in Sweden. According to this survey the Swedish speakers in Finland felt more sympathy towards Finnish speakers, and even towards English, than towards the Swedes in Sweden. This could not be the case if the language would be the single most important factor forming the identity of the Finnish Swedes, but in such case the

Finnish Swedes would feel most sympathy towards the Swedish speakers in Sweden (McRae 1999: 155-157).

Similar research has been conducted by Erik Allardt and Kjell Herberts in the bilingual cities of Helsinki/Helsingfors and Vaasa/Vasa in 1977 (Allardt and Starck 1981: 209). In this research interviewees were asked which of three types of group affinity they considered personally most important: the language, the social class or the living area (Allardt and Starck 1981:209, see also McRae 1999:159). The interviewees considered the living area as the most important; over half of the Finnish Swedes living in Vaasa/Vasa considered it the most important, while the living area was the most important also to almost two thirds of the Finnish Swedes living in Helsinki/Helsingfors (respectively 37%). Moreover, in terms of different identifications the interviewees were also asked, do they identify more or feel more affinity with the Finnish-speaking people living in the same area or with the Swedish-speaking people living somewhere else in Finland. The interviewees felt most often a sense of belonging together with the Finnish-speakers in the region, which was agreed by almost one third (respectively 28%) of the Finnish Swedes in the capital regions and by over one third (36% respectively) of the Finnish Swedes in Vaasa/Vasa (Allardt and Starck 1981:209-210). On the basis of these results it seems that at least the Finnish Swedes living in the bilingual cities felt stronger about the local identity than about the linguistic identity. Parallel results to these results have been found also in another research conducted among the bilingual Swedish-speakers (Sandberg 1995). According to this research, the Swedish-speakers who used Swedish in their everyday life and lived with a Finnish environment felt stronger affinity with both the Swedish-speakers and the Finnish-speakers in their living area than with the Swedish-speakers elsewhere in Finland and in Sweden. However, the Swedish-speakers using Swedish in their everyday life and living in a Swedish-speaking environment felt more affinity with the Swedish-speakers in their living area, elsewhere in Finland and in Sweden than they felt with the Finnish-speakers in their living area (Ibid: 89).

Besides these, Tom Moring (2002:198) has also referred to a research which adduces the negative image of the Swedish language among the Swedish-speaking pupils in the capital area and presents that the language and its institutions appeared to be actively rejected among young urban people in the area in question.

4.2.3 Some aspects of Finnish-Swedish identity

In the core literature there is no specific definition over the Finnish-Swedish identity, which is understandable because of the complex nature of the concept of identity and its formation.

However, the Finnish-Swedish identity has been approached by researching the particles which are forming the Finnish-Swedishness. This has been done for instance by looking at the auto-stereotypes and the hetero-stereotypes, the inner and the outer aspect of identity. The external aspect includes the idea the one's group differs from the other group. The differences can be either positive or negative. The external aspect consists of our hetero-stereotypes. The inner aspect includes auto-stereotypes, such as the expectation or cultural norms that guide the behaviour within the group (Ståhlberg 1995:35). Siv Sandberg (1995) has researched the attitudes forming the auto-stereotypes and the hetero-stereotypes related to the Finnish-Swedish identity.

The function of auto-stereotypes is to maintain a group's own self-esteem and to create rules that would keep the group as 'pure' as possible and they form 'ego' of a group identity (Sandberg 1995: 92). In order to clarify the nature of the auto-stereotypes of the Finnish Swedes Sandberg has defined several statements, which vary from less controversial such as "It is unnatural to pray The Lord's Prayer in some other language than one's native language" to more controversial such as "to marry over the linguistic borders creates nothing but problems". The interviewees agreed more easily with the less controversial statements, while the bilingual interviewees who lived in Finnish-language environments did not agree so much even with the less controversial of statements. Furthermore, the controversial statements were agreed by very few and for instance the statement concerning the problems related to the marriages over borders was agreed by only 4 percentage of the interviewees (Sandberg 1995:92).

The identity is always contrastive and in order to be a group needs to have 'alter', to which one's own group is compared. The identity has always this 'outer' side, which is manifested in the ideas that a group has about the other groups. In one's own identity these ideas form the hetero-stereotypes of own group. Sandberg has researched the hetero-stereotypes of the Finnish Swedes in relation to Finnish-speaking Finns. The statements in the research concerning the hetero-stereotypes can be divided into two different groups. The first group consists of arguments related to the attitudes concerning the isolation policy of the Finnish-speaking Finns including statements such as "The [Finnish-speaking] Finns do not like to speak Swedish even if they can speak Swedish". The second group consists of arguments related to the cultural level of the Finnish-speaking Finns including statements such as "The [Finnish-speaking] Finns have not yet gained the same cultural

level as have the Swedish people in Finland" (Sandberg 1995:94-97). The interviewees agreed more easily with the statements concerning isolation of the Finnish-speaking Finns; almost two out of five respondents (38% respectively) agreed with the unwillingness of the Finnish-speakers to speak Swedish even when they can. The cultural superiority of the Finnish Swedes in relation to the Finnish-speaking Finns was agreed by just a little bit over one tenth of the interviewees (13% respectively) (Ibid:95-97).

From these results it can be understood that among Finnish Swedes the number of persons holding strong critical attitudes related to hetero-stereotypes is much smaller than is the number of the persons holding positive attitudes. Moreover, Finnish-Swedishness seems not to be connected to the negative hetero-stereotypes than to positive auto-stereotypes, which means that the critical ideas about the other were less commonly sustained than were the positive ideas about one's own group (Ståhlberg 1995: 37). The attitudes that the Finnish Swedes have towards the Finnish-speaking Finns have been researched also more recently. In their study Liebkind et al. (2006) found out that the attitudes towards the Finnish-speakers were more positive in the southern regions where Finnish-speakers were dominant, while the attitudes towards the Finnish-speakers were more negative in all the regions of Ostrobothnia. Moreover, the attitudes towards the Finnish-speakers were generally the more positive the more contact these language groups had with each others (Ibid:108).

Moreover, the Finnish-Swedish identity has also been approached from the different aspects of the identification as Finnish-Swedish. Krister Ståhlberg (1995) has in his research scrutinized the views of the Finnish-Swedish interviewees over five questions, which have been chosen from cultural studies for the purpose of measuring the level of self-categorisation or identification of the individual interviewees as Finnish Swedes. In these questions, the linguistic aspect of identification was left out on purpose. The interviewees were asked to tell how important they felt about each of the five arguments, which were: "to feel belongingness to Svenskfinland"; "to feel oneself Finnish-Swedish in the family"; "to feel oneself Finnish-Swedish in the free-time"; "to feel belongingness with the Swedish-speaking areas" and "to experience it important to be a Finnish Swede" (Ibid: 28). Based on the results from his research, Ståhlberg presents that the Finnish-Swedish identity is generally strong among all the interviewees regardless of their living areas. In the proper Finnish-Swedish regions of Österbotten/Pohjanmaa (Ostrobothnia), Åboland/Turunmaa and Nyland/Uusimaa more than half of the interviewees felt very strong about at least three out of five questions. The weakest identity was found in the southern regions, in the surroundings of the

bilingual cities of Turku/Åbo and Helsinki/Helsingfors, and the strongest identity was found in the Ostrobothnia (Pohjanmaa/Österbotten), especially in the Southern Ostrobothnia (Etelä-Pohjanmaa/Södra Österbotten) (Ståhlberg 1995:32). Moreover, also the high age and the low educational level of an interviewee had a positive correlation to the strength of the experience of the Finnish-Swedishness, the lower education the person had and the older he or she was, the likely he or she had a strong Finnish-Swedish identity (Ibid: 45, 72).

Also Liebkind et al. (2006) researched in their study the strength of identification as a Finnish Swede from both cognitive and affective aspects, and the interviewees were asked whether they agree with such sentences as 'I find myself a Finnish Swede' (Jag uppfattar mig som finlandssvenska) with reference to the cognitive aspect and as 'I feel proud about being a Finnish Swede' (Jag är stolt över att vara finlandssvensk) with reference to the affective aspect. Their founding was in many parts similar to those of Ståhlberg's research (1995). They found that the Finnish Swedes identify generally very strongly with their own group and that there are regional differences in the level of identification corresponding to the results of Ståhlberg's research: the Finnish Swedes in mellersta Österbotten/Keski-Pohjanmaa (mid-Ostrobothnia) region had the most strongest identification with the Finnish Swedes and the most weakest the identification was in the regions where Finnish-language was dominant. However, on the contrary to Ståhlberg's results, Liebkind et al. (2006:108) did not find any significant link between the age and identification.

While the linguistic aspect of the Finnish-Swedish identity was left out of the measuring arguments in Ståhlberg's research, the fact that the Finnish-Swedish identity is tied down specifically with the Swedish language was present also in his research. The strong Finnish-Swedish identity relates to a common use of the Swedish language in a sense that the more a person uses Swedish in the family, in the work place or among the friends, the more stronger his or her Finnish-Swedish identity is. This was especially noted in terms of the bilingual Finnish Swedes (Ibid: 71). Furthermore, even those people who consider themselves as Swedish-speakers rather than as Finnish Swedes and avoided this way the ethnic categorisation hold a strong Finnish-Swedish identity (Ståhlberg 1995:70).

Moreover, from the research of Ståhlberg it became also clear that besides the daily language use and linguistic background and the age and the educational level of the interviewees there were also other underlying factors, which affected the identification as a Finnish Swede. For instance, habit to watch Swedish-language, especially Finnish-Swedish programmes, and participation to even the

most common forms of the Finnish-Swedish culture strengthens the Finnish-Swedish identity of both the bilingual and unilingual: the act of participation in Finnish-Swedish activities increases the likelihood of a good spiral, meaning that a person participates again (Ståhlberg 1995:69-70). In the results of the research conducted by Liebkind et al. (2006) it appeared also that on a general basis, the Finnish Swedes feel that the Finnish-Swedish organisations contribute to the interests of the language group very well (Ibid:132).

Based on the earlier research it can be said that the Finnish-Swedish identity is formed by many different dimensions. Recently most importance of these dimensions has gained the ethno-linguistic dimension or aspect, which includes the Finnish-Swedish ethnic symbols such as, celebration of St Lucia, erection of Midsummer Pole, presentation of Peasant Wedding and use of Finnish-Swedish national costume, and the use of Swedish language (Lönnqvist 1981). As such, the Finnish-Swedish identity seem to be based on rather positive ideas that the Finnish Swedes have about themselves as a group, rather than about negative ideas concerning the other, such as the Finnish-speaking Finns (Ståhlberg 1995, Sandberg 1995). While the earlier research has not proposed a single definition over the Finnish-Swedishness, the dept of the Finnish-Swedish identity has been researched by using statements that are based on the idea that a strong Finnish-Swedish identity is connected both to the strong experiences of belongingness to the traditionally Swedish-speaking region, Svenskfinland and to the strong experiences of being a Finnish Swede in different parts of life setting (Ståhlberg 1995; Liebkind et al. 2006). Such research has found that there are many factors that have a strengthening impact on that a person identifies himself or herself as a Finnish Swede. As the core of the Finnish-Swedishness is formed by and in the language, the linguistic background of a person is one of the most important factors in the identification: a unilingual Swedish-language environment at childhood home or at school or at work or at the leisure time correlates positively with a strong Finnish-Swedish identity. Similarly, a weak Finnish-Swedish identity is found more commonly among the persons who define themselves as bilingual and who live in bilingual environments. Furthermore, language skills play an important role in the identification: the persons with weak or no skills at all in Finnish feel themselves more strongly Finnish-Swedish as do the bilingual persons (Ståhlberg 1995). However, it should be noted that the linguistic identification does not follow necessarily from the language skills, a person can obtain skills to speak Finnish may view the Finnish language as a resource, and not identify with that at all. In relation to the language, there are other factors that have a strengthening impact on the identification as a Finnish Swede. The persons with a habit to follow Swedish-language media have, according to studies, more commonly a strong Finnish-Swedish identity. Moreover, while the

language is an important factor in identification as a Finnish Swede and it forms the core of Finnish-Swedishness, it has also been documented in a research concerning the Finnish Swedes in two bilingual cities, that in terms of the multiple identities they feel stronger about the local identity than about the linguistic identity (Allardt and Starck 1981).

I shall use in my study the earlier research as basis and ask the interviewees, for instance, to evaluate the importance of language and the Finnish-Swedish identity symbols defined by Lönnqvist (1981). I shall also aim through my analysis to scrutinize the auto-stereotypes and the hetero-stereotypes that the interviewees have in relation to Finnish-Swedish identity. While I am not in this research interested about interviewees' level of identification as Finnish-Swedes on individual level, their linguistic skills and linguistic background are not scrutinized in this research. For the same reason, I shall not ask them about the participation to events or habits to follow Swedish-language media as individuals. However, I shall apply in my analysis the research results suggesting that following of Swedish-language media has a positive correspondence on a strong Finnish-Swedish identity. Moreover, the multiple identities of Finnish Swedes shall also be considered in my analysis. The views presented by the interviewees in relation to these topics are not considered in my analysis as individual opinions but as reflections of deeper and culturally shared structure of meanings.

5 COMMUNITY TELEVISION

The concept and history of the community televisions in Europe is ambiguous. They have taken many different technological forms, acting within local cable networks or on-the-air with low frequencies. Moreover, they have been motivated by several reasons varying from linguistic and cultural minorities' needs to local people's desire to find a channel or their own. Regardless of their differences, it can be said that all of them have always aimed to serve small audiences and challenge the representations of mainstream media (Jankowski and Prehn 2002). Furthermore, in order to make sense of the vast variety of the different forms of community televisions, they can be divided into two main categories according to the nature of the communities which they aim to serve (Kangaspunta 2005). One of these main categories includes the community televisions aimed for the audience formed by a geographical community, such as a local community, while the other main category includes the community televisions aimed for the audiences formed by a community of interest, such as the community of an ethnic or linguistic minority.

In my I shall my research approach Finnish-Swedish television as community televisions serving a community of interest, the community of Finnish Swedes, while the television stations considered in this research could also be approached as serving geographical communities. In the following I shall give a brief outlook over the history of community television in Finland and introduce the community television stations considered in this study: Finlands svenska television (Finnish-Swedish television), FST, and local Finnish-Swedish television stations. In relation to Finnish-Swedish television I shall also have some words about the Finnish Swedes as a television audience.

5.1 Local community television in Finland

In Finland the history of local community televisions has been following more or less the European path, while the local televisions in the area of Svenskfinland are the oldest of all the local television in the Nordic countries (Fjäder 1995). The first local community televisions appeared in Finland in the beginning of 1980s. By the time, the transmission concession was only given to YLE. Thus, the local community televisions acted either within shared on-the-air aerial circle networks or within cable television networks, which covered in the year 1987 more than half of the Finnish households. In many of the cable television networks it was possible to view satellite programmes services and some offered view paid televisions programmes. Moreover, relatively many networks offered local production and information, also in the text-TV format (Lähi-tv-toiminta 1987:14).

In 1987 local production was broadcasted in 30 localities. The broadcasting was relatively regular in every place, lasting usually from 1,5 to 2 hours per week. The local television channels were ideologically or commercially motivated. Typically, newspaper and phone companies found broadcasting commercially interesting, while the local citizens were often more keen on the ideological values. In Swedish-speaking regions, especially in Ostrobothnia, the local programme production was often ideological and based on voluntary activity of the local organisations and individuals (Lähi-tv-toiminta 1987:15).

5.2 Local Finnish-Swedish television stations

From since the beginning of their appearance in the 1980s the number of local community televisions has been relatively high in the Swedish-speaking regions of Ostrobothnia and the west coast, in the area of Svenskfinland. There have been several reasons for this and generally it can be said that the prerequisites for such televisions have been good in the region.

Firstly, the technical developments needed for the local community televisions were advanced in the region at an early stage in to other parts of Finland. It was already in the beginning of the 1970s when they begun to build a shared aerial circle system in order to view programmes from the Sweden's television stations. Since the beginning, some localities within these systems were interested in broadcasting also local programmes and such activity was well-funded by municipalities, church and voluntarily paid audience fees, sometimes also by advertisement (Lähi-tv-toiminta 1987:15).

Besides the unique shared aerial circuit system, the local community television broadcasting was supported by the cable networks. According to Mangs (1987), in 1987 every municipality had a least one greater network, in which local transmissions were started (Ibid: 58). Secondly, the nature of the audience in the loosely-populated, Swedish-speaking Ostrobothnian regions was also very suitable for local community televisions. The size of the audience was large enough to make the programme production reasonable, but not big enough to split the audience into several target audiences. Moreover, it seems that a local community television has best preconditions in places where the audience forms a linguistically, administratively and culturally homogenous group. In this manner, the preconditions in the Swedish-speaking Ostrobothnia were ideal (Mangs 1987: 58).

The oldest Swedish-language local televisions, Nykarleby lokal-TV and Kristinestads lokal-TV, were founded in 1980 while the very first Swedish-language local television transmission was in the

end of 1972 in Nykarleby. Most of the Swedish-language local televisions started in the 1980s. Since then, the number of the households and potential audience has increased as the cable networks have grown, while the number of the active local televisions has diminished. In 1989 the networks included 40 000 households, while in 1995 there were approximately 70.000 households within the networks. The number of the Swedish-language local televisions decreased from 30 televisions (1989) to 22 televisions (1995). The number of transmissions per each television varied from once per month to once per week or more. Moreover, the average length of a transmission was in 1994 approximately one hour (Fjäder 1995).

The Swedish-language local television operators have varying income sources. Some of them do not have any incomes at all and some of them cover majority of their costs by the incomes from advertisement, while the latter is less common. For majority of the local televisions the voluntarily paid monthly or annual watching-fees have an important economical meaning. Besides the incomes consisting of fees and rare adverts, some of the operators get also economical support from their home municipality. In many situations the personnel includes only voluntary persons. The bad economical situation has consequences and many operators have stopped existing because of the economical problems (Fjäder 1995).

The Swedish-language based local-community televisions in Finland organised themselves in the year 1993 and formed Finlandssvensk Lokal-TV r.f. (Local-tv Association of Swedish Finland). According to its rules, the mission of the association is to advance the co-operation within local televisions in Finland (<http://www.lokaltv.org/pages/stadgar.html>). While the rules of the association do not specifically refer to the Swedish-language or Finnish-Swedish local televisions, the association notes elsewhere that "the main task of the association is to advance the common issues of the Finnish-Swedish local televisions"⁴ (<http://www.lokaltv.org/pages/index-fin.html>). Moreover, the name of the association suggests that the local televisions encouraged to join the association are specifically the ones at least using the Swedish language, if not agreeing about the Swedish-Finnishness as a key determinant. According to the association's latest information (2005), there exist 25 Finnish-Swedish local televisions in Finland out of which 12 are members in the association. (<http://www.lokaltv.org/pages/tvmap.html>). In total the Finnish-Swedish local televisions broadcasted in the year 1994 altogether 1.480 hours of programme (Fjäder 1995).

⁴ Translated from the Finnish language statement in the association's website explaining general issues about the association. Original text: "Liiton päätehtävä on edistää suomenruotsalaisten paikallistelevioiden yhteisiä asioita."

5.3 Nationwide Finnish-Swedish television channel, FST

The public service operator of Finland, the Finnish broadcasting company Yle is trusted by the Act on Yleisradio OY (1993/1380) to "deal on equal ground in programming with Finnish and Swedish-speaking citizens", and it has been operating from since its establishment in the 1920s in both Finnish and Swedish language. For this purpose, the Finnish Broadcasting Company Ltd (YLE) has a separate Swedish-language Department, which includes television service known as Finland's Svenska Television (FST). FST is assigned to serve primarily the Swedish-speaking audience, with a special reference to Finnish-Swedish, by broadcasting on the two analogue television channels of YLE and on the digital FST5 channel, introduced in August 2001. FST has television stations in two cities, Vasa/Vaasa and Helsingfors/Helsinki (Report...2004: 60).

FST is as a part of the public broadcasting services of Finland its funding is arranged by the public broadcasting company, YLE, which in turn, is funded by watching fees paid by every household that has a television set. Thus, while FST has its own budget, the source of funds for both YLE and FST is the same (www.fst.yle.fi)

FST has aimed since the beginning of the 1970s to attract also the Finnish-speaking part of the population and a large amount of FST's programmes are subtitled in Finnish. As such, it can be said that FST has not been confronting the Finnish-speakers, but rather aimed to win them on its side for instance by making programmes understandable for those who cannot understand Swedish (Salokangas 1996).

The digital and analogical FST offer a full-service in Swedish language including news, factual programmes, children programmes, culture programmes, sports and fiction programmes. Some part of this are imported programmes that are subtitled in Swedish. The two Finnish Broadcasting Company's (Yle) television channels broadcast annually a total of 930 hours of television programmes in Swedish, out of which some part is imported and subtitled. Moreover, Yle has also text television services available in Swedish in both on television and the Internet (Moring 2002: 189). With the new digital services FST offered in the year 2005 in total 3235 hours of programmes (www.fst.yle.fi).

5.4 Other Swedish language media in Finland

Besides the Finnish-Swedish television considered in this study there are several media services currently available for Swedish-speakers in Finland, both in electronic and print formats.

On television, the Swedish language television programmes are also available from Sweden's television. In the southern Finland the Swedish public service television (SVT Europe) is available free of charge potentially for 1,5 Million viewers (Nordqvist 2002:78). In the Åland Islands and Ostrobothnia the full menu of Sweden's television is available (Moring 2002:195). There are, however, no commercial Swedish-language television stations in Finland, which might be related to that unlike the public broadcasting company, the private and commercial electronic media broadcasters are not obligated to participate in serving minority audiences (Moring 2002:194).

