“THEREFORE GO AND MAKE DISCIPLES OF ALL NATIONS”

(except of those who do not speak Finnish)**:**

Investigating language policies and self-representations on three websites of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland

Master’s Thesis

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JYVÄSKYLÄN YLIOPISTO

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Tiivistelmä – Abstract

Tutkimuksen tavoitteena on selvittää, miten Suomen evankelis-luterilainen kirkko suhtautuu vieraskielisiin verkkoviestintänsä perusteella. Tutkimuksessa tarkastellaan Suomen evankelis-luterilaista kirkkoa yhtenä superdiversiteetin infrastruktuurina ja keskitytään kirkon verkkoviestinnässä niihin kielipoliittisiin ratkaisuihin ja multimodaalisesti rakennettuihin itserepresentaatioihin, jotka ovat sisällöllisesti suunnattu maahanmuuttajille. Superdiversiteetillä tarkoitetaan sitä eurooppalaisen yhteiskuntarakenteen muutosta, jonka katalysaattorina toimi ihmisten liikkuvuuden vapautuminen ja internetin käytön yleistyminen kylmän sodan jälkimainingeissa.

Koska internet on nykyaikana tärkeä tiedonhankinnan lähde, tutkimuksen aineistona käytetään kolmen eri pääkaupunkiseudun seurakuntayhtymän verkkosivuja. Tutkimuksen metodologiassa yhdistellään elementtejä kielimaisematutkimuksesta sekä multimodaalisesta diskurssintutkimuksesta.

Tutkimuksen tuloksien mukaan kirkko suhtautuu vieraskielisiin vaihtelevasti. Kielipoliittisten ratkaisujen kautta voidaan päätellä, että kirkon toimintaan osallistuakseen olisi suotavaa, että kielellisestä repertuaarista löytyisi edes jonkin verran suomen kielen resursseja. Vaikka tutkimuksen kohteena oli vain kolme saman uskonnollisen yhteisön seurakuntayhtymää, olivat kirkon itserepresentaatiot toisistaan hyvinkin poikkeavia. Espoon seurakuntayhtymän verkkosivuilla kirkkoa representoitiin kahtiajakoisesti: toisaalta perhekeskeisenä luterilaisena järjestönä ja toisaalta monikulttuurisena yhteisönä, jonka tehtävänä on opettaa ”värikkäitä” maahanmuuttajia. Helsingin seurakuntayhtymän verkkosivuilla kirkosta luotiin kuva monikielisenä ja -kulttuurisena hyväntekijänä sekä matkailukohteena. Vantaan seurakuntayhtymän verkkosivuilla kirkkoa representoitiin puolestaan kaikista positiivisemmin: yhtenäisenä ja monikulttuurisena hyväntekijänä.

Asiasanat – Keywords
superdiversity, linguistic landscape analysis, multimodal discourse analysis, the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland, localisation, linguistic resources, linguistic repertoire, English language, Social Semiotics, superdiversiteetti, kielimaisematutkimus, multimodaalinen diskurssintutkimus, Suomen evankelis-luterilainen kirkko, englannin kieli

Säilytyspaikka – Depository
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Muita tietoja – Additional information

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The following quotes are from the Bible (New International Version):

“Therefore go and make disciples of all nations”

(Matthew 28:19)

“For wisdom is more precious than rubies”

(Proverbs 8:11)

“I was a stranger and you took me in”

(Matthew 25:35)

“-- and they spoke in tongues”

(Acts 19:6)

1 INTRODUCTION

Change is inevitable and constant. Immigration, especially after the 2015 migrant crisis, changes contemporary societies in a rapid manner, and Finland is no exception in the midst of this melée. The global movement of people was irrevocably freed after the end of the Cold War at the beginning of the 1990s, and this movement has been further increased by the world going online (Blommaert 2013: 4 – 6). Cross-national migration of this scale has obvious implications for the diversity of societies; in fact, Vertovec (2007, 2010) argues that analysing societal diversity solely through multiculturalism or ethnicities is nowadays deficient due to the greatly increased complexity of our societies. Instead, he suggests that societies be examined from the perspective of *superdiversity*. Blommaert (2013: 4 – 6) defines superdiversity as complex and unforeseeable diversity, which functions on the cultural, social and economic levels of society. Furthermore, Blommaert (2013: 85 – 90) observes that immigrants in superdiverse environments are in heightened need of support, and this support presents itself in the form of infrastructures. One of the most prominent of these infrastructures, he continues, are places of worship. In Finland, where the majority of the population are members of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, the Church is very aware of its role as a provider of care:

> Diaconal work is one of the main tasks of the church: we provide spiritual, physical and material help to those in need. Our particular aim is to try and to reach those who need help the most and who do not receive help anywhere else. (Diaconal work n.d.).

