

Anna Timchenko

THE IMAGE OF ETHNIC CONATIONALS ABROAD IN THE CONTEXT OF NATIONAL
IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION: THE CASE-STUDY OF SWEDEN

University of Tampere
International School of Social Sciences
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Abstract

In my Master thesis I examine the images of Finlandssvenskar (Finnish Swedes) reproduced in the Swedish newspapers. I aim at examining how Swedish-speakers who live abroad contribute to the Swedish national identity construction. I argue that the presence of ethnic minority abroad (ethnic conationals, diaspora) affects the national identity formation.

The research project is built upon the social constructivist theoretical framework and the image-theory by Kenneth Boulding. The selected research method combines discourse theoretical approach and critical discourse analysis. Following the notions by Chantal Mouffe and Ernesto Laclau I use synchronic approach in analyzing how meanings are produced and reproduced by politics and discourses; and I believe, identities are articulated in speech acts and texts, and, thus, can be examined by means of media and political talks.

The research material consists of 81 articles from 26 Swedish newspapers of various political orientations and published in different regions of the country. Analyzing discourse on identity provided by the articles I attempt to research the images of Finnish Swedes that are reproduced and maintained in Sweden.

Analyzing the articles I distinguish seven images of Finnish Swedes: ‘no more than the citizens of the neighbor country’ image; ‘heroic’ image; ‘elite’ image; ‘comical’ image; ‘Swedish fans’; ‘being in decline’ image, and ‘a little-brother’ image. From the one hand, the image of the Swedish-speakers of Finland is used as reflection for Swedish Swedes: attributing perfect characteristics to the group, media reproduces certain positive image of ethnic Swedes. At the same time, prevailing discourse emphasizes their otherness referring to the questions of citizenship, internal affair, and migration.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Public discourse maintained by media and politicians on national identity construction almost always relates to the concept of other. The national identity is normally produced and reproduced through the dichotomy of ‘self-other’; and today, other is not necessarily hostile nation-state aimed at invasion. One of the most discussed problems of researches in an international sphere is that concerns migration and diaspora. Immigration communities and diasporas have become one of the significant others to the nation-state, whose images affect both national construction and mutual expectations. Traditionally their images are examined from the perspective of the state of residence. However I concern, on the contrary, with the images of diaspora produced in the country of origin. Probably my interest was inspired by the political talks about the Russian coethnics (the so-called ‘compatriots’) in the Baltic States and the way how politicians use the image of Russian-speaking community abroad to manipulate social consciousness. I was interested to examine whether the same scheme is applicable for Sweden and Finland where Swedish-speaking community has settled hundreds of years ago. It must be admitted that the term ‘compatriots’ is not the right word for the Swedish-speaking population (in relation to Swedes), neither are ‘minority’ and ‘diaspora’. There is no established concept to be useful for theoretical purposes and empirical operationalization; in practice, the term ‘Finlandssvenskar’ (‘Suomenruotsalaiset’ in Finnish, and ‘Finnish Swedes’ in English) is used to define Swedish-speaking population of Finland. However, I am interested in theoretical conceptualization of the problem; therefore I put ‘ethnic conationals’ in the title of my thesis. Along with ‘ethnic conationals’ I will use such terms as ‘coethnics’, ‘diaspora’ and ‘ethnic minority group’ in the synonymous meanings for convenience, although none of them is perfect designation. By using these terms I simply want to emphasize the ties between national minority and its ‘historical homeland’ (I mean not *actual* homeland in its ethnographic meaning, but a political category that is constructed and not given).

The purpose of this thesis is to research whether the presence of ethnic conationals abroad contributes to the process of national identity formation in the historical motherland country; and if it contributes, than what is the role of the coethnics images in identity construction. In order to achieve the research aim, this master project intends to meet the following objectives:

1. To discover the concepts of identity, self-other nexus and images in International Relation.
2. To theoretically discuss the definition of minority groups, diaspora.

3. To apply the concept of other to ethnic conationals.
4. To critically analyze the discourse on coethnics images and their contribution to the national identity formation.

The object of my research is the images of Finnish-Swedes reproduced through the discourse in the Swedish newspapers, and I am interested in examining them on the subject of their contribution to the national identity formation in Sweden.

In what follows I will be guided by the following research questions:

- What is the mechanism of national identity construction and how does other affect the national identity formation?
- What is the difference between ethnic minority community and diaspora?
- How images constructed and what are their roles in social practices?
- How identities and images are influenced by the prevailing discourse in political talks and media?

Some of the research questions posed above are not new in the Theory of International Relations: the concept of national identities and self-other nexus has been already discussed in details. However I would claim that I present here a rather novel perspective of the question of the otherness. I am going to analyze coethnics abroad as other for its historical homeland. It should be noted, that national minorities have been already investigated as a conceptual other to the nation-state (see Rogers Brubaker, for example), but my concern is rather different and has not been studied in details yet. I will hold the understanding of diaspora close to the ethnic minority community that keep ties to the historical homeland and identify itself with the ancestors' country. From this perspective, diaspora (or ethnic conationals abroad) is both the same and the other for its country of origin, or in other words, diaspora is something like the 'other-self' what might be connoted to the term 'svoi poganye' used in Russian ethnology (see Lev Gumilev, for example).

Outline structure

My research project consists of four chapters, introduction, conclusion and bibliography.

At first, I will provide the theoretical framework for my research. Afterwards, I will attempt to articulate the main concepts and notions applicable to my research and focus on their definitions. The next chapter will be devoted to the methodological background of my thesis: I will describe method of research, peculiarities of the collection of the research material and its limitation. The last chapter of my thesis is case studies where I will analyze in details the images

produced by the discursive practices and consider their contribution to the process of identity formation.

2. LAYING THE THEORETICAL FOUNDATION

In this research project I am interested in examining how Swedish-speaking diaspora abroad affects the national identity construction. To my regret the term ‘diaspora’ is not the best term to define exactly the target group. Using this word I am referring to those who share Swedish identity but live in Finland, i.e. the so-called Finnish-Swedes or Swedish-speaking Finlanders. I will look at the problem of definition in more details below. Further I will articulate a theoretical framework of a concept of identity and self/other nexus, and, afterwards, attempt to link it with the image of diaspora.

2.1. Identity

There is a wide range of identity theories based on different ontological and epistemological assumptions [Cederman 2001, p. 141; Neumann 1999, p. 1]. However in the very broad sense identity can be defined as a ‘sense of belonging’, in other questions (such as how it is constructed, why it exists, whether it is changeable or not, etc.) identity theories have significant discrepancies and contradictions. In general, there are two ways of construing identity: primordial and instrumental. Primordial approach presupposes the understanding of nation as ‘ethno-nation’, i.e. a union of individuals of ‘the same blood and common fate’ [Bacova 1998, p. 29]. Instrumental way stresses the political understanding of unity (or nation) and pragmatic aspects.

Primordialists stress the ‘givenness’ of identity. According to Geertz, particular culture, language, religion, community, social practices are perceived by people as ‘overpowering per se’ [Bacova 1998, p. 31]. The community is seen as ‘a historically developed givenness’ and membership in community is claimed to be hereditary. Moreover, an individual is dominated by community and one’s membership in a particular group is believed to be exclusive, i.e. one cannot be a member of several groups of particular category (the only race, the only ethnic group, etc.).

From their point of view, identity is built on common myths and history; and related to collective memories and destiny. Therefore, national identity is understood as the attachment of people to a nation, i.e. self-productive system with certain political and cultural values with

which people identify themselves. Anthony D. Smith provides an abstract concept of national identity:

- 1) the territorial boundedness of separate cultural populations in their own 'homelands';
- 2) the shared nature of myths of origin and historical memories of the community;
- 3) the common bond of a mass, standardized culture;
- 4) a common territorial division of labour, with mobility for all members and ownership of resources by all members in the homeland;
- 5) the possession by all members of a unified system of common legal rights and duties under common laws and institutions.

[Smith 1992, p. 60]

Thus, primordial approach concentrates on other than individual or cognitive factors shaping the social sphere.

Constructivist approach provides more detailed conception. First of all, it should be noted that Constructivism includes several rather different approaches that do not agree on a number of points. I will start with shared statements and, afterwards, will turn to the differences.

Constructivists believe identities are social structures, so they appear only through dealing with others. That means that identity has two relevant aspects: internal and external. Internal aspect concerns *ego* and how person (or community) perceives oneself, it is related to the self-image and self-categorization. External aspect is about *alter* and an idea of *Other*. Respectively, there are inner and outer perspectives on identity. Inner perspective concerns self-stereotype and ideas about the image of group seen from outside. Outer perspective presents opposite position: hetero-stereotype and the views shared by a certain group about other groups and members that do not belong to their group. Alexander Wendt argues that actor succeeds to possess a certain identity when it is recognized as such by others.

Identity is claimed to be socially constructed phenomena [Christiansen 1999, p. 530]. It is 'what we make of it': it does not exist *per se*, but constructed by actions and ideas through paradigms, theories and methods, so it is not *given*, but is forming and changing in relation with significant Other. So, it would not be a mistake to claim that under the 'identity' researchers mean the 'process of articulation the identity', not identity itself. Identity itself is always relative and is described in different ways depending on circumstances, and, moreover, the essential part is comparison to the others.

Thus, the nature of identity is not immanent or fixed, but variable and dynamic. From there two significant consequences follow. The first one is that social reality is not given *per se*, it exist through human agreement and appear though discursive interaction only. That means that social identity is never stable, but constantly changeable. The second important assumption is that social reality and identity depend on time and place and can vary accordingly. Moreover, state as well as individual can possess more than one identity, and they do not exist apart from each other. Each of them is constituted by both internal and external factors, and borders between different identities are not always clear.

So, there is no doubt about the nature of identity – it is socially determined constructions. But it is still not clear what the mechanism of their formation is?

According to Stuart Hall identity is produced through discursive social practices, and language plays significant role in its formation [Hall 1996, p. 1-17]. Tod Hopf argues that there are several significant functions of the language in the process of identity formation. As first, it enables mutual understanding between the members of certain community and provides the framework for interactions. Moreover, linguistic structures determine the logic of speech and, therefore, affect communication process [Hopf 2002, p. 21].

I have already briefly described above the national identity from the primordial perspective. It is informative to examine national identity from constructivist point of view. Constructivist approach promotes political understanding of unity, i.e. the way and method how unity is constructed. There are two aspects of national identity: civic national identity and ethnic national identity. The first one reflects whether mechanisms of state-building work fine and institutions and rights function well. The second one presents result of common language, history and culture promotion.

Identities perform two major functions in the society: first of all, they inform you and other about who you are; and, then, they provide self with the image of the other. The important point is that reproducing identity state is not able to control what it means exactly for others and how others perceive it. And, simultaneously, ‘a state understands others according to the identity it attributes to them’ [Hopf 1998, p. 175]. Thus, identities, even if actor is never sure about how Other perceives its identity, keep some minimally required level of predictability and order and preserve world from chaos. According to Alexander Wendt, identities are ‘relatively stable, role-specific understandings and expectations about self [Wendt 1992, p. 397].The identities are significant because they provide the basis for interests [Guzzini and Leander 2006, p. 95], at the same time interests change and develop depending on the circumstances. Therefore, identities are changeable but it is easy process. Mechanism of identity transformation is that actors are able for critical self-reflection and they can transform or change roles. Afterwards, new behavior (or

new identity) affects the partner during the interaction and force it to behave in new way. So, *alter* and *ego* mirrors each other, and changing of *ego*'s identity influence self-understanding of *other*. Wendt names this process 'altercasting', what means 'an attempt to introduce alter to take on a new identity... by treating alter as if it already had that identity' [Wendt 1992, p. 421]. It should be also noted that actor not only creates social structures but maintains those are already exist, so social structure is a social fact for the actors and, naturally, cannot be easily transformed. So, the identities are relatively stable and ensure some degree of predictability and order preserving actors from being involved into never-ending chaos of misconception. Depending on how identities are defined (from positive to negative) the 'culture of anarchy' varies. Positive identification promote mutual trust, so that, security threats become responsibilities of all parties and not as a private matter for each state.

As was mentioned already, constructivism includes a number of different approaches that sometimes are in conflict [Christiansen 1999, p. 529; Hopf 2002, p. 278-279; Cederman and Daase 2003, p. 5-6]. The only certain statement they agree altogether is that materialistic and rationalistic views on the social world are absolutely unacceptable for them. On the other hand, they do not agree with those ideas by post-modernists that suggest total epistemological relativism [Cederman and Daase 2003, p. 5]. In IR theory there are several constructivist approaches dealing with question of identity, among them Hopf [Hopf 2002, p. 278] defines three major branches:

1. Normative constructivism that focuses on international norms and states' devotion to them.
2. Systemic constructivism, which focuses on how interstate relations affect and shape states' identities. Systemic constructivism might be called 'neo-constructivism' [Guzzini and Leander 2006, p. 19]. It considers interstate interactions as the source for reproducing identities and conceptions about self and other, what accordingly affects the nature of cooperation.
3. Social constructivism that stresses the domestic origins if state identities.

Another classification of constructivist branches provides another informative description of identities. Some researchers emphasize differences in identity formation from conventional constructivism and critical constructivism perspectives. Supporters of conventional constructivism 'accommodate a cognitive account for identity, or offer no account at all' [Hopf 1998, p. 184]. They concentrate more on the mechanisms of identity reproduction and its effects than on its origin. At the same time, critical constructivists, using critical social theory, suppose that the need of identities is driven by 'some form of alienation' [Hopf 1998, p. 184]. Critical constructivists argue that one has to see the difference with other in order to produce one's own

identity. So according to them, identities are constructed through social practice. Unlike conventional constructivists, critical constructivists emphasize the role of power in relation between actors; as per them, power is always exercised in every social act. Critical theorists suppose that all social relations are cases of subordination and hierarchy.

Now, I would like to focus on how national identity is constructed. According to Daase and Cederman, the mechanism of its formation implies three major components, such as follows: intersubjective categorization, inter-generational transmission and boundary formation [Cederman and Daase 2003: p. 12-18].

Intersubjective Categorization. Due to cognitive limitation of the human mind all social actors rely on certain categorizations and generalizations of different facts of social life. In other words, social actors tend to generalize the facts about social life in 'groups'. It means that in any given society there are a multitude of different groups depending on what classification category is chosen. Examples are language groups, gender or religious groups; it is obviously that some of them is often overlapping. The construction of identity for such a large group as nation involved a number of categories. Consideration of certain category to be significant or not is managed through discursive practices, and is actually a political act: 'The features that are taken into account are not the sum of 'objective' differences, but only those which the actors themselves regard as significant' [Barth 1969: p. 14]. Beside political manipulations, other deep-rooted factors, such as established discourses or stereotypes and believes, are considerable. National identity is believed to be a kind of second-order constructed phenomena that relies on relatively plain basic units such as language, religion, ethnicity, etc.

Inter-generational Transmission Mechanism. Remarkable feature of the nature of identity is that some of them exist during quite long period of time. According to Cederman and Daase [Cederman and Daase 2003: p. 14], this is due to the so-called 'group maintenance' mechanisms. There are a number of such, but the most strongly embedded in the identity construction are two. Identity might be linked to the place of birth, so the sense of belonging to a certain place is a basis for identity construction. In this case identity is indeed self-reproductive. The second mechanism, identity construction might be based on some abstract idea which is passed from one generation to another. The good example is a historical memory of a nation. The way how history is written can produce new meanings and affect the national identity; and debates over the 'mythmaking' confirm the urgency of the statement.

Boundary Formation. Cederman and Daase refer to Simmel stating that ‘three mechanisms help produce such unity, namely institutions, written communication and internal migration’ [Cederman and Daase 2003: p. 16]. The latter mechanism is connected boundaries that help identities to be demarcated from Others. From a constructivist perspective, borders are not necessarily fixed, although they may appear to be such. It is argued that ‘the actual territorial mapping of corporate identities influences the patterns of cooperation and conflict’ [Ibid, p. 18].

2.2. Self-Other nexus

Richard Bernstein claimed that ‘The theme of ‘the Other’ – and especially what constitutes the otherness of ‘the Other’ – has been at the very heart of the work of every major twentieth-century Continental philosopher’ [Bernstein 1991, p. 68].

Actually, Hegel was one of the first theorists who stressed the link between identity formation and dichotomy of self/other: ‘Each is for the other the middle term through which each mediates itself: and each is for himself, and for the other, an immediate being on its own accord, which at the same time is such only through this mediation. They recognize themselves as mutually recognizing one another’ [Hegel 1997, p. 112]. Iver B. Neumann argues that, however, most Western researches about identity formation are based not on Hegelian dialogical approach but on ‘Marx’s version of a dialectical identity formation’ [Neumann 1999, p. 3].

The issue of self/other relations is also discussed in a theory of the social division of labor by Emile Durkheim. According to him, demarcation between ‘in-groups’ and ‘out-groups’ is not fixed and stable but ongoing necessary part of identity formation process [Durkheim 1964, p. 115-122]. However the question of boundaries between two groups has been overlooked for long until Frederik Barth suggested considering the boundaries of ethnic groups as a starting point in his *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* [Barth 1969]. He emphasized the role of boundaries, that separate one group from another, in identity reproduction and, therefore, proposed to study self-other nexus from the boundary markers (‘diacritica’ in his terminology) perspective [Barth 1969, p. 9-49]. Almost everything may be expected to be taken as a politically relevant boundary marker, although Barth emphasized that the selection of diacritica is not absolutely haphazard. Most of diacritica are taken from the sphere of language, religion, history, and so on. Language is one of the most crucial markers that bear national identity, however it is not necessary and sufficient condition. There are examples when two nations that speak the same language possess different identities (e.g. Germany and Austria); and the opposite examples, like in case of Switzerland, – when several languages are spoken within one nation (i.e. one identity).

‘Ethnocentrism’ is another approach quite common among Western scholars, so I will provide a quotation by Hogg and Abrahams: ‘A differentiation arises between ourselves, the we-group, or in-group, and everybody else, or the other-groups, out-groups. The insiders in a we-group are in relation of peace, order, law, government, and industry to each other. Their relation to all outsiders, or other-groups, is one of war and plunder, except so far as agreements have modified it’ [Hogg and Abrams 1988, p. 17]. And further: ‘Just as we categorize objects, experiences and other people, we also categorize ourselves. The outcome of this process of self-categorization is an accentuation of similarities between self and other in-groupers and differences between self and out-groupers, that is, self-stereotyping. To be more precise, self-categorization causes self-perception and self-definition to become more in terms of the individual’s representation of the defining characteristics of the group, or the group prototype’ [Ibid, p, 21]. However it is not very useful for my research project, so I would not go into details.

The interesting viewpoint is presented by psychoanalytical approach by Lacan who argues that the image of the self is produced in a process of ‘desire for the power of the other’. Anne Norton following this path wrote: ‘...Individual and collective identities are created not simply in the difference between self and other but in those moments of ambiguity where one is other to oneself, and in the recognition of the other as like’ [Neumann 1999, p. 8].

To summarize Western approach based on the dialectical identity formation introduced by Marx, I will refer to *Sources of the Self* by Charles Taylor. He suggested an overview of the predominant ideas about the Self and Other in the Western tradition:

1. The idea of obligation to others.
2. The idea about existence of ideal narrative for the self. Taylor suggests two major contemporary narratives: hero script and affirmation of ordinary life. The difference between them is simply that, according to the first one, the self should assert itself as ‘hero’, i.e. keep soaring, while the second narrative is about ordinary way of life and keeping plodding.
3. The idea of presentation of self.

[Taylor 1989]

The dialectics approach, common in the Western philosophical tradition, supposes understanding of self-other nexus from the assimilation perspective. Neumann argues that in contrast to the Western school, the Eastern tradition is based on the dialogical thinking [Neumann 1999, p. 11]. Neumann mentioned four authors who followed this path, namely Georg Simmel, Carl Schmitt, Mikhail Bakhtin, and Emmanuel Levinas. Below I will describe very briefly their main ideas about self/other nexus.

Georg Simmel wrote that ‘The stranger is an element of the group itself... an element whose membership within the group involves both being outside and confronting it’ [Ibid, p. 11]. The stranger, according to him, plays significant role in identity construction of the group: even its presence poses the question about who we are and who is the other.

Carl Schmitt defined the state as a unit that makes differences between enemies and friends. Enemy ‘does not have to be morally evil, he does not have to be aesthetically ugly, he does not have to appear as economic competitor, and it can... even be advantageous to have business dealing with him. He is nevertheless the Other’ [Ibid, p. 12]. Failure in distinction friend from enemy causes the challenges to the state’s authority. It should be noted that Friedrich Nietzsche was one who started dissolving those categories described by Simmel and Schmitt. He stressed that there is nothing like such an entity as permanent self, but instead there are a number of different understandings and ways of knowing. It is remarkable, that he prevised about the hazards by resentment, i.e. identity formation through the negative perception of the other.

Mikhail Bakhtin stressed that any unity must be determined by itself alone. Bakhtin believed that the meaning is created in discourse; therefore in absence of other the self is not able to know itself and the outside world.

