A qualitative study on identity work and positioning of a Swedish-speaking Finn in the Swiss diaspora

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This study examines a Swedish-speaking Finn's identity work and positionings in the Swiss diaspora. Based on a qualitative case study approach this study analyses three interviews with a Swedish-speaking Finn, Lia. Using positioning theory as a framework, six central positions that shape Lia's identity construction were found: patriotic, distanced, diasporic, settled, emotional, and mediated. These positions manifest through her interactions, linguistic environment, and cultural attachments. They shed light on Lia's complex relationship with her native Finland and adoptive Switzerland, revealing strategies she employs to negotiate her sense of self. Linguistic resources, social networks, and digital communication are vital tools in her identity work. The findings showed that a broader national, Finnish identity in the diaspora setting overshadowed Lia's identity as a Swedish-speaking Finn. However, preserving and mediating her mother tongue, Swedish, remained paramount. The study illustrates the experiences of this linguistic minority navigating identity in a non-native setting and highlights the significance of the mother tongue when its use is not self-evident.

Keywords: identity, identity work, diaspora, Swedish-speaking Finns, positioning theory, linguistic minority
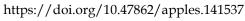
1 Introduction

In Finland's linguistic landscape Finnish and Swedish are the official national languages. Swedish-speaking Finns form a distinct community, and many identify themselves as Swedish-speaking Finns – rather than Finnish-speaking Finns – or bilinguals (Finnish and Swedish) (Liebkind & Henning-Lindblom, 2015) or broadly just Finns (Kovero, 2012). The concept of Swedish-speaking Finns (sv. finlandssvenskar)[1] encompasses their language, traditions, and a special kind of fellowship (Björkstrand, 2005; Kovero, 2012). They often experience duality in their identity, being Finnish citizens but also belonging to a distinct ethnographic and linguistic group (Liebkind & Henning-Lindblom, 2015). In a multilingual society, an individual may sustain a robust identity associated with a minority language while alongside aligning with the majority language group, thereby fostering an integrated bilingual (or multilingual) identity (Vincze & Henning-

Lindblom, 2016). This complexity is heightened when living abroad due to differences in social, cultural, and linguistic settings.

Studies on the identity of Swedish-speaking Finns highlight its complexity and diversity (Björkstand, 2005; Henning-Lindblom & Liebkind, 2007; Lojander-Visapää, 2008; Kovero, 2012; Vincze & Henning-Lindblom, 2016; Obućina & Saarela, 2020; Strandberg & Gooskens, 2022). Most studies to date have been survey-based, however, or focused on language use, and have not delved into identity construction, especially for Swedish-speaking Finns in diaspora settings. While other research has extensively explored the identity dynamics of diaspora communities (cf. Clifford, 1994; Anderson, 2006; Canagarajah & Silberstein, 2012; Christensen, 2012; Baldassar, Pyke & Ben-Moshe, 2017) there remains only a limited understanding of how individuals within specific linguistic minorities, such as in this case Swedish-speaking Finns, navigate their identities and position themselves in non-native settings. This study focuses on the nuanced experiences of a Swedish-speaking Finn in the Swiss diaspora.

Drawing inspiration from post-structural perspectives, this study approaches identity as a fluid, multi-dimensional construct, shaped and reshaped by interactions, relationships, and social contexts (Hall, 1990; Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; Fisher, Evans, Forbes, Gayton & Liu, 2020). Identity work underscores the process where identity is continuously constructed. It is a dynamic, ever-evolving, and context-dependent activity that requires interaction with others (Murrell, 2022) and it encompasses activities where individuals shape, maintain, or even discard their identities (Brown, 2017). The complexities of identity and its construction are amplified when transitioning from belonging to a linguistic minority in the home country to navigating the diverse environments in a new, multilingual host country[2]. The aim of this study is therefore to examine the multifaceted identity of a Swedish-speaking Finn, Lia, who has settled among the Swiss diaspora. The focus is on how she positions herself concerning her native and current countries, linguistic environments, and social networks, and the strategies she employs to navigate her identity work. The research questions are the following:

1) In the Swiss diaspora, how does a Swedish-speaking Finn navigate their identity work and position themselves in relation to their native Finland, the Swedish and Finnish languages, and their adoptive Switzerland?
2) What strategies have they found to preserve and negotiate their linguistic and national identities as a Finn and a Swedish-speaking Finn?

This research adopts a qualitative case study method, offering a detailed examination of three interviews with one focal participant. The analytic framework is grounded in positioning theory, which posits that identities constantly evolve based on context and ongoing dialogues (Davies & Harré, 1990; Bamberg, 2004). The following sections of this paper will introduce the concepts of identity, identity work and positioning theory, offer a nuanced understanding of the socio-linguistic background and historical perspectives of Swedish-speaking Finns, and present previous research on identity in global diasporas. This will be followed by a detailed presentation of the study's methodology, findings, discussion, and implications.

2 Background and approach

2.1 Identity, identity work and positioning theory

This study approaches identity as a dynamic, socially constructed phenomenon, produced intersubjectively through interactions rather than being something pre-existing in an individual (Hall, 1990; Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). Hall (1990) discusses identity as a production, which is never complete, always in process, and always constituted within representation. De Fina (2013) views identity as an ever-evolving constellation shaped by interactions, highlighting its fluidity across different contexts. Then again, the concept of identity work emphasises the process where identity is actively shaped and reshaped throughout an individual's life and may be influenced by both external societal factors and internal personal factors (Murrell, 2022). Identity work combines a range of activities that individuals engage in to create, revise, and even discard their multiple selves (also Sveningsson & Alvesson, 2003; Brown, 2017; Murrell, Blake-Beard & Porter, 2021). It highlights the notion that identity is not something static or inherently given, but something that is actively under construction and negotiation.

Originally proposed by Davies and Harré (1990) as a flexible alternative to "role", positioning theory refers to the narrative construction of identity within various sociocultural contexts (Anderson et al., 2022). Positions change based on context, enabling individuals to construct and navigate different identities, and to do identity work. People can be positioned by themselves, with others, or in their environment, all affecting their self-perception. Hence, understanding how contexts influence positioning is crucial (Norton & Toohey, 2011). Historically, this theory has explored identity formation through narratives and interactions. As Davies and Harré (1990) noted, discursive practices both shape and are tools for individuals to negotiate their positions. Positioning underscores the fluidity of identities – seeing them as multifaceted, context-driven, and sometimes contradictory discourses spread across time and space, dependent on present or imagined interactions for validation (Miller, 2013). However, identity positioning is not always deliberate. Individuals evolve through social engagements and the discourses they encounter. Consequently, answers to "Who am I?" fluctuate based on one's position in, and interpretation of, these discourses (Bamberg, 2004; Anderson et al., 2022). This study, using positioning theory, examines how the focal participant positions herself within the interview conversations and shapes her sense of self in the diaspora.