Also the radio services are considered to be generally extensive for the Swedish-speakers. The public service broadcaster, Yle broadcasts today two analogical radio stations and on digital radio in Swedish (Moring 2002:194). Moreover, parts of the programmes of local commercial stations in Ostrobothnia are produced in Swedish. The community radio stations (närradio) have allowed minorities a local voice, while the resources of these stations have been small and the broadcasted hours limited. Besides these domestic radio services, radio from Sweden can be listened in both the Åland Islands and in Ostrobothnia (Ibid: 195).

In terms of the printed media, there are currently twelve daily newspapers published 3-7 times a week in Swedish in Finland. Majority, ten of these twelve, are local newspapers. Similarly, ten of these papers are benefiting from a selective press support paid by the state to newspapers in a difficult market situation. One of the two bigger newspapers has a semi-national character, while it mainly covers the southern parts of the country with the circulation around 60.000. The other big newspaper is regional, covering Ostrobothnia with the circulation around 27.000. Besides the domestic newspapers, also the imported printed media from Sweden, especially the weeklies and the popular magazines, are important (Moring 2002: 193-194).

5.3 Finnish Swedes as an audience

While the television programme output in Finland has increased in the past years, the hours spent on watching television by individuals on a daily basis have not increased. The Finnish Swedes watched in 1999 approximately 2 hours and 27 minutes television every day (Nordqvist 2002a:78).

Moreover, according to recent research (Nordqvist 2002a), the audience in all the Finnish-Swedish regions watches both Finnish-language programmes and the Swedish-language programmes regardless of whether the latter are broadcasted from Finland or from Sweden. FST is watched in all over the Svenskfinland, while it is not according to the audience researches the most popular channel in any region (Moring and Kivikuru 2002, Nordqvist 2002a). Some variations in the television habits do exist, for instance, between different regions. In Ostrobothnia and in the Islands of Åland the Sweden's television dominates, whereas in the southern parts of Svenskfinland the Finnish television dominates. According to 'Finlandssvensk barometern', an annual study concerning the values and attitudes of the Finnish Swedes in relation to several issues conducted by Institutet för finlandssvensk samhällsforskning, IFS, over a third of the Finnish Swedes (33% respectively) included in the study in year 2005 felt that it was necessary to have the programmes of Sweden's television broadcasted in Finland. It was considered important by almost another third (28% percent respectively), while only every tenth felt it was not important at all. Regionally, the interest towards the Sweden's television programmes was clearly strongest in the Islands of Åland and in Ostrobothnia, while the interest was mildest in the regions of Nyland/Uusimaa and the surroundings of Åbo/Turku (Barometern 2005:1). Besides the regional differences, there are also differences between the different age groups television watching in such way that the elderly prefer the Swedish-language television from both Finland and Sweden more than do the younger people (Nordqvist 2002a:79).

Moreover, there are also differences between the audiences in the monolingual and bilingual households. In monolingual Swedish households, especially in Ostrobothnia and the Islands of Åland the channels broadcasted by the Sweden's television are preferred to FST, while in the bilingual households, especially in the southern part of Svenskfinland, the Finnish language channels are preferred to FST (Nordqvist 2002b: 169; see also Moring 2001: 127-136). Based on this information, Moring and Kivikuru (2002) state that there exists a 'Finnish-Swedish dilemma' defined by the different functions that the Finnish-Swedish media, especially FST, have in these households. In the monolingually Swedish households, the function of FST is to unite these households with the Finland's reality, while in the bilingual households, where the Finnish language media have a strong position, the role of FST is to unite these households with a Swedish language reality (Ibid: 31; Nordqvist 2002b:169).

There has been only little academic interest in the local Swedish language television stations and, therefore, very little information is available about of their audiences. For instance, in one research

concerning the audience viewing of different channels on a daily basis in Svenskfinland, the local television viewing is included in the total number consisting of all the cable and satellite television viewing in the area. This number indicates maximum seven percent of local television watching in the monolingual Swedish households, and maximum three percent in the bilingual Swedish households (Nordqvist 2002b:167) However, since all of the Swedish language local televisions broadcast less frequently than on a daily basis, these numbers do not bring much information about the audiences of the local Swedish language televisions.

The latest information concerning the number of the households where the local Swedish language televisions can be seen is from 1995, when a non-academic study stated that there were 70 000 households included in the network of local television services in Svenskfinland (Fjäder 1995). While this study is the only one concerning all the local televisions in Svenskfinland, the audiences of some individual local television stations have been researched in more details.

Kjell Herberts has in 1983 led group of sociology students in an audience research concerning a local television in monolingual town of Närpiö/Närpes. According to this study, 42% of all the households where the local television was visible watched all of the local television programmes and approximately 30% watched at least some of the weekly programmes (Mangs 1987:66-67).

Moreover, Carita Forsberg has in 1986 researched the local television audience in the bilingual town of Kristinestad /Kristiinankaupunki. According to this research, 28,6 percentage of the respondents watched all the local programmes almost 62 percentage watched at least one of the programmes in a month (Mangs 1987:67). According to these researches, the most interesting programme type for the audience was the live broadcasting from the meetings of the council of municipality (Ibid: 67).

6 MATERIAL AND METHODS

In the chapter two I introduced my research questions. I shall answer those questions in this chapter by using qualitative analysis of the material that I have gathered in 12 interviews. Before presenting the actual analysis and the results derived from that I shall explain more about the method, which I have chosen as well as about the realization of the work.

6.1 Choosing the interviewees

The target group of my research are representatives of Finnish-Swedish television. I found the self-classification an important factor in defining which television stations could be considered Finnish-Swedish and thus I included in my study those television stations that classified themselves Finnish-Swedish television stations as collectives. Originally I planned to concentrate in my thesis only on the local Finnish-Swedish televisions. After reconsideration, I realised, however, that a full overview of the Finnish-Swedish television's situation is important and my research should also include the nationwide Finnish-Swedish television channel known as Finlands svenska television (Swedish television of Finland), FST. The interviewees are chosen from both FST and the local Finnish-Swedish television stations.

The public broadcasting company of Finland, YLE (Yleisradio), has an autonomous Swedish subsection called Finlands svenska television (Swedish television of Finland), FST, that classifies itself as the Finnish-Swedish television in its official communication, and, for instance, in the introduction of a FST's brochure the Programme Director then states that:

FST is the Finnish Swedes' own television and besides that an important information channel to all of those who are interested in the Swedish in our country or who will have urgent society and cultural questions illuminated from another perspective, a Finnish-Swedish [perspective]. FST is strongly anchored in the Finnish-Swedish culture and language with its output and action. (Leif Jakobsson 2001:3)⁵

Since FST is such a large television service, I thought that one interviewee would not be enough and I chose three interviewees from FST, the Programme Chief and two Programme Directors.

⁵ "FST är finlandssvenskarnas egen television och dessutom en viktig informationskanal för alla som intresserar sig för det svenska i vårt land eller vill ha angelägna samhälls- och kulturfrågor belysta ur ett annat perspektiv, ett finlandssvenskt. Med sitt utbud och sin verksamhet är FST starkt förankrat i den finlandssvenska kulturen och språket" (Leif Jakobsson 2001:3)

While the local Finnish-Swedish television stations do not make such a clear identification as Finnish-Swedish they do it, however, by being members in an association called Föbundet Finlandssvensk Local-tv (The Finland-Swedish Local TV Association) that acts as a head organisation for the Finnish-Swedish television. In the year 2004 there were, according to this association, 22 Finnish-Swedish local televisions in Finland and 15 of these were members in this association. In order to decide which local Finnish-Swedish television I should include to my study I started to look for more information concerning Föbundet Finlandssvensk Local-tv from their website and I discovered that the association has held since the year 1989 an annual assembly known as 'Videoforum', in which the members of the organisation present their productions from the past year. In order to know more about the association and to choose the interviewees I participated in this assembly in Tampere on 20th – 21st of November in 2004 and spoke with the members of the association. Moreover, I also read the information concerning those local Finnish-Swedish television stations who were not participating in the assembly. After this I selected 11 stations. In my selection process I used the regular output as the most important criteria and I chose those local Finnish-Swedish televisions that have regular broadcasting at least once a week. These television stations were located rather frequently over the area known as Svenskfinland; the main Swedish-speaking regions of the west-coast and southern parts of Finland. I excluded from this study the local television stations in the region of the island of Åhvenanmaa/Åland, while they were mentioned in the website of Föbundet Finlandssvensk Local-tv, since that area is quite separated, both culturally and geographically, from the mainland and, for instance, the legislation concerning television and radio in the island of Åland/Åhvenanmaa is independent from the Finnish legislation.

My aim was to interview the managerial level of each television station. In this way, I presumed, I could find views that would reflect the commonly agreed or official views of each station since, for instance, the directors of the stations have the final responsibility, for instance, over the content of the programmes. In regards to FST I succeeded and got to interview from both Programme Director and Programme Chief of the channel, who were both based in the television station located in Helsingfors/Helsinki. As it appeared, however, finding the directors at the local televisions was a more difficult task. The activities of the local television stations are based on voluntary work and in the stations there generally are no specified directors who would be responsible over the transmissions, with three exceptions of the local television stations of MALAX TV PRODUCTION and NÄR-TV and NYKARLEBY LOKAL-TV. Indeed, instead of having a specified director to make decisions, it was common that the crew of each station made democratic decisions about the

programmes and also shared all the responsibilities over the station. However, each of the local television stations had named a contact person and the names of these persons were available on the website of Förbundet Finlandssvensk Local-tv. I approach these persons via e-mail and telephone. I got an answer from every place and most of the persons who I contacted agreed over an interview. However, some of these people named another person, often one of the original initiators of the station, who they considered a better interviewee for my research.

After finding out the names of my interviewees and getting their agreement concerning the interviews via telephone, I sent each of them an email in which I explained the principles of my research and the themes which I planned to ask them to speak about in their interviews. The content of the emails was written both in Finnish and in Swedish while I, however, also explained that I have solely Finnish language background and my skills in Swedish are poor. By this I wished to give the interviewees a chance to choose the language, which they found more convenient for the purpose of the study while understanding that I preferred Finnish. Moreover, by doing so, I wanted to avoid the negative value connotations related to question of majority language versus minority language. Later on, it appeared that this approach created an interesting division, since while most of the persons agreed to use Finnish in the interviews there were, however, also those who wanted to use Swedish in the interviews. The willingness to use Swedish language was explained either by that a person lacked the skills in Finnish or that a person felt that using the majority language means to take a minority position while denying the self-identity. The language used in the interviews is explained, on the side of other details concerning the interviewees, in an attachment (Appendix 5) in the end of this thesis.

6.2 The general interview guide approach

I gathered the material to the research via “thematic interviews” or the general interview guide approach, as this method of gathering data is known outside Finland (Hirsjärvi and Hurme 2000:66). This approach can be understood as a specified interview, which is based on conversations built upon the themes or the topics that are defined before the actual interview situation (Hirsjärvi and Hurme 1982). The final interview questions are formulated in the interviewing situations in interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee. The interviewer is supported by a theme-frame consisting of a list of topics or questions. This method allows the interviewee to express him or herself freely while the method ensures that all the interviews include same topics. Moreover, since the method is free-formed it is suitable for such studies that are aimed for discovering cultural **dispositions** (Eskola and Suoranta 1998: 87-88). Use of the general

interview guide approach in this research made it possible to gather material that can be used for studying what kind of meanings the interviewees are bringing forth in relation to Finnish-Swedish television and Finnish-Swedish identity. Versions of both Finnish and Swedish language theme-frame questions, which I used, are included as attachments (Appendix 2. and Appendix 3.) in the end of this work. Besides using the general interview guide approach I also

6.3 Making of the interviews and transcription

I gathered the material for the research in 15 interviews during January and February in 2005. The interview place was chosen by the interviewees and it was, without exceptions at a television station, in its studio or in a coffee room. I recorded the interviews on DV-tapes with a camcorder and the length of each interview was exactly or less than 60 minutes, which is the length of a normal DV -tape. I chose to do so since it seemed natural for people working with the cameras to also to act in front of a camera. Moreover, I was not exactly sure about how detailed analysis I wanted to make about the interviews before I actually had conducted them and to leave that question open; I decided to include the body language in the recordings of the interviews.

I offered the interviewees a possibility to be presented anonymously in this thesis. All of the interviewees stated that their real name can be presented here and I use in them in my text. The information concerning the interviewees including, besides the names of the interviewees, also their ages, the language used in interview and the location of the Swedish-Finnish television station where they work is collected in the end of this paper (Appendix 5).

The total number of the interviewees changed during my research. In total, I interviewed 14 representatives of 12 local television stations and three representatives from FST's station based in Helsingfors/Helsinki. However, the analysed material concerns 12 interviewees from 10 local television stations and two interviewees from the FST's station located in the capital. The number of the television stations and the interviewees included in the analysis changed for several reasons. First, the interviews were designed to be individual interviews and this was explained in advance also to the interviewees. This was also the case most often. However, in some local television stations an interviewee arrived to the agreed interview place with another person from the personnel of the same station and suggested me to interview both of them at the same time. Since the research is based on a qualitative method, which allows some flexibility, I accepted the idea. Second, one television station and its representatives were included in this study in the middle of the field work with so called snow-ball method: after I had finished one interview, a man walked in the studio

where I had just conducted an interview and he suggested me to interview also him. I explained him that unfortunately the local television stations included in this study had to fulfil certain criteria: they had to be considered as Finnish-Swedish stations by Förbundet Finlandssvensk Local-tv association and also have a regular output once a week. This man told me that his station fulfils these criteria, which was confirmed by my earlier interviewee. In the end, I interviewed him and included the television station where he worked in the study. Third reason for the change in the total number of the interviewees included in the analysis is that three interview tapes, two concerning interviews in two local television stations and one concerning an interview in FST, got lost before they were transcribed.

Moreover, the fact that some of the interviews include several interviewees and in some there is only one has an impact on the content of the interviews in a sense that some of them are then group interviews and some are individual interviews. Both of these interview types have their strengths and weaknesses. The strength of the individual interviews is that in such an interview the group pressure and need to conform to the ideas of the group are weakened and, for instance, an interviewee may express such views that are in contradiction with the prevailing view of the group (Hammersley and Atkinson 2003: 139), such as the Finnish Swedes, as a collective. The weakness of the individual interviews is that the views presented in them can be very subjective (Ibid: 140). Therefore, the individually interviewed persons in my research might have confused their own views with the views of the television station. The strength of the group interviews is in that such an interview some topics might come up which would otherwise be not taken up as they would be considered self-evident (Alasuutari 2001:155). On the other hand, the interviewer cannot control the direction of the conversation in the group interviews as easily as he or she can in the individual interview (Hammersley 2003: 144-145). Since both of these interview types have their positive and negative sides, they can together be seen as to complementing the different aspects of this research.

Generally, the form of the interviews was rather free and the questions did not necessarily followed the order of the theme-frame, which I mainly used for revising that all the questions were asked somewhere during the interview. The result reminded a normal conversation with the exception that I hold, maybe more than an average participant in a conversation, the role of a listener and the interviewee concentrated on speaking about the asked topics. While commenting on the interviewees answers, I aimed to keep my observant role by listening and asking for additional questions without expressing my own views about the issues. Once or twice I did make questions

that were aimed to provoke an interviewee to explain more deeply the values behind, for instance, such statement that seemed self-evident for the interviewee but was unclear to me.

The interviews were conducted in Finnish or in Swedish, depending on the wish of the interviewee. One interview from the FST was conducted in Finnish, while the other interviewee wanted himself to speak Swedish while he asked me to use Finnish, since these were our stronger languages. All the local television interviewees chose to use Finnish except two who wanted to use Swedish as they said their skills in Finnish are not good enough. There were some benefits of allowing the interviewees to choose the language, since that gave the interviewees a possibility to choose the language, which they felt they could use to express themselves more freely. However, it also opposed some problems, because despite their decision to use Finnish, some interviewees did not understand all the Finnish questions. Moreover, I also lacked the skills to rephrase the questions made in Swedish in such case that the interviewee was not totally sure of what the question was aiming at or at least they said so.

The interviews were transcribed during the autumn of 2005. Altogether, the number of pages of transcribed text with the one-line spacing was 158. Both the original tapes and the transcribed text that I have used in my analysis can be found from the Department of Journalism and Mass Communication at Tampere University. Approximately half of the transcription I made by myself, while the other half was transcribed by professional transcribers Mrs Annikki Skogster and her husband. The Svenska Kulturfonden supported economically this research and I used their subvention to cover the costs of the outsourced transcription work. Throughout the transcription work a special attention has been given mainly to the messages in words. For this reason, I have acquiesced in marking the breaks, regardless of their length, as "(.)". Moreover, when I have used only a part of an interviewee's speech, I have showed this by using "(...)" marking instead of presenting the text in full.

6.4 Analysis method

In analysing the material I looked both at the ways how the interviewees spoke about the Finnish-Swedish identity of Finnish-Swedishness and the ways they spoke about the activities of the television stations they worked for. The issues related to the activities of television stations are such as the funding of a station; the official mission of a station; the language used in the programmes and in everyday life at the station; the content of the programmes at the station or the relationship

that a station have to the other media surrounding it. By looking at the ways the interviewees spoke about these issues I gathered general information about the stations; about their aims and activities as well as the resources that the stations had according to the interviewees. However, as the principal aim is to research both Finnish-Swedish identity, the meanings connected to it and the positions taken by the respondents for themselves and for their television station in relation to I also scrutinize the speech over these general issues with aim to understand the context in which the interviewees were speaking. Moreover, I also wanted to study how and which ways the interviewees consider that Finnish-Swedishness is manifested in their television station and, for instance, how they evaluate the manifestations of Finnish-Swedish identity presented in academic literature. In addition to these actual research questions one aim of my work was to find out in which ways the community television stations can be considered to contribute to a minority identity. Thus, instead of looking for the facts, I also wanted to see behind them and ask for answers for more explanatory questions beginning with such words as how and why. In my research I used the sample approach, which is useful for a study that aims to find out cultural disposition. A study based on this approach is not looking at the material as a true reflection about the world, but it is rather viewing the material as a sample, one piece of the world (Alasuutari 2001:114). I scrutinize the material using discourse-analytical approach.

The discourse-analytical approach or the discourse analysis can be understood as a loose theoretical frame of reference in which research can be conducted with different applied methods rather than as clear research method as such (Potter and Wetherell 1989:175). This type of analysis is based on idea that language has a constructive character and that it is organising and creating and maintaining the social reality where people live in (Jokinen and Juhila and Suoninen 1993b: 18).

The variety of ways that discourse analysis can be used is wide, while two main lines can be separated in that; the critical and analytical. In critical line of discourse analysis in the topic of interest are the subordinations maintained and justified in and by language practices (see more for example Fairclough 1992). In my research I shall, however, apply the analytical line of discourse analysis that is characterized by an aim to take material as the point of departure of analysis and to analyse the dispositions that are found from the material (Jokinen and Juhila 1999:86).

The topics of discourse analysis are related to discourses or the systems of meanings. One way to understand discourses is to view them as terminology, which guides the decisions over the words that are used in specific speech contexts in making different topics understandable (Suoninen 1993:

50). Different systems of meanings have been called either discourses (e.g., Foucault 1986) or interpretation repertoires (Potter and Wetherell 1989: 146-155). Both of these quite regular systems of meanings relations, which are constructed in social practices and which, at the same time, construct social reality. Discourses are useful in analysing, for instance, power relations, while interpretation repertoires are useful for research in which the alterations in the use of every day language specified (Jokinen et al. 1993b:27-28). In my work I use interpretation repertoires.

Moreover, while the individuals are often concerned in a research using discourse-analytical approach, they are not, as such, the topic of analysis but rather their speech, which is seen to actualize social practices and cultural systems of meanings (Jokinen et al. 1993b:37). This way, the discourse-analytical approach is related to Erving Goffman's idea of frames, which suggests that the actors are not free to produce their own interpretations, since the interpretation of meanings is regulated by the frames that exist within the cultural context where expressions take on a meaning (Alasuutari 1995:111). The interest of the discourse analysis is in what kind of meanings the individuals are creating in their speech and with what linguistic means these meanings are created (Jokinen and Juhila 1999: 66). While the emphasize of my research is to scrutinize the meanings that the interviewees create in and by their speech about Finnish-Swedishness, it is also important to research, in order to understand these meanings, to analyse the means that are used in creating these meanings.

In discourse analysis the concept of identity is understood as active category which belongs to systems of meanings. More precisely, identity is understood as those expectations, responsibilities and characteristics, which the actor is assuming that he or she and the others have or which the other actors are assuming that he or she has (Peräkylä 1990:22). These expectations, responsibilities and characteristics are always related to those systems of meanings, which are concerning actors and they ways they are positioning in a discourse (Jokinen and Juhila 1999:68). Moreover, identity is not stable, but it is always relative and in a constant change. For this reason, every one has not only, but several identities that are taken up in different situations formed or built in speech. The discourse analysis is interested in these speech processes in which identity is formed or built (Potter and Wetherell 1987:102).

In my work it is essential to understand what kind of positions my interviewees take or build for themselves and for others in relation to Finnish-Swedishness and how they form these identities or discourse positions in their speech. Identities are considered here as constructions that are built in

speech and which cannot be for that reason understood as something ready-made. Therefore, an interviewee cannot be considered to identify as Finnish-Swede only because he is a Finnish-Swede in a legislative sense. Such consideration can only be done after this person has identified him or herself as Finnish-Swedish in his or her speech. In my research I do not approach identity constructions as parts of discourses. Instead, the concentration is on recognition and interpretation of identity positions that are related to Finnish-Swedishness or Finnish-Swedish identity. It is not important, for instance, to find out the discourse structures, which are behind identification as a Finnish Swede.

