

**THE LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE AND REPRESENTA-
TIONS OF FINNISH PARLIAMENTARY PARTIES ON
THEIR WEBSITES**

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Tiivistelmä - Abstract <p>Virtuaalisen kielimaisematutkimuksen avulla voidaan tarkastella kielenkäyttöä netissä ja tuoda ilmi kielten välisiä valtaeroja (Ivkovic and Lotherington 2009: 32). Poliittiset puolueet hyödyntävät nettisivuja ja kaakseen tietoa, saadakseen ihmiset kiinnostumaan politiikasta ja demokratiasta, ja luodakseen suhteita kannattajiensa kanssa (Gibson and Ward 2000: 305-306). Nettisivuja voidaan hyödyntää myös tietynlaisen kuvan ja imagon luomiseen.</p> <p>Tässä tutkimuksessa tarkastellaan Suomen eduskuntapuolueiden nettisivujen kielimaisemia ja puolueiden muodostamia representaatioita itsestään. Tarkoituksena on selvittää, mitä kieliä puolueet käyttävät nettisivuillaan ja millaisia valintoja kielellisen sisällön suhteen on tehty. Tämän lisäksi tavoitteena on selvittää, millaisia representaatioita puolueista voidaan havaita nettisivuilla, ja kuinka nämä representaatiot tukevat sitä kuvaa, minkä puolueet haluavat itsestään luoda. Tutkimuksen aineisto koostuu Suomen kymmenen eduskuntapuolueen nettisivuista ja niiden erikielisistä kotisivuista. Tutkimus hyödyntää multimodaalisen diskurssianalyysin ja kielimaisemateorian lähtökohtia, sekä multimodaalista viitekehystä (Pauwels 2012).</p> <p>Analyysi osoittaa, että eduskuntapuolueiden nettisivujen välillä on eroja siinä, millä kielillä tietoa on tarjolla ja minkä verran kunkin kielen osalta. Kymmenen eduskuntapuolueen nettisivuista kahdeksan tarjoaa suomen lisäksi muita kielivaihtoehtoja, ja seitsemällä puolueella on englanninkieliset kotisivut. Tulokset viittaavat siihen, että puolueiden suomenkieliset nettisivut ovat luonteeltaan enemmän vuorovaikutuksellisia, kun taas englanninkieliset kotisivut tähtäävät enemmän yleiseen informaation jakamiseen. Tulokset osoittavat myös, että puolueet hyödyntävät useita erilaisia resursseja, kuten kuvia ja kielellisiä valintoja luodessaan representaatioita. Puolueet käyttävät esimerkiksi yhteisöllisyyden, suomalaisuuden, ainutlaatuisuuden ja asiallisuuden representaatioita luodessaan tietynlaista kuvaa ja imagoa itsestään.</p>	
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1 INTRODUCTION

Language and discourses have the power to shape the way people understand the world and its social constructions, as well as us and others (Pietikäinen & Mäntynen 2009). Language use, according to Pietikäinen and Mäntynen (2009), can be seen as a social action that is bound to a certain context and affected by history, values, and norms of the society, and language use can vary from anything as simple as a greeting to a global scale societal happening. Furthermore, language is a resource that can be used to produce meaning and explain the world around us, thus it is inevitably connected to social practices, societal structures, and culture (Pietikäinen & Mäntynen 2009).

The internet is a cultural practice that connects people and social practices on a global scale (Pauwels 2012: 260). The presence of multiple languages, multilingualism, on the internet is a complex matter (Leppänen & Peuronen 2012: 385). The reasoning behind the use of multiple languages online may speak of an attempt to communicate with a larger audience or it can be a result of individual multilingual internet users' decisions to utilize their varying linguistic resources in internet communication. Leppänen and Peuronen (2012: 385) see that research can take one of two directions. Depending on the way languages are used, research might focus on larger language-political aspects such as the visibility and status of languages, or it might focus on multilingualism from the point of view of an individual.

English language, according to Salomone (2022: 8-9), can be seen as a form of cultural capital that has transformed from a language of national identification to a skill that has economic and social value. What supports this change is that today there are more people who do not speak English as their first language than those who do (Salomone 2022: 9). Even though Finland has two official languages, Finnish and Swedish, English has a special role as the first foreign language most Finnish people learn. According to Leppänen and Nikula (2007: 333, 339), English has a strong presence in Finnish traditional and new media, as well as education. English has also adopted the role of a lingua franca in business and the professional world in general (Leppänen and Nikula 2007: 339). A more recent investigation conducted by the Finnish Ministry of Education and Culture in 2017 also supports the important role of English in Finland, since 90% of Finnish adults reported to have proficiency in English. This makes English the most popular foreign language. In comparison, only 71% reported to have proficiency in Swedish, which is the second official language in Finland (Monikielisyyden vahvuudeksi: Selvitys Suomen kielivarojen tilasta ja tasosta 2017: 15).

As we have established, English is gaining ground both in Finland and on a global scale. This makes studying the use of English not only interesting but also important in order to see what their role of English is in our society. Naturally, the rise of English is a topic that has interested previous researchers. However, this study brings a fresh perspective to it by looking at the use of English in Finnish politics, and more precisely the use and status of English on Finnish Parliamentary parties' websites. Leppänen and Nikula (2007 : 334) recognize the importance of doing research on English from the perspective of a non-native English speaking country, since it can tell us about the changes in the status of languages, as well as possible language shifts when languages come in contact to each other. In this study, the use of English alongside other languages will be investigated from the perspective of linguistic landscape studies combined with multimodal discourse analysis to study representation. The focus here is two-fold, since I will both look into the representation of languages as well as how the parties represent themselves on their websites.

The motivation for doing this study rises from a personal interest towards English use in Finland. In this study, I saw an opportunity to include my interest in social sciences and politics and combine these with English. Though I have not personally been involved in politics, I have always found the area interesting and as an important window to what is happening in our society and the world around us. Websites were ultimately chosen because they provide a meaningful context to study representations of political parties and their use of languages in today's world. In addition, Pauwels (2012: 261) supports the study of websites, since even though their nature is demanding, they carry a vast amount of unresearched information, which makes them a rewarding area for research.

2 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

This chapter acts as an introduction to the theoretical background of the present study. It begins with an introduction to linguistic landscape studies and virtual linguistic landscapes. The next part discusses multimodality and representation in connection to multimodal discourse analysis. The final part of this chapter looks at multimodality on websites as well as political websites.

2.1 Linguistic landscape

Linguistic landscape can be defined as the presence of languages on different signs in a certain location (Landry and Bourhis 1997: 24). Furthermore, linguistic landscape does not only portray certain languages in an area but may disclose information about the power relations between certain languages and the communities inhabiting that area. According to Landry and Bourhis (1997: 26), the informational function of linguistic landscape lies in its ability to distinguish the boundaries of certain language communities. In addition, since communities are rarely monolingual, signs can also be multilingual or bilingual. These displays of language in a certain area can provide information about the diversity of languages used as well as the groups using them.

From an interest towards multilingualism in urban areas, linguistic landscape studies emerged from the field of sociolinguistics (Blommaert and Maly 2014: 1). Linguistic

landscape studies (henceforth known also as LLS), is dedicated in exploring the multilingual aspects of written language visible in public areas, such as road signs, graffiti, billboards, and other written pieces of language in public areas. According to Jan Blommaert (2012: 6-7), a noted scholar in the field of linguistic landscape studies, LLS offers both descriptive and analytical value to research. Looking at its descriptive potential, LLS can be used as a tool to determine the linguistic features of a certain area and what languages there are. Since every physical area also has social, cultural, and political aspects, utilizing LLS' analytical potential a researcher can disclose norms, power relations, and means of social behavior related to that area (Blommaert 2012: 7). Blommaert and Maly (2014: 2) note that LLS places literacy in the center of research instead of spoken language, which has traditionally received a lot of attention in sociolinguistics. Furthermore, LLS can shed light to social change on several levels in an urban area.

Traditionally LLS has focused on languages found in urban areas. However, there have been different approaches within the field. Ivkovic and Lotherington (2008: 17) suggest that linguistic landscape can be applied to describe multilingualism in virtual spaces in addition to urban public areas. In their article, Ivkovic and Lotherington (2008: 19) discuss the possibilities and characteristics of virtual linguistic landscape research. Whereas traditional LLS studies languages in urban areas, virtual linguistic landscape is interested in language communities and areas in the cyberspace. Blommaert and Maly (2019) also suggest that LLS can be taken into the virtual space, since in many cases a traditional linguistic landscape itself gives links to online spaces by mentioning for example a social media cite or a website. According to Blommaert and Maly (2019), the understanding of linguistic landscapes could be broadened to indicate the post-digital societal network and interaction in connection with landscape both offline and online.