2.2 Swedish-speaking Finns: Linguistic and national identity

Finland's relationship with the Swedish language dates to its historical association with Sweden, having been a part of the Kingdom of Sweden from the 12th century until 1809 before becoming part of the Russian Empire (Lavery, 2006; Wide & Lyngfelt, 2009; Saari, 2012). Swedish dominated areas of administration, justice, and education until Emperor Alexander II's 1863 manifesto, which placed the Finnish language on an equal basis (Tandefelt & Finnäs, 2007; Saari, 2012). By the time of Finland's 1917 independence, Finnish had been integrated into all societal domains (Liebkind, Tandefelt & Moring, 2007). Today, Finland is officially a bilingual country with Finnish and Swedish as the two national languages. Nevertheless, Finnish is the most spoken language and Swedish is mainly spoken only along the western and southern coasts and Åland islands. Approximately 5.2% of Finns, around 290,000 individuals, designate Swedish as their mother tongue (Official Statistics of Finland, 2022).

Even though Swedish spoken in Finland follows the standards of Swedish in Sweden (Bergroth, 1917; af Hällström-Reijonen, 2012; Thylin-Klaus, 2019), distinctions have emerged. Post its separation from Sweden, Finland's ties with Swedish linguistic evolution diminished, leading to increased Finnish influence[3] (Bergroth, 1917; Wide & Lyngfelt, 2009). As a result, Swedish spoken in Finland adopted unique phonetic, phonological, syntactic, and lexical features. These distinguishable features can be considered vital for the Swedish-speaking Finns' linguistic identity (Tandefelt, 2007; Bergroth, 2016; Strandberg, Gooskens & Schüppert, 2022).

The linguistic landscape varies across Mainland Finland's regions. In some areas, Swedish is a minority, while in others, Swedish has a stronger or even a majority position (Kommunförbundet, 2024). Swedish speakers being a socially diverse group and spread across disconnected regions, some find this enriching and develop multiple identities, while for others, it can weaken the language group's vitality (Liebkind et al., 2007). Although – or because – Swedish-speaking Finns today can be considered nationally a minority, they share a strong sense of linguistic and ethnic identity and distinguish themselves from Finnish-speaking Finns – but also from Sweden and Swedes – and identify themselves mainly as Swedish-speaking Finns and Finnish citizens (Björkstrand, 2005; Lojander-Visapää, 2008; af Hällström-Reijonen, 2012; Strandberg et al., 2022). This duality indicates that while Swedish-speaking Finns have an affinity to elements of Finnish culture, they also have their own language, networks, and traditions (Kovero, 2012). Although Swedish-speaking Finns participate in numerous cultural phenomena unique to their community, including specific traditions and particular holidays[4], and media outlets such as newspapers, radio, and television (see Kreander & Sundberg, 2007), their primary unifying characteristic remains their language (Kovero, 2012). When discussing identity, it is essential to consider that people possess multiple identities and these can also be multiple within a specific category (e.g., dual nationality or more than one mother tongue) (Liebkind & Henning-Lindblom, 2015). Belonging to one or more language groups is just one part of a person's identity, but it is often a significant part for a bilingual or multilingual individual in societies like Finland, where multiple language groups coexist and are keen on their rights.

Additionally, Finland has a policy that allows only one official mother tongue for each child to be registered in the Population Information System (Tammenmaa, 2020). As one cannot declare linguistic multi-identity and diverse linguistic affiliations in the population information system it has lasting implications on an individual's language of education, service language and subsequent linguistic identity (Lojander-Visapää, 2008; Palviainen & Bergroth, 2018), as one can follow either a Finnish-medium or a Swedish-medium education track. Even though the reported mother tongue does not bind the child to anything definite as it can be changed at any time (Obućina & Saarela, 2020), the language of one's educational system significantly impacts one's linguistic and cultural identity (Kovero, 2012; Vincze & Henning-Lindblom, 2016). Irrespective of the household's linguistic background the official linguistic setting dominates individuals' daily lives and shapes language identification. Although the focal participant of this study resided in a predominantly Finnish-speaking region of Finland, she pursued most of her education in institutions where Swedish was the medium of instruction. This linguistic context has played a role in her identity work, as discussed later in this paper.

Furthermore, individuals who are bilingual speakers of Finnish and Swedish form a unique ethnolinguistic group, members of which may identify as Swedish or Finnish speakers or as bilinguals (Henning-Lindblom & Liebkind, 2007; Lojander-Visapää, 2008; Vincze & Henning-Lindblom, 2016). Although Swedish is a national language, which receives strong institutional support, and all Finns study the second national language in school, Swedish-speaking Finns often deal with the challenge of being able to communicate entirely in Swedish in all domains (such as healthcare, religion, running errands, media) in Finland (Strandberg & Gooskens, 2022). This intricate linguistic environment is further compounded by the observation that Swedish-speaking Finns have a notable tendency to migrate, predominantly to Sweden, at a rate higher than their Finnish-speaking counterparts (Kepsu, 2016).

Previous studies have aimed to understand the history of Swedish-speaking Finns and the Swedish spoken in Finland (Bergroth, 1917; Wide & Lyngfelt, 2009; af Hällström-Reijonen, 2012; Strandberg et al., 2022) and the identity of those living in Finland (Henning-Lindblom & Liebkind, 2007; Lojander-Visapää, 2008; Kovero, 2012; Vincze & Henning-Lindblom, 2016; Palviainen & Bergroth, 2018) or the ones who have moved to Sweden (Kepsu, 2016; Kepsu & Henriksson, 2019; Henriksson, 2022), using mainly survey-based methods (Björkstrand, 2005; Lojander-Visapää, 2008; Vincze & Henning-Lindblom, 2016; Kepsu & Henriksson, 2019). There is a need for qualitative studies focusing on the identity and identity construction of Swedish-speaking Finns, particularly in diaspora settings where the linguistic and cultural environments differ from those left behind. The strategies employed to maintain connections to their cultural roots should be explored. This study addresses this need.

2.3 Identity work in diasporas

Diasporas differ from traditional immigrant communities. Defined as expatriate minority communities that have departed their country of origin, they carry with them a memory or vision of their homeland, often with hopes of returning someday (Clifford, 1994). Such communities frequently tackle feelings of partial acceptance in their host countries, while maintaining strong commitments to their countries of origin. This duality gives rise to a collective identity shaped by their ties to both lands. A classic example of a diaspora is the Jewish diasporas, formed by various historical factors and events (Safran, 2005; Cheyette, 2013; Brown & Silberstein, 2012). Many Jews maintain a strong cultural, religious, and emotional connection to Israel, but their diverse histories and experiences in various countries have also shaped their identity work. It is essential to recognise, however, that not all diaspora communities fit the same definition. Diasporas are diverse and should not be seen as homogeneous groups. Within these communities, some individuals desire to go back to their original country, while others either do not want to or cannot return (Canagarajah & Silberstein, 2012). Cohen (2022) suggests a broader understanding: groups that have relocated to environments distinct in culture and language from their homeland can form diasporas, provided they retain a mutual orientation towards their former homeland.