In my analysis I have read the transcriptions through several times and recognised different discourse positions and systems of meanings. While in the material the interviewees use several interpretation repertoires in relation to many topics, I have chosen to concentrate only on those repertoires that are interesting for my research, while I have analysed the speech of the interviewees in relation to the context in which they have said it. The interpretation is always subjective. I have, however, tried to get reliability for my analysis by aiming to identify differentiations of the systems of meanings that have been taken by the text itself, by the interviewees in their speech, and how the interviewees, for instance, analyse certain phenomena. Moreover, I have tried by giving examples and explanations to them to allow my reader to ascertain the groundings for my results.

Qualitative research does not aim to find generalisations or conformity to universal laws in a same sense that a quantitative research would aim. Thus, Alasuutari (2001) suggests that, it would be better to leave the term generalisation to quantitative research and rather use the term proportioning in qualitative research to explain how the researcher presents that he or she speaks in his or her analysis about something else than just the material of the research (Ibid: 251) This does not mean, however, that with qualitative research it is impossible to make reliable research. Rather this can be understood by the aims of research: qualitative research aims to explain how something is possible to do or how something has been done in the case of the research instead of explaining, like quantitative research does, how something is always done. Indeed, qualitative research aims to describe, understand and explain locally a phenomenon (Alasuutari 2001:55).

Because discourse analysis is interested in the systems of meanings which are made understandable in and by language, the factual value of the speech of my interviewees is irrelevant and the ways they make the systems of meanings understandable in their speech is more for essential this

research. This way, for instance, in the analysis of the following statement of an interviewee it is irrelevant whether all the people really think Finnish-Swedishness is a duck pool where every one knows each others. Rather essential is how the interviewee, feeling that such view is very common, positions himself to such view and, moreover, how or by using what kind of interpretation repertoire he creates Finnish-Swedish identity in his speech.

Male, Karis/Karjaa: Everybody thinks, well for me that is, they say, the Finnish-Swedishness is, what comes in my mind straight away (.) is for instance this duck pool (.) what they have said (.) that there (.) can say that every one seems to know each others and is there some kind of sense of belongingness together (.) so that I can (.) identify with that Andrei Wikström for instance (.) he is a Finnish Swede and pretty tough guy (.) I don't know them personally, but I somehow feel that they are (.) same sort (...)⁶

The speech of the interviewees is understood as a part of the researched social reality itself, not just descriptions of it. The speech both states something about the nature of reality and creates that reality (Potter and Wetherell 1989:173). The context in which the discourses [or interpretation repertoires] construct identities is important for the analysis, in which, for instance those characteristics of interaction that are important in interpretation of the speech should be noted. This context called as *interaction context* by Jokinen et al. (1993) must be considered especially in analysis that concerns interview material, in which it is essential to scrutinize what has been said by the speakers. This way the questions of the interviewer become essential for the analysis and they are analysed often in same sense as the speech of the interviewees (Jokinen et al. 1993: 31-32). In my work I have considered this context as well. Moreover, the individuals are not in the topic of interest in this research but rather their speech and the cultural shared meanings that are built in and by that. I believe that the research of these culturally shared meanings gives a chance to relate the results of this research to those Finnish Swedes who are outside this study.

⁶ Mies, Karis/Karjaa: "Kaikkihan kuvittelee (.) no mulle se nyt on (.) sanotaan (.) suomenruotsalaisuus on (.) mitä mul tulee heri mieleen (.) on vaikka tää ankkalammikko (.) mitä on sanottu (.) että siellä (.) voi sanoa (.) että kaikki tuntuu toisensa ja onko siinä joku semmonen yhteenkuuluvaisuustunne (.) et mäkin osaan (.) samaistua tohon Andrei Wikströmiin esimerkiksi (.) se on suomenruotsalainen ja aika kova jätkä. En määh niitä henkilökohtaisesti tunne (.) mut mä jotenkin (.) tunnen (.) et ne on (.) samaa sorttia (...)"

7 THE ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

The presentation of the analysis of material is structured in two ways. First, I have organised the subtitles of the analysis to correspond the theme-frame questions which I used in my interviews. Second, these subtitles are divided into three different sections according to the topics. In the first section general information about the televisions is presented, such as the numbers concerning weekly output, incomes and the audience with the information about the programme contents and the level of professionalism in the television. In the second section I have collected information about the ways the personnel of the television speak about Finnish-Swedishness and the identity positions that they take in relation to Finnish-Swedish identity. Since the aim of this research is to scrutinise how Finnish-Swedish television is possibly contributing to Finnish-Swedishness in a wider sense, I have collected in the third section those parts of the speech of the interviewees in which they speak about the activities of their television station in relation to Finnish-Swedishness and the manifestations of Finnish-Swedishness in their television stations. The identity positions taken by the interviewees in their speech can be considered to reach behind the individual views, into culturally shared system of meanings and the ways the identity positions are perceived in this system.

7.1 General information concerning the researched television stations

In the following I shall introduce general information concerning both the local television station and FST, which is not directly related to the Finnish-Swedish identity, but which in any case is important for understanding the background on which these television stations work and possible contribute to the Finnish-Swedish identity. Moreover, this information can also be used to place the television stations included this study into a wider context of community media researched by academics, such as Donald Browne (2002) and Nick Jankowski (2002). I shall first speak about the local Finnish-Swedish television stations and then move on to the general information concerning FST. The information concerning the local televisions is based on the interviews conducted for this study. The information concerning FST is, however, based on both my interviews conducted and on other information published by YLE in their Annual Report (Årsberättelse 2005:24-25) and by FST elsewhere in FST's official website (www.fst.yle.fi). I decided to use the officially published information because time that I could use to each interview was limited and I didn't want to use that on only speaking about the general information, which started to seem a very possible case during the interviews at FST due the exhaustive list of activities that FST has. Moreover, also the interviewees from FST asked me to check the general information concerning FST from such

publications. Therefore, while all of the information related to FST and presented here is not actually derived from my research material, I find it important to include it here in order to understand FST in the wider context of community media research.

7.1.1 Generally about local Finnish-Swedish television stations

Most of the local televisions included in my study were funded by the free-willingly paid watching fees and by the economical support given by the municipalities, who gave this support in return for recording and broadcasting of the meetings of the town council. The watching fees were 9-20 euros per year. Besides the watching fees and economical support given by the respective municipalities, some stations had advertisement and looping adverts on their 24 h text-television. Moreover, during the Christmas period the local companies also paid some television stations small amount money in order to get their Christmas greetings on the text-television. Almost every local television in this study also applied funding annually from different Finnish-Swedish organisations, such as for instance, Svenska Kulturfonden. In many places, the organisational structure of the station was either an association or a stock company, in some cases both, since this was seen the most benefiting for the station since the costs could be covered by both paid work and by economic support given by foundations. The funding gained from Finnish-Swedish organisations corresponds to the typical funding of community by community (Jankowski 2002:7).

All of these stations have regular output and they broadcast weekly approximately one and half hours. In order to be available to as many viewers as possible many television stations broadcast repetition of their weekly programme at least once in a week. Usually the broadcasting of the programmes takes place at the prime time, beginning earliest at 6pm and finishing latest at 9pm, while the broadcasting day can be any weekday.

The content of local Finnish-Swedish television stations' programmes is often marked by a relative freedom in relation to both the genres and the issues. The programmes include always recordings of the local cultural and sports events and interviews related to these. Moreover, the programmes are mostly locally oriented and produced. However, what is considered local varies much within the speech of the interviewees and there are several ways to understand locally oriented and produced: some interviewees consider the programme local only if both the topic and production are local, while for some others it is enough that the person making a programme is local, as following interviewee explains:

Bo-Orvar, Jacobstad TV Pietarsaari r.f: Surely the issues of which programmes are made about (.) are from this town it depends then on the issues what it is speaking about but it is anyhow an issue which is current here, surely the origin may be somewhere else ⁷

In his speech this interviewee states a contradiction: programmes are both from this town and their origin may be somewhere else. The contradiction is, however, understood by the principles of the television station in which this interviewee works at: all the programmes produced by local persons, regardless of what issue or place they concerns will be broadcasted. Many of the local Swedish-Finnish local televisions had similar principle, especially if they had not a nominated director.

Moreover, most of the local Finnish-Swedish television stations also record and live-broadcasted the meetings of town council. However, only few of the stations have news material in their programmes and this is seen very natural as one of the interviewees explained it:

Bo-Orvar, Jacobstad TV Pietarsaari r.f: Well (.) you see (.) as it is once in a week (.) well (.) it is not really benefiting to gather news into it (.) because they are so old which means that what we could of course invent is some kind of programme (.) which tells about the background of the current issues (.) but this would require also so much time (.) and as we are working (.) so that it is in practice this kind of cultural events (.) Esko already said (.) such take place in the evenings and during the weekends (.) so that those we go and film and then we make a compact collage about it [the collage] and put it in the programme⁸

From the speech of this interviewee it can be understood that the production of news material is considered heavy and not benefiting since there is no market for a news programme concerning news from a week's period. This suggests that there the ambitions of personnel are low in relation to programmes, which the interviewee also expresses elsewhere in his speech by noting that new forms of programmes has been considered but apparently they are evaluated very important. The local Finnish-Swedish television station are run by mostly people having a normal day-time work

⁷ Bo-Orvar, Jacobstad TV Pietarsaari r.f: "Kyllä ne asiat josta tehdään (.) ohjelmaa niin ne on (.) lähtöisin täältä kaupungilta se on sitten asiasta kiinni mistä se kertoo mutta se on kuitenkin asia joka (.) on ajankohtainen täällä tietysti alkuperä voi olla jossain muualla."

⁸ Bo-Orvar, Jacobstad TV Pietarsaari r.f: "Katos (.) kun on kerran viikossa tuota siihen ei oikeastaan kannata uutisia kerätä (.) koska ne on niin vanhoja eli se mitä voitais tehdä olis tietysti keksiä joku tällainen ohjelma (.) joka kertoo taustoja ajankohtaisista asioista (.) mutta tää vaatis myös niin paljon aikaa (.) kun me käydään töissä (.) että käytännössä ne on kyllä tällaiset kulttuuritapahtumat (.) Esko jo sano (.) nehän on iltaisin ja viikonloppuisin että niitä me käydään kuvaamassa ja sitten tehdään siitä tiivis kooste ja pistetään se ohjelmaan."

and the work at a local Finnish-Swedish television station, based often on voluntary work, is considered more as hobby activity than as a serious work, while there are some exception concerning stations that have employed a person as part-time director who is responsible over a news insert. The number of the personnel of local Finnish-Swedish television stations is small, often there are 10 persons working for a station, and they don't have journalistic educational background, while some members of the personnel have done courses related to journalism.

Local Finnish-Swedish television stations do not usually have a clear idea about the size of their audience. Some idea can be drawn from the number of the households paying the watching fee, but this number is not totally reliable since paying of the fee is more a sign of a support than a fact speaking for the actually viewing. Besides, some local Finnish-Swedish television stations do not collect a watching fee at all. This seems to suggest that the existence of local Finnish-Swedish television is not related to audience needs so much, which view is also supported by the fact while many stations have conducted an audience research at least once in the past, it often dates back some 15 years and its quality is quite unofficial since the research for that has been conducted by, for instance, the students of a local school. In the speech of interviewees, the audience of the Finnish-Swedish local television is understood very local, which is also suggested by the fact these television stations are distributed mainly via ether or cable television infrastructure. While some stations are also available in Internet, the online audience is considered to consist of local people who have moved elsewhere and want to know what is happening in their old home area.

While there is no official information concerning the size of local Finnish-Swedish television's audience, almost every station gets feedback from their audience. In some places there is a feedback phone to which people can call and leave feedback on an answering machine. One station gathers feedback by sending a questionnaire every year to those households paying the watching fee. Usually feedback is, however, gotten in a monthly form and its quality is considered generally good by the interviewees. The only negative feedback is gotten after, for instance, audience considers that there has been too much of Finnish language in a programme. The presence of Finnish language and bilingualism has been, however, also considered as a positive matter by audience.

There is generally very little co-operation between local Finnish-Swedish television stations and other Finnish-Swedish mediums. In some places, however, there exists co-operation between the local Finnish-Swedish television stations and the local Finnish-Swedish newspapers operating in their area in a way that the local newspapers presented the programme of the local station in their

paper. There was very little or no programme exchange among the Finnish-Swedish local television stations. In relation to FST, the interviewees presented that there is very little co-operation and while some interviewees noted that FST had accepted some parts of their programmes, this was not the case with many. The idea of FST5, a digital channel for Swedish-speakers, had seemed an attractive possibility in the year 2002, when the Chairperson of Förbundet Finlandssvensk Local-TV r.f. Jan Sundqvist stated that, at the moment the discussions with FST have been positive in that in the future the local-TV stations will have a possibility to supply the digital FST-channel with their programmes and parts of programmes (Sundqvist 2002:128). However, the speech of my interviewees does not seem to suggest that the introduction of FST5 has increased the interest of FST towards the production of the local television stations. The reason for the disinterest is according to the interviewees related to the high film quality requirements of FST, which the local producers could not fulfil. In fact, FST was seen somewhat arrogant by the interviewees what is understood in the following sample of speech concerning the cooperation between FST and a local Finnish-Swedish television station.

LH: Have you had co-operation in any way

Gösta, EKENÄS TV AB: Well not really

LH: Yeah but they

Gösta, EKENÄS TV AB: I can tell you that we have here a guy whose name is nmm and he does quite a lot of that kind of nature (.) nature programmes and he was then here in Tammisaari somewhere and filmed of a white (.) what is örn

LH: What

Gösta, EKENÄS TV AB: Örn, that kind of a big bird

LH: An eagle and a hawk or

Gösta, EKENÄS TV AB: Well yeah an eagle yeah and he tried then to send this programme to there and he sent it to Finlands svenska tv Helsinki and they said that they don't want that he sent it to Sweden tv and it has come out from there at least three times

LH: Aha

Gösta, EKENÄS TV AB: And they pay him every time (.) was that then five I don't remember now how much it was was it thousand euros erm crowns

LH: Aha yeah yeah is that then

Gösta, EKENÄS TV AB: It is good enough there but not here in Finland⁹

⁹ LH: "Ootteks tehny yhteistyötä mitenkään"

Gösta, EKENÄS TV AB: "No ei oikeestaan"

LH: "joo, mut ne"

Gösta, EKENÄS TV AB: "Mä voin kertoa sulle et meillä on kaveri täällä joka nimi on nmm ja hän tekee aika paljon semmonen luonto (.) luonto-ohjelmat ja hän oli sitte tääl Tammisaassa jossain ja kuvasi valkoiselta (.) Mikä on örn"

LH: "Mikä"

In the light of the earlier research local Finnish-Swedish televisions appear as rather typical community media; they are at least partly owned and run by members of the community of Finnish Swedes, they distribute via ether and cable infrastructure, the programme content is, at least to certain extent, locally produced and oriented and their personnel is characterized by non-professionalism and voluntary workers. Moreover, by transmitting the meetings of local council they also

Because my research consists of wide variety of the interviewees from different local Finnish-Swedish television stations, also several systems of meanings were presented in their speech and the interviewees expressed many different identities and their variations, such as Finnish-Swedish identity, local identity and local Finnish-Swedish identity. I have noted these identities, but as in my work it is essential to understand what kind of positions my interviewees take or build for themselves and for others in relation to Finnish-Swedish identity and how they form this identity or the discourse dispositions in their speech I shall only concentrate mainly on how Finnish-Swedish identity is constructed in the speech of the interviewees.

7.1.2 Generally about FST as national Finnish-Swedish television

FST is a part of the public broadcasting services of Finland. The funding of FST is arranged by the public broadcasting company YLE that, in turn, is funded by watching fees paid by every household that has a television set. Thus, while FST has its own budget, the source of funds for both YLE and FST is the same.

The weekly output of FST is over 60 hours of programmes. In total, FST broadcasted 3235 hours of programmes in the year 2005. In comparison to the year 2004, the programme output of FST, has decreased in the analogical channels (YLE TV1 and TV2) some percentage, but in total FST offers

Gösta, EKENÄS TV AB: "Örn, semmonen iso lintu"

LH: "(.) kotka ja haukka vai"

Gösta, EKENÄS TV AB: "No jaa kotka juu ja hän yritti sitten tää lähettää tämän ohjelman tonne tai hän lähetti sen Finlands Svenska TV Helsinkiin ja he sanoivat että he eivät halua tuo hän lähetti sen Ruotsin Tv ja sieltä se nyt on tullut ainakin kolme kertaa"

LH: "Ahaa"

Gösta, EKENÄS TV AB: "Ja hänelle maksetaan joka kerta sitten (.) oliko se nyt viis mä en muista paljonko se oli oliko se tuhat euro ööh kruunua"

LH: "Ahaa joo joo onks se siis"

Gösta, EKENÄS TV AB: "Siellä se kelpaa mut ei täällä Suomes"

more programme hours now, because of increase in the output of the digital FST channel. Together the digital and analogical FST offer a full-service in Swedish language including news, factual programmes, children programmes, culture programmes, sports and fiction programmes. Some part of this are imported programmes that are subtitled in Swedish. Moreover, the Swedish-language programmes in the analogical channels (YLE TV1 and TV2) are also subtitled in Finnish. In the speech of the interviewees FST is seen to present matters of general interest concerning the group of Finnish Swedes, such as information about Swedish language based schools and elderly care.

The personnel working at FST is characterised by **professionalism** and an adequate background in studies is required from the employees (<http://www.yle.fi/svenska/svenskayle.php>). Moreover, exact numbers of the people working for FST are not available, but in the year 2005 there worked 439 full-time employees in both FST and the two YLE's Swedish-language radio channels.

As a part of Finland's public broadcasting service FST is based on the must-carry principle and it is available for all the inhabitants of Finland via terrestrial and/or digitally. In relation to **the audience size**, YLE conducts an annual audience research, which indicates that 9 percent of the daily television viewing of the Swedish-speaking audience is dedicated to FST's programmes (analogical and digital) (<http://www.yle.fi/svenska/svenskayle.php>).

FST offers the audience a possibility for a **feedback** given via email, phone or letters. According to an interviewee, the call centre of FST takes 30-40 calls every week during the feedback hours. Furthermore, the feedback is usually given by the Finnish Swedes, and its quality varies from positive to negative. Negative feedback is given by the Finnish Swedes in such situations that, for instance, there has been a Finnish-speaking interviewee in a programme.

Gunilla, FST: Yeah, well we get all sorts of, we do get from the Finnish Swedes get this kind of feedback that we have interviewed a Finnish-speaker and in our (...) channel that cannot be done (.) but sometimes we just have such a situation that a person just cannot speak Swedish but he or she is the only expert in that field and therefore we have to interview specifically him or her, something like this might also come (...) might also come for this kind of purely linguistic issues that we say something wrong or so this kind of feedback might come¹⁰

¹⁰ Gunilla, FST: "Juu, siis meillehän tulee kaikenlaista, meillehän tulee siis ruotsinkielisiltä tulee tämmöistä palautetta että meillä on haastateltu joku suomenkielinen ja sitä meidän (...) kanavalla ei sitt voi tehdä (.) mut joskus meillä on vaan sellainen tilanne, että henkilö ei kerta kaikkiaan puhu ruotsia, mutta hän on sen alan ainoa (...) erikoistuntija ja sen takia hänet on nimenomaan haastateltava, tämmöistä voi tulla myöskin (...) voi myöskin tulla ihan tämmöisiä kielellisistä asioista, että me sanotaan joku asia väärin tai tämmöistä palautetta voi tulla"

Moreover, also the Finnish-speaking part of FST's audience gives both negative and positive feedback. The negative feedback related to Finnish-Swedishness, such as why the Finnish Swedes got so much media hours as they are a tiny minority, has become more common especially after the introduction of the feedback possibility by e-mails. However, the Finnish-speaking Finns are considered some ways less critical towards FST as a television station of the Finnish Swedes than are the Finnish Swedes themselves, which is expressed in the following speech of an interviewee.

Gunilla, FST: we get a little bit different feedback really from the Swedish-speakers and from the Finnish-speakers, so that in a certain amount (.) we are more praised because of some specific programmes which (.) the Finnish-speaking population adopts maybe even better than does the Finnish-Swedish population (.) that exactly something like Bettina S. or some Strömsö or (...) Bettina S. is quite a good example of that only in that moment when Bettina S. became popular (.) among the Finnish-speakers (.) you could call it a brand and they started to speak about her it was only after that when the Finnish Swedes could (...) adopt this that, a-ha, also we can make talk show (.) so that in a way also the Finnish-Swedish audience is in a way also quite harsh on us (.) and they do watch over very much what we do¹¹

There is some level of co-operation between FST and other Swedish-language media in Finland. In thinking about the Finnish-Swedish media, the cooperation is most common, besides other YLE's Swedish language media services such as radio, with the Finnish-Swedish newspaper, which FST promotes, according to the interviewees, by making puffs about them. In relation to Swedish language media, cooperation exists also with other Nordic Countries and these countries produce in cooperation a *Nordvision* collage programme. Moreover, according to the speech of the interviewees from FST, there is no actual co-operation between FST and the local Finnish-Swedish televisions, while such co-operation is considered possible at least in rhetoric, as the following sample suggests.