2.2 Virtual linguistic landscape

Virtual linguistic landscape is an area of research that is perhaps less known as part of linguistic landscape studies. Ivkovic and Lotherington (2009) place virtual linguistic landscape (henceforth referred to also as VLL) in the larger framework of LLS and sociolinguistics; however, the main interest of VLL is on multilingualism in the virtual space. According to Ivkovic and Lotherington (2009: 32), VLL research, much in the same way as LLS, can reveal linguistic power relations in what languages are prominent and who use them. Transience and stability are factors where LLS and VLL differ the most. The same rules of habitancy and community do not apply in VLL as they do in LLS, since no one inhabits a virtual space, and in theory, all internet users have access to it. Because LLS focuses on urban areas that are inhabited by people and at the same time all people around the world do not have access to these areas, it can be said that LLS is more stable in nature (Ivkovic and Lotherington 2009: 19).

Previous studies on virtual linguistic landscapes includes a study on a minority language website by Olivier (2016). Olivier's research focuses on investigating the availability of the African language Sesotho online, and how the online environment can be useful for the language. Olivier (2016: 142) sees that since the internet is becoming increasingly communal and interactive, and virtually anyone can contribute to the production of online texts, this could enhance multilingualism online. Another study by Hahn (2016) focuses on the study of bank websites, and the interest was in the language choices the banks had made for online marketing and how they represented the banks' underlying language policies. According to Hahn (2016: 212), the differences in how financial institutions display languages online can show how different languages and their users are prioritized.

Both studies by Hahn (2016) and Olivier (2016) focused on the linguistic landscape of websites. However, they both had different data than what is used in this study and

a different angle at looking at linguistic landscapes. There is also a previous master's thesis by Peijonen (2019) utilizing LLS along with MDA and Pauwels' (2012) framework for studying websites. However, the focus of that study is on LL and superdiversity in church language policies, whereas my study looks more into the multimodality of websites alongside with LL. Similarly to Hahn (2016) and Olivier (2016), the data set is also different than in the present study.

2.3 Multimodality

According to Jewitt (2014: 15), multimodality can be understood as an umbrella term shared by approaches that see communication and representation to be composed of resources, such as images and gestures, as much as they do of traditional language. Furthermore, when it comes to multimodality, the relationship between language and these resources is in the center of interest. Kress (2012) has similar views on the definition of multimodality as Jewitt (2014). Kress (2012: 38) sees multimodality as a larger approach used across fields of research with a common interest in the resources through which meaning is made and where language is merely one of these resources.

There are several approaches to multimodality, and the one that is given attention to in terms of this study is called multimodal discourse analysis. Before further introducing multimodal discourse analysis, it is necessary to introduce one additional central concept: *discourse*. Even though the term discourse can be used to mean the language we use, Kress (2012: 35), like many other scholars, places emphasis on discourse as something larger than language, rather as larger expressions of knowledge, our reality, and power through language. Fairclough (2004: 124) shares this view of discourse as a way of expressing our reality, which includes the material aspects of the world as well as the immaterial aspects, such as beliefs or thoughts, and social interaction. Furthermore, according to Fairclough (2004: 124), discourses have the power to represent the world as something it could become and not only what it is right now.

Next, I will introduce multimodal discourse analysis or MDA. O'Halloran (2011) defines multimodal discourse analysis as an area of language and discourse studies, which looks beyond language, and is interested in the use of language together with other resources, for example images, gesture, and sound. Jewitt (2014: 36) sees the ultimate goal of MDA in creating a theory to understand meaning in multimodal artefacts and action that form culture. What is central to MDA, is describing language and systems of conceptualization to understand how resources are used to create meaning. Eventually, the focus is on the multimodal phenomena and the context where meaning is made rather than the individual makers (Jewitt 2014: 36).

According to O'Halloran (2011: 121), MDA focuses on the analysis of semiotic resources and meaning that arise from multimodality. The unison of semiotic resources, *intersemiosis*, is central in MDA. Another central term that O'Halloran (2011: 126) introduces is *resemioticization*, which refers to the shift of meaning making from one context to another and from one social practice to another. This often also involves the changes in semiotic resources. According to O'Halloran (2011: 126), intersemiosis and resemioticization of multimodal phenomena are in the center of multimodal discourse analysis.

When discussing multimodality and MDA, one more central concept needs to be given attention to and that is *semiotic resource*. Jewitt (2014: 22-23) admits that different approaches within the scope of multimodality have slightly different definitions for this term. This is supported by O'Halloran (2011) who says that within MDA the definitions for certain central concepts vary. O'Halloran (2011) sees semiotic resource, or mode, to mean resources such as language, image, or music that are central in multimodal texts and discourses. Kress (2014: 65) says that eventually modes are what the community understands to be a mode, thus an image can be a mode as well as a layout when they represent what is happening in the world around us and are accepted as modes by the community of users.

2.4 Representation

Discourses and representation are closely linked in discourse studies; nevertheless, they are separate issues (Pietikäinen & Mäntynen 2009). Where discourses describe certain meanings and the way they may become more general ways of seeing the world, representation focuses on a how a certain image of something is built. Pietikäinen and Mäntynen (2019) see representation as a central concept in discourse studies, since the nature of language is representative. Furthermore, studying representation can shed light to why certain things are represented, how they are represented, and what point of view is used.

Hall (1997) connects representation with language and culture. Hall (1997: 17, 61) defines representation as the system of meaning making through language by people of a certain culture. Furthermore, representation enables us to give meaning to the concepts in our thoughts and thus represent and refer to both real and concrete things in our world as well as imaginary ones. Kress and Mavers (2005: 173) say that due to their nature, representations are never neutral since they present the interests and positions of the people who create them. Therefore, representations can be connected to the structures of power since they represent certain interests of people responsible for making them.

According to Hall (1997: 17-19), there are two major systems in the process of representation and meaning making. The first has to do with concepts and the way people construct mental images of things around them to interpret the world. The second system is shared language, which means that in order for people to express the concepts of their mental images, a shared understanding of words, images, sounds, or signs is required. People use signs to represent the concepts of their mental images of

the world, thus the relationship between the elements of our world, concepts, and signs is representation (Hall 1997: 17-19).

2.5 Websites

Websites have an essential role in meaning making in today's world both for individuals and institutions (Djonov and Knox 2014: 171). Even though the internet and websites are such a common part of our everyday lives that we rarely stop to think about them, it is good to have proper definitions for these terms. Leppänen and Peuronen (2012: 384) define the internet as a network that links together numerous computers and other devices all around the world. As for the World Wide Web, it is essentially a means of distributing and gaining information through a cluster of documents connected to each other that all utilize the internet. Leppänen and Peuronen (2012: 384) admit that the line between the internet and other forms of digital communication and information is sometimes difficult to make, since many forms of communication such as games and smart televisions utilize the internet as well.

According to Djonov and Knox (2014: 174), homepages have an important role on websites. Firstly, homepages present the main content and elements of the websites to the visitors. Secondly, homepages support identity building and represent the purpose of the actor(s) behind the websites. Finally, homepages offer important structural information to the visitors in showing where further information can be found on the websites and how. Thus, Djonov and Know (2014: 174) support focusing research on homepages due to their important role on websites.

2.5.1 Websites as multimodal spaces

Djonov and Knox (2014: 171) describe websites as multi-semiotic multimodal documents, which means that they utilize different semiotic resources such as written language, image, color, music, and layout. In other words, websites can be seen as multimodal spaces. Furthermore, Djonov and Knox (2014: 171) recognize an interesting challenge in websites in terms of discourse analysis, since in addition to multimodality, websites are also multilayered and interconnected. Moran and Lee (2013: 373) see that since websites consist of multiple multimodal elements, this may pose a challenge for the researcher in terms of interpreting the discursive contexts within them. Pauwels (2012: 260) points out that a researcher needs to bear in mind that the elements on websites do not always add up to form clear and balanced systems but may consist of hybrid elements and even conflicting expressions of culture.

Since websites can be seen as multimodal spaces, multimodal discourse analysis can and has previously been used to study them. Moran and Lee (2013) used the conventions of MDA on an Australian cosmetic surgery websites to investigate how female genital cosmetic surgery is normalized using discourses. In addition to Moran and Lee (2013), Schnurr et al. (2016) applied MDA in studying company identity construction and image-building on websites. In this case, the findings indicate that the company utilized many resources, such as images, choice of pronoun, and certain word choices such as “family” to represent itself as a friendly community, who invites the customer to join them.