From an international perspective Swedish-speaking Finns moving abroad may be regarded as privileged migrants (cf. Bergström, 2016). Compared to people who for various reasons (war, political circumstances, climate change) may be

forced to leave their home country (Solevid, 2016; McAuliffe & Triandafyllidou, 2022), the migration patterns of Swedish-speaking Finns – primarily driven by professional or personal pursuits – often lead them to other Scandinavian or EU countries (Herberts, 2019). Approximately 13 percent of all eligible Swedish-speaking Finnish voters have a permanent address abroad, with two-thirds residing in Sweden (Herberts 2019; Harjula & Himmelroos 2020; Henriksson, 2022). While those who relocate to Sweden find cultural and linguistic familiarity, others, like those moving to Switzerland, face a different ethnic landscape. Therefore, this study focuses on a country where Swedish-speaking Finns have been able to form a diaspora and have adopted various strategies to communicate in their mother tongue.

Regardless of the location, shared heritage and language become pillars of identity work in the diaspora, facilitating community-building (Anderson, 2006). In Switzerland, both Finnish-speaking Finns and Swedish-speaking Finns have established a diaspora. To communicate in their native languages, they have adopted strategies such as creating social media groups and organising events rooted in Finnish and Finland-Swedish traditions (Rosenberg, 2023)

There are many individuals in diasporas, and many ways of negotiating identities. As individuals in a diaspora encounter various social, cultural, and linguistic landscapes, their identity evolves (Canagarajah & Silberstein, 2012). These identities are not influenced only by their homeland or their host countries, but also by their interactions with dominant host communities and contacts back home. Multilingualism and multiculturalism serve as bridges, allowing individuals in the diaspora to navigate these complex terrains, and highlighting the multifaceted nature of their identity construction (Bhabha, 1999; Choi, 2012).

In our modern, interconnected world, the digital realm plays an invaluable role in shaping and maintaining the identity of diasporic communities. From creating online communities that echo the sentiments of their homeland to utilising the internet as a bridge to stay connected, the digital space has delivered new, powerful dimensions for identity work in diasporas. Numerous studies have underscored the significance of digital communication and media. For instance, Nakamura (2002), Bailey, Georgiou and Harindranath (2007), Brinkerhoff (2009), Elias and Lemish (2009), Alonso and Oiarzabal (2010), Christensen (2012), and Dekker and Engbersen (2014) highlight the integral role of digital platforms in the lives of diasporic populations. Digital platforms enable individuals to establish online communities and retain connections to their homeland. Such engagements often result in the evolution of diasporic identities that foster strong connections both within the diaspora and back to the country of origin. While some studies (Baldassar et al., 2017; Rosenberg, 2023) note the existence of community identification even without active engagement with the homeland, others (de Bruin, 2019; Aziz, 2022) emphasise how digital communication strengthens these connections. Specifically, de Bruin (2019) articulates how digital platforms enhance ties with the homeland, and Aziz (2022) details the establishment of extensive diasporic networks in transnational arenas. Considering the growing importance of media, especially social media, in diasporic identity formation, as noted by Georgiou (2006), it is imperative to incorporate these discussions into my study.

3 The study

This study is part of a larger one in which the data were collected in two phases: first, a survey targeting Swedish-speaking Finns in Switzerland was conducted in 2019, and this was followed by two case studies in the spring of 2020. Data collection and processing have followed ethical guidelines for research on human participants[5]. Informed consent was obtained from the participants, and the participants are not identifiable from the material. The data were collected by the researcher who also identifies herself as a Swedish-speaking Finn and who lived in Switzerland from 2017 to 2019. Out of the 29 individuals who responded to the survey, nine were approached because they expressed interest in further participation. Ultimately, the case studies based on interviews and media diaries were conducted with two adult participants. The data for this study were gathered in collaboration with one focal participant, named "Lia", who represents an individual who has lived in a diaspora for an extended period and was willing to share her experiences. The following sections will introduce Lia, detail the data collection process, and explain the analytical methodology underpinning this article.

3.1 Participant

Lia, now in her sixties, has lived in Switzerland for over three decades (see table 1). She moved there at the end of the 1980s with her Finnish partner who had found employment there. Though they initially contemplated a return to Finland, the birth of their two children and Lia's qualification to work in Switzerland anchored them to their new home. Lia's linguistic background is rich and varied. Born to Swedish-speaking parents, she was nevertheless raised in a Finnish-speaking region of Finland. Her educational journey illustrates this duality: she began in a Finnish-speaking primary school but transitioned to a Swedish-speaking one after four years. By the time she reached university, her social environment became even more Swedish-speaking as she studied in Swedish and met Swedish-speaking Finns from different parts of Finland.

Table 1. Demographic information about the participant.

Name	Lia
Age	60
Born in	Finland
Lived in Switzerland since	at the end of 1980s
Family	Swiss partner, two children
Mother tongue	Swedish (spoken in Finland)
Other linguistic resources	Finnish, English, German, French, Italian, Spanish

The name is a pseudonym.

Lia's daily life involves several languages. With her first husband, their shared language was Finnish. By contrast, she communicates in German with her current Swiss partner. At work she oscillates between English and German, while she speaks Swedish with her children. With her circle of friends, they converse in Finnish, German, and English. Due to her international occupation, French, Spanish, and Italian are also part of Lia's linguistic repertoire.

3.2 Data collection

The data includes three semi-structured interviews with Lia, recorded in audio and video during March and April 2020. These interviews, initially set up as face-to-face, were conducted via Zoom due to the onset of the coronavirus pandemic. They ranged from 38 to 78 minutes, focusing on Lia's digital communication in the diaspora, her daily interactions, language use and identity perspectives. The interviews, originally in Swedish, were transcribed for analysis and translated into English, with standardised spelling in quotes. The original citations from the interviews in Swedish can be found in the appendix (Appendix 1). Using the semi-structured method allowed control over discussion topics while permitting an open dialogue (Mann, 2016). This enabled Lia to sometimes lead the conversation, offering more personal narratives than traditional interviews. Thus, for the sake of convenience and simplicity, from here onwards the term "narrative" when referring to the interview conversations will be used.