Jens, FST: At the moment we have (.) actually no cooperation should I say with them (.) but there is no programme node which they are after probably probably from these local television stations

¹¹ Gunilla, FST: "meille vähän erilaista palautetta todella ruotsinkielisiltä ja suomenkielisiltä, että meille tulee tietysti määrin (.) enemmänkin kiitosta tietyistä ohjelmista, jotka (.) suomenkielinen väestö ehkä jopa omaksuu paremmin kuin mitä suomenruotsalainen väestö (.) että just joku tämmöinen kun Bettina S. tai joku Strömsö tai (...) Bettina S. on aika hyvä esimerkki siitä, että vasta siinä vaiheessa kun Bettina S.stä tuli suosittu (.) suomenkielisten keskuudessa (.) voisi sanoa brändi ja hänestä puhuttiin niin vasta sen jälkeen suomenruotsalaiset osasivat (...) omaksua tämän, että ahaa, ett mekin voidaan tehdä talk show'ia (.) ett siinä mielessä että tietyllä tavalla myöskin suomenruotsalainen katsojakunta on tietyllä tavoin myöskin aika ankara meitä kohtaan (.) ja vahtii kyllä hyvin paljon sitä mitä me tehdään."

that they should with pleasure find a programme time at FST to which people could send send send material which they have done but at the moment there isn't any (...) and the local-tv people who have contacted me have heard in their forums about interest so I have asked them simply send material what the question was about and concrete programmes and so have we done nu (...)¹²

From the perspective of earlier research on community media (Jankowski 2002:7) FST does not have the characteristics of a typical community media in a sense that the personnel of FST are paid professionals and its audience is located in a relatively large area and its distribution methods are of high status. Moreover, since it is only partly owned by the members of the community, that of Finnish Swedes, it does correspond with the typical community media presented in earlier research. However, since the personnel are members of the community and FST is essentially non-commercial it does have some other characteristics mentioned by earlier research. Furthermore, regardless of that the content of FST's programmes does not correspond the typical content of community media programme, which is characterized by locally produced programmes, FST can still be considered have some general characteristics of community media, since it aims to provide news and information relevant to the needs of community members and to engage these members in public communication (Ibid: 7).

My interviewees from FST presented in their speech several systems of meanings and many identities, such as Finnish-Swedish identity and Finnish identity. In my work I concentrate in understanding what kind of positions my interviewees take or build for themselves and for others in relation to Finnish-Swedish identity and how they form this identity or the discourse dispositions in their speech I shall concentrate on how Finnish-Swedish identity is constructed in the speech of the interviewees.

7.2 Identity, us and the Other

In my interviewees I begun with the expectation that the interviewees identified as Finnish-Swedish. This expectation was based on that each station as a collective categorises or identifies itself as a collective as Finnish-Swedish, which is manifested in different ways by different television stations. Finlands Svenska Televisions (Finland's Swedish Television), FST, presents

¹² Jens, FST: "Nu har vi (.) egentligen inget samarbete ska jag säga med dom (.) men det finns inte egentligen ett program noder dom är efter ljusten nog nog från de här lokal-tv station att de skulle de skulle gärna ju finnas en programtid på FST till på man kunde kunde skicka skicka material saker som de har gjort men nu finns nu finns det inte (...) och då när lokal-tv människor ha varit i kontakt med mig hörs sig i forum om intresse så jag har bett dom helt enkelt skicka material det var det frågan om och konkreta program det här det här har vi gjort nu (...)"

such an idea in their official website¹³ and the local televisions put forth the self-categorisation as Finnish-Swedish by belonging to an organisation called Förbundet för finlandsvenska local-tv f.r (the Association for Finland-Swedish Local TV). I expected that identification of each station as Finnish-Swedish is presented on individual level as well and that the members of the managerial personnel would categorise themselves as Finnish-Swedish. This view is supported by the earlier research. In their study concerning Finnish-Swedish organisations, Maria Kreander and Tom Sandlund (2006) use the individual members' identification as Finnish-Swedish as one of the requirements needed for that an organisation, could be considered Finnish-Swedish¹⁴. Furthermore, a person or in this case a member can be considered Finnish-Swedish when he or she pronounced more or less her or his self-categorisation as Finnish-Swedish (Ibid: 38-39). Thus, the very first step of my research was to ask the interviewees to speak about their personal identification as Finnish-Swedish. Do they identify as Finnish Swedes and/or Finns and/or Swedish? How do they explain Finnish-Swedish identity or different variations of it and what positions they take to themselves and to the others in relation to it? I shall start from these questions and develop these topics towards the second section three of this analysis that concerns Finnish-Swedish television and the constructions of Finnish-Swedish identity and/or its variations in and by Finnish-Swedish television.

7.2.1 The personal identification of the interviewees

In the interview question concerning self-categorisation, I asked each interviewee whether he or she considers himself or herself as a Finnish Swede or a Finn or a Swede. The question is rather open and in the interview there was no requirement to choose only one of these identities. Many interviewees took advantage of this and chose not only one of the options but more. Most of the interviewees consider himself or herself as a Finnish Swede but at the same time also as a Finn. Therefore, two identities can be differentiated here, the 'Finnish Swede' identities and the 'Finn' identity. The '**uniform Finnish-Swedish**' identity can be considered to be more closer to the concept of ethnic or cultural identity since *the homogenous repertoire* in which it is formed, considers besides the Swedish language also the culture of the Finnish Swedes as something different than and delimited from the majority culture. On the contrary to this, the '**Finn**' identity reminds more the concept of national identity, since *the Finnish repertoire* in which it is

¹³ (<http://fst.yle.fi/info/index.php>)

¹⁴ According to Kreander and Sandlund (2006:38-39) for that an organisation could be classified Finnish-Swedish the members and the management of the organisation must be Finnish-Swedish and the organisation must operate in Swedish language.

constructed, includes an idea that the Finnish Swedes have a culture that is the same as the culture of the majority. (Wolf-Knuts 1995:17)

The 'uniform Finnish-Swedish' and 'Finn' identities can be related to different loyalties that are, modifying Peräkylä (1990:22), assumed to the group of Finnish-Swedes. According to Allardt and Starck (1981), among many ethnic and linguistic minorities the emphasis is placed on the loyalty towards one's own group, which is seen as an opposite to the loyalty towards one's nation. However, Allardt and Starck (1981) refer comparative international study of minorities conducted by Coakley (1980) and present that, such attitude concerns Finnish Swedes less than it concerns minority groups in general and the predominant ideology within the Finnish Swedes is based on the idea, that it is possible and important to unite the loyalty towards both the Finnish Swedes and the entire [Finland's] nation (Allardt and Starck 1981: 97). This notion is supported by the views given by the interviewees in my research and according to them the self-categorisation as both a Finn and Finnish-Swedish was not seen mutually excluding, but rather naturally coexisting. Some interviewees explained this 'natural coexistence' of two loyalties by introducing a Finnish-Swedish term "finländare", which can be roughly translated in English as "a citizen of Finland" or "Finland's citizen", and which forms another identity, the 'Finland's citizen' identity, in the Finland's citizen repertoire. The following sample of an interviewee explains how this term emphasises on the loyalty towards one's nation, the nation of Finland, and avoids the contradictions caused by the linguistic differences within this nation.

Bo-Orvar, Jacobstad TV Pietarsaari r.f: Well, you see, in Swedish [language] there is a better solution for this problem, if you know that *one can be a Finn, one can be a Swede in Sweden, but one can be 'finländare' and in that case 'finländare' or 'from Finland' means that one is from Finland, but there is no...language related to that which means that I am finländare...I have not found in Finnish a kind of equivalent phrase to finländare*^{i 15}

The term '**finländare**' which is included in the **Finland's citizen** repertoire relates to the Finnish repertoire, since in both of these the Finnish Swedes are portrayed as a part of Finland's population,

¹⁵ Bo-Orvar, Jacobstad TV Pietarsaari r.f : "Niin, katsos ruotsiksi tässä tähän ongelmaan on parempi ratkaisu, jos tiedät, että man kan vara finne man kan vara svensk i Sverige, men man kan vara finländare och då finländare eli suomenmaalainen se tarkoittaa, että on Suomesta kotoisin, mutta siinä ei...ole enää kieli mukana eli mä on finländare...mä en oo suomeksi oikeestaan löytänyt tämmöistä vastaavaa sanontaa kuin finländare".

although the Finland's citizen repertoire is more pluralistic and has no reference to language or to culture but rather to a group of citizens. The use of the term 'finländare' is old and can be found, for instance, in the speech of Finnish-Swedish war veterans according to whom no Finnish speaking Finns (finnar) or Finnish Swedes (finlandssvenskar) existed in the war, but there were only finländare (Liebkind 1984: 106-107). Thus, use of the Finland's citizen repertoire can be seen including an attempt to unite the loyalty to the nation with the loyalty to the ethnic or cultural group while both of these loyalties are seen equally important. Moreover, while some interviewees leaned in their speech on the Finland's citizen repertoire, they did not always, however, prioritise this repertoire but use it rather to clarify the preference of other repertoires, as the following sample shows.

LH: Okay and do you consider yourself to be a Finnish Swede, a Swede or a Finn?

Jens, FST: I am probably a Finnish Swede

LH: And secondly

Jens, FST: a Finlandian (.) 'finländare' and thirdly a Swede.

LH: Aha, so that is such a word you use about yourself then.

Jens, FST: Yeah I use it probably about myself. That is what I do.

LH: Okay

Jens, FST: First a Finnish Swede then 'finländare' and then erm (.) Mother tongue (.) That is what I should say. Well, okay, I know what you are after but (.) therefore, I define, for me 'finländare' is a person which speaks either Finnish or Swedish as his or her mother tongue. For me both Liisa and Jens are 'finländare'. That is what 'finländare' is for me¹⁶

The interviewees are using in their speech different repertoires and they lean on stand for, as examples, the heterogeneous opinions among the group of the Finnish Swedes the in relation to different loyalties and the different ways these loyalties can be preferred. However, the repertoires used by the interviewees to identify themselves are constructed in interaction context where the question itself placed emphasis on the contrastive character of Finnish-Swedish identity in relation

¹⁶ LH: Okei, ja koetko olevasi suomenruotsalainen, ruotsalainen vai suomalainen?

Jens, FST: Jag e nog finlandssvensk.

LH: Ja toiseksi

Jens, FST: Finländsk (.) finländare och tredje ruotsalainen.

LH: Aha elikkä eli se on semmoinen sana mitä sit käytät itsestäsi.

Jens, FST: Jo, jag använder det nog om mej själv. De gör jag.

LH: Okei.

Jens, FST: Först finlandssvensk sen finländare o sen nä ... modersmålet. De sku jag säga. No ja okej, jag vet va du far efter men (.) alltså jag definierar, för mej är finländare en person som dedäran talar antingen finska eller svenska som modersmål. För mej är finländare både Liisa och Jens. De e finländare för mej.

to the Other as majority Finns and Swedes from Swedes. Therefore all of the repertoires formed by interviewees are in relation to comparison to the Other. Other possible identities and the repertoires in which they are formed are considered in the following chapters. Furthermore, for the purposes of this study it can be noted that the interviewees consider himself or herself at least partly as Finnish-Swedish and therefore the television stations included in this study fulfil one of the criteria, defined by Kreander and Sandlund (2006), that an organisation is required to fulfil so that it can be considered Finnish-Swedish.

7.2.2 Finnish-Swedishness

The members of the managerial personnel of local and nation-wide Finnish-Swedish television stations laid in their speech, at least partly, on the Finnish Swedes repertoire. They constructed Finnish-Swedishness, however, in several repertoires that varied much from one another.

The earlier research concerning the group of Finnish Swedes has not given an exact definition for Finnish-Swedishness, language has been considered as the most common characteristic of the group (Wolf-Knuts 1995; Ståhlberg 1995; Liebkind et al. 1995, Lönnqvist 1981, Allardt and Starck 1981). Moreover, to construct Finnish-Swedishness this way can be understood to laid on *the linguistic repertoire* in which **the 'Swedish-speaking Finn' identity** is formed, that comes close to the view according to which the Finnish Swedes are a linguistic group (Moring 2002:?) The significance of language is seen, also by my interviewees, far most important common characteristic defining Finnish-Swedishness and sometimes the only common characteristic. However, while the role of language as a common denominator is agreed by many, the question whether the language can be considered a enough strong bound to tie people together as a group is noted by the interviewees. In the following sample one of the interviewees questions the rhetoric over a common Finnish-Swedish identity based on language and explains the group of Finnish Swedes consisting of several local groups of Finnish Swedes that are tied together by language that dominates in the geographical locations of these groups. This way the speech of this interviewee constructs several identities. The interviewee includes in his speech the linguistic repertoire by noting the common characteristic of language in relation to the group of Finnish Swedes. In his speech the interviewee seems to prefer *the heterogeneous repertoire*, in which the **'local Finnish-Swedish' identity** is formed, by stressing the importance of the local differences within the linguistically unified group. However, besides this the interviewee also mentions the area of Svenskfinland as something Finnish-Swedish. This way he seems use both the homogeneous repertoire and the linguistic repertoire in his speech, since he stresses the importance of the wider common region of

Svenskfinland, where Swedish is spoken, as a unifier of the locally differentiated group of Finnish Swedes.

LH: What do you mean what is Finnish-Swedishness

Jens, FST: There is there is not a Finnish-Swedishness I would like like therefore the Finnish Swedes act more like those who speak Swedish or understand Swedish in Finland

LH: So it is only only only language

Jens, FST: the Finnish-Swedish (.) part of the population is not homogeneous but very heterogeneous, therefore we cannot say, that a Finnish-Swedish identity exists and for that reason there is no such a group that could be called Finnish Swedes, there are several groups of Finnish Swedes, which are tied together by the language"

LH: So any Finnish-Swedish does not exist

Jens, FST: Yeah [laughter] there is there is a Svenskfinland¹⁷

The variability of the repertoires present in the speech of this interviewee is not as schizophrenic as it might seem. Instead, it can be related, applying Suoninen (1993:59) to Western culture which is characterized by that the matters can be analysed and explained through several dimensions or aspects. One or all of these three identities mentioned above are constructed also in the speech of the other interviewees. In the following sample the interviewee uses both the homogeneous and the linguistic repertoire in her speech as she notes that the co-operation between different regions where Swedish is spoken works well, better than does the co-operation between the Finnish-speaking regions. She seems to prefer the homogeneous repertoire to the linguistic repertoire, as she explains that the good co-operation between different regions where Swedish is spoken "is not only depending on language".

LH: Um um. Do you believe then that it is more like that it really is in this North-South axel there is one Finnish-Swedish culture that goes over these local differences in a way. So that do they have like some lets say from Parainen and (.) lets say (.) from Pietarsaari more in common than from

¹⁷ LH: "Vad menar du vad är finlandsvenskhet"

Jens, FST: "Det finns det finns inte en finlandsvenskhet jag skilla gilla gilla i här fall fungera finlandssvenskarna mera som dom som talar svenska eller förstår svenska i Finland"

LH: Så det är bara bara bara språket

Jens, FST: "(...) den finlandssvenska (.) delen av befolkningen so är inte homogen men jätte heterogen vi kan inte säga att det finns en finlandssvensk identitet eller finns tillför för en grupp som man skulle kalla för finlandssvenska det finns många grupper av finlandssvenska som binder densamma är språket (...)"

LH: "Ei ole mitään siis suomenruotsalaista ei ole olemassa"

Jens, FST: "Joo-o [naurua] det finns det finns ett svenskfinland"

Pietarsaari and then (.) or from Parainen and lets take some near municipality that is Finnish speaking. How do they go.

Ann-Sofie, Par-TV: It does depend on a person very much for instance we have (.) in one project (.) together in particular Pietarsaari, Parainen, Lievestuore and Kinnula and Jyväskylä and yes it there somehow (.) works pretty well that Parainen-Pietarsaari axis and that is no it is not only depending on language but it is something really different but it is really difficult to say that what it is (...) ¹⁸

While the Swedish language is considered important by all of my interviewees, the interviewees are also divided by the views over the use of language. Bilingualism and the use of Finnish language are approach very differently in different repertoires. In the earlier research, for instance Liebkind et al. (1995) note, the increasing level of bilingualism among the Finnish Swedes has been welcomed in very different ways by the group and some part of Finnish Swedes considers it as strength while another part sees it as a threat. Also from the speech of my interviewees two different repertoires can be separated by looking at the ways the bilingualism is addressed in and by them; *the bilingual repertoire*, in which a 'tolerant identity' is formed, including the idea of bilingualism as a resource and the use of Finnish language as acceptable among the Finnish Swedes, and *the unilingual repertoire*, in which the 'critical identity' is formed, including the idea of the use of Finnish language and bilingualism as weakening factors for the future of the Finnish Swedes. In his speech the following interviewee uses both of these repertoires.

Jens, FST: That is a hot topic because (.) it divides the Svenskfinland, I cannot tell any percentage of how it divides but it deals with something like how much we as Finnish Swedes will, this is a bad word, but truckle to, that means that we will be such that when we come to a bank in a bilingual region so or in a region where the majority language is Finnish so we speak automatically Finnish which means that fit in somehow and be and like search for acceptance, not make too big number being (.) use Swedish but as soon as we face problems we start changing to Finnish like this is very much linked to that what it is about, that we that we in such case will not stand out and ask for too much. While another part of Svenskfinland thinks that it is self-evident that we will stand for ourself, that we will demand, that if we don't demand our rights, if we are not those who swop to Swedish

¹⁸ LH: "Hmm. hmm. Uskot sää, et se on sitte enemmän niin kun, et se on tosiaan täällä pohjois-eteläkselilla on yksi Suomenruotsalaiskulttuuri, joka ylittää sit nää paikallisetkin erot tavallaan. Niin tota onks niillä niin kun, et oisko jollain Paraisista ja- sanotaan - Pietarsaaresta enemmän yhteistä ku Pietarsaaresta ja sitten tai Paraisista ja otetaan joku lähikunta, joka on suomenkielinen. Meneeks ne miten"
Ann-Sofie, Par-TV: "No, se on kyl, se on kyl hyvin paljon ihmisestä kiinni. (.) Mut on, on niitä, et esimerkiks meillä on, mää oon puheenjohtajana yhdessä projektissa, missä on mukana nimenomaan Pietarsaari, Parainen, Lievestuore ja Kinnula ja Jyväskylä. Ja kyllä siel jotenkin (.) niin se synkkaa aika hyvin se akseli Parainen *Pietarsaari*. Eikä se, se ei oo vaan kiinni kielestä, vaan se on jotain muuta (...)"

when we go in a bank then we will never like get, get to use Swedish in Finland. So that it is like there are a hell of a lot of nuancer in between but that there also are the opposite poles like¹⁹

While the interviewee uses both the unilingual and bilingual repertoires, he seems to prefer the critical repertoire by noting that the question is about "how much we as Finnish Swedes will, this is a bad word, but truckle to". However, the fact that the interviewer is a Finnish-speaker cannot be without some impacts on the interviewees, since the identity formation is always relative and, as Wolf-Knuts (1995:9), the opinions of a person to whom one is explaining one's identity have an impact on the explanations. This is conformed in that the interviewee states that "truckle to" is "a bad word" and he places his words in a certain context where the interviewee is not expected to agree with the unilingual repertoire. The impact that the interviewee as a representative of the Other has on the speech of the interviewees I consider that the interviewees are speaking within a specific system of meanings and the repertoires they use belong to the repertoires used within Finnish-Swedishness. Also the choose to use either Finnish or Swedish language in the interview situations enunciates the different repertoires the Finnish Swedes use and the different identities they build to themselves this way; the choose of Finnish language belongs to the bilingual repertoire while the choose of Swedish is a part of the unilingual repertoire. According to this, the vast majority, 10 of my Finnish-Swedish interviewees build themselves a tolerant Finnish-Swedish identity by using Finnish in the interview situation. Correspondingly, only three of my interviewees choose to use Swedish in the interview situation and build by doing so themselves a critical Finnish-Swedish identity. This observation is accord with the suggestion of the earlier academic research that the increasing number of the Finnish Swedes is bilingual (Allardt and Starch 1981:76).

Moreover, besides the relative character of identity formation, also the comparison and reflection of oneself and ones own group to the other groups and their members, noted by Wolf-Knuts (1995:9), are also manifested in the speech of my interviewees, which I shall speak more next.

¹⁹ Jens, FST: "Den e brännhet därför att (.) den delar Svenskfinland, nu kan jag int säga sådär procentuellt hur den delar den, men de handlar nånstans om de hur mycket vi som finlandsvenskar ska, de här är ett dåligt ord, men huka, de vill säga att vi ska vara såna som när vi kommer till en bank på en tvåspråkig ort så eller på en ort där majoritetsspråket är finska så talar vi automatiskt finska de vill säga att smälta in nånstans och vara, och liksom söka acceptans, inte föra mycket oljud, vara (.) använda svenskan, men genast vi stöter på problem så ska vi, så ska vi då byta till finskan, liksom de här e i mycket förenklat de som de handlar om, att vi att vi då på det sättet int ska ska sticka ut och kräva för mycket. Medan en annan del av Svenskfinland tycker att det är självklart att vi ska stå på oss, att vi ska kräva, att om int vi kräver våra rättigheter, om vi int e dom som byter språk till svenska när vi går in till banken så kommer vi aldrig nånsin att få, att få använda oss av svenska i Finland. Så att de liksom de finns hemskt många nyanser där emellan, men att där finns motpolerna nånstans"

7.2.3 The Finnish Swedes in relation to the Finnish-speaking Finns

Finnish-Swedishness or identity of the Finnish Swedes is often explained by comparing it to the Other. The contrastive character is essential in the identity formation and, according to Stuart Hall, identities are constructed through, not outside, difference. The 'positive' meaning of any term can be constructed only through relation that it has to the Other, the relation to what it is not and what it lacks, to what is known as the constitutive outside of it (e.g., Hall 1996:4). For many of my interviewees the Other concerns the Finnish-speaking Finns and Swedes in Sweden, and Finnish-Swedishness is seen to take form somewhere in between these two groups. Siv Sandberg has explained this phenomenon by reformulating the infamous Finnish sentence *ruotsalaisia emme ole, venäläisiä emme halua olla, olkaamme suomalaisia* (Swedes we are not, Russians we don't want to be, let us be Finns) to explain the current situation of the Finnish Swedes by stating that they are not Swedes, neither Finns, thus [they are] Finnish Swedes (Sandberg 1995:77).