Websites rarely express a specific language policy that determines their usage of language; however, certain factors many influence the formation of a language policy nonetheless (Leppänen and Peuronen 2012: 397). According to Leppänen and Peuronen (2012: 397), a collectively formed language etiquette, visitor comments, or a moderator can shape the direction of language used on a website. On a larger level, national language policies can also influence the usage of languages on the internet. For example, in Finland the usage of both national languages, Finnish and Swedish, is

required to inform citizens on the internet on official state and municipal websites (Leppänen and Peuronen 2012: 397).

2.5.2 Political websites

When the use of internet began to grow in the late 1990s, also political actors saw its potential in informing people and getting people interested in politics and democracy (Johnson, Zang and Bichard 2011: 449). According to Leppäniemi et al. (2010: 7), political parties have been in the front lines in adopting the most recent communication technologies to increase their visibility online. However, according to Lilleker and Malagón (2010: 26), political parties may control the amount to which visitors on their websites can participate in open discussion or upload content because for parties' success is closely connected to their reputation. Johnson et al. (2011: 464-465) indicate that people who are politically active and interested in politics are more likely to rely on political websites for information. In addition, it seems that there is a tendency for people to visit websites and read information that agrees with their own political views (Johnson et al. 2011: 465).

According to Gibson and Ward (2000: 305-306), there are five basic functions of political party websites: *information provision, campaigning, resource generation, networking and organization strengthening, and promoting participation*. The first function, information provision, refers to the parties' goal to inform people about the orientation of their policies and identity. The second function, which is about campaigning on websites, allows the parties to communicate with their audience in more targeted messages that can be updated. Also, website campaigning allows parties to reach new audience from younger people. The third function, resource generation, complements the previous function since it refers to recruiting new members but also raising financial support through websites. Networking, which is the fourth function, speaks of the way websites allow parties to make stronger internal and external connections, and

links between organizations, unions, activists, headquarters, and media. The final and fifth function, promoting participation, refers to the parties' aim in increasing people's participation in politics. Although the functions of political parties on websites by Gibson and Ward (2000) is from the early days of the internet and does not account for social media or new channels of internet communication, I believe it still serves as a meaningful basis for discussing political parties' websites today.

Collins and Butler (2002: 14) present an idea that political parties often work in a similar matter to commercial organizations and apply similar marketing strategies. O'Shaughnessy and Henneberg (2002) provide a definition for political marketing as the aim to build and maintain a long-lasting relationship with voters that benefits both the party and the voter. What is different with political marketing is that the product that is "sold" is abstract and consists of promises and visions that may be uncertain and vague (O'Shaughnessy and Henneberg 2002).

3 METHODOLOGY

The next chapter will introduce the methodology of the study. First, the aim and the research questions will be presented. Second, discussion on how the data was selected and collected will be provided. Finally, the methods that were used to analyze the data will be presented.

3.1 Aim and research questions

The aim of this study is to shed light on the linguistic landscape of Finnish Parliamentary parties' websites. Furthermore, the aim is to investigate how the parties represent themselves on their Finnish and English homepages. The goal is to gain insight to what language choices the parties have made and how languages are represented through studying the linguistic landscape of the parties' websites. In addition, the purpose is to discover how the parties utilize representation in their online image-building. Studying these aspects is important, since they illustrate what languages the parties prioritize in their online communication. Studying the representations of the parties can also show us how the parties' want to display themselves to their audience and who they target as their main audience. Paying special attention to English in this case is relevant since English is a largely used lingua franca in Finland, and therefore it is important to see what status English is in this context.

Research questions:

1. What languages are represented and how in the linguistic landscape of the Finnish Parliamentary parties' websites?
2. How do the parties represent themselves in their English websites compared to their Finnish websites?

I am interested in the representation of languages on the Finnish Parliamentary parties' websites as well as the representations the parties make of themselves. With the first research question, I aim to find out what language choices the parties have made in their websites: what languages are present and how they are represented. As to the second research question and the use of English on the websites, I seek to find out how the use of English and Finnish differ on the parties' homepages, and how these differences may affect the representations of the parties. I am interested to find out whether the parties represent themselves differently in English than in Finnish, and what this potentially speaks of their purpose and target audience.

I chose to focus on these two research questions particularly, because in order to analyze the representations and the differences in the use of English and Finnish, I saw the need to first look at the larger linguistic landscape of the parties' websites. I chose to focus on websites in this analysis, since websites are an important channel for parties to connect with and contact their members, voters, and other audience. Therefore, they create an important channel for the parties to represent themselves and build an online image.

3.2 Data selection and collection

In this study, the chosen data consists of Finnish Parliamentary parties' websites. 27 homepages of the 10 Finnish Parliamentary parties were collected as PDF files and analyzed, which included all the different language homepages. The parties and their URL addresses are presented in table 1. Screenshots were also collected from the websites. Special attention and focus were given to the homepages of the parties, since the homepage is usually the first thing that the visitor of the websites sees and thus in the center of representation of the party. The homepage is also often the starting place where information is gathered and links to further information are provided. Concentrating mainly on the homepages was also considered from the purpose of this study, since narrowing the focus this way produced an appropriate amount of data.

Table 1. The Finnish Parliamentary parties' websites and the URL addresses listed by size of the party from largest to smallest in the Parliament.

The name of the party	The URL address
Social Democratic Party	https://sdp.fi/fi/
Finns Party	https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi
National Coalition Party	https://kokoomus.fi
Centre Party	https://keskusta.fi
Green League	https://www.vihreat.fi
Left Alliance	https://vasemmisto.fi
Swedish People's Party	https://sfp.fi/fi/etusivu/
Christian Democrats	https://www.kd.fi
Movement Now	https://liikenyti.fi
Power Belongs to the People	https://valtakuuluukansalle.fi/#/

The Finnish Parliament at this time is composed of ten parties (in brackets behind the name of the party is the number of seats the party holds): Social Democratic Party (40), Finns Party (38), National Coalition Party (37), Centre Party (31), Green League (20), Left Alliance (16), Swedish People's Party (10), Christian Democrats (5), Movement Now (1), and Power Belongs to the People (1). In addition, one seat is held by the Åland Coalition, but since it works in unison with the Swedish People's Party, it was not considered an independent party in this context (eduskunta.fi).

The data was collected between 27.7. and 14.9.2022. The analysis was conducted by utilizing the PDF files of the homepages, taking screenshots, making notes, visiting the websites, and following and testing hyperlinks when necessary. All the links on the English homepages were tested in terms of functioning and whether the lead to another page with the content that they promised. Finnish hyperlinks and navigational options were followed when they were of importance for the analysis. Initially, the homepages of all ten Parliamentary parties were collected as data and considered in the in the linguistic landscape analysis. However, seven of the ten pages that had more than two language options, and thus displayed multilingualism, were chosen for closer analysis. Whilst answering the second research question, the seven party websites that had and an English homepage were analyzed due to the nature of the research question.

The nature of websites is changing, and information can be updated even multiple times a day (Ivkovic and Lotherington 2009: 19). This is a factor that was considered during the process of this study. The fact that the data collection and analysis happened over several weeks and the websites and the homepages were analyzed using both the PDF files and how they appeared online, the possibility of the websites being updated during the time of the analysis was taken into consideration. Therefore, it is possible that some of the information on the websites changed during the process of this study. However, for the purpose of this study, I felt that possible changes do not

harm the study, since the idea of the analysis was to view the individual websites as part of a larger entity in the context of the Finnish parliament rather than analyze each party website as an independent entity.

The ethical aspects concerning this study were carefully considered. All the Parliamentary parties were connected by e-mail and asked for permission to use their website and take screenshots for the purpose of this master's thesis. Consent was received in the form of an e-mail from all ten parties. One party shared a limitation that information can be used in research as long as it is not used to offend the party. When the parties were connected to ask for permission, some of them offered an explanation to the languages they offer on their websites. A few of the parties said that their websites were under construction and English would become available later. Also, few parties said that their websites were altogether so new that they had not yet had the opportunity to create other versions than Finnish of their websites.

3.3 Methods of analysis

In this study, the main framework used for the analysis was Pauwels' (2012) multimodal framework for analyzing websites. Both the theories of linguistic landscape analysis and multimodal discourse analysis were used to support the framework in the analysis. In the following chapter, I will present more specifically which theories and whose work of LLA and MDA I rely on, and introduce the framework that was used in the analysis.

With linguistic landscape analysis, the methodology here relies on the works of Blommaert and Maly (2014, 2019) and more specifically their digital ethnographic linguistic landscape analysis. According to Blommaert and Maly (2019), this methodology benefits researchers who wish to study social action, language, and space in a digital

context. Their methodology was built on the theories of linguistic landscape studies. Where traditional LLS has mostly been quantitative, combining LLS with ethnography makes qualitative LLS a possibility (Blommaert and Maly 2019).