3.3 Method

Positioning theory provides both a theoretical framework through which to explore how identity is narratively constructed and presented, and an analytical tool to describe how Lia negotiates her identity in the data. Bamberg (2004) expanded upon the theory of positioning by emphasising the dynamic interplay of identity within narratives. Bamberg's model introduces a three-level positioning approach, offering a framework for analysing narratives and understanding identity construction (see table 2 below). Lia's different positions were outlined according to positioning theory and Bamberg's three levels and categorised by applying grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 2014). To ensure systematic analysis, NVivo software was used to code the narratives. While NVivo serves as a robust tool for narrative analysis, the coding process remains subjective, even when systematic methods are applied. The challenge in coding qualitative data within NVivo stems from its subjective nature, as the interpretations made during the coding stage depend on the researcher's understanding. The analysis will therefore provide an abundant variety of examples from the narratives. Grounded theory was chosen as the primary analytical tool because it can represent phenomena authentically. This method allowed for positions and patterns of Lia's identity to emerge naturally from the data, rather than fitting them into predetermined categories.

Table 2. Three level positioning adapted from Bamberg (2004) & Anderson et al. (2022).

	How one positions oneself and others in relation to one another.
Level 1	How this relates to actions and motivations behind the actions
	How one positions oneself in relation to the audience, they are telling the story to.
Level 2	How one wishes to be seen.
	How one positions oneself in relation to past events, broader cultural norms, and values.
Level 3	How one sees oneself in relation to the world.

During the coding process, words and sentences that referenced other individuals were highlighted and coded, focusing on how Lia described them and their roles within her linguistic and social contexts (level 1). Additionally, the way she built up her narrative and communicated with the researcher was examined, noting the language and terminology she employed (level 2). Furthermore, segments of her narratives where she reflects on her upbringing, how she articulated her past experiences and current situation, and the linguistic and national ideologies she currently embraces were coded (level 3). After coding the narratives inspired by Bamberg's levels and analysing the coded data, six central positions that offer a new understanding of the studied phenomenon were identified. The positions are *the patriotic, the distanced, the diasporic, the settled, the emotional* and *the mediated*. By analysing the levels of positioning, insights into the roles Lia adopts in her narratives could be gained. Emphasis is placed on Lia's self-perception in the current context, her relationship with her background, and how she wants to be perceived (Anderson et al., 2022). Within this framework, Lia's self-positioning and the identified six distinct positions were examined more closely according to Bamberg's model.

The first level explores how Lia positions herself relative to others (e.g., her family, friends) in her narratives and how this positioning relates to her actions (Bamberg, 2004). The second level focuses on the interactive aspect. It examines how Lia perceives herself in the context of her audience (e.g., the researcher), observes and reflects on her positions and how she wishes to be seen. The third level emphasises Lia's self-reflection in the broader context of her background and personal history, cultural norms, values and ideologies associated with being a Finn, in general and a Swedish-speaking Finn, in particular. It underscores how her narratives align with and diverge from these larger discourses defining "who she is" (Bamberg, 2004:337; De Fina & King, 2011; Anderson et al., 2022). Bamberg's levels are intertwined, and it is not always clear, or even necessary or useful, to separate them. For the sake of consistency, in the analysis, examples from each level are provided, while recognising that they are closely interconnected and interdependent. In this way they provide a tool for representing and organising the intricacies of Lia's identity work.

4 Findings

In this chapter the six positions will be outlined and discussed in light of examples from the narratives. For each position, its manifestation across Bamberg's three levels will first be detailed after which the levels and Lia's positionings will be analysed and illustrated in the examples.

4.1 Patriotic but distanced
In the first example, Lia's patriotic position reflects her deep attachment to her native Finland and her mother tongue, Swedish. She acknowledges other Finns in Switzerland in her narrative (level 1), switches between being a protagonist and an observer and reflects on her motivations, feelings, and insights relating to her positioning (level 2). Her narrative integrates contradictory feelings about her past experiences which relate to her identity work (level 3).

Example 1.

> But it's clear that I also have patriotic feelings towards Finland and for me, it's absolutely wonderful to speak Swedish like we now do […] my Finnish identity is certainly strong, and I love being with my compatriots but my identity is certainly a bit Swiss too. […] I mean, of course, that identity is there but it's a bit strange I couldn't imagine actually living in Finland anymore. (Interview 3, April 2020)

She positions herself in relation to other Finns in Switzerland and connects them to her Finnish identity. She expresses her solidarity with them, which highlights her patriotic stance and signifies a shared understanding of their roots (level 1). She contemplates her emotions concerning her homeland and her mother tongue as she shares her narrative with the researcher. The opportunity to communicate in her mother tongue with the researcher is crucial, underscoring her profound attachment to it. Her observations and perceptions shape the message she conveys to the researcher (level 2). Her choice of words reinforces this sentiment, as she describes it as "absolutely wonderful to speak Swedish". This statement further emphasises the rarity of using her mother tongue and shows how this shapes her linguistic identity in the diaspora (level 3).

To emphasise the patriotic position, she does not question it – it is clear to her. This expresses a profound national feeling towards her home country. Using the possessive pronoun "my" when referring to her identity shows that Finnishness is something deep inside her. In contrast, she describes her Swiss identity more tentatively, suggesting that while it is a part of her, it is more open to revision. Additionally, she shares her feelings towards her former and current home countries by recognising that her positioning towards Finland has changed "of course, that identity is there but it's a bit strange, I couldn't imagine actually living in Finland anymore". She expresses difficulty imagining living in Finland again, despite her strong emotional ties to the country. This highlights the significance of her Finnish background and reveals that her experiences have shaped her identity (level 3).

Lia acknowledges that changes that have taken place in Finland make her feel distanced from her homeland (example 2). The distanced position becomes clear on all three levels in her narrative: her positioning in relation to her late parents (1), her reflections on the distanced position (2), and how her experiences affect her identity work (3).

Example 2.

> I have been away from Finland for such a long time that of course, Finland for me feels sometimes rather exotic even, there are many things that have changed, like new words in the Finnish language […] like when the word "kännykkä" came, the first time I heard someone say something about "kännykkä" I didn't understand what they were talking about, and so many things have changed I mean, the whole school system, there are many things that have changed, and of course, I don't visit Finland regularly anymore because my parents are dead but when I did visit so it was more or less like a holiday for me, I did not live there anymore. Finland became for me a country where I was only when it was a beautiful summer or just maybe a weekend break at my parents' house, it was, it's become exotic and I feel quite at home in Switzerland, I have to say. (Interview 3, April 2020)

Her choice of charged words like "exotic" indicates alienation and how she is working on her national, Finnish identity from a distance. The distanced position is reinforced when she reflects on new Finnish words or phenomena that have occurred in Finland. For instance, she refers to terms like kännykkä[6] and changes

in the educational system to motivate her distanced position in her narrative (level 2). Lia's linguistic experiences significantly shape her awareness of language changes, particularly within Finnish (level 3). Given her more extensive communication in Finnish than in Swedish, and close ties with Finnish-speaking friends in Switzerland (see 4.2), Lia is likely to perceive alterations in the Finnish language more distinctly.