In relation to the Finnish-speaking Finns my interviewees considered language as the most differentiating factor between the Finnish Swedes and the Finnish-speaking Finns and the use of language that is not used by majority is experienced heavy as one interviewee states in the following sample.

Ann-Sofie, Par-TV: If you have Swedish as your mother-tongue, you will have to seek your way to somewhere, but as a Finnish-speaker you won't have to seek your way to anywhere, since it exists everywhere, the Finnish language and culture (.) and that makes it that the Finnish Swedes are (.) in a tram in Helsinki speaking so loudly with each others and that one must like feel it, that I am, that there are more of us than me²⁰

In this speech the interviewee uses the homogeneous repertoire and includes both the language and the culture to the Finnish-Swedishness. However, by using the term 'Finnish Swedes' instead of 'us' and stating that "if you have" instead of "as I have" she is taking distance to the **'uniform Finnish-Swedish' identity**, which seems to be contradiction with the homogeneous repertoire. This can be understood in the context where the interviewer is a Finnish-speaker; by speaking about the group of Finnish Swedes from outsider's perspective this interviewee can avoid placing herself in a position that confronts the interviewer's position.

²⁰ Ann-Sofie, Par-TV: ”Jos sulla on ruotsinkieli äidinkielenä, niin sun täytyy hakeutua jonnekin, mut suomenkielisenä sun ei tarvitse hakeutua, koska se on olemassa joka paikassa, sitä suomen kieltä ihan kulttuuri (.) ja se tekee sen, et suomenruotsalaiset (.) ratikassa Helsingissä puhuu niin kovaa keskenään ja et se jotenkin täytyy niin ku tuntea se, et et mä en, et on useampaa kun minä”

Moreover, Finnish-Swedishness is created through the comparison of the group of Finnish Swedes to the group of Finnish-speaking Finns in other matters too; the sense of belonging together is considered stronger among the Finnish Swedes than a, like is explained by the following interviewee.

Bo-Orvar, Jacobstad TV Pietarsaari r.f: (...) well for instance such social belongingness together seems that is is like stronger in the Swedish-speaking regions than in the Finnish-speaking regions."²¹

In his speech this interviewee uses the homogeneous repertoire by suggesting that there is a stronger sense of belongingness together in the Swedish-speaking regions than in the Finnish-speaking regions. However, as he uses in his comparison regions as the defined units instead of speaking about the Finnish Swedes or stating, for instance, that we have stronger sense of belonging together, he is not building a unified Finnish-Swedish identity for himself in his speech.

The sense of belonging together was noted by another interviewee as well. In his speech this interviewee builds himself 'uniform Finnish-Swedish' identity by using the homogenous repertoire; he states that he can identify with a Finnish-Swedish person who he does not know. In his speech he is also expressing that the general opinion considers the sense of belongingness together as a characteristic of the Finnish Swedes.

Egon, Karis TV AB/ Karjaan TV OY: Everybody thinks, well for me that is, they say, the Finnish-Swedishness is, what comes in my mind straight away (.) is for instance this duck pool (.) what they have said (.) that there (.) can say that every one seems to know each others and is there some kind of sense of belongingness together (.) so that I can (.) identify with that Andrei Wikström for instance (.) he is a Finnish Swede and pretty tough guy (.) I don't know them personally, but I somehow feel that they are (.) same sort (...)²²

²¹ Bo-Orvar, Jacobstad TV Pietarsaari r.f: "(...) tuota esimerkiksi semmoinen sosiaalinen yhteenkuuluvuus tuntuu että se on niin kuin vahvempi ruotsinkielisillä alueilla kuin suomenkielisillä alueilla."

²² Egon, Karis TV AB/ Karjaan TV OY: "Kaikkihan kuvittelee (.) no mulle se nyt on (.) sanotaan (.) suomenruotsalaisuus on (.) mitä mul tulee heri mieleen (.) on vaikka tää ankkalammikko (.) mitä on sanottu (.) että siellä (.) voi sanoa (.) että kaikki tuntuu toisensa ja onko siinä joku semmoinen yhteenkuuluvaisuustunne (.) et mäkin osaan (.) samaistua tohon Andrei Wikströmiin esimerkiksi (.) se on suomenruotsalainen ja aika kova jätkä. En mä näitä henkilökohtaisesti tunne (.) mut mä jotenkin (.) tunnen (.) et ne on (.) samaa sorttia (...)"

Some of the interviewees also included in Finnish-Swedishness a higher level of participation in the organisational life among the Finnish Swedes than among the Finnish-speaking Finns. This corresponds to recent academic research suggesting that the membership and participation in the organisations is more common among the Finnish Swedes than among the Finnish-speaking Finns (Liebkind et al. 2006). In relation to this, Allardt and Starck (1981) suggest that the Finnish Swedes' participation in the Finnish-Swedish organisations is a sign of belongingness together. According to them, the purely emotional expressions of belongingness together have been fairly mild in the dominant situation in the past decades which is characterised by easing of language politics (Allardt and Starck 1981:213-214).

While the higher level of organisational participation of the Finnish Swedes in comparison to the Finnish-speaking Finns was stated by many of my interviewees it was, however, also questioned by one of them. In this sample the homogenous repertoire is emphasized and the interviewee builds himself a uniform Finnish-Swedish identity.

LH: Are the Finnish Swedes more active people in the organisational activities than [Finnish-speaking] Finns?

Egon, Karis TV AB/ Karjaan TV OY: I wouldn't say, you know. Here was, here was a bunch of Finnish-speakers they made then here programme, you know, during a couple of years they made everything possible (...) That was really great (.) You had to (.) slow them down a bit, that wow wow, that we should make sometimes some other programmes, as the filming equipment were somewhere in the woods, in woods they were filming Robin Hood and what else. But I disagree, we are not more active²³

In relation to hetero- and auto-stereotypes of the Finnish Swedes, it can be said that my interviewees hold very little negative hetero-stereotypes concerning the Finnish-speaking Finns as the Other and none of the interviewees presented direct critical views over the Finnish-speaking Finns. On the contrary, even the auto-stereotype suggesting the Finnish Swedes are more active and therefore more vital, which can be seen positive, was questioned by one of the interviewees. This way my interviewees speak to be in accord with the statement expressed by Ståhlberg (1995)

²³LH: "Ovatko suomenruotsalaiset aktiivisempaa porukkaa järjestötoiminnassa kuin suomalaiset"

Egon, Karis TV AB/ Karjaan TV OY: "En mä sanoisi, kuule. Tääl oli, tää oli lauma suomenkielisiä sillon ne teki tääl ohjelmaa, kuule, parin kolmen vuoden ajan ne teki kaikki maan ja taivaan välillä. (...) Se oli ihan mahtavaa (.)Niitä sai vähän (.)jarruttaa tieät, et hei hei, et meidänkin tarttis tehdä välillä jotain muuta ohjelmaa, ku se kuvauskalusto oli ties jossain metsässä, metsässä ne kuvas Robin Hoodia ja mitä kaikkea. Mut mä oon eri mieltä, ei me olla sen aktiivisempii."

according to which the Finnish-Swedishness seems not to be connected to the negative hetero-stereotypes than to positive auto-stereotypes, which means that the critical ideas about the other were less commonly sustained than were the positive ideas about one's own group (Ståhlberg 1995: 37). However, the non-existence of the critical views over the Finnish-speaking Finns within the speech of my interviewees, might also tell about the relative character of identity formation: since I am a representative of the Finnish-speaking Finns the interviewees might have avoided negative speech over the group of the Finnish-speaking Finns in order to not place themselves in a position that confronts my position. Besides constructing Finnish-Swedishness by comparing the group of the Finnish Swedes to that of the Finnish-speaking Finns my interviewees also formed Finnish-Swedishness through the comparison to the Swedes from Sweden.

7.2.4 The Finnish Swedes in relation to the Swedes

In the relevant literature there are several views expressed concerning the relationship between the Finnish Swedes and the Swedes of Sweden. On one hand, it has been presented by Liebkind et al. (1995) that while the Finnish Swedes may feel strong identification with the Swedish language, this identification is only related to the language. Moreover, according to Liebkind et al. (1995), the Swedish-speaking Finns are internationally considered as Finns and they identify clearly with Finland as their homecountry and the Swedish are their mother tongue. Furthermore, no identification is made with Sweden (Liebkind et al.1995:58). On the other hand, it has also been suggested that some part of the Finnish Swedes identify strongly with Sweden. For instance, Leif Höckerstedt presents a view according to which the Finnish Swedes are like the Swedes in Sweden regardless of some social and regional characteristics which have become more important in the near past (Höckerstedt 2000:114-115). The co-existence of these two opposing views seems possible according to Bo Lönnqvist (1981) who notes that the recent changes faced by the Finnish Swedish in terms of the size of the area and people have provoked both passive and active attitude towards the Swedishness.

The vast majority of my interviewees did not express in their speech that the group of the Finnish Swedes have roots in Sweden. However, there was one interviewee who did have this view and she found the roots in Sweden as an elementary part of Finnish-Swedishness.

Maria, NÄR-TV: "My family must originally at some point of time have arrived from Sweden since I am a Finnish Swede (.) I do not know I have no idea of where they come from (...)"²⁴

The statement of this interviewee, while appearing to be merely a curiosity among my interviewees, seems to be in accord with Höckerstedt's view. Most of the interviewees mentioned that Sweden has a connection to Finnish-Swedishness because of the common language. Some impulses are taken from, for instance, the Swedish media due to common language. Besides this, the differences between these groups were taken up by some of the interviewees and the relationship with Swedes of Sweden was often contrasted with the relationship with Finnish-speaking Finns. In the following sample an interviewee uses in her speech the homogeneous repertoire by noting that there is a Finnish-Swedish culture which is different than the Finnish or the Swedish culture. However, she also uses the Finnish repertoire, which she also leans on more by stating that "At that point I did think that there is no difference between the Finnish Swedes and the Finnish-speaking Finns. So that we are like that way same nation, that or like kind of cautious, quiet anyway". Moreover, she also forms herself a Finn identity by using the word "we".

Ann-Sofie, Par-TV: (...) "If we say that there is two languages, is Swedish and Finnish and then there is a Finnish-Swedish culture. So that of course (.) the Finnish Swedes follow (.) Sweden more as a model somehow for instance in culture. They speak about music, popular culture and theatre and and so on (...) the Swedish culture differs very much from both the [Finnish-speaking] Finnish and Finnish-Swedish culture so that it the Finnish-Swedish culture is closer to the [Finnish-speaking] Finnish than the [Sweden's] Swedish culture (.) some of these are this kind of (.) cliché that the Finns are more direct and speak directly and the Swedes are very much like, everything is like 'jätte fint' [really great] and 'mycket bra' [very good] (.) Then some say that the Finns and that includes also the Swedish Finns are somehow more quiet and the Swedes are in turn like very extroverts (.) which is quite interesting since we all have this idea. And at that point I did think that there is no difference between the Finnish Swedes and the Finnish-speaking Finns. So that we are like that way same nation, that or like kind of cautious, quiet anyway."²⁵

²⁴ Maria, NÄR-TV: "Ja min släkt kommer då kanske antagligen från Sverige nångång i tiden eftersom jag är finlandssvensk (.) det vet jag nu int heller har ingen aning var dom kommer ifrån (...)"

²⁵ Ann-Sofie, Par-TV: "(...) Jos puhutaan, että on kaks kieltä, on ruotsia ja suomea ja sitten on kuitenkin olemassa suomenruotsalainen kulttuuri. Et tietysti (.) suomenruotsalaiset ottavat (...) Ruotsista enemmän mallia jotenkin esimerkiksi kulttuurissa. Puhutaan musiikista, populaarimusiikista ja teatterista ja ja niin pois päin (...) ruotsalainen kulttuuri eroaa hyvin paljon sekä suomalaisesta että suomenruotsalaisesta kulttuurista et kuitenkin se suomenruotsalainen kulttuuri on lähempänä suomalaista kuin ruotsalaista kulttuuria (.) jotkut näit on on tämmösi (.) klisheitä, et suomalaiset on enemmän suoria ja puhuu suoraan ja ruotsalaiset on hyvin semmosia, kaikki on niin kuin "jätte fint" ja "mycket bra" (.) Sit jotkut väittävät, että suomalaiset ja siinä on myöskin suomenruotsalaiset olisivat niin kuin hiljempaa ja ruotsalaiset taas niin kuin hyvin ulospäinsuuntautuvia (.) mikä on aika kiinnostavaa, koska meillä on

Her speech seems to support the argument presented by Liebkind et al. (1995) and suggests that, at least some of the Finnish Swedes, identify clearly with Finland as their home-country and the Swedish as their mother tongue. Similar view was also expressed by another interviewee.

Egon, Karis TV AB/ Karjaan TV OY: In bottom of my heart I am a Finn I mean (.) That is I have no (.) nuance towards Sweden I am jeering as much about the Swedes that the Finns are doing that they are a bit slow and stupid and speak too much that the mentality of the Finnish Swedes is the same as is the mentality of the Finns that we take action, we don't blather (.) those Swedes they surely are something different (.) I do (.) think of myself as that I am a Finn and I just happend to have Swedish as my mother tongue (.) and I do think that there is a hell of a lot of benefits of that sometimes²⁶

In this sample the interviewee uses the Finnish repertoire by stating that the mentality of the Finnish Swedes is the same as that of the Finns by which he also creates himself a Finn identity. Moreover, he seems to also use the linguistic repertoire by noting that he is a Finn who speaks Swedish as his mother tongue and this way he also creates a Swedish-speaking Finn identity.

Both of these interviewees express the idea that the only thing Finnish Swedes and Swedes from Sweden have in common is the language, while some cultural impacts might be drawn from Sweden's culture to a Finnish-Swedish culture. Therefore, language as a uniting factor between the inhabitants of Sweden and the Finnish Swedes does not seem to create a strong bond. This is because the Swedish language used by the Swedes in Sweden is not quite the same as is the Swedish language used by Finnish Swedes. While the standard Swedish in Finland is defined by the current language rules of standard Swedish in Sweden, some differences do exist. One of the interviewees, who had lived and worked in Sweden spoke about these differences between two Swedish languages and clarifies the linguistic situation of the Finnish Swedes.

kaikilla tää kuva. Ja silloin mä laskin, että siinä ei oo niin ku eroa suomenruotsalaisissa ja suomalaisissa. Et kyl me niin ku sillä lailla sama kansa on, et taikka semmoinen niin ku varovainen, hiljainen kuitenkin"

²⁶ Egon, Karis TV AB/ Karjaan TV OY: "Pohjimmiltaan mä oon suomalainen siis silleen. Siis mitään (.) vivahteita tuonne Ruotsiin, yhtä paljon minäkin morkkaan ruotsalaisia varmaan kuin suomalaisetkin. Et ne on vähän hitaita ja tyhmiä ja puhuu ummet ja lammet. Et sinänsä mentaliteetti tavallaan kyllä suomenruotsalaisilla ja suomalaisilla on ihan sama. Että tuumasta toimeen. Ei me jaaritella. Kyl riikinruottalaiset, ne hurrit siellä, ne on ihan oma lukunsa. Kyl mä (.) ajattelen itteeni, että mä oon suomalainen ja satun nyt vaan oleen äidinkieli ruotsi. Ja mun mielestä siitä on joskus helvetinkin paljon hyötyä."

Gunilla, FST: I have been away and I have returned so that I am (.) in a sense very much more a Finn than I was before (.) um, but my linguistic identity is surely (.) very strongly Swedish (.) so that it is (.) my first language, it is my strong language and it is my language of emotions (.) In Sweden I never learned to speak the Swedish of Swedes, but I have also spoken Finnish-Swedish [language] in Sweden (.) so that, linguistically my identity is strongly Swedish, but I enjoy very much that I am in the Finnish-speaking community²⁷

7.2.5 Symbols of Finnish-Swedish identity in the speech of the interviewees

Besides the Swedish language and partly related to it, the Finnish Swedes do have some cultural characteristics that differ from the majority culture. These cultural characteristics caused, according to Bo Lönnqvist (1981:145), that there exists a common Finnish-Swedish folk culture, which is expressed in symbols that are part of Finnish-Swedish identity. Lönnqvist introduces some concrete identity symbols, such as Peasant wedding, a Midsummer pole, a traditional costume and the celebration of St Lucia, which were grounded on the newly found Finnish-Swedish folk culture generated in the identification process of the Finland's Swedish-speakers in the beginning of the 20th (Ibid:10). According to Lönnqvist these symbols form still a part of living Finnish-Swedish folk culture (Ibid:10, 145-148) which in turn has at least a theoretical role as a source for identity cohesion since it emphasises on the unity and common identity of a minority group (Allardt and Starck 1981: 29). I asked my interviewees to speak about the value that these symbols had for them. On the contrary to Lönnqvist's statement, most of the interviewees do not experience these symbols personally important, while they are aware of some of them. The only exception of this is formed in the speech concerning the celebration of St Lucia, that is considered very Finnish-Swedish. The situation is explained by an interviewee in the following sample.

Bo-Orvar, Jacobstad TV Pietarsaari r.f: They do not practice these in cities but they are this kind of country-side tradition (.) I have since I was a little boy lived in a city so (.) of course Lucia tradition is very strongly an issue of the Finnish Swedes and we have been filming them in here²⁸

²⁷ Gunilla, FST, Helsinki: "Olen ollut poissa ja olen palannut takaisin niin olen (.) hyvin paljon olen tietyllä tavalla enemmän suomalainen kuin olin aikaisemmin (.) öö mutta olen kyllä kieli-identiteetiltäni (.) hyvin vahvasti ruotsinkielinen (.) että se on kyllä (.) minun ensimmäinen kieleni, se on minun vahva kieleni ja se on minun tunnekieli (...) Ruotsissa siis en koskaan oppinut puhumaan riikinruotsia vaan olen koko ajan puhunut suomenruotsia myöskin Ruotsissa, että (...) kielellisesti identiteettini on vahvasti ruotsinkielinen, mutta nautin erittäin paljon siitä, että olen suomenkielisessä yhteisössä"

²⁸ Bo-Orvar, Jacobstad TV Pietarsaari r.f: "Eihän kaupungissa harrasteta tällaisia vaan ne on tällainen maaseutuperinne (.) minä kun olen ihan pikkupojasta asunut kaupungissa niin (.) tietysti Lucia-perinne on hyvin vahvasti suomenruotsalaisten asia ja niitä me ollaan käyty kuvaamassa täällä".

The interviewee uses in this speech the heterogeneous repertoire by speaking about the differences between the countryside and the cities, and he also builds himself a local Finnish-Swedish identity by stating that "I have since I was a little boy lived in a city." However, he also uses the homogeneous repertoire since he notes that there is a cultural issue, the celebration of St Lucia, that is common to all the Finnish Swedes.

The significance of Lucia is noted besides Lönnqvist also by other academicians. Susan Sundback (1995) has found out in a comparative research conducted in four Finnish-Swedish cities (Esbo/Espoo, Helsingfors/Helsinki, Korsholm/Mustasaari and Vasa/Vaasa) that Lucia Day (13th of December) was celebrated often or sometimes by over two thirds of the Finnish Swedes included in that study. Furthermore, according to Sundback's research, in comparison to other festival days which are considered to be Finnish-Swedish, such as Svenska Dagen (Swedish Day), Lucia was most popular. However, as Sundback notes, to consider Lucia as a festival that strengthens the identity of the Finnish Swedes is questionable, since Lucia is not an official Finnish-Swedish indicator and the celebration of Lucia has lately become more common also among the Finnish-speaking Finns (Sundback 1995: 123). However, Sundback's view according to which the celebration of St Lucia is more common also among the Finnish-speaking Finns is not supported by my interviewees. In fact, one of them argues completely opposite in the following sample by stating that Lucia is not celebrated elsewhere except among the Finnish Swedes. In her speech she creates herself a uniform Finnish-Swedish identity with by using the term "we are" instead of, for instance, the terms "they" or "the Finnish Swedes". Moreover, she uses the homogenous Finnish-Swedish repertoire by referring to the Finnish Swedes who work with something different than the Finns do.

LH: How would you define Finnish-Swedishness

Maria, NÄR-TV: I think it is (.) what the others have answered to so difficult questions (.) It is question about language I think we have (.) language but I believe that we have something very (.) cultural which we work with but with what the Finns don't work with (.) I cannot name anything directly but that we have Lucia and we have it and that is not in the Finnish part there is no Lucia that sort of things.

Moreover, the interviewees in my research did not consider any of the other identity symbols introduced by Lönnqvist them having any importance for them. Indeed, none of the interviewees could recognise Peasant Wedding. Furthermore, while the erection of Midsummer Pole was a

common custom in the celebration of Midsummer to many of the interviewees, they still related it generally more with the customs of Sweden than those of Finland. The Finnish-Swedish traditional dress was common to only one of the interviewees, whose relatives had such which they were using in festivals, but who did not personally, however, have one like that. This seems to suggest that either the Finnish-Swedish folk culture is not important for the everyday life of the Finnish Swedes or then that these identity symbols, introduced by Lönnqvist in 1981, are not as important anymore as they were then.