Blommaert and Maly (2019) combined the online and offline sphere in their studies using digital ethnographic linguistic landscape analysis; however, I argue that their methodology can also be applied to only an online environment, since it relies strongly on digital ethnography. With an ethnographic approach like this, Blommaert and Maly (2019) say that there are a few factors a researcher must consider. Firstly, with ethnography, it is important to understand that it is more than a set of tools but a larger paradigm where analyzing larger social circumstances is in the center. Secondly, language is a social instrument that allows people to engage in social behavior, thus linguistic resources and meaning must always be analyzed within their context. Therefore, language cannot exist without a context and context is a central factor of language. In addition, context also has a historical perspective that needs to be acknowledged. Lastly, ethnography begins before the actual setting, for example interview or observation begins, since it begins with the researcher preparing and collecting information about the area of interest and the context (Blommaert and Maly 2019).

With multimodal discourse analysis, I mainly rely on the works of O'Halloran (2011) that is based on Halliday's social systemic functional grammar (1985). O'Halloran (2011: 124- 126) introduces methodological issues to consider in MDA. One issue that O'Halloran presents is modelling semiotic resources other than and different to language. O'Halloran (2011: 125) admits that there are several ways to approach the matter, but the one that is recommended is what Van Leeuwen (1999, 2009) originally proposed by looking at systems within semiotic resources, such as color, font style, font size, and volume.

Another issue that O'Halloran (2011) mentions in terms of MDA is analyzing integrated meaning of semiotic choices and semantic expansion in multimodal phenomena. O'Halloran (2011: 126) admits that the process of semantic expansion is not yet fully theorized; nevertheless, the interpersonal, textual, and logical connections should be viewed across the resources, for example through word groups. The researcher should also consider that this kind of analysis may lead to the discovery of conflicting meanings. The third and final issue that O'Halloran (2011) introduces is analyzing the resemiotization of multimodal phenomena, which unfolds through sifts in semiotic resources, for example moving from language to image, and may result in the expansion of meaning.

Next, I will present the framework that was used to structure the analysis. Pauwels (2012) introduces a six-phase multimodal framework for analyzing websites as social and cultural data in his article published in 2012. The steps of the framework are presented in table 2. The purpose of the multimodal framework is to provide a methodology to study different meanings that websites have to offer (Pauwels 2012: 247). Furthermore, the framework was not conducted as a tool to create culturally appropriate websites, but to investigate the cultural information that websites hold within them, for example expressions of norms, values, and goals. Pauwels (2012: 259) indicates that the framework intends to help researchers discover potential meaning from the layers of multimodality on websites.

Table 2. A multimodal framework for analyzing websites (Pauwels 2012).

1. Preservation of First Impressions and Reactions
2. Inventory of Salient Features and Topics
3. In-depth Analysis of Content and Formal Choices
4. Embedded Point(s) of View or 'Voice' and Implied Audience(s) and Purposes
5. Analysis of Information Organization and Spatial Priming Strategies
6. Contextual Analysis, Provenance and Inference

I argue that Pauwels' framework (2012) will support in answering both of the research questions even though they represent two different fields. In my view, using a structured approach like this helps bring together the two different approaches to fulfil the overall goals of the study. Even though the framework was not initially intended for LL, Pauwels (2012: 161) indicates that the framework is a broad tool for analyzing websites, and it remains up to the researcher and their special field, knowledge, and interest, as to what they can discover from the website using it. Since the framework combines phases that vary from an overall view of the website to in-depth analysis, I believe it to be useful for my study, since I intend to look at both the larger linguistic landscape of the websites as well as the smaller resources through which representation is created.

Pauwels' (2012) framework consists of six phases which I will briefly discuss here. The first phase, *Preservation of first impressions and reactions*, is about recording the initial impressions and spontaneous feelings of the websites before beginning the actual analysis. The second phase, *Inventory of salient features*, is about collecting and categorizing the features and main topics of the website and recording what the website is missing. The third phase, *In-depth analysis of content and formal choices*, as its name suggests, moves to a more detailed analysis of for example the verbal choices, visual elements, design, and layout. The fourth phase, *Embedded point(s) of view or 'voice' and*

implied audience(s) and purposes, complements the analysis done in the third phase by analyzing the voice and audience as well as the goals and purposes. The fifth phase, *Analysis of information organization and social priming strategies*, focuses again more on the structural factors, such as hyperlinks and navigation options as well as the level of interactivity. The sixth and final phase, *Contextual analysis, provenance and inference*, aims to identify cultural indicators and connect these to origin and authorship.

Since I utilized the conventions of two theories and have two research questions, I had to adjust Pauwels' (2012) framework slightly for the purpose of this study. I used phases one, two, and five from the framework in the linguistic landscape part of my analysis. Since these phases focus more on the structure, overall appearance, and impressions of the website, I found them to suit the LL side of my analysis. Phases three and four were completed in the second part of my analysis, which focuses on representation through multimodal discourse analysis. Phase six did not have a specific role in my analysis; nevertheless, it was discussed in the discussion section in connection to the findings.

I believe that the benefits of combining the two methods, linguistic landscape analysis and multimodal discourse analysis, are in first gaining an overall understanding of the linguistic landscape of the websites before moving to a more specific analysis of representation. Schnurr et al. (2016: 296) also support using a mixed-methods approach in research, since one method of analysis can provide preliminary insight to the data, whereas another can offer more detailed ideas concerning the matter.

4 FINDINGS

In this chapter, the findings of the analysis will be introduced and discussed in light of the theoretical background. First, the findings of the linguistic landscape analysis will be presented, which were discovered through completing phases one, two, and five from Pauwels' (2012) framework. After this, the findings of the multimodal discourse analysis, which focused on representations through completing phases three and four according to the framework, will be introduced.

4.1 The linguistic landscape of the parties' websites

In this linguistic landscape analysis, all languages found on the websites were part of the analysis; however, Finnish and English were given special attention because they are the languages that I have enough knowledge of to conduct an analysis from. Furthermore, since English has a central role in terms of this study, it was also given attention in this part of the analysis, as well as the second part of the analysis that will be discussed in chapter 4.2.

The first phase of the framework, *Preservation of first impressions and reactions*, focuses on the collection of first impressions of the website. According to Pauwels (2012), the first phase of analysis takes place before the actual analysis begins. The aim of this

phase is to record instant feelings and reactions to the website. In this study, the first phase of the analysis was completed simultaneously as data was collected. The first phase was seen to support the initial analysis of the linguistic landscape and was therefore connected with the analysis of the LL. Conducting the data collection simultaneous to phase one showed the first overall impression of the websites as well as what languages the parties offer on their websites.

Of the ten party websites, eight featured more than one language and seven had an English and a Swedish homepage. The most common combination was Finnish, Swedish and English. Russian was the fourth language that was offered in some level on three of the websites. The Social Democratic Party and the Green League featured a Russian homepage, and the Christian Democrats offered information in Russian as a separate link under the English homepage. With most parties, the Swedish and English homepages seemed to carry similar value and power in terms of the amount of content offered in them. For the Swedish People's Party that promotes the use of Swedish language, Swedish and Finnish homepages seemed to be equally extensive. With some parties the Swedish and English homepages were quite extensive and bare resemblance to the Finnish homepage, but for some they consisted of merely a picture, a heading, and main menus. The parties had different ways of presenting the languages available, as we can see in table 3, which presents the languages the parties offer and the way they refer to them on their websites.

Table 3. Language options on the parties' websites during the time of the data collection between 27.7. and 14.9.2022.

Name of the party	The languages the parties offer
Social Democratic Party	FI/SV/EN/RU
Finns Party	<i>Finnish homepage</i> Finns Party - In English/På svenska
National Coalition Party	FI/SV
Centre Party	FI/EN/SV

Green League	FI/EN/SV/RU
Left Alliance	FI/SVENSKA/ENGLISH
Swedish People's Party	SVENSKA/SUOMI/ENGLISH
Christian Democrats	FI/SV/EN
Movement Now	<i>Only one language option (FI)</i>
Power Belongs to the People	<i>Only one language option (FI)</i>

An initial reaction that stood out from many of the websites was that the websites mixed languages in quite many places. Many of the English homepages were not completely in English, but Finnish could be seen for example in menus, headings, and other sources of information. Figure 1 features a screenshot from the English homepage of the Centre Party that here functions as an example of an instance of mixing English and Finnish. In this example, the text on the English homepage offers the visitor information about subscribing to a newsletter but the newsletter itself is in Finnish. The command “Tilaa uutiskirje”, which translates to *Subscribe to the newsletter*, is also in Finnish even though the rest of the text is in English.