She feels that the distanced position is also much dependent on her late parents. Her visits to Finland have decreased as she cannot visit them anymore (level 1). While she recognises a deep attachment to Finland, she feels that it does not resonate with her as it once did. Despite her idealised, patriotic view of Finland, she now sees it as a destination to visit at her convenience. She explains her distanced position arguing that it no longer feels like her home, especially since many things have changed since her departure. She combines her past experiences into a coherent narrative, showing how those experiences relate to her current understanding of her previous and current home countries (level 3).

4.2 Diasporic and settled

Lia's diasporic position becomes evident across all Bamberg's levels: she expresses a close tie to other Finns in Switzerland (1), validates their significance to the researcher (2), and experiences how their shared culture and language are central to her (3). In the narratives (example 1 above and examples 3 and 4 below), level 1 is emphasised when Lia positions her compatriots as important links to her sense of self within the diaspora setting. She is especially close to a group of Finnish-speaking women who live in Switzerland. She reflects on her connection to them and places importance on these relationships, expressing a deep emotional attachment by saying she loves being with her compatriots (level 2). She recognises that her connection to Finland is mainly upheld through her interactions with other Finns in Switzerland. The shared cultural and diasporic backgrounds contribute to her national identity and to the shared experience of living as a Finn in the diaspora (level 3).

Example 3.
> And that's why it's so nice to be with one's compatriots who are more or less the same age, because then you have, you have that cultural background, and when you talk about "ämbare"[7] everyone like understands what it's about. (Interview 3, April 2020)

While she places importance on these women, she also mentions that she used to communicate with a group of Swedish-speaking Finns and helped organise social events based on Finland-Swedish traditions (example 4). However, due to the geographical distances, she lost touch over time. Despite this, she remains hopeful about reconnecting with them after retirement. As social connections play a critical role in the identity work, enhanced social interaction with Swedish-speaking Finns within the diaspora could significantly strengthen this aspect of her identity. Lia's fluency in both Finnish and Swedish has enabled her to build relationships with both language diasporas, and those relationships have functioned as a strategy to stay connected with her roots and national identity.

Example 4.
> I have a group with Finland-Swedish women, and we talked already about these [a group for Swedish-speaking Finns], and I was actually involved in founding them. However, I

have distanced myself from them, which is why I haven't mentioned them here either, as I don't have much contact with them anymore. […] They have this active group where they sing Finland-Swedish songs and celebrate First of May and all that, but I'm not really involved with them. That's why they are not included here [in the notes]. But I have mentioned several Finnish friends, we then have a small Finnish group, and we meet sometimes, no strings attached, and I have quite a lot of contact with them. […] we have a very active WhatsApp group chat and right now for example, so it comes every day there are several things people send like funny things and then everyone like comments and it's all in Finnish. (Interview 2, March 2020)

The relations with compatriots are enacted, maintained, and co-constructed through interactions in a vibrant WhatsApp group for Lia and her Finnish-speaking friends. They converse on various topics in Finnish, sharing anecdotes from both Finland and Switzerland (example 4). At the time of the interviews, the COVID-19 pandemic emerged as a prevalent subject of discourse. The convergence of the pandemic's effects and the mandated home quarantine amplified interactions within the chat.

For this group, their shared backgrounds form the foundation for a rich exchange (see also example 3 above). Being able to communicate digitally serves as a strategy for Lia and the diaspora group members to stay actively connected to their roots and Finnish identity. It shows how she draws on the shared language and cultural experiences in her identity work within the diaspora and how this supports her diasporic position (levels 1 & 3).

Even though these friends foster the diasporic position, they contribute to a settled position as well (example 5). The settled position becomes clear on all the levels: Lia emphasises the importance of her networks (1), she motivates this position by sharing her perceptions (2) and relates her experiences, personal achievements, and everyday life to identity more broadly (3).

Example 5.
And especially since I have children who have grown up here and I don't know, if I hadn't any children, I mean I have my job here and everything, so I mean your home is where you live and have people you like and where you work so I think identity is pretty much dependent on that. (Interview 3, April 2020)

Lia positions herself in relation to the other people around her: her family, co-workers, and friends. She believes it is not only the location but her social network that makes her feel at home. Besides her Finnish friends and her family, she feels close to many colleagues (level 1). Her fulfilling job and strong ties with colleagues anchor her both personally and professionally, reflecting her accomplishments in Switzerland and contributing to her settled position. In her narrative she is making sense of her feelings and how her life in Switzerland contributes to her settled position. In this narrative (example 5), she alternates between using a subjective "I" and a generalised "you" when reflecting on her identity work. This oscillation illustrates how personal experiences connect to broader issues defining one's identity (levels 2 & 3). She continues to reflect on the topic in the following example (example 6).

Example 6.
I feel fairly at home in Switzerland, I have to say. I have also lived pretty much in [a city in Switzerland], all the time that I have lived here, so I feel somewhat connected to [the city]. (Interview 3, April 2020)

This cautious approach and the use softening adverbs like "fairly" and "somewhat" reflect her respect for her homeland but also emphasises her settled position (level 2). Although she has emphasised to the listener her deep connection to her roots, she also feels "fairly at home in Switzerland".

Lia knew German when she moved to Switzerland, making it easier for her to integrate. She describes her language use with her partner and positions herself relative to the different varieties of German (examples 7 & 8).

Example 7.
>So because I live together with my partner so I speak German with him, I speak High German, I don't speak Swiss German, I've never been able to cross that threshold to start speaking Swiss German, so I speak High German with him and he speaks German and sometimes he speaks High German, he sort of switches. (Interview 1, March 2020)

Example 8.
>When we write we write High German but sometimes it's also Swiss German and sometimes I also try for fun to write some Swiss German, I mean, there are both possibilities. (Interview 2, March 2020)

While she understands Swiss German, spoken by her partner, she usually speaks standard German, and Swiss German[8] only occasionally "for fun". Understanding but choosing not to use the dominant language variant of the new region indicates both settled and diasporic positions on all three levels. As she does not speak Swiss German, she excludes herself from this community and she positions herself as different from the community and her partner (level 1). Additionally, she positions herself and her partner as multilingual. This not only defines her linguistic relationship with her partner but also her identity work: how she sees herself and how she constructs her linguistic identity for the researcher (levels 2 & 3). Knowing Swiss German reinforces the settled position while using Standard German emphasises her diasporic position.

4.3 Emotional and mediated

The emotional position is connected to her mother tongue, as becomes evident on all three levels: its significance in interactions with her daughters (1), sharing a background as a Swedish-speaking Finn with the researcher (2), and its role in her past and for her identity (3) (example 9).