Emmanuel Levinas adheres transcendental approach to the otherness: ‘the Other...does not possess this existing as the subject possesses it: its hold over my existing is mysterious. It is not known but unknowable, refractory to all light. But this precisely indicates that the one is no way another myself, participating with me in a common existence. The relationship with the other is not an idyllic and harmonious relationship of communion, or sympathy through which we put ourselves in the other’s place: we recognize the other as resembling us, but exterior to us: the relationship with the other is a relationship with a Mystery. The other’s entire being is constituted by its exteriority, or rather its alterity, for exteriority is a property of space and leads the subject back to itself through light’ [Levinas 1989, p. 43]. And further he claimed: ‘One is for the other what the other is for oneself: there is no exceptional place for the subject. The other is known through sympathy, as another (my)self, as the alter ego’ [Levinas 1989, p. 47]. So there is a tension between two statements: the other is alter ego and the other is ‘what I myself am not’, what illustrates Levinas’s position: the world is much more complicated because of many factors that are out of self’s control: ‘...if there were only two of us in the world. I and the other, there would be no problem. The other would be completely my responsibility. But in the real world there are many others. When others enter, each of them external to myself, problems arise. Who is closest to me? Who is the Other? Perhaps something has already occurred between them, We must investigate carefully’ [Levinas 1989, p. 247].

The above overview is predominantly theoretical investigations, but what do all this implement for the IR?

Ivar Neumann cited three- level model introduced by Tzvetan Todorov in 1984. He suggested at least three levels in relations between self and other: an axiological level, a praxeological level, and an epistemic level. Under axiological level he meant a value judgment, i.e. how the self replies on a question like ‘is the other good or bad?’. The second level, praxeological, presupposes rapprochement in relations to the other: self starts identifying and comparing self with other and imposing images. After that stage, epistemic level takes effect: self knows or is unaware of the other’s identity [conception by Todorov, from Neumann 1999, p. 21].

James Der Derian focuses on the idea of alienation and, following Jean Baudrillard, believes that the identity formation becomes hyperreal and does not involve human beings as others, but only *simulacras*. He warned: ‘Until we learn how to recognize ourselves as the Other, we shall be in danger and we shall be in need of diplomacy’.

Another theorist who implemented self/other relations to the IR was Michael J. Shapiro who suggested to examine self-other relations in their historicity. He claimed that foreign policy is something that produces others and in his investigations he based largely on Lacanian approach.

So there are a number of researches devoted to the problem of identity formation and the self/other nexus. Their common feature is implementation of anthropological description of a self through opposition to the other. Delineation self from other is argued to be significant and ongoing part in the process of identity formation. So, in order to investigate certain identity one would need to start from the social boundaries: how they were established and how are maintained today. Taking into account the conclusions made by Levinas, it should be noted that collective identities are multifaced and the self/other nexus cannot be examined with no regards to this notion.

2.3. Images of the Other in International Relations

In his book *The Image* Kenneth Boulding argues that society and images are mutually conditioned: society continually reproduces images, as well as image (or identity) affects the society. According to him, public image is ‘an image the essential characteristics of which are shared by the individuals participating in the group’ [Boulding 2007, p. 64] and, simultaneously,

an image that is perceived by others. An international system consists of 'interacting behavior units' [Boulding 1959, p. 120] whose relations largely depend on how they perceive each other.

The same way as in case of identities, images are constructed through social processes and require the presence of both self and others: Boulding claimed those images are important in international system 'which a nation has of itself and of those other bodies in the system which constitute its international environment' [Ibid, p. 121].

Simply and generally saying, image is an idea or value judgment about the self and other. It is shaped by many factors, both of internal and external nature: personal judgments; cultural environment, history and political structure, media, and so on. Images is about what we think the world is like, not what it is really like, and, therefore, our perception of the world determines our behavior. The same is relevant for the states and any other organized social groups. So the states act according to the way the world appears to them. If once an actor understood that he has wrong image, it can be revised. The 'image' is argued to be 'the total cognitive, affective, and evaluative structure of the behavior unit, or its internal view of itself and its universe' [Boulding 1959, p. 120-121].

The image and behavior of such a complex formation as the state is determined by decision making process that includes the selection of the most appropriate options.

The construction of public images is always based on a message received in the past and it starts in the mind in some single individual and, afterwards, becomes public. According to Kunczik, image of certain nation develops through a very complex communication process involving varied information sources [Kunczik 1997]. Boulding argues that public images are always handed down from one generation to another with the so-called 'transcripts', or 'records' of public images (such as cultural heritage, language, etc.). An effective transcript is a guarantee for creating public image as close as possible to the various individuals.

Decision-making process and the image reproduction are potentially affected directly by the following: top government of the state and media holders. Together with the image created by the small group of powerful people (decision-makers); another representative image should be taken into account: the image of the mass who take no direct part in the process of decision-making. It is rooted in families and transmitted from the very childhood. The image created on the first mentioned level is often inspired by the national image from family tradition.

The nation is a group of people who share common history, culture and memory; therefore some great shared events are of the utmost importance in the construction of national image. History plays the great role in construction national image and identity.

The important question that should be discussed is how do the national images impact on the relations between states? The reply on this question will be presented in three dimensions.

The first one concerns geographical space. The image of the map-shape has been crucial point in the nation self-defining. The relation to the international relation of the territorial aspect is quite obvious and clear: an increase of the territory of one state causes inevitably a decrease in the territory of another.

The next dimension is friendliness or hostility aspect. I have already noted above that the image lies out of the actions of state: how other perceives your image (identity) depends on you just in part, mostly you can do nothing and even have no chance to control the process. But still usually the images of hostility and friendliness are conducted on mutual basis: if one state pictures itself as hostile toward any B, then it also pictures B as hostile toward itself. This rule works for each case with small paranoid exception: most states seem to feel that their enemies 'are more hostile toward them than they are toward their enemies'.

The last important dimension of national image is that of strength or weakness. The image of strength/weakness is presented by a complex structure consisting of many elements from politic, economic and other spheres. The strength/weakness image is not only about military power, but also symbolic loyalties.

So, the images of the international actors play significant role in the relations between them: positive images might become a guarantee for long-term fruitful cooperation, while negative image produce the opposite effect. Like the identities, the images, whether positive or not, are created only when other acknowledge their existence. Images are handed down from generation to generation and can be revised if needed. The importance of images in both internal and external societies was emphasized by Kenneth Boulding who claimed that the development of the society represents 'a process of image-formation' [Boulding 1959, p. 98].

2.4. Conclusion

In my research project I follow Constructivist approach to identity and identity formation. I believe identity is a socially constructed phenomenon: it does not exist *per se*, but is produced and reproduced by social actions and ideas. It is never given or fixed, but is construing and changing through relations with significant other. So, identity can be even defined as a 'process of articulation the identity', because of its relative nature. It is always articulated with reference to two relevant aspects: internal and external, *self*-image and perception by *other*; what means that *self* succeeds with identity construction when *other* recognizes it. However, reproducing

identity state is not able to control what it means exactly for others and how others perceive it. Moreover, *self* understands *others* according to the identity it attributes to them. Thus, identities perform two major functions in the society: first of all, they inform you and other about who you are; and, second, they provide self with the image of the other. Therefore, identities, even if actor is never sure about how other perceives its identity, keep some minimally required level of predictability and order.

Mechanism of identity transformation is that actors are able for critical self-reflection and they can transform or change roles. It is obvious that social acts provoke self-reflection through ‘altercasting’ (term by Alexander Wendt) that means an ‘attempt to introduce alter to take on a new identity... by treating alter as if it already had that identity’ [Wendt 1992, p. 421].

The question of image is closely related to identity. Image is the essential characteristics shared by the member of a certain group about and, simultaneously, an image perceived by others. It is constructed through social processes and shaped by many factors, both of internal and external nature. Representing an idea or value judgment about the self or other, images are about what we think the world is like, not what it is really like. Remarkably, that perception of the world determines state’s behavior and, thus, contributes to the character of relations between actors. Mutual perception and image reproduction largely depend on the prevailing discourse in media and political talks. Simultaneously, the image produced on the highest level always includes the image of the mass who take no direct part in the process of decision-making. It is argued, that construction of public images is always based on messages received in past social experience. From there it follows that narrative practices and language play crucial role in identity and image formation creating new meanings through social practices.

3. LAYING THE DEFINITIONAL FOUNDATIONS

3.1. Minority group

Minority group is described by Louis Wirth as ‘a group of people who, because of their physical or cultural characteristics, are singled out from the others in the society in which they live for differential and unequal treatment, and who therefore regard themselves as objects of collective discrimination’ [Wirth 1945, p. 347].

The term ‘minority group’ is predominantly used in a discourse of collective and civil rights and defines subordinate group, members of which have considerably less power than members of dominant group. It should be taken into account that minority group does not necessarily present numerical minority, but frequently it possesses less and narrow opportunities. Members of the minority group differ from those from dominant group in terms of language, culture, ethnicity, education, political power, etc. Minorities are likely to be in special treatment relation with the majority of the country of residence and, as a rule, belonging to minority group does not depend on personal choice. It is remarkable that members of minority group possess strong identity and group solidarity; they usually keep dense social ties within the group and are prone to in-group marriages.

Different types of minority groups can be named depending on selected criteria: racial, ethnic, gender, religion, and so on. A group is classified as ethnic minority if it differs from the majority in such terms as language, traditions, life style, culture, origin, etc. Minority status is qualified not in terms of the number of members (there are cases when ethnic minority presents numerical superiority) but by power opportunity.

International law provides no official definition, however the European Charter for Regional or Minority languages gave some markers to be used in definition of ethnic minority group. In general, ethnic minority is a group that occupies not dominant position; whose culture, language, origin, etc. differ from those of the majority population; whose members keep strong distinctive identity through common heritage and language, and ties within their group being citizens of the state where they have a minority status.

From the point of view of Thomas H. Eriksen, ethnic minority ‘can be defined as a group which is numerically inferior to the rest of the population in a society, which is politically non-dominant and which is being reproduced as an ethnic category’ [Eriksen 2002, p. 121].

Traditionally ethnic minorities imply indigenous and migrant communities. Thomas H. Eriksen described some typical points [Eriksen 2002, p. 14]:

1. Urban ethnic minorities: among others it includes non-European immigrants. Usually they are integrated into a capitalist system and have certain political interests, therefore they do not claim for political independence or statehood. In this case the main problems concern adaptation, ethnic discrimination from the side of the host society; as well as on the identity management and multicultural society.

2. Indigenous people. Under this term aboriginal inhabitants are meant. This group is relatively powerless and characterized by low level of integration into the majority society of the state. They conduct very traditional non-industrial way of life and stateless political system.

3. Proto-nations (or the so-called ethnonationalist movements). Despite the above described minority groups, this type is characterized by the presence of more or less charismatic leader who claim that originally they should be governed by others and demand for their own nation-state. Their particular characteristic is that they are always territorially based. Moreover, usually proto-nations have much more in common with nation comparing to the other ethnic minorities, i.e. 'they are differentiated according to class and educational achievement, and they are large groups' [Eriksen 2002, p. 14]. Sometimes they might be referred as 'nations without state'.

4. Ethnic groups in plural societies. This kind of groups 'are compelled to participate in uniform political and economic systems' but still are regarded both by others and themselves as highly special and distinctive in other respects.

5. Post-slavery minorities. This group is rather different from both indigenous and immigrants communities. Identity of their ancestors has been transformed from the distinctive to simply labor by force. Later on, they re-defined themselves, but still 'their identity politics tend to be based on their shared history of enforced uprooting and suffering [Ibid, p. 15].

Minority and majority are mutually conditioned and do not exist apart each other. Today states use several strategies dealing with minorities, among them three dominant are worth to be emphasized: policies of assimilation; domination strategy and ideology of multiculturalism.

Policies of assimilation is often believed to help target group to achieve higher standards of life, however it appeared that, in case of successful policies, minorities, in contrast, are suffering from losing their dignity.

If the state chooses domination strategy, it may cause to segregation on ethnic ground, as it supposes that 'the minority being physically removed from the majority.

The third basic conception is multiculturalism or 'transcending ethnic nationalist ideology' [Ibid, p. 123], when citizenship and civil rights are not conditioned by cultural identity.

In their turn, minorities respond on the state policies in one of the following ways suggested by Albert O. Hirshman in 1970 'exit, voice or loyalty'. 'Loyalty' means assimilation

and is quite frequently chosen option; the next option is an attempt to preserve minority identity and coexist in peace with majority group; those who chose 'exit' are defined already above as proto-nations and they chose secession.

3.2. Diaspora

The use of the term 'diaspora' has been widely extended and gained new perception. In this paragraph I will analyze the evolution of the meanings of 'diaspora' and examine its constitutive criteria.

Early discussions about diaspora were based on conceptual 'homeland' and devoted to 'classical' diasporas like Armenian, Greek or Jewish; or 'trading diasporas' like Chinese, Baltic Germans, Indians, etc. For many years diaspora was described as a people lived 'scattered as a result of a traumatic historical event' [quotation by Cohen from Weiner 2010, p. 74]. In this classical understanding diaspora is 'an extension of the nation-state model' [Soysal 2000, p. 3]. Diasporic population is oriented towards their homelands and cultures, so diaspora is perceived as 'the extension of home'.

Further extension of the term includes groups of emigrants living outside the home country but still being involved in homeland politics. Benedict Anderson described them as 'long-distance nationalists' [Brubaker 2005, p. 2]. At first, the term included only those who maintain political movement (sometimes terrorist or ultra-nationalist movements); further it incorporated labor migrants as well who maintain another kind of ties with a home county, namely social and emotional.

Thus, diaspora denotes those people who, living outside the homeland, maintain to some extent ties with country of origin, whether through social or political network. As per Brubaker, from the homeland perspective, emigrants even they have been largely assimilated are construed as diasporas. In the same manner, ethnonational communities living outside their 'putative national homelands' are considered to be diaspora today (here Brubaker cited an example of Russians in post-soviet countries – Brubaker 2005, p. 3). Thereof, in general diasporas were equated to the immigrant groups. Walker Connor claimed that 'In such an environment, diasporas are viewed at best as outsiders, strangers within the gates... They may be tolerated,...individual members of the diaspora may achieve highest office. Their stay may be multigenerational, but they remain outsiders in the eyes of the indigenes, who reserve the

inalienable right to assert their primary and exclusive proprietary claim to the homeland' [Connor 1986, p. 18].

Further attenuation of the classical understanding of the term led to that transborder linguistic groups that used to be called 'communities' (e.g. Francophone or Anglophone community) have come to be conceptualized as diasporas.

Thus, 'diaspora' as a term obtains ever-broadening set of meanings and is applicable for any nameable group dispersed in space by any reasons:

'The term that once described Jewish, Greek and Armenian dispersion now shares meanings with a larger semantic domain that includes words like immigrant, expatriate, refugee, guest-worker, exile community, overseas community, ethnic community' [Tololyan 1991, p. 4].

Brubaker raised a problem of the term losing its meaning and power: 'If everyone is diasporic, then no one is distinctively so... The universalization of diaspora, paradoxically, means the disappearance of diaspora' [Brubaker 2005, p. 3].

Nevertheless, there are three major elements that constitute any given diaspora: dispersion, homeland orientation, and boundary maintenance.

The most recognized criterion is dispersion, but still scholars do not totally agree about its definition. Some of them treat it as dispersion in space that crosses the borders of two or more states, while others advocate for flexible understanding: any dispersion, even within one state borders. For example, Walker Connor suggested the following definition for diaspora: 'that segment of a people living outside the homeland' [Connor 1986, p. 16]. Such a definition enables us to use term 'diaspora' in the context of minority outside its country of origin even if this group settles compactly.

The second essential criterion is the homeland orientation. According to Connor 'emotional attachment to the homeland derives from perceptions of it as the cultural hearth and very often, as the geographic cradle of the ethno-national group' [Connor 1986, p. 17]. Homeland, whether real or imagined, is a source of identity and value for the members of diaspora. William Safran suggested four criteria concerning the orientation to a country of origin:

- common myths and collective historical memory about the country of 'fathers';
- 'ideal home' and 'the place to which one would eventually return';
- maintenance of the ties with homeland, its safety and prosperity;
- relations to the homeland that shapes person's identity.

[Safran 1991, p. 83-84]

At the same time, Brubaker noted there are certain researchers (such as Clifford, Anthias, or Falzon) who ‘de-emphasize homeland orientation’.

What Edward Said called ‘imaginative geography and history’ helps ‘the mind to intensify its own sense of itself by dramatizing the difference between what is close to it and what is far away’ [Said 1977, p. 55]. That is what constitutes the so-called ‘imagined communities’.

The third pillar is a boundary-maintenance, under which a preservation of distinctive identity within host society is usually meant. John A. Armstrong wrote:

‘Clearly, a diaspora is something more than, say, a collection of persons distinguished by some secondary characteristic such as, for example, all persons with Scottish names in Wisconsin... The mobilized diaspora ... has often constituted for centuries a separate society or quasi-society in a larger polity’

[Armstrong 1976, p. 393-394]

Boundaries are maintained by a mechanisms ‘which have enabled diasporas to persist’; among them are self-enforced endogamy or other kinds of self-segregation; communications and role specializations [Armstrong 1976, p. 394-395].

It is argued that boundary-maintenance is an irreplaceable criterion of diaspora: because of boundaries we can talk about ‘separate’ community members of which keep strong ties within the frames of dense social network. People who share history and ancestry hold together.

However it should be noted, that at the same time, number of scholars emphasize, in opposite, boundary-erosion related to such processes as creolization, hybridity, etc.: ‘Diaspora ... is defined, not by essence or purity, but by the recognition of a necessary heterogeneity and diversity; by a conception of ‘identity’ which lives with and through, not despite, difference; by hybridity’ [Hall 1990, p. 235].

According to Brubaker, this contradiction between two approaches to the question of boundary-maintenance is easy to be solved. He does not deny the erosion of boundaries through assimilation, but noted that it ‘is always a temporally extended, inter-generational process’ what puts it out of sociological interest; in other word, what is really worth to be examined is the boundary-maintenance and its mechanisms.

AgnieszkaWeinar argues that ‘in the policy realm diasporas tend to be identified with ancestry’ [Weinar 2010, p. 73]. Moreover, the term is increasingly identified with transnational community. Classical understanding based on three basic criteria by Sheffer (distinctive collective identity, internal diaspora organizations, ties with the homeland - see above) has been modified by 1) voluntary migration (Sheffer’s ethno-national diasporas or Cohen’s diasporic

communities), and 2) weakening the requirement of internal organizations that were originally designed to preserve collective identity and keep members of diaspora together.

It is still an open question whether migrants involved in international activities can be considered as members of diaspora. Safran described diasporas as *ethnic minority communities* with the focus on the degree of the diaspora settlement, i.e. in his understanding diaspora is opposed to *migrant communities*. As was already mentioned, Safran suggested six indicators to define diaspora.

Moreover, interpretations of the term provided in EU official documents are largely different from the existing academic definitions. The official point is that ‘diaspora’ should be taken as ‘an agent of development policy’ [Weinar 2010, p. 76], namely ‘a long term legal resident of the host country, with ethnic and/or national ties to the home country, who is employed legally and possesses funds or skills to offer for its development’ [The Report of the Secretary General 60/871 of 18 May 2006 on international migration and development, from Weinar 2010, p. 78]. What means that, from the official EU point of view, diaspora includes practically anybody with migrant background. So, the official interpretation is predominantly economic: member of diaspora (or anyone with migrant background) is a person who contributes to the development of both host country and home country, and is not obligatory a permanent resident in the host country or citizen of the country of origin, or even a member of any migrant associations. The definition of diaspora from footnote 17 presented by Ionescu (2006) suggested the following characteristics: diaspora is perceived as transnational community; its members are not necessarily migrants; membership in a diaspora is confirmed by legal or resident status; diaspora performs organizational side; members of diaspora should be beneficial to both their homelands and host country.

So, in general the official definition equates diaspora to transnational community and stresses the economic side of category of practice only. However, in academic discourses divergence between migrant communities and diaspora is not strictly defined yet. To summarize what have been said I would like to cite a the problem: first of all, diaspora as well as any migrant or transnational ethnic communities should be seen as an important actor in development policy; so it is seen as a quotation by Weinar:

‘In the scholarly literature, the paradigm of diaspora as nation-in-exile went through several transformations. This has left us with a set of ambiguous characteristics, including the dispersion of a group sharing a common national or ethnic origin across two or more places, the maintaining of a network linking all destinations, symbolic or real links to the home country and emotional identification with it. The common complaint of academics

and researches is that a definition encompassing all these aspects is too vague to be useful for theoretical purposes or empirical operationalization. It also overlaps to broadly with current approaches in the field of transnational studies' [Weinar 2010, p.85-86].

3.3. Conclusion: Diaspora as Other

How, then, is all this applicable to my research project examining if Swedish-speaking population from Finland affect national identity construction in Sweden?

At first, I should have defined the group that living abroad still maintains to some extent ties (be it real or imagined) to the historical motherland. It is clear by now that, unfortunately, academic discourses have not produced established terminology to be useful for both theoretical purposes and empirical practices. Traditionally Swedes from Finland are described as 'Swedish-speaking minority of Finland'. Although it is common and widely used definition, semantically it is not correct, in my opinion. *De facto*, due to the low percentage of those who speak Swedish comparing to the Finnish-speaking population, Swedish community in Finland is characterized 'minority'. However, according to the section 17(1) of the Constitution of Finland, Swedish is one of the two national languages spoken in Finland, i.e. Finnish and Swedish are recognized to be equal, therefore Swedish and Swedish-speakers *de jure* is not about 'minority issues'. In this connection, I was looking for the term which would fit better to the target group. Obviously, Swedes in Finland present an ethnic group, but certainly it differs significantly from, say, another ethnic group within Finland, namely Saami. In my opinion, the crucial difference roots in those ties to historical motherland of Sweden. Tololyan argued that ethnic group and minority shares with the diaspora 'an overlapping semantic field' [Tololyan 1991]. So, those who maintain ties, be they real or imagined, with the country of their ancestors are considered to be members of *ethno-national diasporas*. As was already discussed 'diaspora' as a term obtained quite broad set of meanings: from classical understanding to the most generalized understanding according to which all groups of people living outside the historical 'homeland' are defined as members of diaspora. Under 'homeland' I mean, following number of researchers, real or imagined authoritative source of identity, ties with which diaspora seeks to keep. Among number of suggested above definitions, I will adhere in my research project to the opinion by William Safran, who characterized diasporas as *ethnic minority communities* with the focus on the degree of the diaspora settlement, or in other words, following his logic, diaspora should be described in opposition to *migrant communities* and has more in common with *ethnic minority group*.