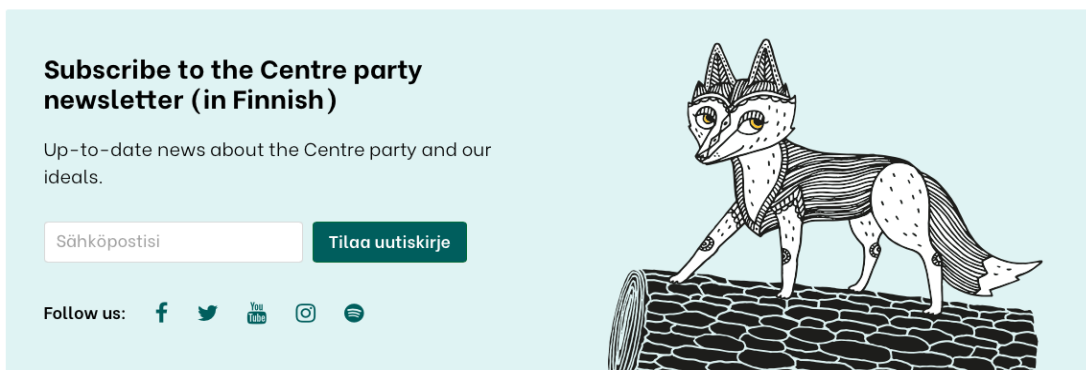


Figure 1. An example of the use of Finnish on the Center Party's English homepage (keskusta.fi/en).

The first impressions of the websites also revealed that the websites had many differences in terms of content. With many of the websites, the different language

homepages varied most in terms of the information they offered and the linguistic choices they had made. Variation could be found from smaller instances of texts, such as headings and navigational options, to larger texts that carried more informational value. There were different levels of differentiation between the parties; however, none of the parties offered exactly the same homepage in all the different languages available.

Even though differences could easily be found at the initial phases of the study, there were also similarities. My initial reaction was that the visual appearance of the homepage, including coloring, layout, and images, were issues where the different homepages bare most resemblance to each other. Figure 2 shows an example from the Christian Democrats' English and Finnish homepage. We can see that the party has aimed for a coherent visual image using the same picture, colors, and a similar heading on both homepages. However, the figure also functions as an example of differences on the amount of information provided, since the screenshot of the English homepage shows the whole English homepage and the screenshot from the Finnish homepage shows only the upper part of what is really a much longer homepage.

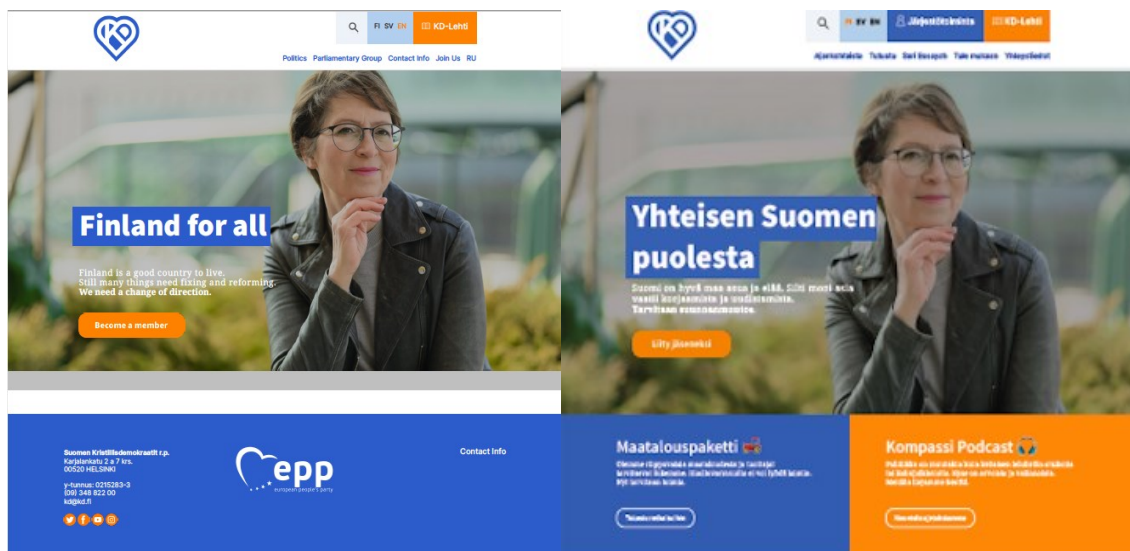


Figure 2. Screenshots of the Christian Democrats' English and Finnish homepage. (kd.fi, kd.fi/en)

Before moving on to the next phase of the analysis, I believe it is important to recognize the importance of recording these initial reactions discovered in phase one. I see the value of phase one in gaining the first overall impressions of the websites and their linguistic landscape. However, Pauwels (2012) also says that recording the first impressions is important for the researcher to be able to remain reflexive during the process and to maintain a level of reflexivity throughout the analysis.

The second phase of the framework, *Inventory of salient features and topics*, focuses on collecting and categorizing present and absent features (Pauwels 2012). Pauwels (2012) says that in this phase the researcher should make inventory of the main content of the website and place it into meaningful categories. In addition, it is as important to record what is lacking from the websites as it is important to record what is present, and this requires special knowledge of the genre of the websites. The second phase of the framework was connected to the analysis of the linguistic landscape. Since the purpose of the phase is to look at the features present on the websites, it gives insight to how the different languages are presented. It may also reveal power relations as well as the difference that may occur in language use. Next, I will present the findings of the second phase.

In the second phase, the analysis focused on the main menus of the homepages. As I see it, the main menu is an important tool that guides the visitors further into the website, which makes it a central part of the homepage and important in terms of this study. The main menus of the ten Finnish and seven English homepages were taken under analysis. Other language options were excluded from this part of the analysis, since I do not have appropriate knowledge of the other languages to make sufficient interpretations. There were quite clear differences when comparing the Finnish and English main menus. Table 4 displays discussion and details of the parties' Finnish and English homepage main menus and the options on the menus. In most cases the English and Finnish menus had different menu options, and oftentimes the English

menus had fewer menu options. An interesting discovery was that the option “ajankohtaista”, which can be translated to *current events*, was missing from all the seven English main menus even though it was present in most of the Finnish menus. This could indicate that for some reason the parties did not feel it necessary or had for some reason not thought of offering information on current event in English.

Table 4. Discussion and details of the parties’ Finnish and English homepage main menus and the menu options.

Name of the Party	Finnish homepage main menu	English homepage main menu
Social Democratic Party	Six menu options.	Four menu options. The option for current events and an additional contact information not offered on the English main menu.
Finns Party	Six menu options	The Finnish menu offered as such on the English homepage.
National Coalition Party	Six menu options	No English homepage - no English main menu
Center Party	Ten menu options. The Finnish main menu does not have an option for “homepage” which the English menu has.	Four menu options. The options for current events, districts, media, join as a member, and association materials are not offered on the English menu.
Green League	Eight menu options.	Four menu options. The option for current events, media, and shop are not offered on the English main menu.
Let Alliance	Seven menu options. English menu has an option for donation that the Finnish menu does not.	Five menu options. The option for current events is not offered on the English menu. Also, an option called people and shop are missing.
Swedish People’s Party	Six menu options	Four menu options. The option for current events is not offered

		on the English menu, also events is missing.
Christian Democrats	Five menu options. Finnish menu has the party leader's name as one option.	Five menu options. The option for current events is not offered on the English menu. Russian is one option offered under the English menu.
Movement Now	Six menu options	No English homepage - no English main menu
Power Belongs to the People	Seven menu options. No option for contact information in the menu.	No English homepage - no English main menu

From the main menus and their menu options, three main categories could be detected. I have named them as *about the party*, *contact us*, and *get involved*. Next, I will discuss these categories in more detail. The first category that could be discovered focused on the introduction of the party and their politics, values, goals, history, and agenda. This first category, *about the party*, was one that appeared in all the Finnish and English main menus that were under investigation. Parties had made different vocabulary choices in referring to this category, for example: learn, goals, information about us, our politics, themes and values, and our party. Although the word choices on the main menus differed, the information that they offered was similar and seen to form a coherent category.

The second category that was detected, *contact us*, was clearly and quite similarly represented on nine of the ten Finnish homepage menus. This category offered contact information to the party representatives. It was also present in all seven of the English home page main menus. The Power Belongs to the People did not have this as a menu option but the contact information was given elsewhere on the homepage. This category is quite self-explanatory; nevertheless, it is important since it speaks of the party's willingness to communicate with their audience and the visitor of the website. The third and final category, *Get involved*, could be found on all the Finnish homepage

main menus and five of the seven English menus available. The category could not be found on the Left Alliance and the Centre Party's English homepage main menus. This category focused on gaining new members and inviting the visitor of the website to join the party and get involved in their actions. Parties had different ways of naming this category, for example: join as a member, influence, join us, and for actives.