Example 9.
>And for me, it's absolutely wonderful to speak Swedish like we now do, I mean when I speak Finland-Swedish with someone so it is for me like yay, but really because I grew up in Finnish-language surroundings, so it has always been special for me to speak. I studied of course in [a city in Finland] where I met many Swedish-speaking Finns, but not before I started to study, until I was 20 or 22, so it was very special for me to speak my mother tongue, so that identity has been for me, you reinforce that identity when it's not so self-evident, then you make a great deal of it. (Interview 3, April 2020)

Lia illustrates the significance and joy of speaking her mother tongue saying: "it's absolutely wonderful to speak Swedish". As the researcher shares a similar background with her, she positions both herself and the researcher as Swedish-speaking Finns, motivating the emotional position in the narrative (level 2). On

level 3 Lia refers to her background and how her positioning towards Swedish is deeply intertwined with her personal experiences. As she grew up in a Finnish-dominated environment, it was special for her to use her mother tongue. She describes how the interactions with other Swedish-speaking Finns have been a way to reinforce her identity throughout her life. Today as she does not have that many contacts to speak Swedish with (see example 12), she notes how talking with the researcher is special and enjoyable for her. Her emotional connection to this language deeply ties into her sense of self and how she manages her identity work as the evolution of her Finland-Swedish identity includes active maintenance and expression. To ensure it continues she is committed to passing it on to her children (level 1). Her role as a linguistic model can be described as a mediated position and it is evident across all of Bamberg's levels: she embodies it with her children (1), explains it to the researcher (2), and it reflects her core beliefs (3) (example 10).

Example 10

> When they [the daughters] write they write a terrible Swedish, they don't know the spelling at all, so that's why I want to, I am particular about doing this, I mean to try to speak proper Swedish so that also their Swedish survives at some level. (Interview 2, March 2020)

Lia emphasises the importance of her children learning Swedish and how this is related to her actions and the motivations behind these actions (level 1). She reflects on her language use and is motivated to make the efforts she makes for her children to learn Swedish (level 2) but using the verb "try" highlights the challenges faced in the diaspora (cf. Schwartz, 2008; Gharibi & Seals, 2020). Discussing "proper Swedish" highlights both that she values correct language use and is conscious of her role as a linguistic model for her children. It also emphasises her language ideology (level 3). She says that she sometimes might even point out the daughter's spelling errors in their chats as she wants to ensure their "proper language". As an expatriate, passing on her native language is vital, given her limited daily Swedish interactions. While she occasionally mixed German and Swedish, she felt pleased when her children showed they were against blending the languages (example 11).

Example 11.

> Then I also started a bit, to mix in some German words but when the girls got older, they told me: "Mum, you need to talk proper Swedish, not the kind of Swedish where you mix in German words" and I was really happy that they said it. So, I really try to apply myself to always find the Swedish word instead. (Interview 2, March 2020)

Lia's children's desire for her to continue speaking Swedish was significant for her, showing its importance to both her and them as a shared language (level 1). Nowadays they communicate actively digitally, and Lia has commented on the importance of these media for their communication (example 12).

Example 12.

> I have a sister who also lives abroad, she lives in the UK. So of course, I'm also in contact with her via electronic media […] I speak Swedish basically only with my two daughters and my sister. […] And my daughters they live, not terribly far away from me but still we

almost never have time to meet so I don't see them very often and therefore […] we are in contact via electronic media. (Interview 1, March 2020)

Lia primarily communicates in Swedish with her daughters and her sister who lives in the United Kingdom. Since she does not see her sister or her daughters often, these means of communication are essential for both their interactions and for maintaining their Swedish language. In essence, the media are not just tools for conversation, but also bridges to her past and pathways for transmitting the language to her children. The use of these media and the interactions enable the activities she engages in in her identity work.

Her mediated position becomes evident also when she describes her role as a cultural mediator. In the following example (13) she constructs her national identity not only as a caring mediator but also as a patriot.

Example 13.

We kept up Finnish traditions for a long time for the sake of the children, all Christmas traditions and everything, from standing up if you hear "Our land, our land, our Fatherland"[9] you get up and like that, we taught our children, we made a great point out that we would teach our children the Finnish identity and Finnish traditions and now that they are grown-ups so they are very grateful, but now that I have a Swiss partner and I mean he is also interested in Finland and like that but now so I do not keep up with those things any more, sometimes if my daughters come over for Christmas so maybe I cook Finnish food, Finnish ham and have those typical Finnish elves they are so different from those Swiss decorations. (Interview 3, April 2020)

Lia positions herself as a parent in the diaspora and narrates how she and her husband persistently taught Finnish culture, traditions, and identity to their children when they were young (levels 1 & 2). In the diaspora, parents like Lia and her husband often want to pass on their heritage. She says that now they are adults their children appreciate that they did so. Example (12) shows a change in her position, though. In reassessing the preservation of past customs, she has relinquished certain traditions that she once regarded vital, recognising that engaging children in their cultural heritage is achieved through their active participation. While Finnish traditions matter to Lia, she does not uphold them for herself anymore. Instead, what matters is connecting her children to their roots and preserving traditions, with a focus on her children's involvement (levels 1 & 3). As the emotional and mediated positions are linked to the preservation and transmission of the Swedish language, the mediated position involves preserving and transmitting Finnish (not explicitly Finland-Swedish) traditions and culture. This indicates that within the diaspora, the national Finnish identity assumes greater centrality for her, and the identity work associated with her identity as a Swedish-speaking Finn is closely aligned with language preservation.

5 Discussion

This study explores the identity and positioning of Lia, a Swedish-speaking Finn in Switzerland, giving a voice to narratives that have not been discussed before. Previous research on the identity of Swedish-speaking Finns (e.g., Björkstrand, 2005; Henning-Lindblom & Liebkind, 2007; Kovero, 2012; Liebkind & Henning-Lindblom, 2015; Strandberg & Gooskens, 2022), has not specifically addressed the experiences of those in a diaspora. Lia's narratives provide nuanced perceptions

of her identity, shaped not just by language, connections, and traditions (Björkstand, 2005; Kovero, 2012; Canagarajah & Silberstein, 2012), but also by her unique lived experiences, the positions she adopts and the strategies she uses for her identity work. In the diaspora, belonging to a linguistic minority from one's homeland may influence identity work differently. In the case of Lia, the importance of Swedish language – along with its preservation and transmission – has been emphasised. Conversely, the positioning associated with Finland has been underscored as reflecting a more expansive, national identity. In multilingual societies, individuals can maintain a strong identity linked to a minority language but also to the majority language group (Vincze & Henning-Lindblom, 2016).