However, the Church is struggling with this task. The Church itself recognises a need to adapt to the current and rapid changes in our society. In its Kohtaamisen kirkko (2014: 6) (henceforth 'A Church of Encounter'[1]) strategy, the Church states that to be truly loyal to its identity, it should develop its capabilities of encountering the growing diversity, which includes multilingualism, of the contemporary Finnish society. Congregational websites are a convenient source of information for immigrants to find information on this infrastructure, and to be truly accessible to immigrants from diverse backgrounds, the websites should offer information in diverse linguistic resources. However, congregational websites function not only as a source of information about the Church, but also as a space where its image and agenda are

[1] The Church's own translation.

promoted. Thus, by analysing both the *language policies* and the Church's *self-representations* online, one may evaluate just how willing the Church is "to make disciples of all nations" in Finland. With such a focus, the aim of the present study is therefore to investigate how welcoming the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland is towards non-Finnish speakers.

Websites are a fruitful source of data for analysing institutional language policies. This is because, as Shohamy (2006: 110 – 123) argues, the analysis of linguistic landscapes in public spaces may reveal a great deal about the surrounding language policies. In a similar vein, Blommaert (2013: 1 – 3) explains that linguistic landscape analysis can show the different linguistic resources emplaced in certain spaces; it is sociolinguistic analysis of public places. Research conducted on linguistic landscapes has previously concentrated on the physical public spaces in bigger cities, such as Bangkok (Ivkovic and Lotherington 2009: 18). However, the public places do not necessarily have to be physical ones, as linguistic landscape analysis on the internet is also a recent development in sociolinguistic research. Thus, analysing linguistic landscapes on the websites of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland is for the present study the most convenient way of investigating the language policies of the religious organisation. However, little research has been conducted on virtual linguistic landscapes, which makes the present study a fresh contribution to this field of sociolinguistics.

Creating representations of religious organisations is never easy. Whilst attracting new members is important, pleasing existing members is equally so. Religion may be a sore topic that can create heated discussion and changing the image of such an organisation may be a strong divider of opinions. Nevertheless, this does not mean that ecclesiastical representations should not be studied. Quite the contrary, as they may prove to be quite an interesting object of analysis due to their complexity, for instance. Furthermore, Hallett and Kaplan-Weinger (2010: 10-11) explain that exploring institutional representations online should be done by applying a *multimodal approach*, as online discourse is usually comprised of both verbal and visual material. Thus, *multimodal discourse analysis* is used in the present study to investigate the self-representations of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland. While there are multiple ways to execute multimodal discourse analysis, the chosen method in the

present study is based on *a social-semiotic theory on multimodality*. According to this theory, semiosis is achieved through the common effort of all the modes found in the sign-complex (Kress 2010). Sign-complexes in the present study are the websites of three joint parishes' functioning in the Helsinki metropolitan area.

Examining how welcoming the Evangelical Lutheran Church is towards non-Finnish speakers could have positive financial implications for the Church. Even though the Church is still the biggest religious organisation in Finland, it has lost approximately 13 per cent of its members in the past 20 years (Jäsentilasto 1999 – 2018 n.d.). Schnurr (2016: 293) explains that successful corporate branding may attract new clientele and thus also bring fresh capital to the organisation. The Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland is not a profit-oriented organisation. However, 74 per cent of the Church's income consists of the *tithe*; every member of the Church must pay the tax annually, and the amount is approximately 329 euros per annum (Kirkollisvero n.d.). The Church is therefore under pressure to appear attractive to both to the remaining members as well as prospective ones. The current immigrant population could consist of possible new members for the Church, which is why appearing appealing to this demographic is important. The remaining part of the Church's funding is acquired from a variety of sources, for example through the collection of money during the weekly Eucharistic services, or private donations. The property owned by the Church is also utilised to provide funding, for example by selling wood from the Church's timberland. (Kirkon omaisuus n.d.). Furthermore, the Church receives legal funding from the state, and at the beginning of 2016 it was 114 million euros (Kirkon talous n.d.).