About the party, contact us, and get involved were groups that could be detected in nearly all of the main menus of the parties' Finnish and English homepages. I would say that these are what one could call core menu options of political websites. Informing the visitor about the party, telling them how to contact the party, and how to get involved with the party are essential, and things that one might expect to find on political parties' websites.

Figure 3 shows an example from the Left Alliance's homepage where the upper part of the figure shows the main menu of the Finnish homepage and the one below shows the main menu of the English homepage. The Finnish main menu content "etusivu, tavoitteet, ihmiset, ajankohtaista, yhteystiedot, verkkokauppa, liity jäseneksi" can be translated to *frontpage, goals, people, current events, contact, online store, and join as a member*. When we compare these two main menus, we can see that the menu options that lead to further information differ quite clearly, thus limiting the amount of information available for non-Finnish speakers, which can be seen as an example of the use of power that Blommaert and Maly (2014) discuss. When something is offered in one language and not in another, it limits the use of the website for certain people.

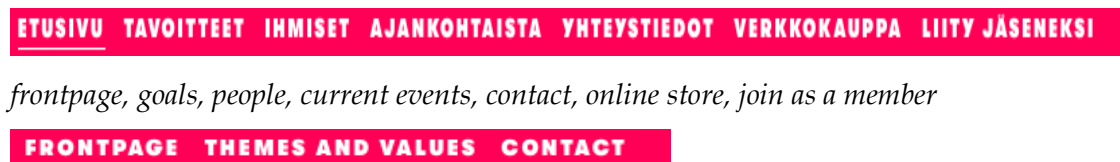


Figure 3. Main menu of the Finnish and the English homepage on the Left Alliance's website (vasemmisto.fi/vasemmisto.fi/frontpage).

What analyzing the data according to phase two in Pauwels' framework (2012) revealed was that there were several factors what Pauwels (2012: 253) would call "meaningfully absent". The first thing meaningfully absent looking at all the ten party websites was that some languages were missing all together. Three of the ten parties: National Coalition Party, Movement now, and Power Belongs to the People did not offer an English homepage. In addition, two of the parties that did not have an English homepage, Movement now and Power Belongs to the People, also did not offer a Swedish homepage.

Next, I will move on to discussing the fifth phase of Pauwels' (2012) framework, and the findings that it revealed. This section ends the linguistic landscape part of the findings chapter. With phase five, *Analysis of information organization and spatial priming strategies*, according to Pauwels' (2012: 258), one should concentrate on analyzing the structural aspects and overall organization of information. Furthermore, in this phase the focus should be on the level of interactivity, which means what the visitor is allowed to do or expected to do on the website. Since a part of the structural aspects of the websites was already discussed with the previous phase, I chose to concentrate here on the level of interactivity. Blommaert and Maly (2014) stress that with an ethnographic approach to linguistic landscapes, it is important to understand that language is the foundation of social behavior, language is always connected to context, and that the analysis should be more than just collecting existing knowledge, but rather interpreting larger social phenomena. With this in mind, I will move on to presenting the findings that were discovered through completing phase five according to Pauwels (2012).

The opportunities that the parties offer in terms of the level of interactivity vary. All the parties' websites expressed a level of sought interactivity, some more strongly than others. Common themes in terms of interactivity were encouraging the visitor to join the party as a member, to read more about the party's cause, and give feedback.

Another common theme that arose was the aim to get the visitor to connect with the party through social media. “Follow”, “like” and “share” were words often used in connection to interaction through social media. The imperative form was repeated on many of the parties’ websites for example: “contact us”, “tell us”, “read more”, “suggest a candidate in the 2023 elections”, and “take part in the conversation”. Interaction with visitors was also sought through encouraging them to leave feedback, fill in questionnaires, subscribe to newsletters, or visit an online store.

The analysis revealed that the sought level of interactivity was relatively high in all the parties’ websites. This can be connected to what Blommaert and Maly (2014) name as the larger social phenomena that should be considered while doing ethnographic research. In my opinion, what it means in this context, is that it is well justified and understandable that the parties want to seek interaction with their audience and the visitors of the website, because in their nature the parties rely on voters and people’s support to survive and thrive. What was interesting was that though the overall sought level of interactivity was relatively high with all the parties, the English homepages tended to be more informative than interactive in nature. This could be seen in the parties’ attempt on providing more general information than seeking interaction with the visitor. This could also speak of the purpose of the English homepages to serve a global audience in addition to non-Finnish speakers in Finland.

The English homepages that were more informative than interactive were also more simple and shorter, which influenced the level of interaction they could aim for or provide. The Finnish homepages also used more versatile language and personal ways in seeking connection with the visitor, for example, “katso kaikki tavat vaikuttaa”, which translates to *see all the ways to make an impact*, “ota osaa keskusteluun”, which translates to *take part in conversation* or “kuuntele ajatuksiimme”, which translates to *listen to our thoughts*. The English homepages favored simpler and less personal ways of addressing the visitor, such as “Contact”, “Become a member” or “Discuss”. The Finnish homepages also had more versatile ways of

seeking interactions, such as encouraging visitors to contact the party by writing a letter, answering a pole, being active in social media, subscribing to a newsletter, suggesting someone for the next elections, or joining their events. The Centre Party's and the Swedish People's Party's English homepage encouraged the visitor to join as a member but the link to the membership application led to an application in Finnish.

4.2 Parties' representations

In the following chapters, I will discuss the findings of the multimodal discourse analysis that was conducted through the completion of phases three and four in Pauwels' (2012) framework. Due to the focus of the second research question, this part of the analysis will only focus on the seven parties: the Social Democratic Party, the Finns Party, the Centre Party, the Green League, the Left Alliance, the Swedish People's Party, and the Christian Democrats, which had an English homepage in addition to a Finnish one. Phase three in Pauwels' (2012) framework, *In-depth analysis of content and stylistic features*, focuses both on analyzing separate modes as well as how modes interact with each other to find out what is being expressed and how. In the analysis, a researcher can focus on for example the stylistic or visual features of language, written text, visual representations, image, auditory aspects, and design (Pauwels 2012: 253-256). Phase four, *Embedded point(s) of view or "voice" and implied audience(s) and purposes*, of Pauwels' (2012) framework was also conducted in this second part of the analysis. According to Pauwels (2012: 256-257), phase four focuses on whose voice is heard and who is the implied audience, as well as the purpose.

The seven parties' homepages that were analyzed in this part used different methods in building representations of themselves. Here, I will discuss the representations that could be discovered, and focus on the different aspects of the Finnish and English homepages. The parties used for example different colors, different fonts, images, word choices, videos, and illustrations to build their representation. I will not discuss

the representations of each party individually, but rather present the representations that were found on the parties' websites on a larger level and give examples. The representations that could be discovered were representations of identity, formality, business-like, warmth, power and/or authority, easy to approach, community and/or family, togetherness, Finnishness and/or locality, relaxed, uniqueness, and greenness. Next, I will discuss how these representations were discovered.

In this context, color held both symbolic value and it was also used to create meaning and support the representations of the parties' uniqueness. Some colors have a long history of being associated with certain political movements. For example, color red has historically been connected with socialism, communism, and the working-class movements. Therefore, certain colors can be seen as a part of the parties' visual representation through which they wish to be identified and differentiated from other parties. Colors can also be seen to hold symbolic value, for example to emphasize green values, strength, or nationality, but in this context, color is mostly discussed in connection to the representation of the parties. Parties express their identity and uniqueness by using their "own" identifiable colors, such as red, blue, or green. Some parties have similar colors, but colors are often combined with the parties' logos and symbols and together build the parties' individual image. Pauwels' (2012: 260) says that one should not make too definite categorizations in connecting one color with a certain meaning, since meaning is strongly dependent on the context. For example, depending on the context color red can indicate stop, love or inexpensive (Pauwels 2012: 260), thus while analyzing color one must consider the larger context of the analysis.

Another resource the parties used to build representations were visuals used to emphasize text. For example, parties' own colors were used in texts and headings to build on the parties' identifiable identity. Different types of fonts were also used for different purposes, for example bigger fonts in capital letters were used to catch the visitor's attention and to emphasize some information or part of the homepage over another. Mostly the parties used clear and basic business-like fonts to make information easily

understandable. I also see that using these kinds of fonts builds on the parties' representation of formality and business-like atmosphere through which they want to build an image of themselves as an authority and trustworthy decision-makers.