Using positioning theory and grounded theory, this study identified six primary positions that described Lia's identity: patriotic, distanced, diasporic, settled, emotional, and mediated. Bamberg's model (2004) aids in understanding the multi-layered nature of Lia's identity work and the interplay of the three levels of positioning within Lia's narratives: how Lia 1) considers and positions herself relative to other people and how this relates to her actions, 2) reflects on her positioning and tells her story to the researcher and 3) reflects on both her background and ideologies to show who she is. By analysing these levels, it has been possible to gain a comprehensive perspective on how narratives can reflect personal experiences, interpersonal dynamics, and broader socio-cultural ideologies and capture the essence of identity work. The study has shown that identity, particularly in a diasporic context, is not static but a continuous process, shaped and reshaped by interactions, and very much dependent on social connections (e.g., Hall, 1990; Fisher et.al., 2020; Murrell, 2022).

Lia's patriotic position indicates a strong and respectful bond to Finland, even though the distanced position reveals that she does not see herself living there again and sees herself as an outsider. Her interactions with her Finnish-speaking friends seem to play a crucial role in how she navigates her national identity abroad and shows how these relationships affect her patriotic, diasporic, and settled positions. Given that she already in Finland experienced a duality in her linguistic identity, she can identify with both Finnish- and Swedish-speaking Finns (see Liebkind & Henning-Lindblom, 2015). Lia's narratives show that maintaining active connections with fellow Finns reinforces her ties to her cultural roots and homeland. Interactions with these peers and sharing similar life situations not only reinforce the diasporic position, allowing them to resonate with each other's backgrounds, but they also bolster the sense of a settled position due to their significance as mutual support networks. Furthermore, the narratives reveal how her multilingual abilities and professional setting reinforce her settled position.

Lia recognises a strong national identity but feels distanced from her original home country because it is inevitably different from how it was in her time, and people she knew no longer live there. While Lia shows she has a strong Finnish national identity, her narratives suggest an ongoing effort to reinforce her identity as a Swedish-speaking Finn, with a particular emphasis on maintaining her mother tongue. Lia reports that she was once involved in founding a network of Swedish-speaking Finns in Switzerland, although her communication with them has been sparse in recent years. The impact of enhanced communication with other Swedish-speaking Finns in the diaspora on Lia's identity remains to be explored in further studies. Additionally, an investigation into whether aspects

such as traditions and cultural phenomena specific to Swedish-speaking Finns would emerge more prominently in the data would be worthwhile. Nevertheless the use and preservation of her mother tongue remains paramount, prompting her to adopt active strategies to bolster this aspect of her identity work. The emotional and mediated positions become evident in the way she emphasises her attachment to the Swedish language and her role in passing on her cultural and linguistic heritage to her children.

Lia appears to employ several strategies to maintain her national identity, indicating the value of her ties to her compatriots. She exploits her language skills (cf. Bhabha, 1999; Choi, 2012) to reinforce her connection to her heritage and to feel a sense of solidarity and belonging. She perceives a change in her positioning over time, now feeling closer to Finnish-speaking friends, but remains hopeful about reconnecting with Swedish-speaking peers. Digital communication emerges as vital in her narrative for maintaining linguistic and cultural ties, especially with her Finnish-speaking friends, her children, and her sister (see Rosenberg, 2023 for a more detailed analysis of Lia's use of digital communication channels) (cf. Elias & Lemish, 2009; Alonso & Oiarzabal, 2010; Christensen, 2012; Dekker & Engbersen, 2014; de Bruin, 2019; Aziz, 2022). Yet another strategy is the mediated position she takes in relation to her children to pass on her native culture and mother tongue to them.

The research acknowledges the potential influence of mutual positioning between the researcher and Lia, given their shared backgrounds, and how this dynamic might affect Lia's positioning on level 2. This study, however, has recognised positionings on levels 1 and 3 by analysing how she positions herself relative to the people around her and how she positions herself relative to her experiences as well as to broader cultural expectations and ideologies in her narrative. This demonstrates how she imparts culture and identity by teaching cultural activities to her children and the dedication she exhibits in reinforcing linguistic identity, such as the proper use of Swedish. The interplay of these levels provides us with valuable information about her identity work. In conclusion, this study's methodological approach underscores the importance of adopting flexible and synergistic analytical tools when exploring identity. Combining positioning theory and grounded theory, viewed through the lens of Bamberg's model, the research provides an in-depth exploration of how individuals like Lia negotiate their identity amidst personal, interpersonal, and societal influences.

In conclusion, this qualitative analysis of Lia's narratives illuminates the fluidity and context-dependence of identity, particularly in a diasporic setting. Identity studies in diasporas have concentrated on dynamics of diaspora communities (cf. Clifford, 1994; Anderson, 2006; Canagarajah & Silberstein, 2012; Christensen, 2012; Baldassar et.al., 2017) and investigated what kind of strategies individuals apply for staying connected to their compatriots or previous homelands. This study also addresses the fact that Lia, as a member of a linguistic minority, has settled and developed strategies to navigate her national and linguistic identity in her new homeland. Given that identities are dynamic and socially constructed, it would be intriguing to explore whether Lia's identity as a Swedish-speaking Finn will expand upon reestablishing connections with other Swedish-speaking Finns in Switzerland. While the study provides a detailed exploration of identity work of a Swedish-speaking Finn through Lia's experiences, it also presents broader implications for understanding diaspora

communities and linguistic minorities, suggesting the need for further inquiry to determine the applicability of these insights to other diasporic groups.

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Endnotes

[1] Translating the current Swedish classification to English is challenging. In this study, I use the term "Swedish-speaking Finn". While "Finland-Swede", which is the literal translation of the term, is also used in English, the former emphasises national identity as a Finn who speaks Swedish, while the latter suggests a closer connection to Sweden. In Swedish, "finländare" is a neutral term for all Finnish citizens, "finne" refers to Finnish-speaking citizens, and "finlandssvensk" denotes Swedish-speaking citizens (Liebkind et al., 2007).

[2] Switzerland has four national languages: German, French, Italian, and Romansh, with varying regional use and official status.

[3] Despite some overlapping characteristics, Swedish and Finnish are fundamentally different. While Swedish belongs to the North Germanic family, Finnish is part of the Finno-Ugric linguistic lineage.

[4] E.g., Saint Lucia's Day, Swedish Heritage Day (Svenska dagen), Midsummer, Walpurgis Night (Vappen), Crayfish parties, Venetian Night.

[5] Data collection and handling have adhered to the guidelines of TENK (The Finnish National Board on Research Integrity) and the university's data policy.

[6] A colloquial term in Finnish for a mobile phone.

[7] A term in Swedish spoken in Finland that refers to a bucket.

[8] Swiss German refers to the Alemannic dialects spoken in Switzerland, differing notably in spelling and pronunciation from Standard German (Study in Switzerland 2023).