7.3 Television stations in relation to Finnish-Swedish identity

In the beginning of this analysis I referred to some factors that Kreander and Sandlund (2006) have used in their research in order to classify an organisation as Finnish-Swedish. One of the factors required for that an organisation could be classified as Finnish-Swedish was that it must operate in Swedish language (Kreander and Sandlund 2006:38-39). I also asked my interviewees about the language used at their television station and in their programmes. The question concerning the language was not important only because it is related to that an organisation, which is behind for instance a television station, can be classified as Finnish-Swedish, but also because the Finnish-Swedish language media and Finnish-Swedish identity are connected to each other; while there is, as Moring (2002:189-190) notes, not much information available about the relationship between the minority identity formation and the minority language media, however, it is discovered that the habit to watch Swedish-language, especially Finnish-Swedish programmes, and participation to even the most common forms of the Finnish-Swedish culture strengthens the Finnish-Swedish identity of both the bilingual and unilingual (Ståhlberg 1995:69-70). From this it can be understood that the more Swedish-language media, especially Finnish-Swedish media, there is available, the easier it is for the Finnish Swedes to watch it and, thus, the production and distribution of Finnish-Swedish media can be considered to strengthen their identification with Finnish-Swedishness. In the following I shall scrutinize the ways the interviewees are speaking about the language used in their television station. From that I shall move on to analyse the speech of the interviewees in relation to other issues concerning television stations such as, for instance, the official mission of a television station and the visibility of the Finnish-Swedish identity symbols defined by Lönnqvist (1981) in the programmes. Moreover, as the self-classification is in the centre of this study, I also study the ways the interviewees explain the manifestations of Finnish-Swedishness that they consider to be present in their television stations and what kind of identities they take to themselves and to the other in their speech.

7.3.1 Language used in the television stations

All of the television stations included in the study use largely or totally Swedish-language in their programmes. All of the programmes broadcasted by FST are Swedish language programmes. Moreover, all of FST's foreign language programmes are subtitled in Swedish, while FST also subtitles some Swedish language programmes in Finnish. Within the local televisions the language of programmes and production is either in Swedish or in Finnish, while the Swedish language often dominates the programmes. None of the interviewed personnel of the Finnish-Swedish television stations reasons the use of the Swedish language with the aim to contribute to Finnish-Swedishness or the Finnish-Swedish identity, while the interviewees at FST linked the use of Swedish with the aim to maintain Swedish language in Finland. Among the local televisions the interviewees reason, in many cases, the Swedish-language domination in the programmes with the Swedish-language domination in the area. Some of the interviewees refer to the demography situation in the area and explain that there are no Finnish-speakers who would be interested in making the television programmes. Moreover, the use of Swedish language in local television stations in a unilingual region is presented natural and one of the interviewees explain the use of Swedish language by the requirements of the audience. In the following sample the interviewee speaks about the financial reasons supporting the use of Swedish language.

Alf-Håkan, MALAX TV PRODUCTION: That is the only way to make it work economically (.) if we (.) begun to make totally Finnish language programme there wouldn't for sure be those who would free-willingly pay this (.) fee we must (.) target the linguistic skill that the audience has²⁹

Besides being the most important language used in the local television stations in the unilingual areas the Swedish was also the dominant language of the programmes in most of the local television stations that were located in bilingual areas. One of the interviewees relates the Swedish domination in the programmes of the local television station that she works in with the associational activity of the Finnish Swedes in the region.

Ann-Sofie, Par-TV: Well, here it goes like approximately fifty fifty Swedish-speaking majority but it is anyway also that way Swedish-speaking region although it is fifty fifty. So that all the free-time activity and associations are working mostly in Swedish for that reason as here [in this television station] they work on a voluntary basis in the evenings nobody can go somewhere in the daytime to

²⁹ Alf-Håkan, MALAX TV PRODUCTION: "Se on ainoa mahdollisuus saada meidän se toimimaan rahallisesti (.) jos me (.) rupeas tekemään (.) täysin suomenkielisiä ohjelmaa sitten niin varmasti ei löydy niitä joka vapaisesti maksaa tätä (.) maksua se on (.) pakko (.) suunnata mei siihen kielitaitoon mitä katsojat on."

make a story so very easily it goes to that they go somewhere where is a theatre play or to speak with someone and that is usually then in Swedish³⁰

The use of two languages in bilingual regions is considered natural by those interviewees whose television station used both Finnish and Swedish. The use of two languages divide these interviewees and some consider the bilingualism as non-problematic while others feel that poses some problems. Most of the interviewees in such local television stations that use two languages in programmes consider the use of both Finnish and Swedish natural and free of problems. In the following example uses the bilingual repertoire in speaking about the use of two languages and he by using the term "we" instead of, for instance, "they" he builds himself a tolerant Finnish-Swedish identity.

Bo-Orvar, Jacobstad TV Pietarsaari r.f: Now that we have these programmes and other programme activity so we have in a way (.) managed to prove that no dramatics need to be related to this bilingualism, which is quite important point when you think about the old times.³¹

However, the use of both Finnish and Swedish is seen complicated by some of the interviewees in the bilingual region. In the following sample one interviewee explains the use of only Swedish language by stating that the use of two languages would be very heavy. He also expresses a view according to which the Finnish-speakers in the region know Swedish well enough to follow a programme in Swedish.

Jan, NYKARLEBY LOKAL-TV: We have also in Nykarleby we have now I don't know how many percentages but the largest part are only Swedish-speakers but we have quite (.) depending on immigration and so on so so (.) so have we also Finnish-speaking watchers and (.) they have also a journalist who sometimes like some short summary draws also in Finnish in the middle of hurry. But we do not use two languages constantly since that becomes very very cumbersome. That becomes heavy for everyone. I believe that all of the Nykarbyans if they are lets say Finnish-speakers they have such understanding that they know that much Swedish that they at

³⁰ Ann-Sofie, Par-TV: " No, täällä menee suht koht 50-50, ruotsinkielinen enemmistö kyllä, mutta (.) se on kuitenkin sillä lailla kans ruotsinkielinen paikkakunta, vaikka se on 50-50. Et kaikki (.) vapaa-ajan harrastukset ja yhdistykset ja ne toimii useimmiten ruotsin kielellä se tekee sen että kun tääl [televisio asemalla] tehdään vapaaehtoistyönä iltaisin ettei kukaan voi niin kuin päivällä mennä johonkin tekemään juttua niin hyvin helposti se menee siihen et sit käydään jossain missä on joku teatteriesitys tai puhumassa jonkun kanssa ja yleensä se on sit ruotsiks"

³¹ Bo-Orvar, Jacobstad TV Pietarsaari r.f: "Nyt kun meillä on nämä ohjelmat ja muu ohjelmatoimintaa niin me ollaan tavallaan...pystytty osoittamaan, että tähän kaksikielisyyteen ei tarvitse liittyä minkäänlaista dramatiikkaa, kun se toimii ja sekin on aika tärkeä pointti, kun ajattelee vanhoja aikoja".

least always follow with [the programme]. But for that they would feel comfortable there is sometimes little bit of Finnish as well.³²

The use of two languages is considered cumbersome also by another interviewee who finds the use of both languages complicated in comparison to the use of only one language. In the following sample one interviewee speaks compares the unilingual television station in Närpes/Närpiö to the television station he works for and explains that it would be easier to be unilingual like them because the audience does not tolerate two languages. In his speech he uses the linguistic repertoire by explaining how much more positively the unilingual Swedish-language television station is welcomed by audience and this way he is building a Swedish-speaking identity for the Finnish Swedes. However, he does not form this identity for himself since the reference it made to audience.

Urho, KRS-TV r.f : (.) we use both languages (.) Närpiö is monolingual (.) that is much better if it would be that kind homogenous (.) it wouldn't have that background that (.) that fight that how much Finnish language comes out how much comes Swedish language programme (.) some are even sitting with a watch and checking (...) how much there is some language³³

The linguistic heterogeneity of the Finnish Swedes is expressed in the speech of the interviewees. Especially the relationship towards the bilingualism seems to divide the Finnish Swedes. Moreover, while the Swedish language is used in all the stations included in this study, the reasons to do so vary very much from each other and none of the interviewees reasoned the use of Swedish with, for instance, the aim to maintain Finnish-Swedishness.

7.3.2 Missions of the television stations

None of the interviewees of the Finnish-Swedish television stations mentions specifically Finnish-Swedish identity in their speech concerning the mission of their stations. Moreover, the views of the

³² Jan, NYKARLEBY LOKAL-TV: "Vi har alltså i Nykarleby så har vi har vi ju nu vet jag int hur många procent men di största delen är ju svenskspråkiga men vi har ju ganska (.) inf beroende på inflyttning och så vidare så så (.) så har vi också finskspråkiga tittare och (.) di har också redaktörer som emellanåt liksom samman kort sammanfattat drar kort också på finska mellan varven. Men att vi kör ju int liksom kontinuerligt två språk för de blir väldigt väldigt krångligt. De blir tungt för alla. För jag tror att alla nykarlebybor om di e ska vi säga finskspråkiga, så har di en sådan koppling att di kan så pass mycket svenska att di ändå alltid följer med. Men att för att di ska känna så bekvämt så ibland så kommer de nog lite på finska också."

³³ Urho, KRS-TV r.f : "(.) Me käytämme molempaa kieltä (.) Närpiö on kyllä yksikielinen (.) Se onkin paljon parempi kun se ois semmonen homogeeninen (.) Siellä ei ois sitä taustaa, sitä (.) sitä tappelua, että kuinka paljon tulee suomen kieltä, kuinka paljon tulee ruotsin kieltä ohjelmaa. Jotkut istuu jopa kellon kanssa ja kattoo (...) paljonko on jotakin kieltä"

interviewees are divided mostly in the ways they speak about their mission in relation to their target audience; the interviewees from FST's capital-based station consider their audience nationwide, while the interviewees from local television stations consider their audience local. All of these interviewees considered their target audience to consist not only of the Finnish Swedes. FST's official mission is 'Publik service på svenska' (public service in Swedish). In the following sample one of the interviewees speaks about two ways to understand the target audience of FST; as the Finnish Swedes or the Swedish-speaking Finns. In his speech he uses both homogeneous and linguistic repertoire in speaking about the audience of his television station, by noting that the audience can be understood as the Finnish Swedes or as the Swedish-speaking Finns.

Jens, FST: FST's task is with similar ways to offer the Finnish Swedes or the Swedish-speaking population programme similar way as TV1 or TV2 are now offering for the Finnish-speakers we (...) make a (...) public service channel for Finnish Swedes.

LH: For Finnish Swedes or for Swedish-speakers

Jens, FST: Now it has been thought as primary Finnish Swedes but I see the development such that we are an alternative for those Swedish Swedish-speakers or those who understand Swedish in Finland³⁴

Moreover, besides serving the Swedish-speakers in Finland, FST also has another task. In her speech concerning the mission of FST another interviewee from FST leans on the linguistic repertoire by using the term "the Swedish-speakers" instead of, for instance, the Swedes Finns. She also uses the Finland's citizen repertoire by mentioning another task of FST is "to create these bridges between the Swedish-speaking and the Finnish-speaking part of the population".

Gunilla, FST: (...) Our prior task is to serve the Swedish-speakers (.) but our difference for instance to radio is that we subtitle most of our programmes also in Finnish so that (...) we also have this kind of task to create these bridges between the Swedish-speaking and the Finnish-speaking part of the population that also Finnish-speaker can follow our programmes³⁵

³⁴ Jens, FST: "FSTs uppgift är att på likadan villkor serverade finlandssvenskar eller den de svenskspråkiga befolkningen i Finland program på samma set som Tv1 eller TV2 nu är för den finskspråkiga vi (...) gör en (...) publik service kanal för finlandssvenskarna

LH: För finlandssvenskarna eller svenskspråkiga

Jens, FST: Nu är det funderat som finlandssvenskarna primärt men jag ser utvecklingen som att vi är alternativet för dom svensk- svenskspråkiga eller dom som förstår svenska i Finland"

³⁵ Gunilla, FST: "(...) Meidän perustehtävä on palvella ruotsinkielisiä (.) mutta meidän ero esimerkiksi radion välillä on se, että me tekstitetään suurin osa ohjelmista siis myös suomen kielelle eli...meillä on myöskin tämmöinen tehtävä luoda näitä siltoja ruotsinkielisen ja suomenkielisen väestön välillä että meidän ohjelmia pystyy myöskin suomenkielinen seuraamaan".

In relation to the local Finnish-Swedish television stations, only few interviewees could remember or find information concerning the official mission of their stations. However, all of the interviewees recalled that the prior mission of their station is to serve local people and inform them about local issues. Moreover, the interviewees from local television stations did not mention that the use of Swedish language is included in the prior tasks of stations. In the following sample one of the interviewees explains that the mission of the station he works in is to inform the others about what happens in the municipality. Moreover, he agrees with the interviewer who asks is the mission without any linkage to language. In his speech the interviewee uses the heterogeneous repertoire and builds in that a local Finnish-Swedish identity to his television station. However, as Wolf-Knuts (1995:9) notes, the identity is always relative and in relation to circumstances. Therefore, the role of the interviewer might be crucial in the answer given by the interviewee in this sample since the follow-up question suggest that the interviewer wants to hear that the mission has no linkage to the language.

LH: Do you have some this kind of mission or some mission or a kind of official publication (.) from which it would become clear who are you serving, that what is the mission.

Ole, Pedersöre lokal-TV: No, we have not one like that (.) no (.) it is we try to follow that what happens in the municipality and we will transmit it to the others (.) that is now that what is the main task.

LH: And there is like no linkage to language.

Ole, Pedersöre lokal-TV: No (.) no.³⁶

In relation to identity, none of interviewees mentions Finnish-Swedishness in their speech concerning the missions of the stations. However, the local identity is mentioned by one of interviewees. In the following sample one of the interviewees is explaining the mission of the station by examples of their tasks and the other interviewee is complement this speech by adding the idea of identity strenghtening in the tasks.

Jarl, Larsmo När-TV r.f: Well (.) you could (.) you could put it that way that we are like trying to give the audience that kind of idea I mean idea of every every part of the municipality. And there is this (.)

³⁶ LH: "Onks teillä joku tämmöinen missio tai joku missio tai joku tämmöinen virallinen julkaisu (.) mistä ilmenisi että ketä te palvelette (.) että mikä on se päämäärä"

Ole, Pedersöre lokal-TV: "Ei (.) semmoista ei ole (.) ei (.) se on yritetään seurata se mitä kunnassa tapahtuu ja välitetään muille (.) se on nyt se mitä on se päätehtävä"

LH: "Ja siinä ei ole tavallaan mitään kieleen sidoksia"

Ole, Pedersöre lokal-TV: "Ei (.) ei"

practical part and then there is this (.) culture I mean cultural part and then what happens in different fields from school to church. So that there is like we have church services and (.) sports and there is Finnish language programme (.) the essential thing is that we document (.) save for the future. And that is (.) a little bit different compared to when they document only by writing and with photographs so that this is like a live document. And in that (.) it is like they say the different sides of the municipality life (.) One part (.) an important part is this that we inform. Document and inform the inhabitants of the municipality about what is going on in the municipality

Guy, Larsmo När-TV r.f: In the beginning we have with also that strengthen identity (.) that we had also in the beginning.

LH: Yeah (.) yeah (.) so that means that (.) that is it or is that corresponds then Finnish-Swedish identity or local

Jarl, Larsmo När-TV r.f: No (.) local.

Guy, Larsmo När-TV r.f: Local³⁷

Thus, my interviewees do not mention Finnish-Swedish identity directly in their speech concerning the mission or the prior task their television stations. Moreover, the interviewees from FST use in their speech the linguistic, the homogeneous and the Finland's citizen repertoire in speaking about their target audience. The interviewees from the local television stations create in their speech a local Finnish-Swedish identity for their television station by using the heterogeneous repertoire including the idea of local peculiarity. Furthermore, instead of mentioning Finnish-Swedishness, one of the local television interviewees uses the term local identity. This way, it seems that the contribution to Finnish-Swedishness is not considered essential according to the Finnish-Swedish television stations.

7.3.3 The manifestations of Finnish-Swedishness in the television stations

Because the self-classification is in the essence of all the identity formation, also the ways the interviewees classify their television stations is important for this study. I asked each interviewee does he or she consider the television stations he or she works in as Finnish-Swedish, Finnish or

³⁷ Jarl, Larsmo När-TV r.f: "No se vois (.) sen voi sanoa sillä tavalla (.) että me koitetaan niin ko antaa yleisölle semmosen kuvan siis kuvan jokaisesta jokaisesta osasta kuntaa. Ja siinä on tää (.) käytännöllinen osa ja sitten on tää (.) sivistys (.) siis sivistysosa ja sitte (.) mitä tapahtuu eri aloilla koulusta seurakuntaan. Että siinä tulee niin ku (.) meillä on jumalanpalveluksia ja...urheilua ja siinä on suomenkielistä ohjelmaa (.) se punanen lanka on siinä (.) että me dokumentoidaan (.) tallennetaan tulevaisuutta varten. Ja sehän on vähän (.) eri tavalla (.) että kun tallennetaan siis pelkästään noin kirjoittamalla ja valokuvilla (.) että tässä on niin ku elävä tallennus. Ja siinä (.) se on niin ku kaikki sanotaan kunnan elämän eri puolia (.) Yks osa (.) tärkeä osa se on siis tää (.) että informoida. Dokumentoida ja informoida siis kunnan asukkaita (.) mitä kunnassa tapahtuu."

Guy, Larsmo När-TV r.f: "I början hade vi med att stärka identiteten (.) he had vi nog med i början."

LH: "Joo (.) joo (.) eli se on siis (.) et se on ja onks se vastaa siis suomenruotsalaista identiteettiä vai paikallista"

Jarl, Larsmo När-TV r.f: "Ei (.) paikallista"

Guy, Larsmo När-TV r.f: "paikallista"

Swedish. Most of the interviewees from the local television stations classified their television station as Finnish-Swedish. However, besides this, one interviewee considered his television station as Swedish-language television. Furthermore, one interviewee considered the television station he worked for as not-Finnish-Swedish.

Bo-Orvar, Jacobstad/Pietarsaari: [This is] specifically non-Finnish-Swedish station which means that Finnish-Swedishness is not manifested in the transmissions.³⁸

Moreover, I asked those of the interviewees, who classified the station they worked for as Finnish-Swedish, to explain in which ways they consider that Finnish-Swedishness is manifested in their stations. The answers varied very much from one another. Most commonly the interviewees stated that an example of such a manifestation is the use of Swedish language in the programmes. The use of Finnish language, however, seems to divide the interviewees in regards to the enunciated manifestations of Finnish-Swedishness; some interviewees consider the use of both Finnish and Swedish languages as such a manifestation, while some others state that specifically the use of only Swedish language is such a manifestation. This way, the interviewees use both the unilingual and the bilingual repertoire. In the following sample one of the interviewees explains that the Finnish-Swedishness is manifested in the local television station he works in that both Finnish and Swedish languages are used, for instance, in the interview situations. He uses the bilingual repertoire and he is building a tolerant Finnish-Swedish identity to the station he works in. Moreover, by using the word "I" instead of, for instance, "they" he builds the tolerant Finnish-Swedish identity also for himself.

Egon, Karis TV AB/ Karjaan TV OY: "It is manifested in a way (.) that if we have a Finnish guest [in the programme] that does not speak Swedish, then it is only (.) in Finnish language, if we have a person who agrees to speak both languages, then we swap between the languages, but we do not repeat the same. It is (.) in a live broadcasting, when you interview someone (.) it is approximately that I am aiming at fifty-fifty and we do not...repeat the same question in both languages but it is then the way it approximately happened to be said (.) but if someone refuses, that he or she won't definitely speak Finnish or Swedish, well, so what, you have to respect that. We don't take anyone here to shame him or herself (.) that is how it is".³⁹

³⁸ Bo-Orvar, Jacobstad/Pietarsaari: "[Tämä on] ei-suomenruotsalainen asema erityisesti eli suomenruotsalaisuus ei näy lähetyksissä".

³⁹ Egon, Karis TV AB/ Karjaan TV OY: "Se näkyy se silleen (.) et jos miellä suomenkielinen vieras (.) joka ei puhu ruotsia (.) sit se on pelkästään (.) suomen kielellä ja jos on semmonen (.) joka suostuu puhuu molempia (.) nii sit vuorotellaan (.) mut samaa ei toisteta (.) se on (.) jossain suorassa lähetyksessä (.) kun jotakuta haastattelee (.) niin se on

Moreover, the view according to which the use of solely Swedish language in the production and programmes is a manifestation of Finnish-Swedishness is also expressed by the interviewees. In one case the interviewee specified this view by stating that both the programme and the language used in her local television station are Finnish-Swedish. By using the word "Finnish-Swedish" instead "Swedish", she refers to the Swedish spoken in Finland and builds the Finnish-Swedish identity, not Swedish-language identity, to her television station. Furthermore, she also identifies herself with the Finnish-Swedish identity by using the word "I".

Maria, NÄR-TV: It is seen mostly in that we only have Finnish-Swedish program (.) We don't have (.) but the language is Finnish Swedish (...)⁴⁰

The answers given by the interviewees seem to enunciate the heterogeneity of opinions related to the use of Finnish language, which is noted also by Liebkind et al. (1995:73-74) who consider the attitudes towards bilingualism as a dividing factor within the cohesion of the group of Finnish Swedes. The heterogeneity is also present in the ways the interviewees from FST classify their television station and also in the manifestations of Finnish-Swedishness that they enunciate. [The interviewees from FST included in this study are from different sides of Svenskfinland, while they currently worked in the FST's station located in the bilingual capital.] They differ in the ways they classify FST. One of the interviewees consider the station most probably Finnish-Swedish, while the other considers it Swedish-speaking. This way the interviewees use both the homogeneous repertoire and the linguistic repertoire. In the following one of the interviewees speaks about the conversation that the personnel of FST has had in relation to the self-classification. She uses the linguistic repertoire by stating that FST is 'a Swedish-speaking' channel. Besides this, she uses also the Finland's citizen repertoire by noting that FST is 'a Finnish television channel, which produces programmes in Swedish'.