It is remarkable that diaspora is always defined through its ties to the so-called 'motherland' (country of ancestors' origins) and its position within the majority host society; from this it follows that the nation-state itself is 'the primary conceptual other' against which the diasporas' identity is constructed [Tololyan 1991]. My hypothesis is, then, the diaspora in its broad sense (ethno-national minority resident outside the country of ancestors' origin but still maintained emotional attachment to the historical motherland) is a conceptual 'other' that affects national identity formation in the country of its historical origin. In other words, I suppose those, who live abroad and maintain the ties with the country of origin, affect to some extent the process of national identity construction. Or, national identity formation is supposed to be affected in some extent by the presence of diaspora dispersed abroad.

Further I am going to articulate a theoretical framework for my research project what enables me to confirm or disprove the hypothesis.

4. CONTEXTUALISATION: APPLICATION TO THE FINNISH SWEDES

4.1. Terminology and official status

In my thesis I use term Finnish Swedes (or Finland Swedes) while the minority itself use the Swedish term Finlandssvenskar (Suomenruotsalaiset in Finnish). Finnish Swedes is the most common term in English-speaking literature but not the only one. On the website of the Research Institute for the Languages of Finland the minority is referred as Swedish-speaking Finns. So, all above expressions are equal and will be used in the below text.

Finnish Swedes are a linguistic minority in Finland, which identity is constructed on both their loyalty to Finland as a country of residence and a loyalty to Sweden as a mother county for their culture [McRae 1999: 373-378].

Language is a marker used to consider person to belong to the minority group. Population Register Centre of Finland registers person as Finnish Swede depending on information about his or her mother tongue that was provided. One person is entitled to have only one mother tongue [Liebkind 2007], however one can apply tongue to local authority register office for changing mother. So, one is considered Finnish Swede once two conditions are met: citizenship of Finland and Swedish as mother tongue. So, one can choose whether he or she wants to be Finnish-Swede or not. This way differs significantly from the 'traditional' way of counting minorities when information about one's parents and grandparents is taken into account. The example can be found in other minority living in Finland: in case of Sami the so-called maximum principle is used for categorization. If one's grand-parent had Sami language as mother tongue, he or she is considered to be Sami regardless of language skills [Allardt 1981]. Allardt also noted that the so-called minimum principle being widely used would have caused number of minorities disappeared from the map of Europe forever. McRae [McRae 1999] argues that there is indeed 'contrast between Finnish speakers' attitudes towards the Sami (highly favorable) and towards Swedish speakers (distinctly less so)'. Such an approach in registration Finnish Swedes has become of the several factors of the Swedish-speaking population decrease.

According to The fourth periodic report of Finland on the application of the European charter for regional or minority languages 289,951 of the population in Finland speak Swedish as mother tongue, what consist 5.4% of the population for 2010 (see Table 1 below).

	Finnish-speakers	Swedish-speakers
1900	86.75	12.89
1950	91.10	8.64
1990	93.53	5.94
2000	92.42	5.63
2001	92.27	5.60
2002	92.14	5.58
2003	92.02	5.55
2004	91.89	5.53
2005	91.64	5.50
2006	91.51	5.49
2007	91.24	5.46
2008	90.95	5.44
2009	90.67	5.43
2010	90.37	5.42

Table 1: Percentage of the Finnish-speakers and Swedish-speakers in the population of Finland
Source: Statistics Finland http://www.stat.fi/tup/suoluk/suoluk_vaesto_en.html#structure (15.05.11)

The proportion of the Swedish-speaking population in the total population has decreased more than twice since the early 20th century. It is due to several reasons:

- 1) Marriages with the Finnish-speakers [Finnas 1997];
- 2) Lower birth rate if compare to Finnish-speaking population;
- 3) Large migration to Sweden [Hedberg 2004].

Moreover, it should be noted that the proportion of bilinguals has significantly increased, and this also caused the decrease of Swedish-speaking population (officially person can register only one language as mother tongue).

Although Swedish is one of the two national languages of Finland (according to section 17 (1) of the Constitution of Finland, the Swedish-speaking population are considered to be a language minority (de facto) due to the low percentage comparing to the Finnish-speaking population.

4.2. Swedish Finland

Finland had been parts of Sweden for about 600 years, until 1809; and since prehistoric time the Swedish-speakers have settled in the areas that belong to Finland today: southern, southwestern and western coastlines of the country and on the Aland Islands. Despite the common misconception the Swedish speakers presented both urban elite, townsmen and a peasantry: fishermen and farmers concentrated along the southern and western coastlines [Allardt 1981]. They were formed by several locally distributed groups, with no sense of collective identification [Hedberg 2004]. Urban elite occupied high position in the society and Swedish was the main language of bureaucracy, power and all other social institution with the small exception of the Lutheran church. It should be noted that in opposition to the wide spread stereotype about Swedish speaker in Finland, Swedish speakers from peasantry had no links to the leading group. The radical changes came in 1809 when Finland gained autonomy within Russia. The position of the Swedish-speakers has altered from majority to minority. At this time a Finnish-speaking nationalistic movement arose [Engman 1995]; and it is notable that it was led by the Swedish-speaking intellectuals. After gaining independence from Russia after World War I, the question of equality of the two languages arose. Swedish-speaking upper class advocated for a position of full equality, while rural social groups asserted official minority position. Constitution of 1922 recognized the demands from the Swedish-speaking upper class [Hedberg 2004], and both Finnish and Swedish got equal status. In order to unite separated (socially and geographically) groups of the Swedish speakers, shared identity based on different symbols was constructed [Allardt 1981]. Swedish-speakers identified themselves with the costal line and sea [Peltonen 2000]. Another crucial symbol was a common Swedish-speaking region called Swedish Finland and formed by three subregions of Nyland, Osterbotten and Aboland. Political identity was represented by a new founded Swedish-speaking political party. Further, the minority was given a collective name Finland Swedes (Finlandssvenskar in Swedish or Suomenruotsalaiset in Finnish) and since that time the difference between being Finn or Finlander has been articulated.

As mentioned above, there are considerable regional differences. Most Swedish-speakers live in the so-called Swedish Finland, i.e. Nyland, Osterbotten and Aboland, where they form strong majority or at least noticeable minority (see Figure 1). As per McRae [MaRae 1999] ‘Swedish Finland consists of four discrete geographic regions with distinct economic interests and differing orientations towards the outside world’.

According to the Language Act of 2003 municipalities in Finland can be both unilingual and bilingual what depends on the percentage of the presented minority. If the minority

constitutes 8% or at least 3.000 persons, municipality is considered to be bilingual what enable inhabitants to use their mother tongue (whether it is Finnish or Swedish) in official situations. If the minority decreased below 3.000 of inhabitants or 6% of the total population of the municipality, then it changes the status to monolingual. Municipalities can be unilingual Finnish, unilingual Swedish or bilingual; the unique status was given by an international law convention to the Province of Aland Island that is unilingual Swedish.

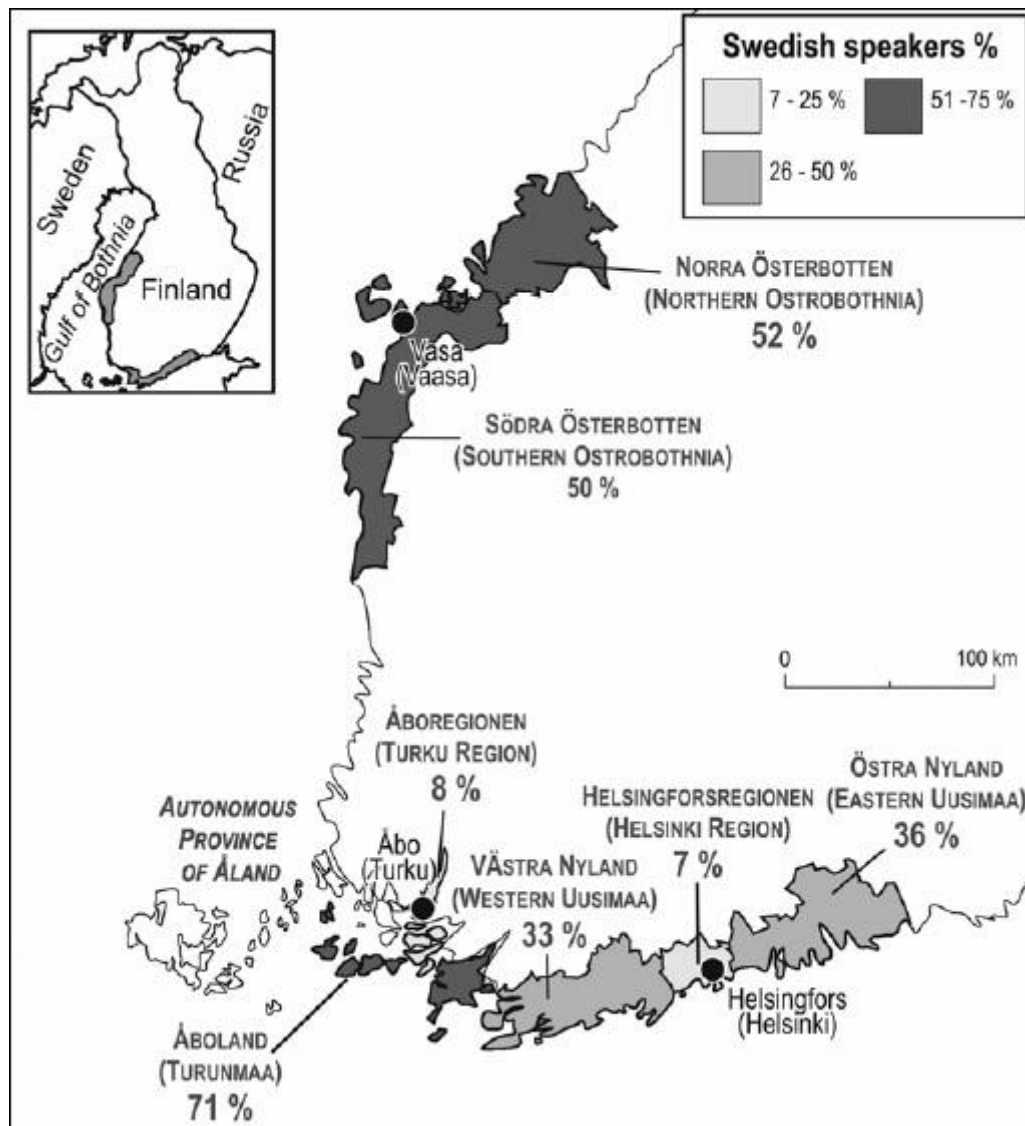


Figure 1: The varying proportion of Finland Swedes in the Swedish-speaking parts of Finland. The percentage is calculated for each region as a mean value of all Finland Swedes in relation to the region's total population.

Source: Hedberg 2004, p. 22.

According to the official data provided by Statistics Finland there are 336 municipalities today: 19 out of them are unilingual Swedish (3 in Osterbotten and 16 in Province of Aland); 30 municipalities are bilingual: for 12 out of 30 Swedish is the majority language.

In the next two paragraphs I will look closer on the situation with the Swedish-speaking minority in metropolitan and coastal areas.

The proportion of the Swedish-speakers has significantly decreased in Helsinki metropolitan area since the late 19th century. An increasing industrialization provoked large immigration of the Finnish-speakers what automatically reduces the share of the Swedish-speakers. Although it is one fifth of the Swedish population lived in the metropolitan area but still the proportion is less than ten per cent. Municipalities that used to be predominantly Swedish-speaking present less than ten percent of the Swedish-speaking population. Furthermore, in official situations Finnish Swedes (being bilingual) prefer using Finnish, so Swedish was replaced by Finnish in the official situations and today is used mostly in the private sphere [Tandefelt 1986].

Figure 1 shows that peripheral regions (Osterbotten, Aboland) keep quite large share of the Swedish-speakers. In some municipalities the proportion of the Swedish-speaking population consists up to 90% and working in-migration of Finns is not considerable, so the Swedish culture and language are well preserved here from the external influence [Tandefelt 1986]. It is there archaic Swedish words and language constructions can be found.

4.3. Defining Finnish-Swedish identity: approaches

Who are the Finnish-Swedes? Relatively small Swedish-speaking community within Finland certainly belongs to the wider Finnish society, and at the same time feels a part of Swedish culture. There are varying viewpoints on Finnish-Swedish identity:

- 1) linguistic minority with strong identity in Finland;
- 2) separate ethnic group;
- 3) sub-group of the Finnish people;
- 4) sub-group of ethnic Swedes.

Erik Allardt [Allardt 1981] characterizes Swedish-speaking group as resource strong minority (linguistically, politically and economically). According to him, Swedish-speakers within Finland have pretty high level of ethnic organization. At the same time, it should be noted that officially Finnish Swedes are not a minority in Finland: according to the Constitution of Finland both languages, Finnish and Swedish, are national languages in Finland, therefore originally it is a mistake to call Finnish Swedes a linguistic minority [Astrom 2001; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981, p.72].

Supporters of the second viewpoint argue that there are several criteria for a distinct ethnic group, such as: language, social structure, ancestry, and self-identification; and, as per them, Finnish-Swedes meet these criteria [Hyypä and Mäki, 2002]. They maintain their culture and language, remember their history and have many ties to Sweden. At the same time their language differs from Swedish spoken in the metropolitan area in Sweden (both language constructions and the way of word usage), they have special traditions and keep a unique 'network' society: living in discrete geographic regions they maintain strong group identity through a wide range of social institutions, funds, companies, etc. Moreover, the members of the group identify themselves as a separate group, and simultaneously they are considered to be such by the others [Liebkind 1995].

Swedish Peoples party suggests that Finnish-Swedes are Finnish people who articulate their Finnish identity in Swedish. Nowadays, such an opinion is backed up with the fact that the most Finnish Swedes are bilingual and can easily use Finnish in official situations. Moreover, the increasingly common marriages between Swedish- and Finnish-speakers as well as the right to choose mother tongue contribute language barriers to be going down today. From the point of view of other authors, the increasing bilingualism gave birth to a separate identity which becomes more common in Finland today. Bilingualism itself is a distinct identity which differs from both Finnish- or Swedish-language identity [Tandefelt 1986]

An opposite point of view is still widely discussed in literature: Finnish-Swedes are argued to be a group of ethnic Swedes and named 'ostsvenskar' (East Swedes). They speak one of the Swedish dialects and are a part of Swedish culture.

It should be noted that although the above approaches to the Finnish-Swedish identity are rather different, the crucial moment for each one is still the language issue. McRae argued [McRae1999] that language situation in Finland is rather different from those are in such countries like Belgium or Canada. It is said that the so-called 'language conflict' is low in Finland due to the official equality of two languages. However McRae noted that researches about Finnish Swedes always ignore a situation of 'linguistic instability'. He considered several factors influenced the language situation: demographic patterns; migration patterns; linguistic intermarriage and language of children in bilingual families; language shift and increasing bilingualism in Finnish society; attitudes of Finnish-speakers towards Swedish-speakers and official language regime; motivations and attitudes of Swedish speakers concerning language maintenance; institutional support for language stability. He argued that demographic weakness, migration to Sweden, the increasing bilingualism, absence of common interests in different parts of Swedish Finland – all these factors threaten the vitality of the Swedish-speaking minority group in Finland. The circumstances put Finnish Swedes in a 'sociological, psychological and

political' minority position although officially they are not minority. The main problem was found in the Finnish Swedes themselves and in the way they perceive themselves and Finnish-speaking majority: from the author's point of view, Finnish-Swedish 'submissiveness' and willingness to 'conceal their Finland-Swedishness' in the face of the majority affect the decrease in the Swedish-speaking population. Finnish-speaking Finns are not those people who are really interested in protection and maintenance of the Swedish culture in Finland: 'For Finnish-speakers, the notion of a Swedish-speaking overclass still figures strongly in collective memory, overshadowing more prosaic perceptions of current reality' [McRae 1999, p.345]. So, all efforts must be almost entirely made on the Swedish-speaking side. However, as per McRae, it is a question if Swedish-speaking group is sufficiently united to achieve this on their own [McRae 1999, p.345].

The other challenge was articulated by Leif Hockerstedt [Hockerstedt 2000]: stress on the 'Swedish' part of the Finnish-Swedish identity is often regarded as 'unpatriotic' and 'taboo' in Finnish society. While the essential part of the Finnish-Swedish identity is still associated with Sweden, the correct attitude would be to stress the group's affinity with Finland as a nation state, and with Scandinavia as a collective unity [Hedberg 2004].

4.4. Symbols of the Finnish-Swedish identity and stereotypes

In this paragraph I will provide several widespread myths about Finnish-Swedes and some significant symbols of their culture. These symbols and stereotypes are regularly appeared in both special literature and newspapers, and their correct interpretation is sometimes a key to the understanding of the narrator's position. Below I cite these examples because many of them are discussed in the articles analyzing in the last chapter and I believe such a brief overview will help in examining Finnish-Swedish image in the further chapters (see chapter 6). I would like to emphasize that I do not aim at analyzing the Finnish-Swedish identity itself as I am interested in the question how it is observed from the outside, i.e. how Swedes who live in Sweden perceive the Swedish-speaking population of Finland. Therefore, in this paragraph I suggest popular stereotypes and symbols associated with the Swedish-speaking Finns. Further I will analyze how they affect discourse provided in the Swedish newspapers on the Finnish-Swedishness.

Bo Lonnqvist, a professor in European Ethnology at the University of Jyväskylä in Finland, suggested four the most common symbols of the Finnish-Swedes identity. They are as follows: peasant wedding, Midsummer pole, traditional costume and St Lucia Day celebration [Lonnqvist, 1981, p. 145]. These symbols are strongly associated with the very traditional

lifestyle of the Swedish-speaking minority in Finland since the early 20th century. Midsummer Pole and celebrations on St Lucia Day are considered to be ‘real Swedish’ traditions and were cultivated in Finland by Swedish language schoolteachers came from Sweden. Public events and collective celebrations on both fests are considered to be demonstration of the Finnish-Swedish ethnic and linguistic identity [Ibid: 148-149].

Peasant wedding is one of the brightest traditional images of Finnish-Swedes from the peripheral coastal areas. According to Lonnqvist, peasant wedding image has been strongly associated with ‘sweet home’ since the beginning of the 20th century. On my point of view, that is really remarkable point: image of the peasant wedding is a part of the Finnish-Swedish self-image and identity, however the prevailing stereotype outside Finland is that Finnish-Swedes belong to the upper-class in Finland. Swedish-speaking Finns belonging to elite strata and being richer than their Finnish-speaking compatriots is one of the strongest stereotypes about the Swedish-speaking population in Finland [Myth busting II]. It roots in history and dates back to the times when Swedes governed Finland. However the fact that there always were Swedish-speaking rural social groups is often missed. Karmela Liebkind acknowledges a distortion of the real class composition of the Swedish-speaking population in Finland [Liebkind, 2007, p. 378] and analyzes the probable reasons for stereotype to be supported for the long time.

The other misconception is that ‘Swedish-speaking Finns are dying out’ and will shortly disappear [see Myth busting I]. Until 2005 it was true that the Swedish-speaking population was in decline. It was due to several reasons; one of the strongest was a large migration to Sweden during 1950s and 1960s. The current situation is quite different and Swedish-speaking population is increasing due to the following points:

- birth rate is higher than death rate;
- an increasing tendency to register new-born children as Swedish-speaking;
- they live longer comparing to the Finnish-speakers.

So, generally there at least two prevailing stereotypes outside Finland about the Swedish-speaking community. Swedish-speakers are often believed to be the upper-class and to occupy the highest position within the Finnish society; they are said to be educated, intelligent, and rich people. The second common myth is that they are in deep decline today and are under the threat of dying out. I will concern the question of stereotypes about Finnish-Swedes in further chapters and examine what is their image in Sweden.

5. METHODOLOGY

5.1. Discourse analysis

Being a part of Constructivist approach, discourse analysis assumes that the social world are constructed and reproduced by actors by their speech acts in certain historical and cultural context. Discourse analysis aims at examining what makes a text to be interpreted as meaningful and rational, i.e. investigating ontological and epistemological premises in language.

There are no prevailing and formulated definitions within the social sciences. Instead, there are at least three approaches to what a discourse and its aim are; and, moreover, several forms of discourse analyses. I will detail this notion further, but, at first, I will provide a very brief overview of methodological background of discourse studies.

Study of discourse arose in the mid-1960s as a result of a remarkable paradigm shift within the social and sciences and humanities (the so called Linguistic Turn) together with related interdisciplines such as semiotics, socio- and psycholinguistics, etc. All these disciplines were based on the common methodological background which can be characterized with the following statements:

- Study of natural language used by real users instead of abstract and invented instances.
- Analysis of larger units than words and sentences, such as texts, discourses, etc.
- Taking into account semiotic (non-verbal) aspects.
- Focus on dynamic structures.
- Analysis of contexts of language use.