[9] "Maamme" (FI), "Vårt land" (SV), "Our land" (EN) is the Finnish national anthem.

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Appendices

Appendix 1. The original interview citations in Swedish (spoken in Finland).

Example 1
   Men det är ju klart att jag har också patriotiska känslor mot Finland och för mig så är det absolut underbart att tala svenska, som vi nu gör [...] min finska identitet är nog stark och jag älskar att vara med mina landsmän men min identitet är nog lite schweizisk också. [...] Nog finns ju den identiteten kvar förstås men det är lite sådär konstigt jag sku int kunna tänka mig att egentligen att bo i Finland mera. (Interview 3, April 2020)

Example 2
   Jag har varit så länge borta från Finland att Finland förstås känns för mig ibland ganska exotiskt till och med att det är ju många saker som har ändrats från olika, nya ord som har kommit i det finska språket [...] till exempel då när ordet "kännykkä" kom så första gången någon sa något om "kännykkä" så jag förstod inte vad de prata om liksom att det ändrats alltså jag menar hela skolsystemet det är mycket saker som har ändrats och klart jag är ju inte regelbundet mera i Finland eftersom mina båda föräldrar är döda men då när jag va regelbundet där så det var ju mest bara då som en slags semester för mig, jag bodde ju inte mera där. Finland blev för mig ett land där jag var bara när det var vacker sommar eller bara kanske ett veckoslut hos mina föräldrar, det var, det har blivit exotiskt och jag känner mig ganska hemma i Schweiz, måste jag säga. (Interview 3, April 2020)

Example 3
   Och det är därför det är så trevligt att vara med sina landsmän och som är så där mer eller mindre i samma ålder, för då har man, man har den där kulturella bakgrunden och när man pratar om ämbare så då förstår alla liksom att vad det handlar om. (Interview 3, April 2020)

Example 4
   Jag har en grupp med finlandssvenska kvinnor och vi tala ju om de här [en finlandssvensk grupp] och jag var faktiskt med och grunda dem men att jag har lite fjärma mig från dem för de där därför så har jag inte alls nämnt dem här heller för jag har inte så mycket kontakt med dem. [...] De har ju den här aktiva gruppen där de sjunger finlandssvenska sånger och firar vappen och allt det här men jag är inte just med dem. Så därför är de inte med här [i anteckningarna]. Men däremot så här står flera finska väninnor, vi har då en liten finsk grupp som sådär helt okomplicerat träffas ibland och jag har ganska mycket kontakt med dem. [...] vi har en mycket aktiv sån här WhatsApp-gruppchatt och just nu till exempel så det kommer varje dag kommer det flera saker folk skickar såna här vitsiga saker och sen kommenterar alla liksom och det är då allt på finska. (Interview 2, March 2020)

Example 5
   Och speciellt när jag har barn som har vuxit upp här och jag vet inte om jag inte alls sku ha någo barn så jag menar jag har ju mitt jobb här och allt så jag menar ens hem är där var man bor och var har folk man tycker om och var man jobbar så jag tror att identiteten är ganska mycket beroende på det. (Interview 3, April 2020)

Example 6
   Jag känner mig ganska hemma i Schweiz, måste jag säga. Jag har också bott liksom ungefär alltså vid [en stad i Schweiz] har jag bott hela den tiden som jag har bott här så jag känner mig ganska så där förknippad med [staden]. (Interview 3, April 2020)

Example 7
   Alltså eftersom jag bor tillsammans med min partner så jag talar ju tyska med honom, jag talar högtyska, jag talar inte schweizisk tyska jag har aldrig liksom kunnat gå över den där tröskeln att börja tala schweizisk tyska, så jag talar högtyska med honom och han talar och tyska och ibland så talar han också högtyska, han liksom växlar. (Interview 1, March 2020)

Example 8
   När vi skriver så skriver vi högtyska men nån gång så blir det också schweizisk tyska och nån gång försöker jag också på skoj skriva lite schweizisk tyska att liksom finns de ju de båda möjligheterna. (Interview 2, March 2020)

Example 9

Och för mig så är det absolut underbart att tala svenska, som vi nu gör att det är när jag talar finlandssvenska med nån så är det för mig så där åjjh, men egentligen för jag växte ju opp i en finsk ort så det har alltid varit för mig speciellt att tala. Jag studera ju sen förstås i [en stad i Finland] och där fanns det ju mycket finlandssvenskar men ändå tills jag börja studera ända tills jag vara 20 eller 22 år gammal så var det hemskt speciellt för mig att få tala mitt modersmål så den identiteten har varit för mig ganska så att man förstärker den identitet när den inte är så självklar så gör man en stor sak av det. (Interview 3, April 2020)

Example 10

När de [döttrarna] skriver de skriver en fruktansvärd svenska, de kan inte alls rättskrivning så det där därför så vill jag är jag också mån om att göra det här att försöka liksom tala riktig svenska så att deras svenska liksom också hålls på nån viss nivå. (Interview 2, March 2020)

Example 11

Sen så börja jag också lite sådär och ha vissa tyska ord där emellan men när flickorna blev lite äldre så de sa sådär åt mig att "mamma du ska tala ordentlig svenska, du ska int liksom tala sån här svenska som har tyska ord" och jag blev hemskt glad när de liksom sa det. Så jag försöker då faktiskt anstränga mig att alltid söka det där svenska ordet i stället. (Interview 2, March 2020)

Example 12

Jag har en syster som också bor i alltså i utlandet hon bor i Storbritannien. Så det där förstås är jag också med henne i kontakt via elektroniska medier […] svenska talar jag ju egentligen bara med mina två döttrar och med min syster. […] Och mina döttrar de bor, inte så fruktansvärt långt borta från mig men ändå så har vi aldrig nästan tid att träffas så jag träffar dem inte så ofta och därför är vi ju sen förstås i kontakt ofta då alltså eller då när vi är i kontakt så är vi i kontakt elektroniska medier. (Interview 1, March 2020)

Example 13

Då höll vi ju upp finska traditioner hemskt länge för barnens skull, alla jultraditioner och allting, alltifrån att man stiger upp om man hör "vårt land vårt land vårt fosterland" så stiger man upp och är så här, det lärde vi våra barn, vi gjorde en stort point av att vi ska lära våra barn den finska identiteten och finska traditioner och nu när de är fullvuxna så de är hemskt tacksamma, men att nu har jag en schweizisk partner och det där han är också intresserad av Finland och sådär men nu så liksom håller jag inte på med sånt mera, nån gång om mina döttrar kommer över julen så kanske jag lagar finsk mat, finsk skinka och har de där typiska finska jultomtarna de är så annorlunda än de där schweiziska dekorationerna. (Interview 3, April 2020)