The motivation behind the present study is to benefit the Church, as the author recognises the work of the Church as an important source of support for the less fortunate. The perspective through which the present study has been conducted is that of an outsider looking in, as the author herself is not a member of any church or religious organisation and does not share the Evangelical Lutheran Church's faith.

2 FINDING SOLACE IN SUPERDIVERSITY

The Bible says: “For wisdom is more precious than rubies”. In the following two chapters, I shall therefore position this thesis in a wider theoretical framework, which means that I will be presenting and discussing the main concepts in relation to previous research. I shall embark on this journey by directing my attention to the unstable nature of current societies.

2.1 Showing hospitality to angels?

Modern migration has become fast-paced and pervasive, and it has produced extensive changes in the structures of contemporary societies. Blommaert (2013: 4 – 5) explains that two main factors which occurred simultaneously can be identified behind these changes. These factors are unalike, yet interlinked: the end of the Cold War and the all-encompassing availability of the internet in Western societies. Before the 1990s, cross-national migration concentrated primarily on the movement of labour force (Vertovec 2010: 86). However, the end of the Cold War made possible the movement of people across Europe, a phenomenon that was further aided by the internet (Blommaert 2013: 4 – 6). Blommaert explains that the internet generated completely new means of communication and social interaction, such as social media, which enabled maintaining long-distance relationships as well as the rapid exchange of knowledge in and across contemporary societies. Contemporary societies are therefore, more than ever, heterogeneous and diverse. Blommaert (ibid.) regards this kind of “social, cultural, economic diversity” as societal *superdiversity*, a term first used by Vertovec (2007). Vertovec recognised the need for a new perspective in social sciences after the complexity of migration-driven diversity in the United Kingdom surpassed the traditional methods’ capabilities of analysing societal diversity. Even though Vertovec studied the phenomenon from a quantitative point of view, recent developments also involve qualitative analyses of superdiversity, for example in sociolinguistics. According to Blommaert and Rampton (2012: 7 – 10), superdiversity is one exemplification of *the paradigm shift* in sociolinguistics. For instance, this shift entails that the basic concepts of language, such as its fixedness and stability, must be

re-examined. This idea coincides with the view of superdiverse societies as unstable and in constant flux. The matrimony between the paradigm shift and superdiversity in sociolinguistic research will be discussed in greater depth later on in this chapter, but first we must examine the concept of superdiversity, as well as the current situation in Europe and especially Finland, in more detail.

2.2 "I was a stranger and you took me in": migration today

The concept of superdiversity may help researchers investigate contemporary societies more accurately. Vertovec (2010: 83 – 87) suggests that the substantial "migration-driven diversity" of our societies can no longer be passed as mere *multiculturalism.* He continues that as a notion, multiculturalism has been problematised due to multiple factors since the early 21st century. For example, these factors include the changes in global immigration patterns, the changes in societies and the low socioeconomic statuses of immigrant and ethnic minority groups (Vertovec 2010: 83 – 87). Moreover, Vertovec (2007: 1025) insists that diverse societies cannot be characterised only through ethnicities either, aligning with a more general ongoing trend in social sciences. Superdiversity, he (2010: 87) argues, may help researchers recognise the rising complexity among migrant societies by taking into account various characteristics, such as hybrid identities, differing migration channels, religious traditions, as well as the aforementioned ethnicities. Vertovec proposes that these characteristics may predict the different outcomes of the immigrants' integration into the receiving society, which makes it a valuable factor for policy makers. However, Vertovec (2007: 1026) observes that the characteristics of superdiversity have by no means emerged as new phenomena; rather, they have always existed, but due to the recently changed nature of immigration patterns and therefore the surrounding societal structures, the phenomenon now requires further academic study.