Visuals, such as images, videos, and illustrations were central in building representation. In general, the parties used quite a lot of visuals. The Green League had a video, and several parties had changing imagery on their homepages. Illustrations were also used on the homepages to catch the visitor's attention or to emphasize the representations. Images were used to represent a community, a sense of family, warmth, and togetherness in almost all the party websites. Images especially on the Centre Party's and the Green Leagues websites showed representations of greenness, and images on the Centre Party's and the Finns Party's websites supported the representation of Finnishness. These representations build on the online image the parties wish to portray. The Social Democratic Party, the Left Alliance, the Swedish People's Party, and the Christian Democrats had images of party leaders that could be seen as representations of power or authority, but also in some cases as creating a sense of community where the leader invites the visitor to join with a smile and direct eye contact.

Images were also used to create an inviting and relaxed atmosphere to balance the formality of the websites, and to represent the parties as easier to approach. Images often portrayed people together, nature, or matters commonly connected to Finland and Finnish people, thus also creating representations of locality and Finnishness. Figure 4 shows an example of the Centre Party's homepages where an image is used to represent a sense of togetherness, community, family, Finnishness, and greenness through combining images of people, agriculture, nature, and Finnish Sauna culture. In this case, the separate images are placed inside the party logo, which can be seen as an attempt to represent core values of the party through imagery. In summary, I could say that visuals were used to make the websites inviting and the parties easy to approach. The different visuals played a similar role in creating the representation. I would say that the purpose of using these representations was to build an image of

each party as a family-like community that shares core values and cares about each member.



Figure 4. An example of an image on the Centre Party's homepage (keskusta.fi)

Next, I will discuss word choices in connection to representation. Word choices had an important role in creating representations of the parties. Since all the word choices of the homepages could not be analyzed due to the amount of information, analysis needed to be narrowed down. Hence, in this part of the analysis, I focused on what I refer to as the main headings of the homepages. Table 5 shows the main headings of the parties Finnish and English homepages. From the seven parties analyzed here, six had what could be identified as a main heading. In most cases, the main heading was a phrase that stood separate from other text and was placed on the top of the homepage as the first thing that catches the visitor's attention, and therefore I see that it has an important role in terms of representation.

Table 5. The main headings of the parties' Finnish and English homepages.

Name of the Party	Main heading on Finnish homepage	Main heading on English homepage
Social Democratic Party	Mitä sinulla on sydämellä? Kerro se meille. (<i>What is on your mind? Tell us</i>)	Become a member
Finns Party	Hyvää kesää! (<i>Have a nice summer!</i>)	Finns Party - In English
Centre Party	Keskusta - Se kotimainen. (<i>Centre Party - The national one</i>)	Centre Party - The local choice
Green League	Video, no main heading	Video, no main heading
Left Alliance	Vasemmistoliitto (<i>Left Alliance</i>)	Left Alliance
Swedish People's Party	Liity jäseneksi (<i>Join as a member</i>)	Close to you
Christian Democrats	Yhteisen Suomen puolesta / Yhteisen hyvän puolesta (<i>For a shared Finland / For the common good</i>)	Finland for all / for the common good

Next, I will discuss three of the main headings that differed on the parties' Finnish and English homepages. In the first example, the Social Democratic Party's Finnish homepage heading said "Mitä sinulla on sydämellä? Kerro se meille" which could be translated to *What is on your mind? Tell us*. On their English homepage the title said, "Become a member - Join us". The Finns Party's Finnish main heading read "Hyvää kesää!", which translates to *Have a nice summer*, while the English version said, "Finns Party - In English". The Swedish People's Party's Finnish heading said "Liity jäseneksi" which can be translated to *Become a member* or *Join as a member*, and the English heading said, "Close to you". Here we can make a connection to what O'Halloran (2011: 126) calls *resemioticization*, since meaning making, and the representations of the parties shift between the Finnish and English homepages.

As we can see, the main headings build different kinds of representations of the parties. Using the name of the party or urging the visitor to join the party could be seen to create a more businesslike or formal representation than addressing the visitor with a question or a greeting. Also, the parties that had a similar heading on the Finnish and English homepages were not always exact word-to-word translations. This is understandable, since the headings are meant to catch the visitor's attention, exact translations do not always produce the best heading.

It is also important to recognize that these headings do not appear as separate entities but are part of the homepage alongside with other resources and modes. This is what O'Halloran (2011: 121) calls *intersemiosis*, where meaning arises from the combination of several semiotic resources rather than separate resources. Figure 5 shows an example of a main heading that translates to *What is on your mind – tell us*, however; the Finnish version of it makes a word connection to heart, so a word-to-word translation would be *What is on your heart*. The heading relates to the Social Democratic Party's colors and the party's symbol, which is also a heart. This inevitably supports a representation of warmth and a community and builds an image of the party as a community that is interested in the visitor of the website.



Figure 5. The Social Democratic Party's main heading and illustrations on the Finnish homepage, which translates to *What is on your mind? Tell us*. (sdp.fi)

Here, I will draw some conclusions from the analysis of the headings that was discussed. Three of the parties, the Centre Party, the Left Alliance, and the Christian Democrats, had the same main heading on both their English and Finnish homepages. The Green League did not have a main heading but had a video instead on both homepages where a main heading could have been. Three of the parties, the Social Democratic Party, the Finns Party, and the Swedish People's Party, had a different main heading on their English and the Finnish homepage. The Social Democratic Party and the Finns Party had a heading that was more formal and business-like in English, directing focus to information or joining the party. However, with the Swedish People's Party the roles were the other way around where the English heading was more inviting and personal and the Finnish heading business-like. Nonetheless, I would say that having different headings in different languages risks building a non-unified representation of the party and does not contribute to a coherent online image, since all the different language homepages are part of the parties' online representation. There is also a risk that the visitors of the websites do not receive the same information if the headings differ on the different language homepages.

Next, I will discuss the findings from phase four from Pauwels' (2012) framework. With phase four, the researcher should focus on the implied audience and whose point of view is central (Pauwels 2012: 257). In addition, analyzing the point(s) of view and the implied audience one can find out about the embedded purposes and goals. In this part of the analysis, voice, audience, and purpose are connected to representation. What was interesting in analyzing the point of views and implied audience, was that with certain parties' homepages the implied audience seemed to differ on the Finnish and the English homepage. Next, I will present these findings in more detail.

Three separate voices could be detected from the websites. The first voice that could be found on the parties' homepages was one that indicated an "us". This appeared in phrases such "Kerro se meille" which translates to *Tell us*, and "Seuraa meitä" which translates to *Follow us*, as well as *Join us* and *We are a movement* (last two examples

appeared originally in English). Using an “us” voice created a representation of the party and its people as a family-like community that the visitor is invited to join and that is easy to approach. However, a larger “us” voice could also be detected that manifested in phrases such as *we are dependent on agriculture*, which could be seen as the voice of the Finnish people, which creates a representation of an even larger national community and Finnishness. The third voice was that of an outside narrator representing the parties in phrases such as “Vihreät muuttavat maailmaa” - *The Green League changes the world* and “Tutustu keskustan arvoihin” - *Familiarize yourself with the Centre Party’s values*.

As for the implied audience, studying the homepages indicated that there were two groups of target audience: the potential voters and/or members, and the supporters and/or people to be informed. Most of the parties seemed to target potential voters and/or members, which manifested in the parties wanting to interact with the visitor: urging them to read about their values, give feedback, tell them about one’s concerns, and join the party. On the other hand, a few of the parties, especially on the English homepages, seemed to focus more on gaining general support to their cause and give information than target actual voters. The reason behind this might be that the purpose of English homepage is also in serving a global audience who cannot vote in the Finnish elections, and not just Finnish people who speak English. Through the completion of this phase of the analysis, the main purposes of the homepages could be named as: to inform, gain support, attract voters, and to increase parties’ visibility.

5 DISCUSSION

In this section of the thesis, I will discuss the findings of the analysis in connection to the aim of the study and the research questions: “What languages are represented and how in the linguistic landscape of the Finnish Parliamentary parties’ websites?” and “How do the parties represent themselves in their English websites compared to their Finnish websites?”. In addition, I will make connections of the findings to the theory that was utilized.

The aim of this study was to investigate the linguistic landscape of Finnish Parliamentary parties’ websites, and how the parties represent themselves on their English websites compared to their Finnish websites. The goal was to find out how and what languages are represented on the websites, as well as how the representations that the parties make of themselves contribute to the parties’ online image-building. The analysis had two parts, and it was conducted using Pauwels’ (2012) six-step framework for analyzing websites. The first part of the analysis focused on linguistic landscape analysis and the presence of languages, while the second part relied on multimodal discourse analysis and the analysis of representation.