It should be noted that the political debates have been described through the concept of political discourse for centuries, but the fundamental distinction of discourse studies is that it represents ‘theoretical and methodological interest in how to study the relationship between language and political action’ [Pedersen 2009, p. 1]. Or, simply saying, it is only within the 50 years that there has been established a study of how political concepts and news influence the construction of social problems.

Three discourse analytics’ approaches are distinguished, they are as follows: discourse-analytical, discourse-theoretical, and critical discourse analysis. They differ in the way how they connect the conception of discourse to other concepts. Some approaches assert that ‘the world’ is a social construction and is produced and reproduced through social interactions, therefore

discourse is apprehended as a universal type of social act. So, such kind of approaches uses discourse analysis to create a general theory. Other approaches believe that the discourse is a certain form of knowledge; therefore discourse analysis in this case is used for examining how knowledge and its production have changed over time.

Further I will briefly describe three dominant approaches to the 'discourse'.

Discourse analysis

This understanding is based mainly on Michel Foucault's ideas. Foucault was concerned with the fact that all human actions are related to language and are somehow constructed by language. So, for him language is nothing but a way of scientific perception of the world or, in other words, a manner of how humanities relate to reality. Therefore, he did not regard discourse analysis as independent theory or method. Consequently, he portrayed discourses as special forms of knowledge determined by history and, thus, related to institutionalized rationality [Foucault 1969].

Discourse theory

It is an opposite to Foucault's approach and mainly based on the ideas by Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe. Discourse-theoretical approach contributes to establishing a general theory of discourses. It considers all social phenomena being constructions created by discourse and, thus, can be studied by discourse analysis. Laclau and Mouffe defined discourse as a system of signs that create meanings through articulation [Laclau and Mouffe 1985]. Their definition is based on several valuable statements. First of all, they stressed that the most basic unit in discourse is the sign, and, thus, discourse is constituted by a system of signs different from each other what endows system with its particular characteristics. This notion came from structural linguistics. The second important statement concerns the meaning of signs and connected to the ideas by post-structuralists. According to them, signs gain their meaning through articulation; moreover, the meanings of signs are never fixed and depend on circumstances and our interpretations. The third statement was inspired by Neo-Marxism and asserts that the articulation of meanings is conditioned by a political process.

According to them, discourse analysis aims at finding the nodal points, i.e. those points that empower other signs with their meanings. For example, 'democracy' is a typical nodal point that conditions conflicts in political discourse. The other purses of discourse analysis is examination of the process of allocation the meanings. Thus, it is clear by now, that discourses from discourse-theoretical perspective produce and reproduce alternative realities and, thus, are

ideological. So, generally speaking, discourse-theoretical approach is about how meanings are produced and reproduced by political talks and texts.

Critical Discourse Analyses

Introduced by Roger Fowler, Gunter Kress, Bob Hodge and Tony Trew, and later developed by Norman Fairclough, Ruth Wodak and Teun A. van Dijk, Critical Discourse Analyses argues for the need of methods which would enable researchers to examine how discursive practices relate and condition social world, so it is rooted in discursive theory. In his book *Analyzing Discourse* Norman Fairclough [Fairclough 2003] emphasize that discourse is a social practices and an act of communication. It is constituted and does constitute social phenomena. According to him, discourses, being communicative actions, are produced, reproduced and consumed in different conventional types and genres of language (texts, talks, speeches, articles, and so on). Fairclough suggests using both linguistic and sociological analysis of texts (both oral and written).

Two factors play fundamental role in discourse production and understanding:

- 1) mental model which represents ‘memory’ of all personal experiences, events and situations [van Dijk 2006];
- 2) knowledge, which is seen as mental ‘records’ of prototypical episodes.

On the one hand there are cognitive studies of the mental processes contributed to the production or maintenance of discourses. On the other, the interactional studies of everyday conversations and talks; in general, this approach rejects or ignores orientation on ‘mind’. Study of discourse includes both cognitive and interactional approaches, such an integration appears to be more fruitful and informative. The same is true for cultural studies developed by Stuart Hall. Discourse study undertakes interdisciplinary approach implied systematic analysis of the variety of structures and strategies in the texts and talks of different level.

At first most studies emerged in 1960s were predominantly apolitical. Considering circumstances in the late 1960s, critical discourse analysis began to focus on the reproduction of the questions of power, domination, social inequality, and other issue of gender, class and race in discourse (for example, in political discourse, in media, or in the textbooks). For instance, Wodak and van Dijk concentrated on how racism and anti-Semitism produced and reproduced by political and media discourse and, thus, contribute to the reproduction of themselves. That is a mechanism of a phenomenon when we realize that politics and policies are created virtually, only in talks and texts, through the discourse.

Below I will focus on methodological aspects of Critical Discourse Analyses. Text is usually analyzed with regard to its grammar, stylistics, rhetoric, discourse schemas, discourse pragmatics, conversation analysis, and genre analysis. Remarkably, that some of the listed aspects of the text simultaneously represent separate sub-disciplines established with the so-called Linguistic Turn. I will look in more details at each aspect below.

Discourse Grammar. This is about the influence of linguistics and the formal direction of research. Analysis of formal grammar is still one of the areas of formal discourse analysis; the other areas are analysis of sound structures of discourse, discourse syntax and semantics.

The new dimension of research in this field is Appraisal Theory, which examines how meanings are expressed in discourse. The classical example of the 'topics' of discourse can be cited. Usually it is expressed in headlines and thematic sentences [van Dijk 1988]. From the linguistic perspective, topics are global meanings that dominate the local meanings of sentences. From the cognitive perspective, topics tend to represent the most urgent and important information of a discourse.

These studies of 'micro-' and 'macrostructures' of meanings in discourse need to be related to the cognitive analysis of discourse.

Stylistics means analysis of language and discourse style, i.e. expressions conditioned by contexts. Word choice in talks and texts and use of particular lexical items are associated with emphasizing norms and value systems of a narrator. Normally, lexical style signals important aspects of the context such as relations between the parties, positions of actors, or opinions, etc. Moreover, stylistics emphasizes the editorial position in case of newspapers.

Rhetoric. Sometimes rhetoric as a discipline is believed to be overlapped with discourse studies; however I observe it as a subdiscipline of discourse studies which focuses on 'rhetorical' structures of text and talk (metaphors, irony, euphemisms, etc.). Such rhetorical structures are optional and used in order to produce specific effects and emphasize certain meanings. For example, if politics or media want to emphasize the negative side of migration, they would use the expressions like 'wave' or 'invasion' which in nature are metaphoric and hyperbolic [van Dijk, 1988].

Discourse Schemas. While stylistics and rhetoric were closely associated with linguistics and grammar, the discourse schemas are far beyond the grammatical characteristics of discourse and can be called 'superstructures'. It is an abstract organization of discourse across sentences.

Usually schema of argumentation consists of such categories as premises and conclusions, or even summary or resolution. News articles typically consist of such formal categories as headlines, lead, event description, context, backgrounds, history and comments used for organization of information. Being global structures, they characterize discourse as a whole; they define abstract schemas and might have had specific meaning functions.

Discourse Pragmatics. Pragmatics is dealing with the study of language use. When the study of grammar and style concentrate mainly on form, semantics focuses on meaning, the pragmatic aspects are dealing with interaction, i.e. the social relation between the parties. In other words, pragmatics in the context of discourse studies focuses on narration acts accomplished by language users through texts or talks, namely assertions, questions, promises, etc.

Conversation Analysis. This area of discourse analysis concerns interactional nature of language and discourse. At first, it dealt with informal everyday conversations only, later studies started investigate 'talk in interaction'. These studies are concerned with the 'local order' of social structure, and the way how institutions are daily reproduced by talk [Boden and Zimmerman 1991].

Many of interactional aspects of speech are related to the use of grammar, semantics and other dimensions of discourse described above. Moreover, the character of talk (its openness or closeness) plays the similar to discourse schemas functions.

Genre Analysis. Genre Analysis is rooted in overlapping of several interdisciplines such as sociolinguistics, semiotics, rhetoric, etc. with discourse analysis. Genre analysis is believed to be 'a collective label for ... more or less autonomous subdisciplines of discourse studies, such as conversation analysis, narrative analysis, argumentation analysis, the study of classroom interaction, political discourse analysis, media discourse analysis, and so on' [van Dijk 1997, p. 9]. Under 'genres' many types and subtypes of texts and talks in politics, media, science, etc. are meant. Genres are not described in terms of their structures solely, but especially in terms of their contexts [van Dijk, 2006].

Discourse studies can be taken as the study of human activity in text, talk and communication production. Discourse study is a wide field constituted by number of subdisciplines and, simultaneously, overlapped with some interdisciplines. Each of them possess its own method, terms, theories, objects of analysis, aim, etc. Moreover, each of them has more

applied dimension. The number of possible applications of discourse studies is enormously large, because it concerns any aspect of language use, interaction and narration.

The discourse analysis is still a critical approach, alternative to mainstream methods in political science. It is built on constructivist approach and suggests any types of political actions to be embedded in language, and, therefore, analyze political discourse by speech acts and texts. It assumes political science to be a form of knowledge which forms both ontological and epistemological perspectives of politics: constructed understandings and their interpretations respectively.

It suggests two approaches to time and space. The first, diachronic, approach analyses factor due to which historical epochs differ from each other and mechanisms of one epoch comes to change other. So, it concentrates on history, periodization and geography of politics, i.e. political science is taken for history of political order. This is the approach used by Michel Foucault who investigated how knowledge has become an archive. The second, synchronic, approach is about how political orders (epochs, history) have been changed and produced by politics. So, synchronic approach is that used by Norman Fairclough, Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe in analyzing how meanings are produced and reproduced by politics. In this case, political science is characterized as the theory of politics.

I use synchronic approach and Critical Discourse Analyses in my research project. I aim at examining if Swedish-speakers living abroad contribute to the Swedish national identity construction. So I believe identity is articulated in speech acts and texts, therefore I suppose the image and role of the Swedish-speaking diaspora is defined in Swedish media and political talks. Following supporters of discourse-theoretical approach and using Critical Discourse Analysis methodology I observe political science as a theory of political communication and examine news and political talks as agenda for political discourse.

5.2. Research material

I assume that the newspapers are one of the most important sources (as well as other countless channels such as magazines, Internet Websites, TV and radio talk-shows, etc.) where the discourses on identity and images appear frequently. To examine the image of Finnish Swedes and its impact (if any) on construction of Swedish national identity I chose the research material according to the following criteria:

- 1) the material should be of Swedish origin, i.e. published in Sweden in Swedish to represent the real Swedish perception of Swedish-speaking minority image in Finland;
- 2) it had to represent the image of Finnish Swedes negotiated by different social groups in Sweden, i.e. supporters of different parties, residents of different regions, etc;
- 3) it should be for quite long but limited period of time in order to represent the current situation as completely as possible, but avoid short-term inconsiderable trends;
- 4) the material had to represent the image of Finnish Swedes – how it is seen from Sweden – their place in Finnish society, their references to Sweden, stereotypes and myths about them, and so on.

I made a list of about 118 Swedish newspapers from different regions and with different socio-political orientation. After properly examining them I found only 26 samples that fully meet the criteria and provide articles with discourse on the given topic. I had to filter out numbers of newspapers due to certain restrictions such as: not all newspapers appear to be available on the Internet; among those with web-sites there were several with no free access to the archives; moreover, some newspapers suggested no articles valid for the research problem. Below I will make a list of newspapers I took articles from and provide some general information about each that would help us to do conclusions later on:

1. Aftonbladet (<http://www.aftonbladet.se>) – independent social democratic and one of the largest daily evening newspapers, founded in 1830 and started publishing on the Internet since 1994. It is now owned by the Swedish Trade Union Confederation and Norwegian media group Schibsted.
2. Barometern (<http://www.barometern.se>) – main local newspaper in Smaland, published six days a week and offers daily national and world news, is published in Kalmar. It was recorded 101541 visitors per week (http://www.barometern.se/om_barometern_ot/barometern-ots_historia/barometern-ots-historia%28278812%29.gm – accessed on April 10, 2011). The official position is moderate.
3. Boras Tidning (<http://www.bt.se>) – morning daily newspaper in Boras, covers local news, sports, business, jobs, and community events as well as world news. It is a part of Gota Media group. Editorial page adheres the moderate views.
4. Dagen (<http://www.dagen.se>) – was founded by the leader of the pentecostal movement in Sweden in 1945 and published daily. It claims to be a Christian voice in the media noise. Its circulation is 18.400 (year 2006).
5. Dagen Nyheter (<http://www.dn.se>) – one of the largest morning newspapers and the only morning newspaper published in Stockholm and distributed across the whole country. It had

a circulation of 316.000 and reach 881.000 people every day in 2009 (<http://www.dn.se/info/korta-fakta-1.519470>). Editorial page expresses their position as independently liberal. Ownership is controlled by Bonnier family.

6. Dala Demokraten (<http://www.dalademokraten.se>) - social democratic newspaper established in 1917 and published in Falun, Dalarna. It covers local community events and news and has a circulation, according to Tidningsstatistik AB, of 18.600 (2007).

7. Dalarnas Tidningar (<http://www.dt.se>) – includes several local newspapers from different parts of Dalarna County, has a combined circulation of 65.000. Unlike its main competitor Dala Demokraten, it keeps liberal, i.e. non-socialist, editorial policies.

8. Expressen (<http://www.expressen.se>) – one of the two largest and distributed across the whole country evening newspapers (the other is Aftonbladet). Unlike its main competitor (social democratic Aftonbladet) it keeps a centre-right political profile. Editorial position is described as “independent liberal”. Together with Dagens Nyheter is controlled by Bonnier family.

9. Flamman (<http://www.flamman.se>) – a socialist weekly newspaper, published since 1906, the peak of circulation was reached in the 1920s when it was published daily and was popular among the workers from the northern mine field.

10. Folkbladet (<http://www.folkbladet.se>) – independent socialist local daily Norrköping newspaper, offers national and world news.

11. Folket (<http://folket.se>) – local Eskilstuna newspaper, offers national and world news.

12. Göteborgs Posten (<http://www.gp.se>) – major daily newspaper published in Gothenburg, covers international, national, regional and local news. The stated position is liberal. It occupies the second position by circulation, after Dagens Nyheter and before Svenska Dagbladet. As per the information by its publisher, seven out of ten Gothenburgers read GP every day.

13. Helsingborgs Dagblad (<http://hd.se>) – published daily in Helsingborg (Skåne) since 1847. HD is the largest local newspaper with the circulation of 84.000.

14. Jnytt (<http://www.jnytt.se>) – local Jönköping newspaper, offers local and national news since 2006. It is owned by Herenco AB (the owners of Jönköping Posten).

15. Kristianstadsbladet (<http://www.kristianstadsbladet.se>) – liberal newspaper from Kristianstad, published six days a week. It offers local, national and world news with the emphasis on Kristianstad issues. It is owned by Bonnier family (Bonnier AB)

16. Kuriren Norrbotten (<http://www.kuriren.nu>) – daily regional newspaper published in Luleå (Norrbotten) since 1861. KN had a circulation of 19.600 in 2010 (<http://www.ne.se/norrbottens-kuriren>, accessed on April 12, 2011). Its editorial expressed position is close to Moderate Party (i.e. centre-right, liberal conservative).

17. Lanstidningen Ostersund (<http://ltz.se>) – the second largest newspaper in Ostersund (after Ostersunds Posten). Political editorial page represents the views of the Swedish Social Democratic Party. Before 2006 it was absolutely unique newspaper in Sweden as it refused state subsidy, since 2006 it is operated by Mittmedia group (as well as its competitor Ostersunds Posten).

18. Norra Vasterbotten, or Norran (<http://norran.se>) – daily newspaper in Vasterbotten, owned by the agency Nyheter i Norr (as well as Pitea Tidningen from Norrbotten). Published on the Internet since 1996. The official editorial position is liberal.

19. Norrkopings Tidningar (<http://www.nt.se>)– the oldest newspaper, published since 1758 and offers daily news. It claims to be moderate newspaper and represents the liberal conservative position of the Moderate Party.

20. Norrländska Socialdemokraten (NSD) (<http://www.nsd.se>) – daily regional morning newspaper from Norrbotten, the largest in the region with a circulation of 35.600 per day (2010). Editorial position is social democratic.

21. Ostersunds Posten (<http://op.se>) – the largest newspaper in Ostersund, published daily and owned by Mittmedia (together with its competitor Lanstidningen Ostersund). However, unlike Lanstidningen Ostersund, it distributes the views of the Centre Party. Its circulation exceeds approximately two times the circulation of Lanstidningen Ostersund's.

22. Pitea Tidningen (<http://www.pitea-tidningen.se>) – the largest daily newspaper in the southern Norrbotten (Pitea, Alvsbyn, Arvidsjaur and Arjeplog), founded in 1915. It is operated by the agency Nyheter i Norr (together with Norra Vasterbotten) and represents the views of the labor movement in Pite river valley. The circulation was 16.900 for 2007 (http://www.pitea-tidningen.se/information/om_pt/?nav=Om+PT, accessed on April 12, 2011).

23. Sodermanlands Nyheter (<http://www.sn.se>) – offers daily news from Nykoping. Before 2005 it belonged to a media consortium Centertidningar AB, owned by the Swedish Centre Party.

24. Sundsvalls Tidning (<http://st.nu>) – local liberal newspaper published in Sundsvall since 1841. It is a daily newspaper since 1943, the first Swedish newspaper that started publishing on the Internet.

25. Svenska Dagbladet (SvD) (<http://www.svd.se>) – daily newspaper published in Stockholm since 1884 and provided national and international news as well as local news from the Greater Stockholm region. It has the third largest circulation among the Swedish morning newspapers (after Dagens Nyheter and Goteborgs Posten) and distributed in most Sweden. The position of the editorial page is claimed to be independently moderate, i.e. it adheres to liberal conservatism of the Moderate Party but still independent.

26. Sydostran (<http://www.sydostran.se>) – daily social democratic newspaper in Karlskrona, offers local news since 1903. Since 1992 it is largely independent of the party: owned mainly by Gota Media and Fabasgruppen in equal parts and 9.9 percent belongs to the Swedish Social Democratic Party.

5.3. Limitation of the material

I aimed at finding out how Swedes who live in Sweden perceive the image of Finnish Swedes. So, I had to select only those articles that would provide the image of the Swedish-speaking minority (Finnish Swedes only, but not Finns in general) living in Finland only (not in USA or Canada or elsewhere) and, moreover, it should be produced by the Swedes. Only articles written in Swedish and published in Swedish newspapers were approved. In most cases selected newspapers appeared to be one of the largest and respected tabloids in Sweden, what makes me believe that the collected material are of the best quality and provide the adequate image of Finnish Swedes perceived by the Swedish Swedes.

As I already mentioned above I sought for the articles in the electronic archives on the newspaper web-sites and used several word combinations for search: *Finlandssvensk* or *Finlandssvenskar* (Finnish Swedes); *Svensktalande i Finland* (Swedish-speakers in Finland); *Svenskaspråkiga minoritet* (Swedish-speaking minority); *Svensktalande finska* (Swedish-speaking Finns); *Finlandare med Svenska som modersmål* (Finns with Swedish as their mother-tongue). Depending on the newspaper I usually found wide range of articles, from the couple up to hundred, and that was necessary to sort out valuable and usable ones from the side ones. For the analysis I approved articles written by the papers' own correspondents or reporters, also I chose those written by the experts (public figures, statesmen, politicians, scholars and art workers). Moreover, if I was lucky enough and an article provoked a discussion, then I took into consideration notes made by readers. Readers' opinions seem to be valuable enabling me to judge about the urgency of the discourse and assess public attitude.

I took into account articles that discuss: 1) issues of common history; 2) current questions reflected on agendas in Finnish-Swedish relations (such as: should Sweden support the Swedish language and culture in Finland or it does not concern Sweden being an affair of Finnish internal politics; bilingualism in Finland, etc.); 3) cultural heritage and contribution to the world culture by Finnish Swedes; 4) questions of migration and ties between Finland and Sweden; 5) shared traditions and stereotypes.

Collected material

I research the images of Finnish Swedes constructed in the Swedish discourse on the basis of 26 Swedish newspapers. The analysis consists of 81 articles:

5 in Aftonbladet
1 in Barometern
2 in Boras Tidning
1 in Dagen
14 in Dagen Nyheter
1 in Dala Demokraten
2 in Dalarnas Tidningar
2 in Expressen
1 in Flamman
1 in Folkbladet
8 in Folket
2 in Goteborgs Posten
3 in Helsingborgs dagblad
1 in Jnytt
2 in Kristianstads Bladet
8 in Kuriren Norrbotten
1 in Lanstidningen Ostersund
2 in Norra Vesterbotten
6 in Norrkoping Tidningar
6 in NSD
1 in Ostersunds Posten
2 in Pitea Tidningen
1 in Sodermanlands Nyheter
1 in Sundsvalls Tidning
6 in Svenska Dagbladet
1 in Sydostran

The list of the articles by newspapers can be found in Bibliography.

6. CASE STUDY: THE ANALYSIS OF THE ARTICLES

The analysis included two phases. Firstly, I made a brief quantitative analysis of the articles in order to investigate certain issues on the agenda and how often they are raised. This phase also includes further analysis of the newspapers for the purpose of examination which issues dominate in which tabloid. Secondly, articles were divided into several groups depending on the prevailing discourse and compared concerning the image of Finnish Swedes and Finnish-Swedishness they provide.