The latest and most notable change in the European societal structures was the result of the 2015 migrant crisis, by which also Finland was affected. Due to the conflict in Syria, more than one million refugees headed for various countries in Europe from Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan, for example. As a result, the receiving countries are still struggling to cope with the sudden flux of a great number of people. (Migrant crisis

2016). By way of illustration, the total number of migrants bound for the European Union member countries was 4.4 million in 2017 (Migration and migrant population statistics 2017). Finland, too, has received a large number of migrants; in 2015, some 32 476 asylum seekers were documented. However, not all of these people received or will receive asylum. For example, in 2016 only 4586 asylum seekers were granted asylum. (Väestö 2017). At the same time, the overall number of migrants is likely to be higher than this figure as a number of undocumented immigrants have managed to escape the officials' radar. Moreover, immigration in general has increased in Finland. In 2016 for instance, the country witnessed a 21 per cent increase in inbound migration with 34 905 migrants in total (Maahanmuutto uuteen ennätykseen 2017). Thus, the societal structure of Finland has also seen considerable changes over the past few years. Thanks to these processes, just as any other contemporary society, Finland is now characterised by superdiversity, in which society, that has always been diverse in the first place, is being further enriched by a growing number of immigrants from varied backgrounds. After this realisation, it is now time to consider what immigrants themselves require in their new superdiverse milieux.

2.3 Churches as infrastructures of superdiversity

Blommaert (2013: 85 – 90) points out that immigrants in superdiverse environments require varied infrastructures to cope with their new situation. These infrastructures, he continues, exist as layered networks and they provide help and much needed support in the middle of the tumultuous changes. One of the infrastructures that has proved to be of significant aid are places of worship (ibid.). Blommaert himself investigated superdiversity in Belgium by paying attention to the local churches in the Berchem suburb of Antwerp. The object of analysis in Blommaert's study was that of physical spaces. These he examined with a systematic ethnographic approach, with the *linguistic landscapes* of places of worship as a specific focus (linguistic landscapes as a concept will be discussed in detail in the next chapter). Blommaert focused on the linguistic resources appearing in specific places of worship and concluded that there is growing complexity of social diversity as well as changes occurring in the society due to immigration. Blommaert (2013: 91) identified 16 places of worship that functioned in Berchem. By observing the linguistic resources appearing in these

places, Blommaert gathered that these religious institutions have become the main infrastructure of superdiversity in Berchem (Blommaert 2013: 90). Blommaert's study is one example of ethnolinguistic research on superdiversity conducted from a qualitative point of view. Interestingly, Blommaert (2013: 99) suggests that Pentecostal churches are a popular infrastructure in superdiverse environments, mostly due to the feelings of isolation and contingency that immigrants encounter in these environments, and Pentecostal churches appeal strongly to this demographic due to charismatic priests and multimodal services.

A similar trend can be noticed in Finland as well, as for example the number of members in Finnish Pentecostal churches has grown due to asylum seekers' interest in the churches (Huhtanen 2017). However, Pentecostal Churches, albeit popular, are not the only ones that have attracted immigrants in Finland. Also, the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland has received many asylum seekers at their doorstep. For instance, out of the 400 asylum seekers who were placed into the Kemijärvi reception centre, 30 asylum seekers converted into Christianity (Valtavaara 2019). Furthermore, in an episode of the Finnish Broadcasting Company's radio program Mahadura & Özberkan, Jonathan Westergård, a priest from St. Michael's parish in Turku, reports that the interest in Christianity among asylum seekers has been surprising. The scope of this interest has even resulted in special confirmation camps held for refugees. Westergård also states that the situation is unique, as normally the Church needs to work relatively hard to make people interested in the faith, but in this case these individuals have sought the counsel of a priest themselves in order to convert to Christianity. In this episode of the program, the hosts, Westergård and two former asylum seekers discuss the Christian faith in Finland as well as the motives one might have to convert from for instance Islam to Christianity after immigrating to Finland. (Kristityiksi kääntyneet turvapaikanhakijat 2017). No matter whether the motivation to join a church is to aid one's chances to be granted asylum, or whether it is purely spiritual, the numbers are nevertheless growing. Such changes are also a clear indicator of the role of religious institutions as infrastructures of superdiversity in modern societies.

Moreover, religious institutions, and especially the Evangelical Lutheran Church, also provide support for undocumented immigrants in Finland. Undocumented immigrants include for example those asylum seekers who have not been granted asylum but who

refuse to leave the country and thus reside in Finland without a permit of residence (Salomaa 2017). However, due to legal reasons, this kind of activity is not the first thing that religious institutions would promote as part of their agenda, and thus it has become more of a public secret. For instance, the joint parishes of Helsinki in cooperation with the Finnish Red Cross and Sininauhasäätiö[2] maintain a secret service centre in Helsinki where undocumented immigrants receive help in their difficult situation. (Salomaa 2017).