In this study, the amount of data was challenging at times, since at some point the study ran at risk of becoming too wide for the purpose of a master’s thesis. With fewer websites or just one theory, the analysis could perhaps have focused on some elements on a deeper level and revealed more detailed results. However, the Finnish Parliament

can be seen as an entity, and since I wanted to look at the linguistic landscape and representations of Finnish Parliamentary parties' websites, I felt it was necessary to look at all the websites of the Parliamentary parties. Even though the results were not presented looking at each party individually, I believe I was able to give a comprehensive overview of the Finnish Parliamentary parties' websites, and this was what I aimed to do. Furthermore, I argue that using both LL and MDA was a major contributor in providing a comprehensive overview of the area under investigation. Next, I will discuss the findings of the study.

The linguistic landscape analysis, which was conducted through completing phases one, two, and five from the framework, showed that four languages: Finnish, Swedish, English, and Russian were present on the parties' websites; however, not in all the websites and not in the same level. Of the ten parties' websites, eight featured more than one language and seven had an English and a Swedish homepage. Russian was offered in some level on three of the ten websites. In most cases Swedish and English seemed to have similar status and power but less status than the Finnish homepage. Furthermore, the information offered on the language homepages other than Finnish was not always exclusively in the target language, but Finnish was also used in some places, hence language mixing could be detected. Some parties had clearly aimed for the different language homepages to resemble each other visually and in most parts also in content. For some parties, the language options other than Finland were clearly different or much shorter versions of the Finnish homepage.

There were also differences in what information was offered and in which languages. In general, the language options other than Finnish offered less information than the Finnish homepage did, thus their purpose could be seen to complement the Finnish homepage rather than functioning independently. Hahn (2016: 209) came to similar conclusions studying Finnish bank websites. Her results indicated that Finnish was the main language of the bank websites, and less information was offered in Swedish and English. However, her findings showed that Swedish was clearly superior to

English on the bank websites. This differs from mine findings, since with most parties' websites Swedish and English had similar status.

Blommaert and Maly (2014: 3) say that public spaces, which I see that websites also are, are instruments of power, since they are often controlled and regulated by an authority or authorities whose role is to restrict the use of the space. Blommaert and Maly (2014) speak of this in terms of physical spaces and the control that can be placed upon them, for example in restricting smoking, placing warning signs or speed limits. However, I see that similarly this could also be applied to the websites that were under analysis in this study, since an authority or authorities, here the parties, govern the use of the website. Differences in the way languages are presented indicate differences in terms of status and power, since limiting the possibility of non-Finnish speakers access to all the same information as the Finnish-speakers creates inequality. Hahn (2016: 211) sees that offering less information in English poses risk of creating an image to non-Finnish speakers that the authority of the website, in her study the bank, does not encourage interaction or that non-Finnish speakers are less valued as clients.

The multimodal discourse analysis was conducted completing phases three and four in Pauwels' (2012) framework. What this part of the analysis revealed is that the parties utilized several resources to build representations of themselves on their websites that contribute to their online image-building. Resources such as images, colors, fonts, word choices, videos, and illustrations were used to build their representations. Especially the main headings and images had a central role in creating representations and building party image. The representations that were detected from the websites in my study were representations of identity, formality, business-like, warmth, power and/or authority, easy to approach, community and/or family, togetherness, Finnishness and/or locality, relaxed, uniqueness, and greenness. Schnurr et al. (2016: 302) came to similar conclusions in their study. Their study confirmed that the combination of several elements, such as a heading, images, colors, and text can be used to create a certain desired image, such as an ethical or a caring image.

Studying the main headings of the homepages revealed that there were slight differences in the representations of the parties on their Finnish and English homepage. The English side favored a more business-like and formal representation, and the Finnish side favored an easier to approach and warm representation. Nevertheless, it is important to recognize that these headings, like other resources, did not appear as separate entities but were a part of a larger representation. The implied audience of the websites were identified as potential voters and/or members, and the supporters and/or people to be informed. Three voices were also identified, which were used to create certain representations of the party and speak to the audience in a meaningful way. These were: the voice of the party, the “us”, which was used to represent a community for the purpose of inviting the visitor of the website to join the cause, the voice of the Finnish people that supported the representation of Finnishness, and an outside narrator that was used to introduce the party to the visitor. Most of the parties seemed to target potential new voters or members but some of the parties’ English homepage seemed to be more centered in informing the visitor or gaining general support than gaining active voters or members. This too could be an example of the English homepages’ larger purpose as global information channels that do not only serve English speakers in Finland but also other nationalities.

Looking at the amount of information and visuals present on the websites, even though some parties had different language homepages that were quite similar, I would say that having different headings, using different imagery, and the uneven use of languages creates a non-unified representation of the party and does not contribute to a coherent online image. Nevertheless, Pauwels’ (2012: 258-259) suggests in the sixth phase of the framework, *Contextual analysis, provenance and inference*, that since websites are often multi-authored, we must remember that the overall meanings conveyed on the website might not all be intentional choices but rather the result of meaning making of several creators. The differences in representation and implied audience on the Finnish and English homepages that the findings indicate, also speak

of the status of Finnish in Finland. Even though English is a global language and a lingua franca in many cases, and Swedish is the second national language in Finland, the Finnish Parliamentary parties have made the choice to use Finnish as their first language of online communication.

6 CONCLUSIONS

In this final part of this thesis, I will make a summary of the findings, discuss implications and applications of the study, limitations, and make suggestions for future research. This study arose from an interest of English use in Finland. Combined with an interest towards social sciences and the world of politics, the idea developed into the use of language and representations of political parties on websites. The rationale for studying this came from the knowledge that the prominence of English is growing in many fields of the Finnish society. Previous research has focused on linguistic landscapes as well as representations as a part of image-building on a variety of websites; however, combining these aspects and studying Parliamentary parties' websites was something that could offer a new perspective to existing research.

The research questions were formulated as "What languages are represented and how in the linguistic landscape of the Finnish Parliamentary parties' websites?" and "How do the parties represent themselves in their English websites compared to their Finnish websites?". They were answered utilizing a framework for analyzing websites by Pauwels (2012) supported with the theories of linguistic landscape analysis by Blommaert and Maly (2014, 2019), and multimodal discourse analysis by O'Halloran (2011). The findings showed that there are multiple languages present on the Parliamentary parties' websites, but they do not all have an equal role in the way they are represented. The findings also suggest that parties utilize various semiotic resources to conduct

representations of themselves on their website that contribute to the parties' image-building. Intersemiosis and resemioticization could be detected from the representations and image-building. The findings indicate that parties use several voices to address their implied audience, and the different language homepages have slightly different audience.

This study implies that it is important to examine the languages on Parliamentary parties' websites, since they may speak of the way parties prioritize different languages and different language users. The Parliament is where political power lays in Finland, thus revealing the way parties use language and languages is important knowledge. Analyzing the way parties represent themselves sheds light on the image the parties want to build, who they target with their communications, and for what purpose. Since transparency is vital in the politics of a democratic nation such as Finland, it is important to discuss and unfold the choices political parties make on their websites.

As for the applications of this study, I believe the parties themselves can benefit from the results of this study. Even though parties were not discussed as much separately as they were as part of the larger entity of the Parliament, the results I present could make parties more aware of the languages they choose to use, the linguistic choices they make, and how they wish to present themselves. I also suggest that the applications of this study lay in how it builds on the existing body of research in its field and how it can serve as basis for future research.

As Ivkovic and Lotherington (2009: 19) say, the nature of websites is changing, which means that information can be updated even multiple times a day. The fact that the data collection in this study happened over several weeks, and the websites were utilized both as PDF files and as they existed online, was considered as a possible limitation. Future study could perhaps benefit from downloading the websites with a separate tool where the hyperlinks could be analyzed within the download. It would also

be interesting to see whether the linguistic landscape or parties' representations change in a certain historical time frame, such as during the elections. Ivkovic and Lotherington (2009: 34) suggest that future VLL research should consider the pragmatic and semiotic aspects of multilingual virtual communication. I believe my study investigated the semiotics of multilingual virtual communication, but further study could focus more on the pragmatic aspects as well.

Since this study had a certain time frame, a decision was made to study the websites as they were at that time, even if some future versions of the websites that might include more language options would become available later. Future research on Finnish Parliamentary parties' websites could reveal new information, since new language options might become available, and parties are likely to update their homepages. In this study, the Finnish Parliament was considered as an entity, and therefore the parties were not discussed as much separately but rather the focus was on giving an overview of the websites. Nevertheless, it might be an interesting aspect for future research to focus on language or representation in connection to each or some of the parties' individual history, values, and ideologies.

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