Gunilla, FST: We have really as we have here tried to define by ourself that what we are that we have now defined ourself that way that we a Swedish-speaking channel that acts in Finland (.)

suurin piirtein mä yritän fifti-fifti ja (.) ei toisteta samaa kysymystä molemmilla vaan siinä on sitten miten sen nyt sylki suuhun tuo suurin piirtein (.) mut jos joku kieltäytyy et hän ei ehdottomasti puhu suomee tai ruotsia niin so what nii sitä täytyy kunnioittaa (.) ei tänne (.) oteta ketään häpeämään (.) silleen."

⁴⁰ Maria, NÄR-TV: "Man ser det framförallt därför att vi bara har finlandssvenskt program. (.) Vi har int (.) men språket är finlandssvenskt (...)"

that is Swedish-speaking but absolutely in Finland (.) which is that (.) a Finnish television channel that produces programmes in Swedish.⁴¹

The other interviewee from FST classified his television station as Finnish-Swedish, and by doing this he seems to build up a Finnish-Swedish identity to FST. However, in the following sample this interviewee appears to lean more on the linguistic repertoire in his speech concerning the tasks of FST as he notes that the legitimating task of FST is that they exist to tell what happens, about that what is important to those who use Swedish as their mother tongue. In his speech he expresses the idea that 'rather old and conservative definition' according to which the Swedish language as the only defining factor of Finnish-Swedish is questionable. This way, he uses the homogeneous repertoire, which he, however, seems to use to question the uniform Finnish-Swedish identity and not to lean on to that.

Jens, FST: That is our legitimization that we are to tell about what happens about what is important to those who use Swedish as their mother tongue (.) but most our target group are such people who have learned Swedish in Sweden although they are originally Finnish-speakers from their roots they come from the East-Finland or the Middle-Finland or the North-Finland (.) who have lived in Sweden for a long time and moved back then (.) who are they (.) they are not Finnish Swedes according to that rather old and conservative definition (.) but they are after all Swedish-speakers in Finland.⁴²

Moreover, the interviewees from FST considers that also the content of their programmes of FST is including manifestations of Finnish-Swedishness, since the content is related to such issues that are important to the Finnish Swedes. In her speech she uses the Finnish-Swedish repertoire by using the word "Finnish-Swedish" instead of, for instance, the Swedish-speakers. However, she also uses the linguistic repertoire by noting elsewhere in her speech that the Finnish Swedes do not differ from the others except in regards to language. This seemingly contradiction she explains in later on in the

⁴¹ Gunilla, FST: "Me olemme todella ihan tässä kun olemme itekin yrittäneet vähän määritellä että mitä me ollaan että me ollaan nyt määritetty itsemme sillä tavalla että me olemme Suomessa toimiva ruotsinkielinen kanava (.) se on ruotsinkielinen mutta ehdottomasti Suomessa (.) siis (.) suomalainen televisiokanava, joka tuottaa ohjelmia ruotsinkielellä."

⁴² Jens, FST: "Vår legitimitet att vi att vi finns för att att berätta om var som händer var som är angeläget för för dom som använda sig av svenska som modersmål i i Finland men men du kommer vi in frågor också till exempel det nu det finns en stor stor del av vårt målgrupp också som har lärt sig svenska i Sverige är egentligen finskspråkiga till sina rötter kommer från Östra Finland eller från Mellersta Finland eller från Norra Finland som bodde lång tid i Sverige flyttar tillbaka vad är dom (.) dom är inte finlandssvenskar enligt den definition som (.) som kanske (.) som kanske de konservativa och gamla men dom är ändå svenskspråkiga i Finland".

sample by telling that she considers that both the term "Finnish Swedes" and "Swedish-speakers" are used, while in the future she expects the use of the latter term to become more common.

Gunilla, FST: "We can speak about the issues of the Finnish Swedes (.) which concern (.) they are exactly the same issues which concern (.) the Finnish-speaking population (.) we have elderly-care we have schools we have school issues all this what is (.) our society that the Finnish Swedish do not separate from the others except specifically that language question might be the issue which launches something let's say now if some school is abolished somewhere so so it might consequent in that the Swedish-speaking children cannot find a school in the locality that in such way the language question is (.) often at some point it [the language question] is put forth but in other ways these question are very (.) similar

LH: You are speaking all the time about the Finnish Swedes and not about the position of the Swedish-speakers

Gunilla, FST: Well, I do speak, yeah (.) I have myself thought that especially that word very much (.) and I believe that I use nowadays both and (.) I speak about the Finnish Swedes and I spoke about the Swedish-speakers (.) although I use that more and more because I see that we are going to that direction ⁴³

From the speech of both of the interviewees from FST it can be understood that in the minority classification of the group of Finnish Swedes the emphasis is moving from the ethnic or cultural minority to the linguistic minority (see more chapter 3.2 and 3.5). Moreover, the group of Finnish Swedes is heterogeneous besides in regards to the different ways the members of the group approach bilingualism, also in relation to the media habits, which is noted in, by for instance Nordqvist (2002b) who states that, the Finnish Swedes from the Islands of Åland and from Ostrobothnia region are more interested in the Sweden's television while the Finnish television is more interesting to the Finnish Swedes in the southern part of Svenskfinland (Nordqvist 2002b:169, see also Barometern 2005:1). These results get supported by the speech one of my interviewees from FST, who states that the differentiated interests towards the Finnish television and the

⁴³ Gunilla, FST: "me pystymme kertomaan suomenruotsalaisten asioista (.) jotka koskee (.) nehän on ihan samat asiat, jotka koskee (.) suomenkielistä väestöä (.) on vanhushuoltoa, on kouluja, on kouluasiat ihan kaikki tää joka on (.) meidän yhteiskunta että eihän siinä suomenruotsalaiset eroa muista kuin nimenomaan että se kieliasia voi olla se asia joka laukaisee jonkun sanotaan nyt jos joku koulu lakkautetaan jossain niin niin seuraus siitä voi olla se että ruotsinkielisille lapsille ei löydy koulua sitten sieltä lähialueelta että siinä mielessä se kieliasia on (.) usein jossain vaiheessa se tulee esiin mutta muuten siis nää kysymyksethän on ihan (.) samanlaisia"

LH: "Puhut koko ajan suomenruotsalaisista etkä ruotsinkielisten asemasta"

Gunilla, FST: "No, puhun joo (.) olen itse pohtinut sitä nimenomaan sitä sanaa paljon (.) ja luulen että käytän nykyään sekä että (.) puhun suomenruotsalaisista ja puhun myös ruotsinkielisistä (.) käytän sitä kyllä enemmän ja enemmän koska mä näen, että siihen suuntaan ollaan menossa."

Sweden's television among the group of the Finnish Swedes are seen in the orientation of the personnel of FST coming from different parts of Svenskfinland and, moreover, also in the programmes. He uses the heterogeneous repertoire by stating that "we who have roots in Ostrobothnia (.) look for impulses very much from Sweden we have as a reference (.) frame or an heritage or a kind of surrounding to grow up or milieu which makes that there is a strong (.) Sweden's Swedish (.) tone in the pulse that we have (.) and also in the history which we have among among many who work for Swedish Yle from Helsingfors again have have not this kind of history regardless of that she has a habit to follow the Finnish media both the commercial and and Yle one and two (.)" and builds a local Finnish-Swedish identity to FST. He builds also to himself a local Finnish-Swedish identity by stating that "we who have roots in Ostrobothnia". Moreover, in this sample the interviewee considers that it is especially this heterogeneity among the Finnish Swedes that forms the unique Finnish-Swedishness, which is a manifestation of Finnish-Swedishness in FST.

Jens, FST: (...) that is manifested in many ways (...) that we who have roots in Ostrobothnia (.) look for impulses very much from Sweden we have as a reference (.) frame or an heritage or a kind of surrounding to grow up or milieu which makes that there is a strong (.) Sweden's Swedish (.) tone in the pulse that we have (.) and also in the history which we have among among many who work for Swedish Yle from Helsingfors again have have not this kind of history regardless of that she has a habit to follow the Finnish media both the commercial and and Yle one and two (.) so that makes it that when we start to speak about a Finnish-Swedish TV channel and how is that manifested in our programmes so so it is manifested somehow in the content also that impulses are coming from Sweden (.) impulses are coming from the Finnish Finland and they meet and like build up a certain type of own profile (.) that is what they do (.) and they do (.) so it is clear that it is manifested⁴⁴

Besides asking the interviewees to form examples of the ways they consider that Finnish-Swedishness is manifested in the television station they work for, I also scrutinized the manifestations of Finnish-Swedish identity by asking the interviewees to speak about the visibility and the meanings what the Finnish-

⁴⁴ Jens, FST: "(...) det syns i många fall för att det var lite ginne(?) på att att vi som har rötterna i Östra Botten (.) söker impulser mycket från Sverige vi har som en en referens(.)ram eller ett arv eller ett typ av uppväxt eller miljö som gör att det finns en stark (.) rikssvensk (.) ton inom i puls som vi har – och alt så i den historia som vi har medan medan många som jobbar på svenska YLE från Helsingfors igen har har inte den här historian med sig utan att hon har igen en tradition av att följa med finsk tv både finsk kommersiell och och YLE ett och två. Så att de gör egentligen att när vi börja tala om en finlandssvensk TV-kanal och hur de syns i våra program så så syns de nånstans i de här förhållandet också att impulserna kommer från Sverige (.) impulserna kommer från de finska Finland och dom möts och liksom bildar nån typ av egen profil, de gör dom. Och de som (.) nå de e klart att att de syns"

Swedish identity symbols presented by Lönnqvist (1981:10, 145-148) have to their television stations. Next I shall speak about the ways the interviewees spoke about those symbols.

7.3.4 The visibility of the Finnish-Swedish identity symbols for the television stations

Corresponding to the views concerning the personal meaning of these identity symbols (see Chapter 8.2.5) the interviewees considered these symbols not important for their television station with the exception of the celebration of St Lucia; the annual celebration of St Lucia is filmed and broadcasted by most of the television stations. Moreover, the local televisions included in this study usually broadcast the celebration of their local Lucia, while FST as a nation-wide channel broadcasts the celebration of the official Lucia in Helsingfors/Helsinki. In one case, however, the celebration of both local and national Lucia is filmed and transmitted in a local television station, as an interviewee explains in the following sample.

Maria, NÄR-TV: I believe that Lucia is very important then in December when it is so dark (.) and here in local television we film always of course Lucia from Närpes and make such special that we drive to Helsingfors and film her (.) and she may also sing to the president and therefore we get again an extra reason to drive there and film⁴⁵

Furthermore, in relation to symbols of Finnish-Swedishness, one of the interviewees mentions one symbol that is not part of the folk culture of the Finnish Swedes, but which the interviewee considers to be a Finnish-Swedish symbol. In the following she is speaking about the negative welcome that her decision to move this identity symbol to only the digital distribution instead of broadcasting that analogically.

Gunilla, FST: "I begun in this post (.) three years ago (.) by that time, on the May Day the FST always broadcasted it when Baccalaureate Singers in Turku sing this Sjunger i Våren and it is broadcasted on the May Day at 6pm (.) I made such a decision, that this will be broadcasted in a cut version analogically and then the long version will be broadcasted only digitally and this was (.) this caused so much reactions, you just cannot do this, that this was (.) exactly this kind of symbol (.) that how can you do this (.) when only few have (.) a digital box (.) so how on earth

⁴⁵ Maria, NÄR-TV: "Lucia tycker jag nog är viktig speciellt då i december då det är så mörkt (.) och här är i När-TV så filmar vi ju alltid Lucia förstås och i år hade vi ju riktigt tur att vi fick ju en Lucia från Finlands Lucia var från Närpes så då gjorde vi en sådanhär specialgrej att vi for ju ner till Helsingfors och filma henne där (.) och så var hon också och Sjong för presidenten och då fick vi också tillåtelse att fara dit och filma"

such a crazy decision can be made that the whole [show] is seen only digitally, so that this was (.) one this kind of symbol ⁴⁶

Based on my interviewees, it seems that the Finnish-Swedish identity symbols introduced by Lönnqvist were not very strongly present in the programmes of the televisions included in this study with the only exception of the celebration of Lucia, which was broadcasted by all the televisions every year. As stated before (8.2.5) this can be understood either in that Lönnqvist's identity symbols are not a part of living Finnish-Swedish folk culture or in that the Finnish-Swedish television stations do not base on the folk culture so much. However, one possible way to understand this is that there are other identity symbols based on the folk culture of the Finnish Swedes, such as the Bacculaureate of Turku/Åbo singing 'Sjunger i Våren' mentioned by one the interviewees that are more important part of the Finnish-Swedish folk culture than the festival events mentioned by Lönnqvist. However, to find out and research other identity symbols that those mentioned by Lönnqvist are not in the realm of this thesis and such apparently interesting work must be conducted in another research.

7.3.5 The absent identity positions

The literature concerning the identity gives an idea that some other aspects of identity could be considered, such as local identity or sexual identity. These identities are not considered in the theme-frame questions of my research and I have not look from my text systems of meanings that could be related to them.

However, if the genre would have been important factor in the formation of Finnish-Swedish identity, it would have appeared in the speech of the interviewees spontaneously, which did not happened. While the interviewees did not mention genre, they did include in their speech the local identity. However, since my study concerns community defined by interest and not by geography, I considered the speech over local identity only in regards to Finnish-Swedish identity. Moreover, due to that every person has several identities, the existence of local identity does not have to

⁴⁶ Gunilla, FST: "Aloitin tässä tehtävässä (.) kolme vuotta sitten, niin ensimmäisestä päätöksestä, jonka tein oli se, että (.) silloin siis vappuna niin on aina FST:ssä aina lähetetty tämä kun Turussa ylioppilaat laulavat tämän Sjunger i Våren ja tää lähetetään vappuaattona kello 18 (.) että minä tein semmoisen päätöksen, että tämä lähetetään lyhyessä versiossa analogisesti ja sitten se pitkä versio lähetetään pelkästään digitaalisesti ja tämä oli (.) tästä syntyi niin paljon reaktioita tämmöistä ei vaan voi tehdä, että tämä oli...just tällainen symboli (.) että miten voidaan tehdä näin (.) kun vaan harvalla on...digiboksi, niin miten ihmeessä voidaan tehdä tämmöinen hullu päätös, että tämä nähdään kokonaisuudessaan pelkästään digitaalisesti, että tää nyt oli (.) yks tämmöinen symboli."

exclude Finnish-Swedish identity, but these identities can exist side by side and be connected to one another. As Wolf-Knuts (1995:18) notes, cultural or ethnic identity can consist of several subgroups based on linguistic dialects or locality (Wolf-Knuts 1995:15, 18).

8 CONCLUSIONS

In the text above I have introduced the analysis of my interview material. The analysis includes scrutiny over several matters, such as the ways the interviewees form Finnish-Swedish identity in their speech and what kind of identity positions they take to themselves and to the group of Finnish Swedes. In the analysis I have also studied how my interviewees understand the television stations they work for in relation to Finnish-Swedish identity and how they consider that Finnish-Swedishness is manifested in these stations, if they consider so. In this final chapter of my work I summarize the essential results of my research.

The identity formation is always contrastive and comparison to the others is an essential part in all identification. I shall first go on the contrastive character of identity as an exponent of Finnish-Swedish identity and speak about the ways the interviewees used in their speech concerning the outer perspective of Finnish-Swedish identity, which include the views that the group has about other groups (Wolf-Knuts 1995:6-8). Three approaches can be identified in relation to this. Moreover, identity always has an outer perspective as well, which includes, for instance, ideas of oneself or of one's own group. I shall next speak about three different approaches that can be identified in the ways the interviewees process the outer perspective of Finnish-Swedish identity. Besides these, two different approaches can be seen in the ways that the interviewees used in their speech concerning the use of Finnish language, of which I shall speak about in this chapter too. Finally I shall consider the prevalence of the views related to Finnish-Swedish identity and speculate the possible consequences of the adaptation of such views in relation to the group of Finnish Swedes.

8.1 The views related inner and outer perspectives of Finnish-Swedish identity

In the beginning of my research I believed that the managerial personnel of Finnish-Swedish television would identify themselves as Finnish Swedes and not, for instance, as Finns or as Swedes. Most of my interviewees did state that they are Finnish Swedes. Moreover, the interviewees also build a unified Finnish-Swedish identity in their speech by using a system of meanings that I call the homogeneous repertoire. The use of the homogeneous repertoire includes the idea of similarities within the group and it is used often in speech over the cultural matters that are considered to bind the group of Finnish Swedes together. The shared cultural characteristics are seen to relate to more than just the use of Swedish language, while the language is included to these

characteristics. A uniform Finnish-Swedish identity reminds the ethnic identity which can be viewed as something different than and delimited from the 'majority identity' (Wolf-Knuts 1995:17). Moreover, the homogeneous repertoire includes the idea that, for instance, the sense of belonging together is a characteristic to all the Finnish Swedes. However, the homogeneous repertoire can also be used to explain the different views among the group, in which case the person using this repertoire may deny the unified Finnish-Swedish identity.

While my belief according to which the interviewees would identify them merely as Finnish Swedes is true, it appeared that it is true only into certain extend; in many cases the interviewees find it natural identify themselves as Finnish Swedes but besides that also as Finns. In the earlier studies concerning the Finnish Swedes Allardt and Starck (1981: 97) note this phenomenon and state that, the predominant ideology within the Finnish Swedes is based on the idea, that it is possible and important to unite the loyalty towards both the Finnish Swedes and the entire [Finland's] nation, while this is not normally the case among the minorities.

Many of my interviewees also identified themselves as Finns and build a Finn identity. This identity is built in the system of meaning, which I have named as the Finnish repertoire. This repertoire includes a view according to which the culture of the Finnish Swedes very similar and at some points even the same as the culture of the Finnish-speaking Finns. The interviewees presenting this kind of view construct in their speech a 'Finn' identity that is formed by using the Finnish repertoire. The persons using Finnish repertoire, such as the interviewee in the following sample, can be understood to emphasize on the similarities between the Finnish-speaking Finns and the Finnish Swedes instead of looking at the differences among these groups.

Ann-Sofie, Par-TV: (...) And at that point I did think that there is no difference between the Finnish Swedes and the Finnish-speaking Finns. So that we are like that way same nation, that or like kind of cautious, quiet anyway.⁴⁷

Moreover, the Finnish repertoire can be related into certain extend to the concept of national identity that emphasises on the common characteristics of a nation (Wolf-Knuts 1995:17). The use of the Finnish repertoire does not mean, however, that its user would identify his or herself only as a Finn. Rather it seems that such repertoire is used in such situations where, for instance, comparisons between the Finnish-Swedes and the Swedes of Sweden have taken place; by explaining the

⁴⁷ Ann-Sofie, Par-TV: "(...) Ja silloin mä laskin, että siinä ei oo niin ku eroa suomenruotsalaisissa ja suomalaisissa. Et kyl me niin ku sillä lailla sama kansa on, et taikka semmoinen niin ku varovainen, hiljainen kuitenkin"

similarities between the Finnish-speaking Finns and the Finnish Swedes it is possible to show the difference between the Swedes of Sweden and the Finnish Swedes.

Besides using these two repertoires noted above, some of my interviewees also introduced a third repertoire, which can be understood as a mixture of the others and corresponding with the aim to unity two loyalties (Allardt and Starck 1981: 97). In theme-frame questions there was no Finland's citizen identity and the repertoire building it has been identified from the speech of the interviewees. The interviewees using this repertoire, which I call the Finland's citizen repertoire, build a Finland's citizen identity by using, for instance, the term 'finländare', which is seen to include both Finnish- and Swedish-speakers (see also Liebkind 1984: 106-107). The use of this term can be understood to underline the similarities between the Finnish Swedes and the Finnish-speaking Finns, while recognising the differences between these groups. A Finland's citizen identity reminds the cultural identity, which can be described as a variation of the majority culture. According to Wolf-Knuts (1995:17) it stands for a life-model that reminds the majority identity, but has some certain characteristics of its own, which I have noted elsewhere in this paper (see 4.1.2).

These three ways of speaking about the Finnish Swedes can be understood in relation to the contrastive character of the identity formation, in which the comparison to the others has an essential role. Indeed, Stuart Hall (1996) notes that the construction of identities happens through the relation to the Other. It is only in the relation to what it is not and what it lacks, that the positive meaning of any term, its identity, can be constructed (Hall 1996: 4-5).

Besides being constructed through the difference, identity formation always includes an inner perspective that concerns sameness and includes, for instance, different ideas of how the group looks outside and how it acts in relation to other people who do not belong to the group (Wolf-Knuts 1995:6-8). The view presented in the homogeneous repertoire enunciates the idea that the Finnish Swedes are uniform group belongs to the inner perspective. My interviewees expressed, however, two other views in relation to sameness of the Finnish Swedes, which can be seen to build alternative identities to a uniform Finnish-Swedish identity. The first of these views emphasizes on the differences within the group of Finnish Swedes, while the other view presents the Finnish Swedes only as a linguistic group.

The interviewees speak about the Finnish Swedes as internally divided group and used the heterogeneous repertoire in their speech. The users of this repertoire want to give an idea that

because of the differences among the group, defined by the different life of countryside and cities or by the characteristics of each specific locality, it is impossible to speak about one Finnish-Swedish identity. By using this repertoire the interviewees build a local Finnish-Swedish identity.