The relation between the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland and migrants has been under scrutiny in research before. For instance, the Centre for Economic Development, Transport and the Environment (2014) conducted a report in which the Church was one of the organisations under investigation on the work done by religious organisations supporting the integration of immigrants in the Helsinki area. Based on the investigation, the religious organisations' work aimed at immigrants was two-fold: first, it consisted of providing education, social networks and information on the Finnish society and second, giving the immigrant a possibility to participate in activities and to get support in difficult situations (Timonen 2014: 10). Furthermore, a report on the Church's multicultural work has been conducted by a 'Multicultural committee' ("Monikulttuurisuustyöryhmä") of the Church (1999). The committee was fashioned to investigate the "challenge" that increasing multiculturalism and internationalisation proposed for the Church. They investigated for example the theological basis of the Church's international education and familiarised themselves with other religious organisations' multicultural work. (Monikulttuurisuustyöryhmä 1999: 1).

To provide a more thorough explanation of the significance of religious institutions as infrastructures of superdiversity, Bourdieu's idea of *capital* can be helpful, as it sheds light on what religious institutions may offer to those who use their services. Bourdieu (1986: 241 – 250) argues that economic theory fails to provide an accurate description of capital, as the notion may hold more complex connotations than the maximal acquisition of material profits. Instead, Bourdieu (ibid.) states that "capital is accumulated labor" and recognises that the structure of societies consists of the uneven

[2] Sininauhasäätiö is a Christian foundation whose aim is to reduce homelessness and to provide support for those who suffer from mental health problems and substance abuse. (Sininauhasäätiö n.d.)

dispersal of three types of capital: economic, cultural and social. Capital is not therefore merely a central idea in capitalist thinking, but rather it may function as a method to characterise social structures. The quality of one's social networks is important for individuals' well-being in general, but their importance becomes even greater when one moves to another country and tries to adjust into the receiving society.

Bourdieu (ibid.) explains that the value of one's social capital depends on the size of her social network. These networks, he continues, are not inherent, but rather they are under constant construction and require a great deal of effort to develop and maintain. Religious organisations are a type of institution where social networks can be developed and maintained. Stepick et al. (2009: 5 – 13) explain that religions are tightly linked with the immigrant's adjustment to the receiving country. Like Blommaert, they (ibid.) recognise the potential of religious congregations not only as contributors of spiritual guidance, but also as providers of "social support". Congregations are thus a relevant source of gaining social capital, and therefore a remarkable facilitator in adjusting into the receiving society. Moreover, when investigating new immigrants in the United States, Foley and Hoge (2007: 65) detected that the likelihood of these immigrants for attending religious services is notably higher than the likelihood of other members of congregation. The immigrant in any part of the world may therefore be interested in joining the activities of a local religious organisation, and she might begin searching for information on these organisations on the internet – this is nowadays quite typical. Thus, we must next discuss the relationship between religious organisations and the World Wide Web.

2.4 When Jesus went online

I will now proceed to examine how religious organisations have managed the secular passage to the transcendent, which, in the present study, is via *new media*, i.e. media as platforms that offer "new opportunities for social interaction, information sharing, and mediated communication" (Campbell (2010: 9 – 10). Campbell (2010: 9 – 10) explains that on the one hand, *new media* refer to the new types of media which are under constant development, and on the other, to the contemporary digital

technologies, such as the internet. Campbell (2010: 4 – 5) suggests that science and modern innovations are rarely associated with *religion*. In her view, there is indeed some truth in this statement: some religious communities have tended to be cautious of the media. However, she also argues that the majority of religious organisations frequently do exploit modern technological advances, such as new media, to further their agenda. She (2010: 136) suggests that especially "Christian use of new media has been heavily infused with pro-technology discourse that encourages particular forms of engagement". Moberg (2016: 516) warns that one be wary of this statement, as, while it is obviously true, these developments should be measured against the more general trends in social life and communication. As technological advancements take hold in society, it is logical that religious organisations, too, take advantage of these advancements. The Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland, on the other hand, has quite thoroughly embraced the opportunities offered by new media, and the internet in particular. The Church has its own profile at least on Facebook, Instagram and Twitter. Moreover, different congregations and joint parishes working under the Evangelical Lutheran Church usually have their own websites and profiles on the above-mentioned social media sites as well. The Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland is therefore highly visible online, and thus has extensive possibilities to further their agenda. Nevertheless, one may question whether they really have the means to take advantage of these possibilities. In the Church of Encounter strategy, the Church states that the development of social media, for example, is both a great challenge and a possibility for the Church (Kohtaamisen kirkko 2014: 7). As the Church itself recognises these kinds of technological advancements, it could be argued that the Church has a great deal to gain from researchers' insights into how they could best achieve their communicational goals.