6.1. Quantitative and qualitative analysis

As I already mentioned above, I analyzed 81 articles from 26 Swedish newspapers with different political positions. The number of articles dealing with the image of Finnish Swedes and Finnish-Swedishness are presented in the tables below. They are divided into three groups depending on the official political orientation of the editorial page.

- 1) socialist orientation: independent social democratic newspapers and newspapers which adhere to the ideas of Swedish Social Democratic Party:

N	Newspaper	Number of articles
1	Aftonbladet	5
2	Dala Demokraten	1
3	Flamman	1
4	Folkbladet	1
5	Folket	8
6	Lanstidningen Ostersund	1
7	NSD	6
8	Pitea Tidningen	2
9	Sydostran	1

Table 1: The number of articles in the socialist newspapers

- 2) liberal orientation: independent liberal and centre-right newspapers with positions close to Moderate Party or Swedish Centre Party:

N	Newspaper	Number of articles
1	Barometern	1
2	Boras Tidning	2
3	Dagen Nyheter	14
4	Dalarnas Tidningar	2
5	Expressen	2
6	Goteborgs Posten	2
7	Helsingborgs dagblad	3
8	Jnytt	1
9	Kristianstadsbladet	2
10	Kuriren Norrbotten	8
11	Norra Vasterbotten	2
12	Norrkopings Tidningar	6
13	Ostersunds Posten	1
14	Sodermanlands Nyheter	1
15	Sundsvalls Tidning	1
16	Svenska Dagbladet	6

Table 2: The number of articles in the liberal newspapers

3) Christian democratic

N	Newspaper	Number of articles
1	Dagen	1

Table 3: The number of articles in the Christian democratic newspaper

Out of 81 articles 54 were published in the liberal newspapers (66.8%), 26 (32%) – in socialist and 1 (1.2%) – in Christian democratic. It should be also noted that the newspapers of the liberal orientation consist the majority – 61.5% of all observed newspapers, while those with the socialist orientation and Christian democratic have 34.6% and 3.9% respectively.

The numbers of articles themselves say little about the topic we are interested in, so I suggest taking into account a qualitative parameter, i.e. examining issues brought up for discussion by each article. In general, all questions and problems raised in the articles could be divided into three large groups:

- 1) issues concerning Finnish-Swedish culture;
- 2) issues concerning Finnish-Swedish social status;
- 3) issues concerning peculiar features of the Finnish Swedes.

I will explain what I mean under each point below.

Most articles more or less deal with the issues concerning Finnish-Swedish culture. The range of questions is pretty wide: historical reviews, discussions about its uniqueness and originality, its place in the Finnish society and role in relations between Finland and Sweden, questions of the sameness and the otherness, etc. Some articles raised a problem that many Swedes are not aware of the existence of Finnish-Swedish culture and, moreover, about the Swedes who live abroad.

The next big group concerns social status issues. Historically Finnish Swedes represented an upper class in Finland; at least, it is a common understanding or stereotype. Many articles discuss this problem raising questions about the importance of these historical stereotypes for the modern society, examining the real status of Swedes who live in today Finland. Analyzing the articles I noted that almost all of them contain historical review and emphasize ties to Sweden and long common history.

The third group includes those issues concerning peculiar features of the Finnish Swedes such as their national character, language peculiarities, talents, habits, traditions etc. As per my observations, articles of that type more often than any other provide primordial discourse on nation group and identity.

It should be noted that it is quite complicated to label each article for sure as being about culture or peculiar features, because they often deal with several issues at once. On the first stage of the research I aimed at investigating as many as possible issues on the agenda and how often they are raised, so it would be a mistake to judge solely by the title of the article because in most cases the title itself performs function of catching the reader's attention and does not provide the valuable message. Moreover, classifying articles by the title only we would probably miss important but less articulate issues. Therefore in each case I attempted to analyze the whole range of raised questions, even if they appeared to be from different groups, i.e. one article may discuss several issues from the first, second and third groups (as well as it may deal with the only one issue) – in other words, one article can include one or many issues. For example article in SvD '*Finlandssvenskar ar svenskar*' discusses several questions: lack of knowledge about Finnish Swedes, common history and heritage, language issues, responsibility with Sweden to preserve and support Swedish-speaking minority in Finland.

Newspaper	Aftonbladet	Barometern	Boras Tidning	Dagen	Dagen Nyheter	Dala Demokraten	Dalarnas Tidningar	Expressen	Flamman	Folkbladet	Folket	Goteborgs Posten	Helsingborgs dagblad	Jnytt	Kristianstads Bladet	Kuriren Norrbotten	Lanstdningen Osterund	Norra Vesterbotten	Norkoping Tidningar	NSD	Ostersunds Posten	Pitea Tidningen	Sodermanlands Nyheter	Sundsvalls Tidning	Svenska Dagbladet	Sydostran	total:
The issues on the agenda																											
The issues concerning FSW culture																											
1) uniqueness and originality	2	1	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	19
2) place and role of the Finnish-Swedes in relations between Sweden and Finland	1	2	1	6	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	31
3) the sameness and the otherness	4	1	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	22
4) knowledge of the FSW culture in Sweden			3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	11
Total:	7	1	3	1	17	1	1	1	1	1	0	2	1	4	1	2	10	1	1	7	5	2	1	0	1	11	83
The issue concerning FSW social status																											
1) closed society, elitism	2	1	9	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	2	1	1	1	1	1	32
2) welfare and prosperity	1	1	6	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	15
3) aspiration for Sweden and migration issues		2	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	11
Total:	3	1	3	0	18	1	2	2	2	0	3	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	2	3	2	0	2	0	3	1	58
The issue concerning FSW peculiar features																											
1) language issues	2	1	1	5	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	20
2) endowments	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	10
3) FSW character	3		7	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	37
Total:	5	2	0	1	15	1	1	3	1	1	8	1	2	2	3	3	0	1	2	4	1	3	0	0	5	2	67

newspapers of the liberal political orientation
 newspapers of the socialist political orientation
 newspaper of the Christian democratic orientation

FSW means Finnish-Swedish

Table 4: The issues raised in the articles, by the newspapers

For the purpose of analyzing the issues concerning the Swedes living in Finland raised in the Swedish newspapers, I made a Table 4 above. It presents the number of the certain issues raised in each newspaper. All issues are classified into 3 large groups and several subgroups. First, I will explain the meaning of each subgroup, and afterwards will start analyzing the issues their distribution among the groups.

The issues concerning Finnish-Swedish culture:

1) uniqueness and originality

Article was considered to be in this group if it assesses the contribution made by the Finnish-Swedish culture to the Nordic or world cultural heritage. The most popular question under discussion is a Swedish-language literature from Finland. The point is that Finland-Swedish literature occupied the particular niche – Finnish-Swedish modernism that made a strong impact on the whole modernism in Scandinavia. Also the impact of the Finnish-Swedish prose should be noted, the best sample here is Moomin books by Tove Jansson which Finland is famous for and often associated with. Moreover, articles from this group assess the influence by Swedish and Finnish cultures and how they affect Finland-Swedish culture.

Although my brief description of the Finnish-Swedish culture considers it to be unique, original and really important for the whole Scandinavian culture, the authors of the articles would not agree with one voice. There were different assessment of the uniqueness and role of the Finnish-Swedish culture provided by the articles from different newspapers. Therefore these aspects seem to be very import to be taken into account when we try to find the image of the Finnish-Swedes constructed by the Swedes.

2) place and role of the Finnish-Swedes in relations between Sweden and Finland

During the long period of time the Swedes and Swedish culture played significant role in Finland: first, before the break-down in 1809, Swedish upper-class governed Finland; then, as soon as Soviet threat appeared, Swedishness was maintained in order to keep ties to the Western culture and values; and what is their role for today? Different articles suggest solutions in different ways: some argues that Finnish-Swedes from Finland help to hold two countries together, others dispute that they lost their ground and miss their identity, and so on. But all of them agree that the role of Finnish-Swedish culture in Finland inevitably decrease. One of the main discussion topics is the importance of its preserving, hence it follows another topical issue – if it needs to be preserved and supported, and then who is responsible? Should Sweden takes measures or it is under the Finnish internal policy only?

3) the sameness and the otherness

This group includes those articles that discuss the questions of identity, the sameness and the otherness. Three general attitudes could be defined: a) Finnish-Swedes are Swedes; b) Finnish-Swedes are Finns with Swedish as their mother tongue; c) Finnish-Swedes are the other for both Swedes and Finns.

4) knowledge of the Finnish-Swedish culture and Finland-Swedes in Sweden

Articles which provide the discussion in this topic were classified in separate group due to their crucial importance for the discourse itself. How can we talk about the images of the Finnish-Swedes in Sweden if the Swedes know nothing about the Swedish-speaking minority living in Finland? There were articles that provide many examples and anecdotes about the Finnish-Swedes who come or move to Sweden and were believed to be a smart Finns who learned Swedish quite well.

The issues concerning Finnish-Swedish social status:

1) closed society, elitism

Article was considered to be in this group if it discusses the status of the Finland-Swedes within the Finnish society: do they present separate and closed group or even network of discrete groups? Rather different answers on this question could be found in the articles; it depends on the author's attitude to the question of Finland-Swedish elitism. It is a common stereotype about those Swedes who lived in Finland – they are quite often considered to be the upper-class who governed Finland, however there are absolutely opposite views presented in several newspapers.

2) welfare and prosperity

The next popular myth about the Swedes from Finland, followed by the previous one, is their prosperity and richness. Depending on the newspaper articles might provide the image of the rich Finnish-Swede or break this traditional misconception referring to the surveys.

3) aspiration for Sweden and migration issues

According to *Charlotta Hedberg* and *Kaisa Kepsu* migration from Finland to Sweden increased significantly during the second half of the last century and continues now. This process is certainly reflected in the Swedish newspapers; Swedes gave their assessment of the movement, their attitude toward the 'little brothers' coming from abroad. Moreover some newspapers provided an image of the Swedes who still live in Finland and assess their interest toward Sweden in different ways.

The issues concerning Finnish-Swedish peculiar features:

Analyzing the articles I noted that there are three main points reflected closely in the Swedish newspapers, they are as follows:

- 1) language issues (peculiarities of Swedish language spoken in Finland);
- 2) endowments (what the Finnish-Swedes are famous for, their talents and successes);
- 3) Finnish-Swedish character (it might be shown by the comparison with the Swedish national features or stereotypical Finnish habits).

Giving different judgments on each point articles provide the image of the Finnish-Swedes seen by the Swedes from Sweden (further analysis can be found in the next chapters).

6.2. What issues are on the agenda?

Table 4 shows how often certain issue appears on the agenda in each of 26 considered newspapers. I want to emphasize that numbers in the table body means how many times certain issue was raised in the whole multitude of the articles published in certain newspaper. These numbers are rather different from the numbers of the articles, what means that one article can include more than one issue. To illustrate this, I would suggest an example of article in SvD *'Finlandssvenskar ar svenskar'* which discusses several questions at once: lack of knowledge about Finnish Swedes, common history and heritage, language issues, responsibility lay with Sweden to preserve and support Swedish-speaking minority in Finland. I gave preference to counting the number of issues instead of number of articles on this stage, because doing so we will obtain the sufficient data about the urgency of one or another question on the agenda.

From the very beginning one can easily assess that the issues concerning Finland-Swedish culture appeared on the agenda more frequently than any other. The number of discussions totals up to 83 (or 40% of all issues on the agenda), while the number of issues concerning the Finland-Swedes peculiar features and social status were on the agenda 67 (32%) and 58 (28%) times respectively. If we look closer and calculate how many times certain issue appeared in the newspapers of different orientation (liberal, socialist or Christian democratic) we will find out interesting results. In case of culture (i.e. the first group from the Table 4) there are 19 issues (23%) out of 83 raised in the socialist newspapers and 1 (1%) from Christian democratic *Dagen*, the rest majority 63 issues (76%) were taken up by the liberal newspapers. Diagram 1 illustrates my calculations: the round diagram shows the shares of each group of issues: the issues concerning Finland-Swedes culture hold the majority 40%, the issues concerning social status share 28% and the issues concerning Finland-Swedish peculiar features

share 32%, it has been already mentioned above. Now I suggest taking a look at three parallelepipeds below the round diagram. Each of them displays the shares of the newspapers with different orientation in taking up certain questions. For the given above example, we can observe the right parallelepiped which shows that all issues concerning the Finland-Swedes culture raised in the whole multitude of the considered articles are divided between three types of the newspapers as follows: 76% were published by the liberal newspapers, 23% and 1% by the socialist and Christian democrats respectively. The same logic applies to the other two groups (social issues and peculiar features).

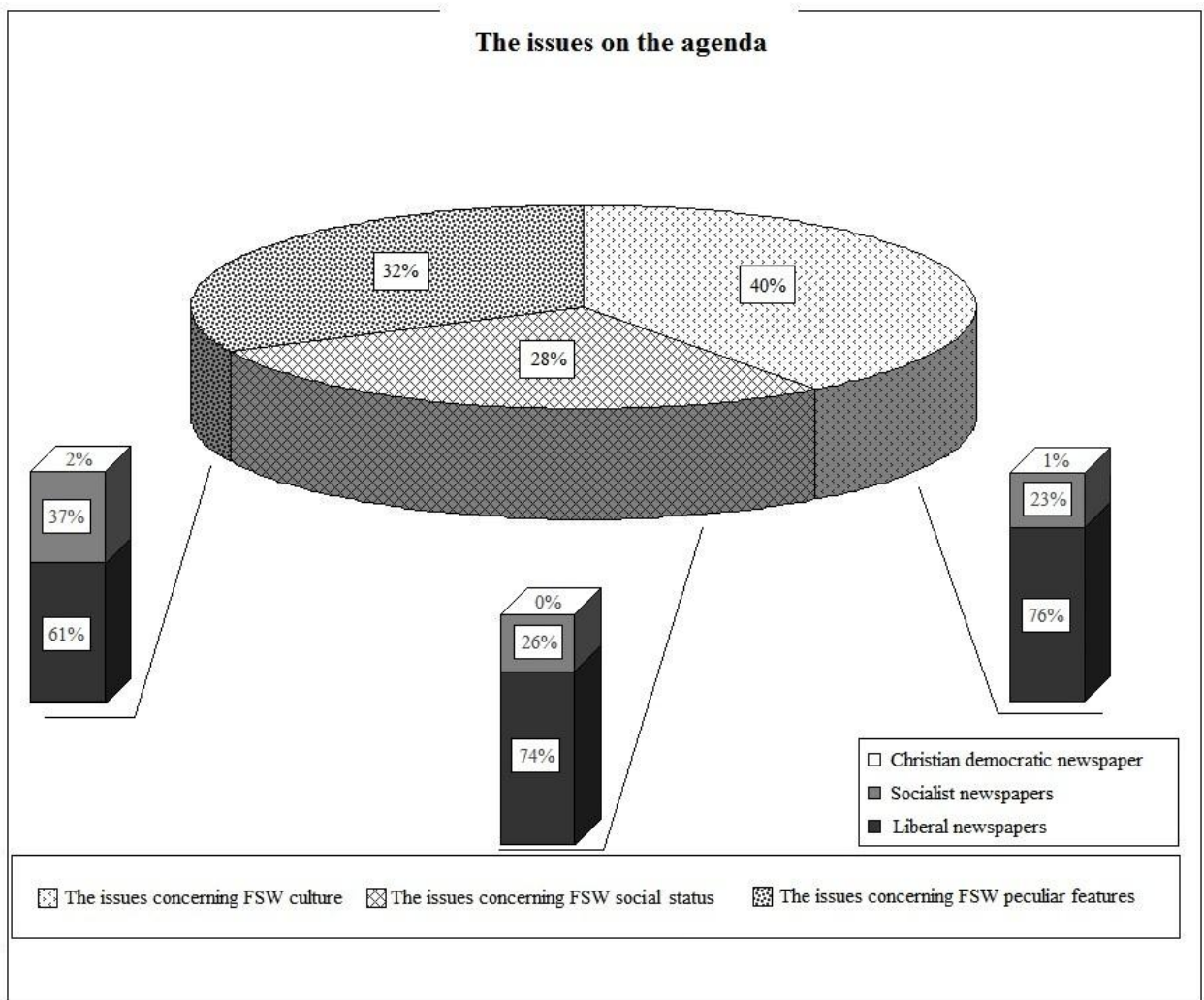


Diagram 1: The issues of the agenda

It should be noted that such a distribution of the issues between the newspapers depending on their orientation is natural and determined by the shares of considered liberal, social and Christian democratic newspapers which are as follows: 67%, 32% and 1%

respectively. So, this bare analysis provides us with the interesting fact when we compare the shares of the newspapers by their orientation with their shares in discussing a certain issue. I will explain on the example of the socialist newspapers. Their share in all types of newspapers is 32% (i.e. 32% of all analyzed newspapers were of socialist orientation), and theoretically, if the newspapers with different orientation paid the equal attention to all considered issue, we would report that the share of the socialist newspapers in each group of issues are 32% approximately. However we have rather different rates in practice: socialist newspapers represent 37% in case of issues about Finnish-Swedes peculiarities, and 26% and 23% in case of social status and cultural issues. This means that the socialist newspapers pay more attention to the issues concerning Finland-Swedes peculiar features and less attention social status and cultural issues. The same goes for the Christian democratic newspaper, with only difference that it does not concern the social questions at all. The things are opposite for the liberal newspapers: they show a keen interest for the issues concerning Finland-Swedes culture and social status and, at the same time, they are significantly less interested in finding out peculiarities in the so-called Finland-Swedish character. These findings are shown on *Diagram 2*.

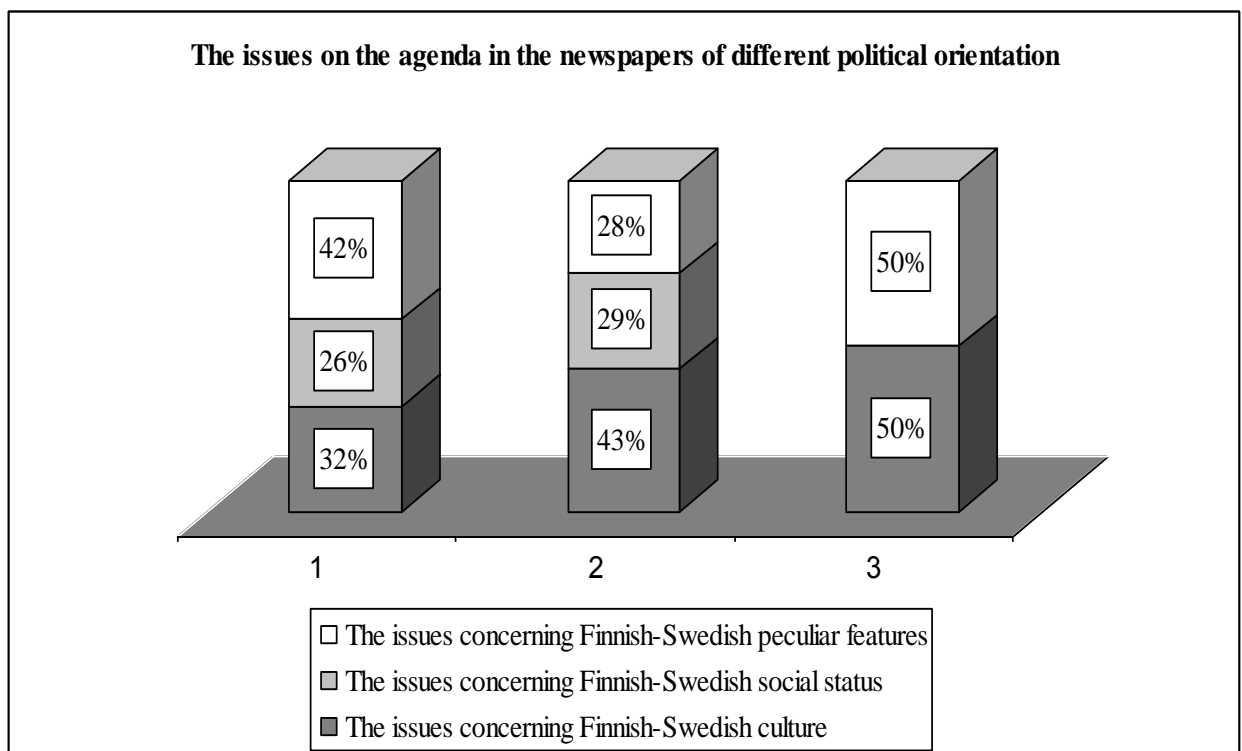


Diagram 2: The issues on the agenda in the newspapers of the different political orientation
 1 - newspapers of the socialist political orientation,
 2 - newspapers of the liberal political orientation,
 3 - newspaper of the Christian democratic orientation.

Notably, there is the most burning issue in every group of issues. So, is it the questions about the place and role of the Finnish-Swedes in relations between Sweden and Finland in the first group of issues concerning culture (see Table 4). Out of 83, 31 issues were about the role played by the Finnish-Swedes in the relations between two countries. In case of the social status the discussion about the elitism of the Finnish-Swedish society is dominated (32 out of 58). And discourse on the Finnish-Swedish character is prevailing in the third group dealing with the peculiar features (37 times out of 67).

Thus, in general, with no detailed analysis on this stage, we can conclude that the main discourse about the Finnish-Swedes image in Sweden is based on the following question: who is that Finnish-Swede (his character, habits, traditions, etc.) and how he affects (if affects) the relations between Finland and Sweden today? Notably, that the liberal newspapers pay more attention to the culture and status of the Finnish-Swedes within Finland and take up how their presence in Finland affects international relations, while the socialist newspapers are more interested in their peculiar features and way of life.