Instead of puzzling the question of whether the Finnish Swedes have or have not a common culture strong enough to bind them together, some of the interviewees used in their speech the linguistic repertoire in which the essence of the Swedish language is noted in relation to Finnish-Swedishness. This repertoire forms a Swedish-speaking Finn identity and its users concentrate on the Swedish language and its role as a unifying factor among the group of Finnish Swedes. Tom Moring has noted similar and considers the group of Finnish Swedes as a linguistic minority (2002: 189). My interviewees used the linguistic repertoire often alongside with the heterogeneous repertoire, which seems to suggest that while the internal diversity is agreed the use of Swedish language has been seen important by the Finnish Swedes.

The Swedish language is in the essence of Finnish-Swedishness. However, the question of the use of Finnish language seems to divide the Finnish Swedes. One of the interviewees explained the nature of this question in the following way.

Jens, FST: That is a hot topic because (.) it divides Svenskfinland, I cannot tell any percentage of how it divides but it deals with something like how much we as Finnish Swedes will, this is a bad word, but truckle to, that means that we will be such that when we come to a bank in a bilingual region so or in a region where the majority language is Finnish so we speak automatically Finnish which means that fit in somehow and be and like search for acceptance, not make too big number being (.) use Swedish but as soon as we face problems we start changing to Finnish like this is very much linked to that what it is about, that we that we in such case will not stand out and ask for too much. While another part of Svenskfinland thinks that it is self-evident that we will stand for ourself, that we will demand, that if we don't demand our rights, if we are not those who swop to Swedish when we go in a bank then we will never like get, get to use Swedish in Finland. So that it is like there is a hell of a lot of nuances in between but that there also are the opposite poles like⁴⁸

⁴⁸ Jens, FST: "Den e brännhet därför att (.) den delar Svenskfinland, nu kan jag int säga sådär procentuellt hur den delar den, men de handlar nånstans om de hur mycket vi som finlandsvenskar ska, de här är ett dåligt ord, men huka, de vill säga att vi ska vara såna som när vi kommer till en bank på en tvåspråkig ort så eller på en ort där majoritetsspråket är finska så talar vi automatiskt finska de vill säga att smälta in nånstans och vara, och liksom söka acceptans, inte föra mycket oljud, vara (.) använda svenskan, men genast vi stöter på problem så ska vi, så ska vi då byta till finskan, liksom de här e i mycket förenklat de som de handlar om, att vi att vi då på det sättet int ska ska sticka ut och kräva för mycket. Medan en annan del av Svenskfinland tycker att det är självklart att vi ska stå på oss, att vi ska kräva, att om int vi kräver våra rättigheter, om vi int e dom som byter språk till svenska när vi går in till banken så kommer vi aldrig

From the speech of the interviewee two interpretation repertoires can be identified which are related to bilingualism and which enunciate two different approaches that the Finnish Swedes have to that. This division follows the notions made by the earlier research that I have noted elsewhere in this paper (see 3.2). On one side, there is the bilingual repertoire used by those Finnish Swedes who are willing to speak Finnish in their everyday life in situations that the other communication participant is a Finnish-speaker. These people build a tolerant Finnish-Swedish identity in their view according to which the skills in Finnish are a resource that can and should be advantaged. This identity can be considered as opposite to a critical Finnish-Swedish identity, which is built in the speech of those who state that Swedish is the other official language of Finland and therefore it should not have to be that the Finnish Swedes use, without questions, Finnish in situations where there are also Finnish-speakers present. A critical Finnish-Swedish identity is built in something that I call the unilingual repertoire. This repertoire, which also the interviewee cited in the sample above seems to lean on, includes such terms as 'truckle to'. Since most of my interviewees choose to use Finnish language in the interview situation it can be understood that majority of them also have a tolerant Finnish-Swedish identity. Moreover, only three of my interviewees wanted to speak Swedish in their interviews, which seems to suggest that they by doing so they build themselves a critical Finnish-Swedish identity.

It is important to underline that the different identities related to Finnish-Swedishness which I have differentiated here are not presented as ideal types of classification and the interviewees cannot be logically placed to these categories. Although some interviewee would seem according to his or her speech to identify with one of these views more than with another, he or she may well present in his or her views characteristics of some other identities. For instance, a person who uses in his speech the homogeneous repertoire might not identify himself with a unified Finnish-Swedish identity, although this seems a plausible connection in the light of my material. Similarly, that the fact that a person chooses to use Swedish in the situations where Finnish could be also used does not necessarily mean that he or she has a critical Finnish-Swedish identity; in some cases the person just simply does not have any skills in Finnish.

nånsin att få, att få använda oss av svenska i Finland. Så att de liksom de finns hemskt många nyanser där emellan, men att där finns motpolerna nånstans”

8.2 Finnish-Swedishness in the television stations

The television stations included in this study are mostly classified Finnish-Swedish by the managerial personnel. In their speech concerning the ways the interviewees concerned that Finnish-Swedishness is manifested in their television station. Most commonly mentioned manifestation is the use of Swedish language, while the use of Finnish language as a manifestation seems to divide the interviewees. Some of them used the bilingual repertoire and noted that bilingualism is a manifestation of Finnish-Swedishness. However, some others stated, by using the unilingual repertoire, that it is especially the use of only Swedish language that can be considered a manifestation of Finnish-Swedishness at the station. This way the Finnish-Swedish television stations can be considered to build two kinds of identities, the critical Finnish-Swedish identity and the tolerant Finnish-Swedish identity.

The four manifestations or identity symbols of Finnish-Swedish identity related to Finnish-Swedish folk culture introduced by earlier research, which I have spoken elsewhere in this paper (see 4.2.1) are considered important neither personally nor in regards to television stations. The only exception in this is formed in the speech concerning the celebration of St Lucia, which all of the interviewees explain as very Finnish-Swedish and which most of the interviewees also considered important to the television stations they worked for. The low importance that the other Finnish-Swedish identity symbols have for the interviewees may possibly be understood in that the television as a medium is more related to popular culture than to folk culture. It may also be, however, that the identity symbols stated in the earlier literature are not essential to Finnish-Swedish culture. This speculation gets support from one of the interviewees who in her speech notes another identity symbol, which she considers important to Finnish Swedes; the singing of 'Sjunger i Våren' by Baccalaureate Singers on Mayday in Åbo/Turku. While the identification and evaluation of Finnish-Swedish identity symbols is an interesting topic, it is not an issue that could be answered in this study and requires further scrutiny perhaps in another research.

On the basis of my research it seems that the Finnish Swedes have several possible identity positions which are taken up in different situations. These positions can be enunciated, for instance, by emphasizing on the use of Swedish language or on the unique character of Finnish-Swedish culture. However, the view according to which the Finnish Swedes have one, common identity is expressed fairly rarely, usually in situations that the group of Finnish Swedes is compared to the others, such as the Finnish-speaking Finns or the Swedes of Sweden. More often the emphasis is

placed on the heterogeneity of the group by underlining the local differences. Besides the local characteristics the Finnish Swedes also differ in the ways they approach the bilingualism and some part of the Finnish Swedes accepts the use of Finnish language as a part of living Finnish-Swedishness while the other considers only the use of Swedish language as manifestation of Finnish-Swedishness. This way the results of my research seem to support the views presented in the earlier research noting the heterogeneity of the group of Finnish Swedes.

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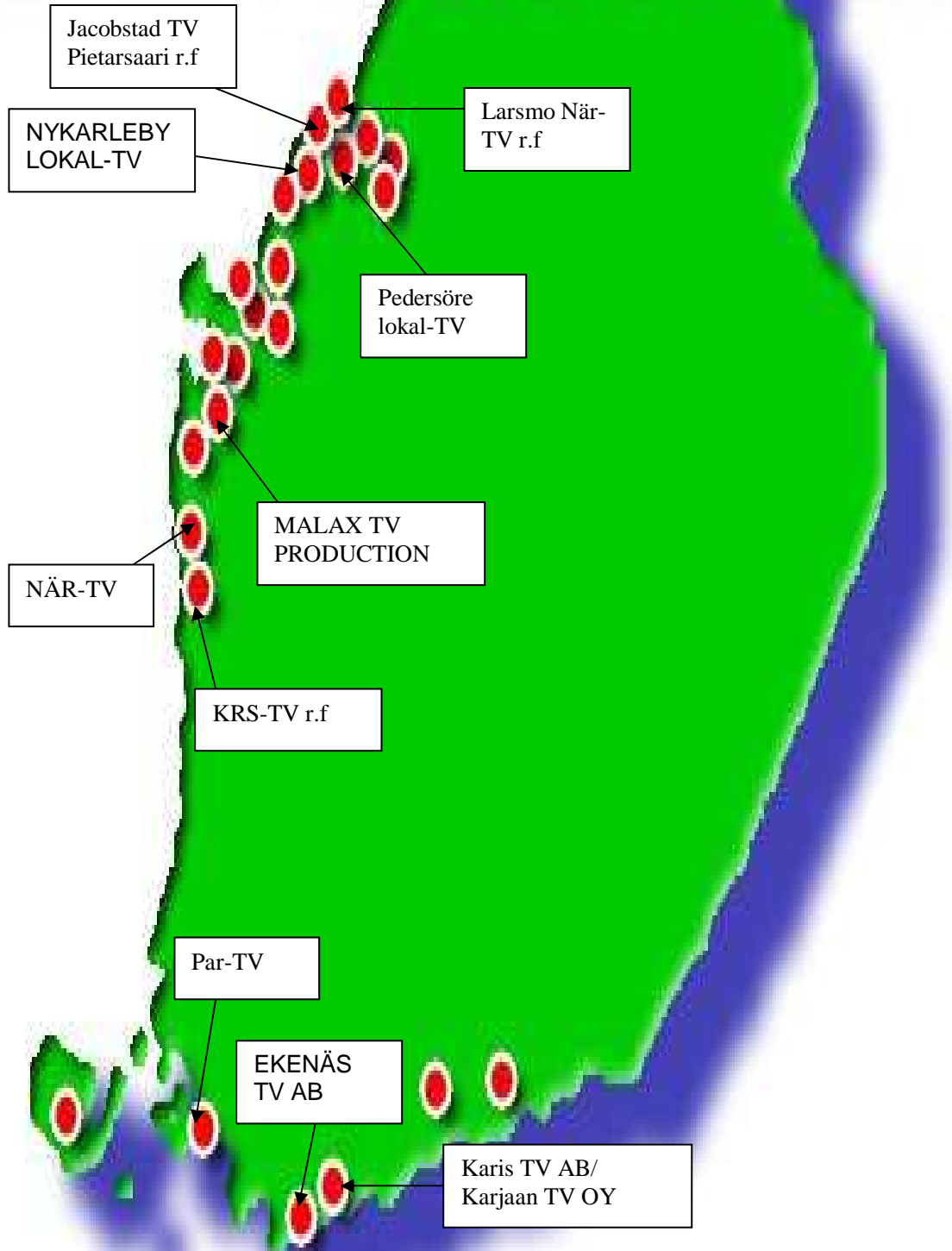
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APPENDIX 1. MAP OF THE LOCAL TELEVISION STATIONS

Lokal-TV i svenskfinland



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APPENDIX 2. THEME-FRAME QUESTIONS IN FINNISH

TV-ASEMASTA JA SEN TARKOITUKSESTA

- Mikä on tämän tv-aseman tehtävä? (onko olemassa 'virallista' tietoa)
- Onko tarkoituksena palvella yleisöä paikallisesti vai alueellisesti vai valtakunnallisesti?
- Ruotsinkielisiä vai kaikkia?
- Onko tästä maininta esim. tv-asemanne missiossa tai muussa virallisessa julkaisussa?
- Mikä on tämän tv-aseman suhde muihin medioihin (lehdet/paikalliset lehdet, radio/paikallisradio, muut televisiot)?

YLEISESTI SUOMENRUOTSALAISUUDESTA JA KANSALLISESTA IDENTITEETISTÄ

- Miten määrittelisitte suomenruotsalaisuuden?
- Koetteko olevanne lähinnä suomenruotsalainen, suomalainen vai ruotsalainen tv-asema?
- Koetteko olevanne lähinnä suomenruotsalainen, suomalainen vai ruotsalainen?
- Miten suomenruotsalaisuus näkyy tv-asemanne lähetyksissä?
- Saatteko palautetta yleisöltä?
Jos saatte, miten ts. missä muodossa (kirjeet, sähköposti, erilliset ohjelmat, yleisötutkimukset tms.)?
- Koskeeko palaute koskaan suomenruotsalaisuutta?
Jos koskee, millä tavoin se koskee?

ETNISESTÄ IDENTITEETISTÄ:

- Koetteko jonkun seuraavista merkittävänä suomenruotsalaisuuden symbolina:
 - Juhannussalko
 - Maalaishäät –kuvaelma
 - kansallispuku
 - Lucia
- Näkyykö näiden symbolien mahdollinen merkittävyys tv-asemanne lähetyksissä?
- Jos vastaus on myöntävä, miten se näkyy?

VASTAAJAN TAUSTATIETOJA:

- Ikä
- Sukupuoli
- Kuinka kauan ollut mukana paikallistelevision toiminnassa

APPENDIX 3. THEME-FRAME QUESTIONS IN SWEDISH

OM TV-STATIONEN OCH BETYDELSE

- Vad är den syften av er tv-station? (Finns där 'officiellt' information, mission eller någonting sådant)
- Är den syften att betjäna lokal eller regional eller national publik?
- Swedish-speakers eller alla?
- Finns där en anmärkning i den mission av er tv-station eller i några andra officiell publikation?
- Vad är relation av er tv-station till andra medier (tidskrifter/lokal tidningar, radio/lokal radio, andra television stationer)?

ALLMÄN OM FINLANDSSVENSKHET

- Hur definierar ni finlandssvenskhet?
- Känner er sig mest som finlandssvensk, finne eller svensk?
- Hur kan man se finlandssvenskhet i sändningar av er tv-station?
- Får er television några feedback från er publik?
- Om er får, i vilket format (brev, e-post, speciella program, publikforskning osv.)?
- Gäller feedback finlandssvenskhet?
- Om det gäller, hurdan är den feedbacken och på vilket sätt gäller den finlandssvenskhet?

- Känner er några av följande finlandssvensk symbol viktiga?
 - Midsommarstången
 - Lantbröllop
 - Nationaldräkt
 - Lucia
- Kan man se på er tv-program, att det/dessa är viktig/viktiga?
- Om svaret är jagande, hur kan man se det?

BAKGRUND AV SVARANDE

- Ålder
- Kön
- Hur lång har du varit med lokal-tvs aktivitet?

APPENDIX 4. TABLE 1

TABLE I general information concerning Finnish-Swedish television stations					
television station	municipality and language(s) of the municipality (unilingual Swedish/bilingual majority Swedish/bilingual majority Finnish ⁴⁹)	percentual number of Swedish-speakers in the area (inhabitants) ⁵⁰	established in	distributed via	language of a station (Swedish/Swedish and Finnish)
NÄR-TV	Närpes/ Närpiö (unilingual Swedish)	91,2 (9,463)	1982	ether	Swedish
MALAX TV PRODUCTION	Malax/ Maalahti (bilingual majority Swedish)	88,9 (5,542)	1980	cable	Swedish
EKENÄS TV AB	Ekenäs/ Tammisaari (bilingual majority Swedish)	81,7 (14,566)	1983	cable	Swedish
Larsmo När-TV r.f	Larsmo/Luoto (unilingual Swedish)	93,4 (4,393)	1988	cable	Swedish
Jacobstad TV Pietarsaari r.f	Jacobstad/Pietarsaari (bilingual majority Swedish)	56,1 (19,521)	1973	cable	Swedish and Finnish
Pedersöre lokal-TV	Pedersöre/ Pedersören kunta (bilingual majority Swedish)	90,4 (10,566)	1985	cable	Swedish
Karis TV AB/ Karjaan TV OY	Karis/ Karjaa (bilingual majority Swedish)	59,4 (8,956)	1986	cable	Swedish and Finnish
FST - Helsingfors/ Helsinki	Helsingfors/ Helsinki (bilingual majority language Finnish)	6,2 (560,905)	-	ether + cable + digitally	Swedish
NYKARLEBY LOKAL-TV	Nykarleby/ Uuskaarlepyy (bilingual majority Swedish)	90,2 (7375)	1972	cable	Swedish
Par-TV	Pargas/ Parainen (bilingual majority Swedish)	54,2 (12,063)	1987	cable	Swedish and Finnish
KRS-TV r.f	Kristinestad/ Kristiinankaupunki (bilingual majority Swedish)	57,1 (7,662)	1976	ether	Swedish and Finnish

APPENDIX 4. TABLE 2

TABLE II general information concerning Finnish-Swedish television stations					
television station	total number of the personnel/ paid personnel	approximate length of each transmission in hours	news material (yes/no)	transmission of local council meetings (yes/not mentioned)	sources of income [filming work(f) /adverts (a) /watching fees (wf) /support from foundations (sf) /support from municipality (sm)]
NÄR-TV	6,5/1,5	1-2	Yes	not mentioned	a/wf/sm
MALAX TV PRODUCTION	40/1	1,5	Yes	yes	f/a/wf/sf/sm
EKENÄS TV AB	10/0	1-1,5	No	yes	wf/sf/sm
Larsmo När-TV r.f	20/0	1,5 -	No	yes	f/a/sf/sm
Jacobstad TV Pietarsaari r.f	5-10/0	1,5-2	No	yes	sm/wf
Pedersöre lokal-TV	15/0	1-1,5	No	not mentioned	-
Karis TV AB/ Karjaan TV OY	5-10/0	1-1,5	No	yes	f/a/sf/am
FST - Helsingfors/ Helsinki	-	-	Yes	-	wf
NYKARLEBY LOKAL-TV	5/1	1,5	Yes	yes	a/wf/sf/sm
Par-TV	10/0	1 - 1,5	No	yes	a/sm
KRS-TV r.f *	1-3	2 - 4	No	yes	a/wf/sm

* the production of programmes has been outsourced to Westcoast Videotec company, and the information about the number of employees concerns the company

APPENDIX 5. THE INTERVIEWEES

Alf-Håkan, 59 years, working voluntarily in 'MALAX TV PRODUCTION' television station that is located in the bilingual municipality of Malax/Maalathi where majority of the population speaks Swedish. Considers himself a Finnish-Swede. Interview conducted in Finnish on 15th of January 2005.

Ann-Sofie, 42 years, working voluntarily in 'Par-TV' television station that is located in the bilingual municipality of Karis/Karjaa where majority of the population speaks Swedish. Considers herself a Finnish Swede. Interview conducted in Finnish on 18th of January 2005.

Bo-Orvar, 59 years, working voluntarily in 'Jacobstad TV Pietarsaari r.f' television station that is located in the bilingual municipality of Jacobstand/Pietarsaari where majority of the population speaks Swedish. Considers himself 'a finländare'. Interview conducted in Finnish on 15th of January.

Egon, 46 years, working voluntarily in 'Karis TV AB/ Karjaan TV OY' television station that is located in the bilingual municipality of Karis/Karjaa where majority of the population speaks Swedish. Considered himself a Finnish Swede. Interview conducted in Finnish on 19th of January 2005.

Esko, 58 years, working voluntarily in 'Jacobstad TV Pietarsaari r.f' television station that is located in the bilingual municipality of Jacobstand/Pietarsaari where majority of the population speaks Swedish. Considered himself a (Finnish-speaking) Finn. Interview conducted in Finnish on 15th of January.

Gunilla, 49 years, born in Helsingfors/Helsinki, working as a full-time paid Programme Director in 'Finlands svenska television' at a station that is located in the bilingual municipality of Helsingfors/Helsinki where minority of the population speaks Finnish. Considers herself a Finn, whose linguistic identity is Swedish. Interview conducted in Finnish on 8th of February 2005.

Guy, 60 years old, working voluntarily in Larmo När-tv r.f television station in the unilingual municipality of Larsmo/Luoto. Considers himself a Finnish Swede. Interview conducted in Finnish on 15th of January 2005.

Jarl, 68 years, working voluntarily in Larmo När-tv r.f television station in the unilingual municipality of Larsmo/Luoto. Considers himself a Finnish Swede. Interview conducted in Finnish on 15th of January 2005.

Gösta, years, working voluntarily in 'EKENÄS TV AB' television station that is located in the bilingual municipality of Ekenäs/Tammisaari where majority of the population speaks Swedish. Considers himself a Finnish Swede. Interview conducted in Finnish on 18th of January 2005.

Jan, 43 years, working as a paid part-time director in 'NYKARLEBY LOKAL-TV' television station that is located in the bilingual municipality of NyKarleby/Uusikaarlepyy where majority of the population speaks Swedish. Considers himself as a Finnish-Swede. Interview conducted in Swedish on 15th of January 2005.

Jens, 34 years, born in Ostrobothnia region, working as a full-time paid Programme Chief in 'Finlands svenska television' at a station that is located in the bilingual municipality of

Helsingfors/Helsinki where minority of the population speaks Finnish. Considers himself a Finnish Swede. Interview conducted in two languages, interviewer asked used Finnish and interviewee used Swedish on 7th of February 2005.

Maria, 34 years, working as a part-time director of 'NÄR-TV' television station that is located in the unilingual municipality of Närpiö/Närpes. Considers herself a Finnish Swede. Interview conducted in Swedish on 16th of January 2005.

Ole, 53 years, working voluntarily in 'Pedersöre lokal-TV' television station that is located in the bilingual municipality of Pedersöre where majority of the population speaks Swedish. Considers himself as a Swede. Interview conducted in Finnish on 15th of January.*

Urho, 64 years, working as a paid producer in 'KRS-TV' television station in the bilingual municipality of Kristinestad/Kristiinankaupunki where majority of population speaks Swedish. Considers himself as a Finnish Swede. Interview conducted in Finnish on 16th of January 2005.

* The interviewee was chosen to this research after the other interviewees through so called snow-ball method and he did not receive the theme-frame questions in advantage.