The second stage of the analysis included two steps: at first, articles were divided into several groups depending on the prevailing discourse and, afterwards, compared concerning the image of Finnish Swedes and Finnish-Swedishness they provide.

In order to divide articles into groups I resorted to the same method that was used in classification of the issues. As I already mentioned above, one article often includes more than one issue what challenges the distribution of the articles into the groups. So I have to admit that my decision regarding each article belonging to one or another group might be subjective and therefore can be disputed, however, I attempted to take into account as much factors as possible before consider the article to be placed in certain group. There are factors I took into consideration besides article's content itself:

1. The title of the article. Although it is frequently designed to catch the attention of the reader and does not aim at messaging the problem, the title still must be taken into consideration because, at least, it sets the tone for the discussion.

2. The structure of the article. Depending on the article structure we can judge about the questions of major and minor importance. Despite the number of issues raised in the main body of the article, introduction and conclusion of certain article usually provide the major question and message.

Newspaper	Aftonbladet	Barometern	Boras Tidning	Dagen	Dagen Nyheter	Dala Demokraten	Dalarnas Tidningar	Expressen	Flamman	Folkbladet	Folket	Goteborgs Posten	Helsingborgs dagblad	Jyht	Kristianstads Bladet	Kuriren Norrbotten	Lansidningen Osterund	Norra Vesterbotten	Norrkopings Tidningar	NSD	Ostersunds Posten	Pitea Tidningen	Sodermanlands Nyheter	Sundsvalls Tidning	Svenska Dagbladet	Sydostran	
The issues on the agenda																											
The issues concerning FSW culture																											
1) uniqueness and originality				4							1	1	1			2											
2) place and role of the Finnish-Swedes in relations between Sweden and Finland	1	1	2	1	3	1						1	1		2				1	3				1			
3) the sameness and the otherness													1							1	1				1		
4) knowledge of the FSW culture in Sweden								1			1					1		1	1								
Total:																											34
The issue concerning FSW social status																											
1) closed society, elitism	2				2						1	1				1	1		2								2
2) welfare and prosperity								1							1												
3) aspiration for Sweden and migration issues					1		2													1			1		1	1	
Total:																											22
The issue concerning FSW peculiar features																											
1) language issues					1																				1	1	
2) endowments										1						1									1		
3) FSW character	2				3				1	1	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1							1	
Total:																											25



 newspapers of the liberal political orientation

 newspapers of the socialist political orientation

 newspaper of the Christian democratic orientation

FSW means Finnish-Swedish

Table 5: Distribution of the articles depending on the issues on the agenda, by the newspapers

3. The multitude of the issues on the agenda. Although, I found many examples when the article contains several issues, there is still logic. The multitude of the articles is never accidental; there are always the main issue and subsidiary ones meant to back up the author's arguments.

4. The newspaper the article was published in. According to my findings presented above, the newspapers of different political orientation take rather different interests and pursue their own objects. It is important to know who is the owner of the newspaper, who is the author and who might be interested in this article to be published, etc.

5. When the article was published. The publication of certain article might be provoked by both internal or external events, meeting or political decisions, or something else. Therefore, knowing about the event that effected the publication enables us to look deeper and read between the lines.

According to the above factors I analyzed 81 articles from 26 newspapers and made a Table 5. It shows how the articles were distributed depending on the issues on the agenda and the newspapers. General proportions are the same as were when we calculate the number of issues on the first stage (see above chapter): most articles (34 pieces) were considered to deal with the cultural issues, 25 and 22 articles take up the questions of the peculiar features and social status respectively. It is logical that the most articulated issues remained the same: role in Finnish-Swedish relations for the first group, problem of elitism and discussion about the Finland-Swedish character for the second and the third group of issues respectively.

Most publications dealing with the questions of culture are presented by three newspapers: liberal *Dagen Nyheter* and *Kuriren Norrbotten* and socialist *NSD*. Getting ahead I want to note that *Dagen Nyheter*, being one of the largest morning newspapers and the only morning newspaper, being published in Stockholm, distributed across the whole country, holds leading positions as well in both the second and the third groups (social issue and questions concerning the Finland-Swedish peculiar features). It is notable that two other leaders within this group - liberal *Kuriren Norrbotten* and socialist *NSD* – are both regional newspapers from Norrbotten – the biggest county that covers about 22% of Sweden's surface. But what is more important for our research, Norrbotten is the only county which has a border with Finland. Although Finnish Lapland is not the traditional area of the Swedish-speaking minority settlements in Finland, but still the factors of geographical proximity and close neighborhood play significant role.

Besides *Dagen Nyheter* it is also *Svenska Dagbladet* that suggests more articles about the social status of the Finland-Swedes comparing to other newspapers. As well as *Dagen Nyheter's* editorial position, *Svenska Dagbladet* adheres to liberal values (although it is more conservative if compare to *DN*). *SvD* has the third largest circulation among the Swedish morning newspapers (after *Dagens Nyheter* and *Goteborgs Posten*), what explains the number of articles concerning the issues from the second group being above the average.

According to the findings from the previous stage, the newspapers of the socialist orientation are concerned especially with the issues from the third group (Finnish-Swedish peculiar features). The confirmation can be observed in the Table 5: socialist *Folket* published more articles than other newspapers did. The second position is held by *Dagens Nyheter*.

So, three large groups are constituted now and below are the tables with the newspapers and numbers of articles which formed each group:

- 1) number of articles concerning the questions of Finnish-Swedish culture:

N	Newspaper	Number of articles
1	Aftonbladet	2
2	Barometern	1
3	Boras Tidning	2
4	Dagen	1
5	Dagen Nyheter	7
6	Dala Demokraten	1
7	Expressen	1
8	Folket	2
9	Helsingborgs dagblad	2
10	Jnytt	1
11	Kuriren Norrbotten	5
12	Norra Vesterbotten	1
13	Norrkoping Tidningar	2
14	NSD	4
15	Ostersunds Posten	1
16	Sundsvalls Tidning	1
17	Svenska Dagbladet	1

Table 6: Number of articles by the newspapers that discuss the questions of Finnish-Swedish culture

- 2) number of articles concerning the question of social status held by Finland-Swedes:

N	Newspaper	Number of articles
1	Aftonbladet	1
2	Dagen Nyheter	3
3	Dalarnas Tidningar	2
4	Expressen	1
5	Folket	1
6	Goteborgs Posten	1
7	Kristianstads Bladet	1
8	Kuriren Norrbotten	1
9	Lanstidningen Ostersund	1
10	Norrkoping Tidningar	2
11	NSD	1
12	Pitea Tidningen	2
13	Svenska Dagbladet	3
14	Sydostran	1

Table 7: Number of articles by the newspapers that discuss the questions of social status held by Finland-Swedes

3) number of articles concerning the questions of the Finnish-Swedish peculiar features:

N	Newspaper	Number of articles
1	Aftonbladet	2
2	Dagen Nyheter	3
3	Flamman	1
4	Folkbladet	1
5	Folket	5
6	Goteborgs Posten	1
7	Goteborgs Posten	1
8	Helsingborgs dagblad	1
9	Kristianstads Bladet	1
10	Kuriren Norrbotten	2
11	Norra Vesterbotten	1
12	Norrkoping Tidningar	2
13	NSD	1
14	Sodermanlands Nyheter	1
15	Svenska Dagbladet	2

Table 8: Number of articles by the newspapers that discuss the questions of the Finnish-Swedish peculiar features

List of the articles with references, dates of publication and authors can be found in Bibliography.

6.3. Negotiating the discursive images

There are three large groups of questions articulated in the articles and they are as follows:

- 1) Who are the Finnish-Swedes for the Swedes from Sweden? (35 articles)
- 2) Assessment of quality of life and societal status of the Finnish-Swedes (21 articles)
- 3) Reflection on the Finnish-Swedish peculiar features (25 articles).

Each of them includes variety of discussed issues but in general the articles from certain group reply on the following main questions respectively:

- 1) What shall be the Swedish policy towards the Swedish-speaking minority in Finland if any?
- 2) Do the Finnish-Swedes have sufficient reasons for migration to Sweden?
- 3) Do the Finnish-Swedes have special behavior pattern?

The articles provide different attitudes ranged roughly between two poles: positive, supportive or favorable, on the one hand, and reserved attitude or even strong alienation, on the other. Assessing the sources I recognized seven relevant images in total, they are as follows from one to seven:

Group	Main discussed question	Images
1. Who are the Finnish-Swedes for the Swedes from Sweden?	What shall be the Swedish policy towards the Swedish-speaking minority in Finland if any?	1. 'No more than the citizens of the neighbor country' image
		2. 'A little-brother' image
2. Assessment of quality of life and societal status of the Finnish-Swedes.	Do the Finnish-Swedes have sufficient reasons for migration to Sweden?	3. 'Elite' image
		4. 'Swedish fans' image
		5. 'Being in decline' image
3. Reflection on the Finnish-Swedish peculiar features.	Do the Finnish-Swedes have special behavior pattern?	6. 'Heroic' image
		7. 'Comical' image

Table 9: The images of the Finnish-Swedes provided by the Swedish newspapers

I will analyze the articles by the groups on the next several pages focusing on the image they provide. The analysis is based on the methodology explained in Chapter. I will focus on constructive structures of the discourse regarding Finland-Swedes image in Sweden. I will provide quotations, examples and interpretations in order to construct the image (-s) of the Finland-Swedes common in Sweden. I do not aim at explaining semantic constructions and making thorough semantic analysis, but attempt to outline the Finnish-Swedish image from Swedish newspapers and analyze the functions of the discourses. I will provide the quotations and their interpretations to find out how they create certain images and meanings. In each example the article numbers will be bracketed (e.g. BT1 means article number 1 from Borås Tidning, detailed information and references can be found in *Annexes*). The quotations in *italic* are taken directly from the articles and they are in Swedish, each one will have a translation following into the brackets. The quotations in English are my own translations of the original statements from the articles.

6.3.1. 'No more than the citizens of the neighbor country' image

This image is the most common one and represented by the large number of the articles from both liberal and socialist newspapers, where the former present majority. 31 articles were considered to express this certain discourse: 7 by Dagen Nyheter; Kuriren Norrbotten and NSD – 4 articles each; Helsingborgs Dagblad, Folket and Norrköping Tidningar – 2 each; Expressen, Borås Tidning, Norra Vesterbotten, Dagen, Sundsvall, Jnytt, Östersunds Posten, Dala Demokraten, Barometern and Aftonbladet – 1 article each.

A number of articles from this group contain brief overview of the history of Swedishness in Finland. They usually provide data about the Swedish population in Finland and state that the proportion of Finnish-Swedes has declined steadily since the 1700ies from 20% to 5% today (e.g. see DN5). This 5% population of Finland is portrayed as a privileged class which costs Finland too much; an example can be found in DN13: *'Finlandssvenskarna utmålas som en privilegierad överklass, som kostar Finland alldeles för mycket'*. Saying that Finnish-Swedes cost Finland too much DN13, as well as other similar publications, means mainly the bilingualism politics in Finland and related questions such as segregation of the Swedish-speaking population: *'Finlandssvenskarna beskylls för rasism och segregering och många ondgör sig över att tvåspråkigheten kostar miljarder euro per år'* (DN13 claims that Finnish-Swedes are accused for racism and segregation and bilingualism costs billions of euros per year). Maintaining bilingualism in the country Finnish government spend billions of euros per year, but

to some extent, it is a disputable issue if bilingualism is still so important to spend huge funds on it; most of Finland-Swedes can easily speak both Swedish and Finnish: *'Den yngre generationen finlandssvenskar är ofta perfekt tvåspråkig och överger lätt de svenskspråkiga medierna'* (DN13 argues that the younger generation are often perfectly bilingual and could easily do without Swedish language media. Some newspapers stated that certain discontent within the Finnish society causes social tensions, HD3 gives an example of a Finnish-Swedish family that argue that they feel anti-swedish atmosphere around them and prefer keep quiet and do not speak Swedish.

Meanwhile language was considered to be a marker of Swedishness. So, DN7 recognized Finnish-Swedes to be real Swedes: *'finlandssvenskan är riktig svenska'*. Those who speak fluently both Swedish and Finnish are 'wondering who they are like characters in the Finnish-Swedish song do - 'Memory, I have lost my memory, am I Swede or Finn?' (see KN2: *'Dessutom finns det finländare som är mer eller mindre komplett tvåspråkiga, som talar och tänker på svenska i somliga situationer och på finska i andra, och som emellanåt frågar sig som i den finlandssvenska snapsvisevarianten av "Memory": "Minne, jag har tappat mitt minne, är jag svensk eller finne?"*'). DN13 argues that the Swedish-speaking minority is in a profound identity crisis (*'Den finlandssvenska minoriteten genomlever en djup identitetskris'*). It is due to their strange position between Swedes and Finns: they feel they are Swedes, while the latter suppose them to be Finns. It should be noted that Swedes are often accused to be not well aware about the Swedish-speaking population abroad. Finnish-Swedes are often told that they 'speak Swedish so good' despite the fact that Swedish is their mother-tongue (A2: *'Finlandssvenskar på besök får ofta höra att de "talar så bra svenska", trots att svenska är deras modersmål'*). DN6 raises a question about the Swedish-speaking immigrants from Finland who must take Swedish language classes the same way as other immigrants do, despite the fact that Swedish is their mother-tongue: *'... finlandssvensk invandrare i Sverige skickades på kurs i svenska för invandrare trots att svenska var det enda språk han kunde'*.

KN3 asserts that there are two main misconceptions about Finnish-Swedes in Sweden: the first one is that they are believed to be very rich; and the second one is that they learnt Swedish in school. As per this article, many Swedes are surprised when they hear that Swedish is a mother-tongue for people who was born somewhere outside Sweden. Together with the language issue the stereotype about Finnish-Swedes being very rich is debunked on the pages of the Swedish newspapers. DN12 describes traditional image of Finnish-Swedish family common in Sweden saying that it is supposed to live in multistory wooden house in the archipelago and is strongly associated (and even became synonymous) with bourgeoisie. At the same time DN12 states that one will find out rather different picture if he had a look at real things or, at least, read

some books by Finnish-Swedish writers that describe the suburbs and the way how Finnish-Swedish worker class used to live. Lack of knowledge about those Swedes who live in Finland is a real problem and broadly discussed in Swedish media. E2 even provided a pungent letter from a Finnish-Swedish reader. Although only opinions by Swedes from Sweden were considered to be analyzed I want to give quotation from this letter as it appeared once in the Swedish newspaper and made some contribution to the image of Finnish-Swede offended by Swedish indifference and ignorance: *‘Det går inte isbjörnar på gatorna här, alla finländare bär inte kniven i fickan vart de än går och långt ifrån alla finländare dricker Koskenkorva som om det vore vatten. Alla som bor i Finland kan inte heller automatiskt prata finska, finska är ett svårt språk och jag vågar inte öppna munnen och prata finska fast jag läst språket i skolan sedan jag gick på trean. Enligt statistik från 2001 är Korsnäs i Österbotten, Finland (min hemkommun!) världens svenskaste kommun med 98 procent svenskspråkiga invånare. Så världens svenskaste kommun finns i Finland. Kan ni nu göra mig en tjänst, uppdatera era läroböcker och sätt geografilärarna på skolning om Finland så att jag nästa gång jag möter en svensk slipper den långrandiga diskussionen om hur i hela världen jag kan prata svenska’* (there are no polar bears on the streets, Finns do not carry knives in their pockets and do not drink Koskenkorva as if it were water. Not everyone in Finland speaks Finnish, if I were born in Finland it does not make me speaking Finnish automatically. Could you please update your textbooks and the way you learn geography, so next time I meet a Swede I could avoid long discussion about how on Earth I can speak Swedish). Author’s dissatisfaction is natural as his identity is real Swedish and a number of newspapers admit that Finnish-Swedes preserved archaic Swedish culture and history. For example, DN12 stated that ‘Finnish-Swedes have not lost their history as Swedes have done, and this is magnificent’ (*‘Finlandssvenskarna har inte tappat bort sin historia som vi gjort sa hon och menade att just detta var "stoorartat"’*). KN2 asserts that the Finland-Swedish language deviates from the standard Swedish not only in pronunciation and special choice of words, but there are differences in the word order sometimes, Swedish author of the article considered it to be ‘more archaic and wonderful to read’.

According to some articles the Finnish-Swedish mentality differs from the Finnish, although it may sound strange (NSD5). Number of publications supposed Finnish-Swedes to be Swedes comparing behavior patterns of Finns and Swedes. An example can be found in OP1: Swedes and Finland-Swedes would say *‘vi uppskattar om du inte röker här’* (we would appreciate if you do not smoke here), while Finns would say ‘smoking is prohibited’ (*‘medan finnarna lär sig att rökning är förbjuden’*). Another example from the same article: *‘Svenskar vill ha mjuka hörn, finländare är mer burdusa och raka’* – Swedes want to have soft corners, Finns are more straight and emerging ‘Nokia-Finland’ identity is more brutal (see OP1). In these

examples Finnish-Swedes were considered to be Swedes, contrary to Finns. Another example was found in.....: *'Fanatiska finlandssvenskar har svarat med att kalla majoritetsgruppen för "finnidioter" och "halvapor som ännu på 1800-talet sprang omkring i skogarna"'* (fanatic Finnish-Swedes call the majority as 'Finnish idiots' and 'those who ran in the woods in the 1800ies'. It is not typical and rather brutal publication but still it takes place and impresses on the reader the image of Finnish-Swedes who oppose their identity to the Finnish.

As per many publications, Finnish-Swedes keep strong group identity because of dense network of social organizations, special funds, companies, and so on. Despite the uneven settlement and regional differences Finland-Swedes keep their culture and language, a number of articles cited it as an example for Swedes. B1 says: *'Vad kan detta betyda för oss i Sverige? Jo, vi är också ett litet folk, med ett litet språk. Vi borde då lyssna mycket (...) och lära oss av Finland'*. It is not clear without context but it is about Finnish-Swedes who live in different regions in Finland and keep their identity and network: 'What can we learn from Finland? It is also a little population and language. We have to learn much from Finland'. The interesting thing is that under *Finland* article means *Finnish-Swedes* and their experience being part of Finland long time but still keep strong group identity. So it considered Finnish-Swedes to be different to Swedes and that is why it is possible to hold them up as an example.

Another case when Swedish newspapers suggest Sweden learning from Finland concerns policy towards minorities. A2 states that Finnish-Swedes can study in their mother-tongue when the things are different in Sweden and Swedish-Finns are not allowed to have such an opportunity. The article promotes changes in the attitude towards Swedish-Finns and argues that Swedes must discard notion that Swedish is a bit nicer and a bit better. DN6 supposes that Sweden's attitude to the Finnish language and culture in Sweden can be used as an argument against the strong position of Swedish language in Finland (*'Sveriges dåliga hantering av finska språket och kulturen i Sverige används också som ett argument emot svenskans starka ställning i Finland'*). Moreover, it should be noted that both emphasize that Swedes, to their shame, are not aware about the differences between Finnish-Swedes and Swedish-Finns. Some articles attribute such a 'relaxed' attitude towards the minority issues to the long common history and tight ties between the Nordic countries. The example can be observed in DN5: *'Eftersom Norden tack vare sin speciella historia har ett avspänt förhållningssätt till minoritetsfrågorna, har vi kanske svårt att inse hur laddade de är på andra håll'*. However, the most symptomatic point is a political perspective of the question of such ignorance of the minority problems. ... notes that the Swedish politicians is remarkably indifferent to the Swedish-speaking minority in Finland, while Finnish politicians are constantly getting the shock about the Finnish-speaking minority status in Sweden (*'De svenska politikerna är dock påfallande kallsinniga till den svenskspråkiga*

minoriteten i Finland - medan finska politiker ständigt gör framstötningar om finskans ställning i Sverige). DN5 argues that the Swedish interest in Finland-Swedes is quite modest. It is a shame in some respect but healthy sign in the second (*‘Det storsvenska intresset för dessa finlandssvenskar är ganska blygsamt, vilket är synd i vissa avseenden men ett hälsotecken i andra*’). At least such a position of the Swedish government, according to the article, does not cause any conflicts concerning the national minorities abroad. As an opposite example the article cites number of conflicts occurred in the post-soviet territories during the 2000ies and caused by the Russian policy towards the Russian-speaking minority abroad.

At the same time, DN2 noted that sometimes Finland-Swedes claim that Sweden should act more active to support the position of Swedish in Finland. However, as many articles argue, the idea that nation should protect groups of coethnics abroad is one of the worst ideas of the 20th century: *‘Ibland får man höra från finlandssvenskt håll att Sverige borde agera kraftfullare för att stödja svenskans ställning i Finland (...) Men just denna idé att en nationalstat ska ingripa för att skydda grupper som är eller anses besläktade med den egna befolkningen är en av nittonhundratalets sämsta idéer*’.

The fact that there are people of the same culture living in the neighbor country (Finnish-Swedes living in Finland, in case of Sweden) provokes nothing related to kindred feelings in Swedish mind but only the statement about how good it is when your neighbor is the same as you are: *‘Paradoxen är ju att globalisering och den snabba internationaliseringen, där hela världen aldrig är längre bort än ett knapptryck, samtidigt leder till en vilja att söka trygghet i kända relationer samt samverkan med den som påminner om en själv*’ (KN6) – paradoxically globalization provokes a desire to have relationships and interaction with the same as you are.

To conclude this paragraph I will summarize what is the main discourse on the image of Finnish-Swedes being ‘no more than the citizens of the neighbor country’. It appears that ordinary Swedes are not well aware about those Swedish-speakers who live in Finland; they do not clearly understand the difference between Finnish-Swedes and Swedish-Finns and take both minority groups for those who learn Swedish at school. Swedes consider Finnish-Swedes to be citizens of the other country who can speak Swedish ‘quite well’. At the same time, they acknowledge the role of Sweden in the Finnish history and the uniqueness of the Swedish culture in Finland but still believe that they are not responsible anyhow for supporting Swedish culture abroad as it is the matter of internal policy. Moreover presented discourse condemns any actions aimed at protecting strong position of the national culture abroad arguing that originally such actions always aim for intervention in internal affairs and caused regrettable consequences which could be easily found in the European history in the 20th century. Some articles provide an example of Russian policy towards ethnic conationals in the Baltic states and blamed such

actions because they provoke escalation of violence. So, this group of articles treats the Finnish-Swedes as Finnish citizens only and calls for stopping the vague allusions to the Swedish influence on Finland; in other words, these certain articles promote pragmatic and sensible attitude towards the Swedish-speaking minority in Finland.

6.3.2. 'A little-brother' image

Four articles supposed Finnish-Swedes to be 'little-brother' for Swedes and believe that Sweden must take care and support Swedes who live abroad: Aftonbladet, Svenska Dagbladet, Boras Tidning and Kuriren Norrbotten – one article each.

SVD6 raises a question: *'Varför är det då så viktigt att rikssvenskarna känner till finlandssvenskarna?'* (Why it is so important to Swedes to be aware about Finnish-Swedes?). The answers suggested to be found in long common history, culture and language (*'Vi har som sagt en lång gemensam historia. Dessutom talar vi samma språk. För svenska språket i Finland är kontakterna med svenskan i Sverige livsviktiga'*). The article argues that the contact with Sweden is vital for Swedish language and Swedishness in Finland. There are only about 300.000 Finnish-Swedes left in Finland and, taking into account, the strong Finnish influence the articles are concerned about the Swedish language being endangered in Finland (see, for example, SVD6: *'Influenserna från finskan är idag väldigt starka och riskerar att förskjuta svenskan i Finland från dess moderspråk i Sverige'*). It is asserted that without Swedish help Finnish-Swedes are 'in the hand of Finland' and the language is in danger. Moreover, SVD6 provide an example of other European countries that 'monitor and support their linguistic kinsman interests in other countries' (absolutely opposite opinion to that from the first paragraph).

Author went further arguing that bilingualism and language law in Finland (equality of Finnish and Swedish) is a theoretical fantasy and has very little to do with reality (*'Låt vara att vi har en språklag som jämställer svenska språket med det finska, men den är en teoretisk fantasiprodukt som har ganska lite med verkligheten att göra'*). It warns that if no help from Sweden followed, then Finland would go through bilingualism to monolingual Finnish and Swedish history in Finland would go to the grave; it poses a question: is there anyone in Sweden who really cares? (see SVD6: *'Utan Sveriges hjälp går finlandssvenskarna genom tvåspråkighet över till enspråkig finskhet och en del av Sveriges historia går i graven. Det här är en verklighet som pågår just nu. Finns det någon i Sverige som bryr sig?'*). The article resumes that Finns have never maintained the Swedish culture in Finland, it is only Finnish-Swedes who take care and they really need the support from Sweden.

A3 insists that the distance and the citizenship do no matter: being Swedish-speakers Finnish-Swedes are equal participants in the Swedish culture and need the Swedish support. AS per the article, it is the Swedish Academy that has to regain its historic role in safeguarding the whole Swedish culture.

Moreover, BT1 laments about the complete neglect (by Sweden) of commitments to the Swedish culture that exists outside of Sweden: *'Engagemanget för den svenska kultur som existerar utanför Sveriges gränser är försumbart'*.

The articles make difference between political units and mental units related to identity. SVD6 resumes: *'Sverige är det politiska fosterlandet, medan det svenska språkområdet är nationaliteten i etniskt och språkligt hänseend'*- Sweden is the political homeland but what concerns nationality, ethnicity and linguistic issues is about Swedish-speaking area (which sometimes differs from the state's territory – *author*); Swedish-speakers who live abroad need a unifying force that would ensure them that nationality is more than something limited with borders.

6.3.3. 'Elite' image

This group is constituted by 10 articles: 2 articles from both Norrkopings Tidningar and Dagen Nyheter; Lanstidningen Ostersund, Kuriren Norrbotten, Svenska Dagbladet, Kristianstads Bladet, Folket and Aftonbladet – 1 article from each. Out of 10, 3 articles were published in socialist newspapers.

Under elite I mean the most educated people or those of great notability and importance in Finnish history, and not necessarily the richest ones. This particular image appears regularly and Finnish-Swedes are believe to be really honorable people. For example, LO1 writes: *'De är bara 300 000, men har påfallande många framstående författare, poeter och dramatiker'* (there are only 300.000 Finnish-Swedes, but among them are remarkable number of eminent writers, poets and playwrights). Then, it compares Finnish-Swedes to Icelanders: *'både finlandssvenska och isländska är små, hotade språk. De kämpar för sitt språks överlevnad, helt enkelt'* (both Finnish-Swedish and Icelandic are small endangered languages, they are fighting for survival). I would argue that there is a connotation to the significance of the Finnish-Swedes culture: at first, author states that there are many talented writers and poets and then gives a comparison with Iceland, what makes me think that between the lines author refers to to Icelandic world-famous middle-age epos and emphasize that way the importance of the Finnish-Swedish contribution to the world heritage. In favour of this assumption I will provide another exmaple SVD4: *'Utan det*

finlandssvenska inslaget skulle den svenskspråkiga lyriken vara avsevärt fattigare än den nu är (without Finnish-Swedish element Swedish-language literature will be significantly poorer than it is now). Both samples indicate how highly Swedish newspapers value Finnish-Swedish contribution to cultural heritage. Its role within Finland is emphasized with the examples from literature: especially 9 world-famous modernist writers and Moomin books by Tove Jansson. KN4 states that Moomin world has often been described as a typical Finnish-Swedish world, now it is a Finnish export; it is what people know about Finland. In other words, Finland is now famous for what were made by Swedes. NT1 as well supposed Swedish-speakers to play irreplaceable role in Finnish history: *'Trots att det bara talas som modersmål av sex procent av befolkningen är svenska officiellt likställt med finska i Finland. Finlandssvenskarnas ekonomiska, politiska och kulturella inflytande är dessutom - delvis av historiska skäl - oproportionerligt stort'* (although Swedish is spoken by 6% of the population only, it is equal to Finnish. Finnish-Swedish economic, political and cultural influence is disproportionately large).

The next point is the richness of the Finnish-Swedish funds; it should be noted that it might be exaggerated sometimes: *'SLS gör av med mer pengar, men är totalt okända även i Sverige – det land vars kulturarv de ändå uppger sig värda'* (Svenska litteratursällskapet deals with more money than Nobel Prize Fund, but it is totally unknown in Sweden, a country whose cultural heritage they claim to cherish, KB2). Moreover, there are lots of examples of stereotypes about Finnish-Swedish elite living in Finland, 'there still exist a sense that the Swedish-speakers are educated while Finnish-speakers are farmers' (DN10). It is notable that there are people who believe that Finnish-Swedes still control much of industry in Finland and are healthier and live longer (*'finlandssvenskarna fortfarande kontrollerar en stor del av industrin i landet, är friskare och lever längre'*, DN10). The bright example was found in DN10 that says that 'even New York Times celebrates Finnish bilingualism as a unique in the world and considers Finnish-Swedes to be the most pampered minority'.

DN1 announces that usually it is 1 person a week who officially changes mothertongue to Swedish. The article observes that following benefits from being Swedish-speaking in Finland: a better and happier life, guaranteed party in government, rich funds, better chances to enter the Swedish language university, thinner newspapers that give you time for other things. Although they allow themselves to be healthy satirical, this example enable us to judge that being a member of the Swedish-speaking society in Finland is a kind of privilege.

A1 provides the following definition for Finnish-Swedes: *'Med finlandssvensk menas en person som trots att han eller hon är född i Finland talar, tänker och drömmer på svenska språket. Kort sagt har svenska som modersmål. Det finns över 300 000 sådana personer i Finland i dag. Tusentals av dem har som yrke att på olika sätt verka för det svenska språkets*

”renhet, styrka och höghet”. *Många av dem är lysande författare, andra är filosofer, vetenskapsmän, skådespelare, lärare och teologer*’ (Finnish-Swede is a person who, although was born in Finland, speak, think and dream in Swedish, in other words he is Swedish native speaker. Thousands of them have professions promoted Swedish language purity and strength in various ways. Many of them are brilliant writers, philosophers, scientists, actors and theologians). Such statements provide an image of intellectual elite held strong position in broad sections of the public.

So, according to the articles from this group, Finnish-Swedes are proud of being Swedes in Finland; they occupy high positions in Finnish society and promote Swedish culture and language. Many of them are famous public figures, scholars and art workers. They were always elite and cream of Finnish society and are not motivated to move to Sweden, the ties to Sweden and high position in Finland are enough for comfortable life.

6.3.4. ‘Swedish fans’ image

Seven articles provide the Finnish-Swedes image that I would call ‘Swedish fans’. There are as follows: one article by each Svenska Dagbladet, NSD, Pitea Tidningen, Sydostran, Dagen Nyheter; and two articles by Dalarnas Tidningar.

Most publications stress the influence by the Swedish media. SVD5 emphasizes that ‘it is common in Finnish-Swedish families to subscribe to the major Swedish newspapers’ and S1 states that ‘Finnish-Swedes have grown up with Swedish television’. So, from the very childhood they are addicted to Swedish lifestyle and become ‘the other’ for Finnish-speaking majority. According to PT2 ‘the Swedish-speaking Finns are not included in the Finns self-image’. Following this logic, it is easy to explain migration of about 70.000 Finnish-Swedes to Sweden in the last decades. DT1 presents the findings by two researches that get a pretty good picture of a Finnish-Swede who moved to Sweden. As per most respondents Sweden was ‘a land of milk and honey’ for them (*‘ett land av mjölk och honung’*).

DN14 noted that ‘most Finnish-Swedes have solid knowledge about Sweden and Swedish phenomena’ (*‘De flesta finlandssvenskar har en stabil bakgrundskunskap om Sverige och svenska fenomen’*). At the same time it displays arrogance saying that ‘Finnish-Swedish literature written in Swedish hardly reaches readers on the other side of the Gulf of Bothnia’. The author regrets that Finnish-Swedes deserve little attention and mean nothing more than other neighbors do for Sweden. He argues that there are not only the herring, sea and snaps in common, but also the memory of Vasa dynasty, Carolingian, etc. Being a Finnish-Swede means

knowing a lot about country with inhabitants who do not know much about you. It is like a love relations: one loves more and needs the other more (*'Att vara finlandssvensk innebär att veta mycket om ett land vars invånare i gengäld inte vet särskilt mycket om en. Det uppstår gärna en dynamik av det slag som tyvärr finns i nästan alla kärleksrelationer; den som älskar mer (jag), den som behöver den andra mer (jag), blir lätt litet gnällig i tonen och åstadkommer på så sätt skuld känslor hos den andra, varpå den andras åtrå vissnar ner och dör'*).

According to the considered articles, Swedes are idols for Finnish-Swedes. Living in Finland Finnish-Swedes dream about Sweden only and are crazy about all Swedish things. This 'type' of Finnish-Swede would take the first opportunity to leave Finland for Sweden. They always consider Sweden as 'their country' and a country that 'stands for something better' (see DT2).

6.3.5. 'Being in decline' image

There are four articles that provided lamentable image of Finnish-Swedes: one from each Svenska Dagbladet, Pitea Tidningen, Expressen and Goteborgs Posten.

Number of questions was raised on the agenda: articles regret about the Swedish-speaking population decline, complain about the Swedish language losing its prestige, as well as accuse Finnish-Swedes of being evil for Finland.

I will start with traditional regrets about weakening Swedishness in Finland. E1 notes that 'even traditional Swedish countryside like Turku is no longer fluently Swedish; nobody understands or does not want to understand and prefers replying in poor English'. Moreover, old-fashion upper-class traditions, which Finnish-Swedes used to be famous for, disappeared now.

SVD1 compares Finnish-Swedes to the characters from Chekhov's *The Cherry Orchard* play: there is nothing but impotent nostalgia for old order and inability to adapt to a new time. Finnish-Swedes are blamed for being unable to adapt to new order; as per the article, they only 'philosophize and complain about everything and drink schnapps'.

Another position, much more rude and radical, is presented inPT1: *'De låter minoritetsgrupper som exempel finlandssvenskarna ta makten överallt utan att protestera trots att många av dem har sämre kompetens än många purfinnar. De låter brödköerna växa för varje dag'* (they allow minority groups such as Finnish-Swedes take control over everything without protest even though many of them have less skills than many pure Finns. They let the bread queues grow day by day'). Strange as it may seem, the article blames Finnish-Swedes for difficulties faced by Finland; according to it, all failures met by Finland were caused by less

educated Finnish-Swedes who hold chairs in government. It argues that nothing will be changed until there are Finnish-Swedes and Russians in every district in Antti Pesonen's party (*'Några som tröttnat på eländet har bildat ett självständighetsparti med Antti Pesonen i spetsen, men som aldrig kan förändra något, med tanke på så många soffliggare det finns i Finland vid varje val och att det sitter finlandssvenskar och ryssar i varenda distrikt i dennes parti. Stackars lilla Finland'*). Moreover, the article shows dissatisfaction with the Finnish-Swedish position in society: they suffer from alcoholism and drug addiction but still are allowed to occupy high positions. The example is as follows: *'Dessutom finns där nu även tydligen livsfarliga och inkompetenta specialister som bygger deras kärnkraftverk med en finlandssvensk boss i spetsen'* (they are dangerous and incompetent specialists who built their nuclear power plants with Finnish-Swedish boss in the head).

So, the article from this group provides a negative image of Swedish-speaking group that is in decline and obscurity and has little chance to 'return to life'. A number of attitudes vary from regrets and complaints to irritation and blame. According to the publications, nowadays when the Soviet threat is gone Finnish-Swedes do not feel the warm support in Finland, but still do not want to adapt to reality and pretend to be upper-class.

6.3.6. 'Heroic' image

Seventeen articles were considered to provide a 'heroic' image: one article from each Kuriren Norrbotten, SvD, Norra Vasterbotten, Goteborgs Posten, Sodermanlands Nyheter, Folkbladet, NSD, Helsingborgs Dagblad; two from each Folket, Norrkopings Tidningar, Aftonbladet; and three from Dagen Nyheter.

These articles depicted Finnish-Swede as strong charismatic personality doing that has never been done before. According to the articles from this group, imagined Finnish-Swede is a kind of adventurer who does what he loves to and not what he is told to; he possesses some special talent and charisma, enjoys good health and becomes often a model for imitation. For example, I would refer to SVD3 that declares 'Swedes in Finland are more hedonistic than Finns, they enjoy life more, take easy both small and big problems, have a strong attachment to the coast and sea' (*'Svenskarna i Finland är större hedonister än finnarna, njuter av livet lite mera, tar stora och små problem med en klackspark, och har en stark bundenhet till kust och hav'*). It provides certain research data on life expectancy (Finnish-Swedish men live 9 years longer than Finnish-speakers) and concludes it is because of less-stressed way of life (*'Demografiska fakta*

visar att den svenskspråkiga befolkningen i Finland har påfallande mycket längre genomsnittslivslängd än den finskspråkiga. Det handlar om hela nio år för män').

Another bright example was found in A5: *'I Finland finns ingen extremfeminism förutom vad man kan hitta bland ett fåtal finlandssvenskar som tar intryck av Sverige'* – there are no extreme feminist in Finland apart from those who can be found among a small number of Finnish-Swedes who took impressions of Sweden. The author of the article personally thinks that gender equality is something one should always fight for so the Finnish-Swedish feminists won his approval. Other sphere where Finnish-Swedes hold the leading role is sport. SN1 argues that Finland has never been famous for being handball players nation, there are only Finnish-Swedes who are engaged in the sport: *'Finland har aldrig utmärkt sig som en handbollsspelande nation. Mycket beroende på, enligt Kenneth, att det bara är finlandssvenskarna som utövar sporten'*. Folket2 also provides several examples of successful and famous Finish-Swedish athletes that had no equal. Moreover, it argues that the first female-priest in Finland was Finnish-Swede. Swedish-Speaking Ostrobothnia was considered to be the area that has the most writers and perhaps the largest book publishing in terms of population in the world (*'Österbotten sägs vara det område som har flest författare och kanske största bokutgivningen i världen sett till invånarantalet'*).

A number of articles deals with a question of Finnish-Swedish drinking habits. One of the articles (HD1) encouraged the tradition of drinking songs that was said to be 'common only in Sweden and Swedish-speaking Finland' what emphasize special behavior of Swedish-speakers. DN3 argues that Finnish-Swedes live long and happy despite they drink much. The article provides data from a research done by Turku and Helsinki universities. According to it, Finnish-Swedes living under the same alcoholic policy have different drinking habits. Adult Finnish-Swedes get drunk more often than Finnish speakers, but at the same time Swedish-speaking population is healthier, lives longer and has other social indicators with higher marks than Finnish-speakers (*'Vuxna finlandssvenskar berusar sig mera sällan jämfört med finsktalande. Men Finlands svenskspråkiga befolkning är dessutom friskare, lever längre och är, mätt med många sociala indikatorer, även i övrigt i en bättre ställning jämfört med finskspråkiga'*). DN9 states that the myth is broken and it is Swedish-speaking young people who drink more than their Finnish-speaking peers: *'Myten är vederlagd. Det är de svenska ungdomarna som super mest i Finland. Skolelever med finlandssvensk bakgrund dricker sig oftare fulla än finska jämnåriga'*.

Folket3 pays special attention to a snuff politics in Finland. Swedish-speakers are claimed to be snuff-addicted and not satisfied with official government position on this question, so they

are said to be going to dispute the ban on snuff although Finnish government stands on its positions firmly.

So, in other words, articles from this group provide a rebel and willful image of Finnish-Swede and it is obviously attractive for them. GP1 calls Finnish-Swedes 'cozy and nice people', Folkbladet1 adds that they are biting ironical. A4 gives most generous praise considering Finnish-Swedes to possess 'very special ability for communication'. According to it, only Swedes and Finnish-Swedes can express themselves 'so easily and nice and do so well in speech and writing' that there are no equal to them.

6.3.7. 'Comical' image

The last group is formed by eight articles from several newspapers: Kuriren Norrbotten, SvD, Kristianstads Bladet, Dagen Nyheter, Flamman and Folket (three articles from the latter and one article from others).

'Comical' image includes several features: some articles suppose Finnish-Swedes to have brilliant sense of humor; while others argue they are funny and ridiculous with their 'strange' language.

I will start with more positive article where Finnish-Swedes are described to be endowed with perfect sense of humor. Folket3 is about a Swedish-language show 'Flying Finns: sex, drugs and Moomin Troll' made by Finnish-Swedes for Swedes in Sweden. It is said to be for everyone who loves to laugh at themselves and the brother people from the East: *'Fördomar bekräftas, okunskap odlas och avundsjuka smittar... Alla som älskar att skratta åt sig själva och broderfolket i öst kan förvänta sig en högtidsstund'*.

KB1 suggested Mark Levengood (popular Finnish-Swedish showman who moved to Sweden and is famous for and being homosexual and having sharp sense of humor) to become Prime Minister: *'Är vi redo för en homosexuell statsminister?'* (Are we ready for gay Prime Minister?).

It should be noted that most articles deal with special features of the Finnish-Swedish language that seems so funny for Swedes: *'En långsam finlandssvenska med runda vokaler och tydliga konsonanter som sprider munterhet (...) som är så roligt'* (slow Finnish-Swedish vowels and clear consonants.. it is so funny, KB1). Flamman1 noted that 'the most common stereotype in Sweden about Finnish-Swedes is that they are funny and nice and speak a kind of soft dialect, as Moomin and Mark Levengood do' (*'Den stereotyp som verkar vara vanligast i Sverige går nog ut på att finlandssvenskar är småtrevliga, lustiga typer med mjuk dialekt. Som mumintrollen*

och Mark Levengood, helt enkelt). An author of SVD2 asks to come to her with ‘finlandisms’ (special words from Finnish-Swedish that seems strange for Swedes) to make her happy instead of bring flowers and chocolate (*‘Den som vill vara snäll mot mig behöver inte tänka på blommor eller choklad, eller i alla fall inte enbart blommor och choklad. Kom med en finlandism istället och jag blir lika glad’*). Further she provides as example of strange word usage: *‘En finlandssvensk växeltelefonist säger ’jag förenar’ när hon kopplar till en anknytning. I en kultur där koppleri anses fult medan föreningar uppmuntras är det rätt ton’* (see SVD2).

DN8 states that ‘Finnish-Swedish has become chic in our country’ (*‘Finlandssvenskan har blivit chic i vårt land’*). The article suggests Swedes to use Finnish-Swedish words in their language what would make it both richer and more funny: *‘... sverigesvenskan skulle den bli både rikare och roligare’*.

The other image is provided in Folket1 that tells about an old taunt at Finnish-Swedes, but it is not articulate clear enough. Finnish-Swedes are told to be Hurrians. There are different theories why it is so, the most common one is that they shouted ‘hooray’ when they celebrate (*‘Det finns lite olika teorier om varför finlandssvenskar sen gammalt kallas hurri eller hurrit, vanligast är att man ropade ”hurra, hurra” när man firade’*).

The most caustic notes can be found in Flamman1. The article supposes that the most ridiculous thing about Finnish-Swedes is their unwillingness to adapt to the new order. They are described to be people who always demand for the best and pose as misunderstood minority what obviously leads to self-indulgency (*‘Och plågan över att vara en missförstådd minoritet, som bara vill det bästa, leder uppenbarligen till självupptagenhet’*).

Although the above articles are rather different in their attitudes and assessments, most of them take Finnish-Swedes as very nice and cheerful people who speak funny language. Some of them encourage close connection between Swedes and Finnish-Swedes supposing that such an experience would make both language and culture richer.

6.4. Conclusion

In the text above I analyzed 81 articles from 26 Swedish newspapers concerned the questions of the Swedish-speaking minority living in Finland (the so called Finnish Swedes). The articles were selected from electronic archives of the newspapers with different political orientation (liberal, socialist, Christian democratic) published all over the country (Sweden) during the last years. The research was conducted in two stages. On the first stage I made a quantitative analysis of the articles in order to investigate certain issues and how often they are

raised on the agenda. All issues were divided into three large groups: those concerning Finnish-Swedish culture; Finnish-Swedish social status within Finnish society; and peculiar features of the Finnish Swedes. It appeared that the most discussed questions are those concerning Finnish-Swedish culture and the least popular are those concerning the social status. It was considered that the main discourse about the Finnish-Swedes image in Sweden is based on the following questions: who is that Finnish-Swede (his character, habits, traditions, etc.) and how he affects (if affects) the relations between Finland and Sweden today.

On the second stage the articles were divided into several groups depending on the prevailing discourse and, afterwards, compared concerning the image of Finnish Swedes and Finnish-Swedishness they provide. At first, I classified articles by the main discussed problem into three groups: who are the Finnish-Swedes for the Swedes from Sweden (35 articles); assessment of quality of life and societal status of the Finnish-Swedes (21 articles); reflection on the Finnish-Swedish peculiar features (25 articles). For each group I posed certain question as follows respectively:

- 1) What shall be the Swedish policy towards the Swedish-speaking minority in Finland if any?
- 2) Do Finnish-Swedes have sufficient reasons for migration to Sweden?
- 3) Do Finnish-Swedes have special behavior pattern?

Then I analyzed the articles from each group focusing on the image of Finnish Swedes they provide. I found confronting assessments for each group and according to them articles formed seven images of Finnish Swedes in Sweden.

Replying on the questions about who are Finnish Swedes for Swedes and what shall be the Swedish foreign policy towards Swedish-speaking minority abroad, the articles provided two opposite images: 1) Finnish Swedes are ‘no more than the citizens of the neighbor country’ and Sweden is not responsible for supporting Swedish culture abroad, otherwise it should be considered to be intervention in the internal policy of Finland; 2) Finnish Swedes are ‘little-brother’ and the support and care from Sweden.

Making assessments of the quality of life and social status of Finnish Swedes and how it affects migration to Sweden, the articles divided into three camps: 1) Finnish Swedes are elite and have no reason for moving to Sweden; 2) Finnish Swedes are ‘Swedish fans’ and dream about ‘a land of milk and honey’ and will take the nearest opportunity to migrate; 3) Finnish-Swedes are in deep decline and have no ‘energy’ to undertake any active actions although they probably would like to live in Sweden.

Considering if Finnish Swedes have any peculiar features and special behavior patter that makes them the same or the different to Swedes, the articles suggested two images: 1) Finnish

Swedes are charismatic people – I called this image ‘heroic’; 2) Finnish Swedes are funny and sometimes ridiculous – this one was named ‘comical’ image.

Depending on how often certain image is on the agenda they were rated as follows (from the most to the least discussed):

1. ‘No more than the citizens of the neighbor country’ image

Swedes appreciate the people from other country speak Swedish ‘quite well’; however they do not feel to be responsible for supporting Swedish culture in Finland. Any actions aimed for protecting national culture abroad are considered to be a kind of intervention in internal affairs and said to cause regrettable consequences and conflicts. Papers promote pragmatic and sensible attitude towards the Swedish-speaking minority in Finland and call for stopping the vague allusions to the Swedish influence on Finland.

2. ‘Heroic’ image

According to it, Finnish-Swedes are charismatic and attractive people with ‘very special ability for communication’; it is often them, not Finns, who achieve brilliant results in sport, arts, etc. and make Finland famous. Only Finnish Swedes and Swedes can express themselves ‘so easily and nice and do so well in speech and writing’.

3. ‘Elite’ image

Finnish Swedes are people who are really proud of being Swedes in Finland; they occupy high positions in Finnish society and promote Swedish culture and language. Many of them are famous public figures, scholars and art workers. They were always elite and cream of Finnish society and are not motivated to move to Sweden.

4. ‘Comical’ image

This image includes two aspects: 1) Finnish Swedes have a brilliant sense of humor and ability to make others laughing; 2) they are ridiculous and speak funny language. But still, in both cases they are considered to be nice and cheerful people who make significant contribution to the Swedish culture.

5. ‘Swedish fans’ image

Swedes believe they are idols for Finnish Swedes, and Finnish Swedes are crazy about all Swedish things. Living in Finland Finnish-Swedes dream about Sweden – ‘milk and honey country’. Finnish Swedes are considered to be those who would take the first opportunity to leave Finland for Sweden.

6. ‘Being in decline’ image

It is a kind of negative image of the Swedish-speaking people in Finland. According to it, Finnish Swedes do not want to adapt to reality and live in imagined world pretending to be the upper-class, while real things are rather different. Number of attitudes to their behavior and

position in Finland vary from regrets and complains to irritation and blames. They are assumed to be troubled people posing themselves as misunderstood minority what leads to self-indulgence; however the reality is that they cost too much for Finland.

7. 'A little-brother' image

Finnish Swedes are perceived to be a part of Swedish culture and need support from Sweden. It is argued that the political territory of Sweden differs from the area where the Swedish culture is dominated. Therefore, Swedish-speakers who live abroad need a unifying force that would ensure them that nationality is more than something limited with borders.

So, the general image of Finnish-Swedes in Sweden is mostly positive, there is the only group out of seven that provides negative image. Finnish Swedes are predominantly perceived as 'true Swedes' who live in Finland and make significant contribution to the Swedish cultural heritage.

7. CONCLUSION

In this research project I have attempted to examine whether ethnic conationals abroad contribute to the national identity formation in the historical homeland country. Unfortunately, academic discourses have not produced established terminology that would be useful for both theoretical purposes and empirical practices; therefore I used a number of terms that obtained quite broad set of meanings to describe the group of coethnics abroad: ethnic conationals, diaspora, ethnic and national minority. I was interested in the Swedish-speaking population of Finland and their contribution to the process of national identity formation in Sweden. It could be disputed that term 'diaspora' is applicable for this historical minority in Finland, however in my research project I adhered to the opinion by William Safran, who characterized diaspora as *ethnic minority community* with the focus on the degree of the diaspora settlement. So, I conducted the research supposing that diaspora has more in common with *ethnic minority group* rather than migrant community. I refused to define Swedish-speaking Finns as 'Swedish-speaking minority of Finland', because *de jure* they enjoy the same rights as Finns do: both Finnish and Swedish are official language in Finland. Moreover, describing Swedish-speaking population as 'ethnic minority' I seem to be correct, however such a definition does not meet the aim of my research project due to its focus on the group itself rather than on ties with historical homeland. Referring to Rogers Brubacker I assume that homelands as well as conationals abroad are constructed and never given. Thus, I would argue that '*diaspora*' in understanding by William Safran and defined through its ties to 'motherland' (country of ancestors' origins), from the one hand, and its position within the majority host society, from the other; and '*ethnic conationals*' suggested by Rogers Brubacher answer the purpose of my research in most proper way.

The research project was built upon a Constructivist theoretical framework that claims that identities and social realities are results of intersubjective formation of meanings. Identities are not fixed and established once and forever, but instead are constantly produced and reproduced through discursive interaction. Moreover, it suggests that one of the core elements in identity construction is the presence of significant other: first, self produces its identity through emphasizing difference from other; second, self succeeds to possess a certain identity only when it is recognized as such by others. From theoretical perspective, diaspora is the primary conceptual other against which the nation-state identity is constructed. Mechanism of identity transformation is that actors are able for critical self-reflection and they can transform or change roles through social practices. Among different social practices, narrative practices and language play crucial role in identity and image formation creating new meanings through discursive

practices. Depending on the prevailing discourse in media and political talks, mutual perception and images are created and reproduced. So, I believe identity is articulated in speech acts and texts, therefore I suppose the image and role of the Swedish-speaking diaspora is defined in Swedish media and political talks. Following supporters of discourse-theoretical approach and using Critical Discourse Analysis methodology I observe political science as a theory of political communication and examine news and political talks as agenda for political discourse. Within Critical Discourse Analysis I used synchronic approach to time and space suggested by Norman Fairclough, Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe. Unlike diachronic approach by Michel Foucault, synchronic approach studies politics and discourses as factors that change and reproduce 'orders' (history, images, etc.), so, in other words, I suppose that meanings and language matter in the process of identity formation.

In order to examine the image of the Swedish-speaking coethnics that is reproduced in Sweden and contributes to the Swedish national identity construction, I attempted to analyze discourse created in Swedish newspapers. In my research project I analyzed 81 articles from 26 Swedish newspapers concerned different aspects of the Swedish-speaking minority of Finland (Finnish Swedes). Presented articles were selected from the newspapers of different political orientation and from different regions of Sweden, what, I believe, provides as complete characteristic as possible.

I conducted the research in two stages. On the first stage I made a quantitative analysis of the articles in order to investigate certain issues and how often they are raised on the agenda. Taking into account qualitative element, I divided all issues into three large groups: those concerning Finnish-Swedish culture; Finnish-Swedish social status within Finnish society; and peculiar features of the Finnish Swedes. I found that the most discussed questions are those concerning Finnish-Swedish culture and the least popular are those concerning the social status. Therefore, the main discourse about the Finnish-Swedes image in Sweden is guided by the following questions: who are Finnish-Swedes (their history, character, habits, traditions, etc.) and how they affect (if affect) the relations between Finland and Sweden today.

On the second stage of my research I aimed at focusing on the Finnish-Swedish images reproduces by the Swedish newspapers. Guided by this aim I sorted articles into three groups depending on the prevailing discourse they create. Each group of articles provides discussion on one of the following questions:

- 1) What shall be the Swedish policy towards the Swedish-speaking minority in Finland if any?
- 2) Do Finnish-Swedes have sufficient reasons for migration to Sweden?
- 3) Do Finnish-Swedes have special behavior pattern?

Analyzing the articles I found confronting assessments for each group: some articles argued that Sweden has to promote its national culture abroad and, therefore, should support and care about Finnish Swedes, while other articles condemned such politics as an intervention in the internal policy of Finland; assessments about the quality of life and reasons for migration represented three main positions; moreover, articles suggested two images considering if Finnish Swedes possess peculiar features that make them different to Swedes. Thus, articles produced seven images of Finnish Swedes. They are as follows from the most to the least discussed:

- ‘No more than the citizens of the neighbor country’ image;
- ‘Heroic’ image;
- ‘Elite’ image;
- ‘Comical’ image;
- ‘Swedish fans’ image;
- ‘Being in decline’ image;
- ‘A little-brother’ image.

Taking into account the above images, I would claim that the general image of Finnish-Swedes in Sweden is mostly positive. Finnish Swedes are considered to be people who are really proud of their Swedish origins: they made significant contribution to the Swedish culture and, moreover, promote Swedish culture and language in Finland. Newspapers emphasize their important historical role in Finland: for long time Finnish Swedes are argued to present governmental elite, famous public figures, scholars, art workers, etc. Furthermore, characterized as charismatic and attractive people with ‘very special ability for communication’ Finnish Swedes are glorified for their considerable impact on the formation of the movement for independence and establishment of Finnish statehood. At the same time, according to the discursive images, Swedes strongly believe that they are idols and objects for imitation for Finnish Swedes. As regards the questions of responsibility and support, the most newspapers agree that Sweden should not provide any support for the Swedish culture in Finland, because such actions could be condemned as intervention in the internal policy of Finland. Thus, Finnish Swedes are treated as reflected other, whose nice characteristics and great services for their country portray the common distinctive features of Swedes. Simultaneously, prevailing discourse emphasizes their citizenship of the neighbor country, what makes Sweden free of any responsibilities toward them. This predominant discourse in the Swedish newspapers reproduces certain image of Finnish-Swedes that, in its turn, contributes to the national identity formation in Sweden.

LIST OF THE ARTICLES

1. Aftonbladet

1. *Släpp in finlandssvenskar igen i Svenska Akademien* (<http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/kolumnister/hermanlindqvist/article4256659.ab>, 19.03.11)
2. *Finskan är en del av Sverige* (<http://www.aftonbladet.se/ledare/article4193499.ab>, 19.03.11)
3. *Hög tid för en finlands- svensk i Akademien* (<http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/kolumnister/hermanlindqvist/article501555.ab>, 19.03.11)
4. *Tärnabyhjältens känsla för snö* (<http://www.aftonbladet.se/sportbladet/article343104.ab>, 19.03.11)
5. *Inte bara män är djur - kvinnor är det också* (<http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/kolumnister/yrsastenius/article290027.ab>, 19.03.11)

2. Barometern

1. *Svenskfinland – en partner för nätverk och minoritetspråkighet*, 24.05.09 (<http://www.barometern.se/ledare/bokladan/article1340610.ece>, 21.03.11)

3. Borås Tidning

1. *Inget Europa för Finland*, 25.09.07 (<http://www.bt.se/ledare/article386363.ece>, 21.03.11)
2. *Att minnas halmhattar*, 02.08.09 (<http://www.bt.se/nyheter/naringsliv/article1136745.ece>, 21.03.11)

4. Dagen

1. *Håkan Arenius: Goda ambitioner med språkproblem när Kanal 10 möter svenska folket*, 12.01.09 (<http://www.dagen.se/dagen/article.aspx?id=195368>, 19.03.11)

5. Dagen Nyheter

1. *'Svenskvåg' i Finland inför språkdebatt*, (<http://www.dn.se/nyheter/varlden/svenskvag-i-finland-infor-sprakdebatt>, 19.03.11)
2. *Finland: Broken Swedish*, 28.03.10 (<http://www.dn.se/ledare/signerat/finland-broken-swedish>, 19.03.11)
3. *Finlandssvenskar är nyktrare*, (<http://www.dn.se/nyheter/varlden/finlandssvenskar-ar-nyktrare>, 19.03.11)
4. *Problemet med Finland*, 08.03.2009 (<http://www.dn.se/blogg/bokbloggen/2009/03/08/problemet-med-finland-2074>, 19.03.11)
5. *Säkerhetskonsumenten* (<http://www.dn.se/ledare/signerat/sakerhetskonsumenten>, 19.03.11)
6. *Klassförakt i Sverige mot inflyttade finnar* (<http://www.dn.se/debatt/klassforakt-i-sverige-mot-inflyttade-finnar>, 19.03.11)
7. *Finlandssvenska är inte finsk svenska* (<http://www.dn.se/kultur-noje/spraket/finlandssvenska-ar-inte-finsk-svenska>, 19.03.11)
8. *Finlandssvenskan är inne* (<http://www.dn.se/kultur-noje/spraket/finlandssvenskan-ar-inne>, 19.03.11)

9. *Finlandssvenskar super mest i Finland* (<http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/finlandssvenskar-super-mest-i-finland>, 19.03.11)
10. *Finlands-svenskar bortskämd minoritet* (<http://www.dn.se/nyheter/varlden/finlands-svenskar-bortskamd-minoritet>, 19.03.11)
11. *Lojal och knivskarp med kärv, finsk humor* (<http://www.dn.se/ekonomi/lojal-och-knivskarp-med-karv-finsk-humor>, 19.03.11)
12. *Nu hörs andra röster i Helsingfors* (<http://www.dn.se/kultur-noje/nu-hors-andra-roster-i-helsingfors>, 19.03.11)
13. *Ny språkstrid upprör i Finland*, 12.02.04 (<http://www.dn.se/nyheter/varlden/ny-sprakstrid-uppror-i-finland>, 19.03.11)
14. *Vi som älskade varandra så mycket*, 22.06.03 (<http://www.dn.se/kultur-noje/vi-som-alskade-varandra-sa-mycket>, 19.03.11)

6. Dala Demokraten

1. *Finlandssvenskarnas förening har haft sin allra sista julfest*, 12.06.07 (<http://www.dalademokraten.se/sida/id/10834/>, 21.03.11)

7. Dalarnas Tidningar

1. *Varför for de till Sverige?* 30.01.07 (<http://www.dt.se/nyheter/article155423.ece>, 21.03.11)
2. *Design är ett hårt job*, 29.11.04 (<http://www.dt.se/nyheter/article66811.ece>, 21.03.11)

8. Expressen

1. *Trist - ingen pratar svenska*, 09.08.06 (<http://www.expressen.se/1.397912>, 21.03.11)
2. *Hej, jag är finlandssvensk!* 16.12.05 (<http://www.expressen.se/1.289545>, 21.03.11)

9. Flamman

1. *Inte som mumintrollen*, 09.03.06 (<http://www.flamman.se/inte-som-mumintrollen>, 09.04.2011)

10. Folkbladet

1. *Ingen vän av tegelstenar*, 29.06.09 (<http://www.folkbladet.se/folk/folk/artikel.aspx?articleid=4924757>, 21.03.11)

11. Folket

1. *Provokativt på Form & Färg*, 17.09.09 (<http://folket.se/kulturnoje/1.479565>, 21.03.11)

2. *Finlandssvenskt jubileum med utställning i Torshälla*, 02.04.00
(<http://folket.se/kulturnoje/1.161258>, 21.03.11)
3. *Finlands snuspolitik en gåva till oss alla*, 22.12.08
(<http://folket.se/asikter/debatt/1.145412>, 21.03.11)
4. *Flygande finländare gästar Contrast*, 09.01.03 (<http://folket.se/kulturnoje/1.199711>, 21.03.11)
5. *Mjuk humor i mumintappning*, 28.03.02 (<http://folket.se/nyheter/sormland/1.190835>, 21.03.11)
6. *Jörn Donner - en skicklig berättare*, 17.12.98 (<http://folket.se/asikter/debatt/1.117979>, 21.03.11)
7. *Hon har flyttat in i drömvillan* (<http://folket.se/folkifolket/1.117942>, 21.03.11)
8. *Folke fick sitt vaccin tack vare Folke Waxin*, 10.12.02
(<http://folket.se/nyheter/sormland/1.198989>, 22.03.11)

12. Goteborgs Posten

1. *Mumin och de mystiska vrålen*, 01.06.10 (<http://www.gp.se/kulturnoje/spel/1.74424-mumin-och-de-mystiska-vralen>, 22.03.11)
2. *Finntroll*, 01.06.10 (<http://www.gp.se/kulturnoje/1.81108-finntroll>, 22.03.11)

13. Helsingborgs Dagblad

1. *Om litterära möten med politiska komplikationer*, 12.11.08
(<http://hd.se/kultur/2008/11/12/i-helgen-var-jag-i-helsingfors-att>, 23.03.11)
2. *Finland: Tvåspråkigheten färgar deras vardag*, 09.05.05
(http://hd.se/utrikes/2005/05/09/finland_tvaaspraakigheten_faergar, 23.03.11)
3. *Svensk jul inte alltid när man tror*, 25.11.04
(http://hd.se/jul/2004/11/25/svensk_jul_inte_alltid_naer_man, 23.03.11)

14. Jnytt

1. *En allt för trevlig kväll med Mark*, 19.10.09 (<http://www.jnytt.se/nojesnyhet/27247/en-allt-for-trevlig-kvall-med-mark>, 23.03.11)

15. Kristianstads bladet

1. *Mark och hans val*, 23.04.10 (<http://www.kristianstadsbladet.se/noje/article794661/Mark-och-hans-val.html>, 23.03.11)

2. *Det rika och okända litteratursällskapet*, 06.11.06
(<http://www.kristianstadsbladet.se/kultur/article1093823/Det-rika-och-okaumlnda-litteratursaumlllskapet.html>, 23.03.11)

16. Kuriren Norrbotten

1. *Världens tomte finlandssvensk*, 28.11.07
(<http://www.kuriren.nu/nyheter/default.aspx?articleid=2623381>, 24.03.11)
2. *Oupphörligt intressant och njutbart*, 21.04.09
(<http://www.kuriren.nu/kultur/default.aspx?articleid=4812519>, 24.03.11)
3. *Stina varvar Beck med teater*, 24.10.08
(<http://www.kuriren.nu/familj/default.aspx?articleid=4274569>, 24.03.11)
4. *I Finland firas Mumin hela tiden*, 14.12.05
(<http://www.kuriren.nu/nyheter/?articleid=1334401>, 24.03.11)
5. *Laakso passar inte i några mallar*, 03.08.07
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6. *Debatt: Märkesåret 1809 uppmärksammas*, 20.01.09
(<http://www.kuriren.nu/nyheter/default.aspx?articleid=4513379>, 24.03.11)
7. *Unik men bortkastad begåvning*, 09.04.08
(<http://www.kuriren.nu/noje/default.aspx?articleid=3473381>, 24.03.11)
8. *En vis man delar ut tankeställare*, 29.10.09
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