Even though some religious organisations may be wary regarding technological advancements, religions are hardly a new sight online. Campbell (2010: 21 – 25) explains that religions have been visible in the virtual world for three decades, as the religious users of the internet began preaching the words of their gods, goddesses and other deities online as early as in the early 1980s on various platforms. She states that at the turn of the millennium religions were a permanent feature on the internet, as communities, organisations and individuals of religious nature kept practising their beliefs in virtual environments. In one of her previous studies, Campbell (2005)

investigated the different forms that religious activity takes online when she studied the narratives of religious Internet users. She (2005: 9 – 10) found four distinctive discourse strategies which are:

> a spiritual medium facilitating religious experience, a sacramental space suitable for religious use, a tool promoting religion or religious practice and a technology for affirming religious life.

In the present thesis, the focus is on the third form of religious activity online, *a tool for promoting religion or religious practice,* as the purpose of the websites of the Evangelical Lutheran Church is most likely to promote Christian beliefs and to attract new members to join its activities. In Campbell's view (2005: 12), when the internet is referred to as a mere tool, it has neutral connotations, and it can therefore be utilised for informational purposes, for instance. According to her, this works reciprocally: one may seek information on religions and activities affiliated with said religions, as well as promote or preach one's own religious ideals by creating websites dedicated to religious content. The Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland has realised that in order to not to trip on their virtual chasubles, they must learn how to use these new possibilities for online preaching. Indeed, there is some evidence of advancements made in the virtual front; in the Church of Encounter strategy, the Church reports that some 1200 personnel have been trained to be more proficient users of the internet. (Kohtaamisen kirkko 2014: 11).

3 THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Now that the more general background of the present study has been presented, it is time to turn to the linguistic aspects of the present theoretical framework. First, I will investigate *the paradigm shift* in sociolinguistics. Second, the main topics under scrutiny in the present chapter are *linguistic landscapes* and *language policies.* Third, the concept of *representation* and *a social-semiotic theory for multimodality* will be investigated in relation to the present study.

3.1 "-- and they spoke in tongues" - or did they?

The *paradigm shift* in sociolinguistics has brought about a great deal of discussion of the role and nature of sociolinguistic enquiry. Blommaert and Rampton (2012: 9 – 10) argue that sociolinguistics has witnessed a re-examination of the fundamental ideas concerning languages and their speakers over the past twenty years. The notion of languages as singular entities derives from the 19th century, when the ideology functioned as a political device to aid the emergent nation-states in differentiating themselves from others (Gal and Irvine 1995: 968). Blommaert and Rampton (2012: 9-10) explain that "homogeneity, stability and boundedness" of languages have been replaced by a more dynamic view. The relevance of the more dynamic view of languages is emphasised by the re-envisionment of sociolinguistic diversity as superdiversity in sociolinguistic research (see section 2.1 above) which posits that instead of *language* as a bounded entity, sociolinguistics should be concerned with views on language as *linguistic resources* and *linguistic repertoires*. Blommaert and Backus (2011: 4 – 10) explain that individuals' linguistic repertoires consist of "linguistic and sociolinguistic patterns", which are dependent on biographies. Thus, languages do not exist in the mind for example as *Finnish* or *English*, but rather as resources that are acquired and forgotten during one's journey through life. Furthermore, Pennycook (2010: 84) proposes that language use be viewed as *localised practises*, which means that communication should be observed as social activity which is distinctive to the environment where it occurs. Blommaert and Rampton (2011: 8) explain that migrants pack their linguistic resources in their imaginary

linguistic suitcases when they change environments, which results in superdiverse destinations being diverse linguistically as well. If communication is localised social activity, migrants start shaping the local language practices immediately when they start utilising their linguistic resources as they arrive in Finland. It could be argued that the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland faces a great challenge; their objective to be able to interact with people in a variety of languages is perhaps a step into the wrong direction, as they should try to start adapting their language *practices* instead. In other words, the more dynamic view of language entails that one should try to communicate by utilising all the *linguistic resources* in one's repertoire instead of trying to master as many languages as possible. I am arguing that adopting this view would benefit the Church, who as an infrastructure of superdiversity is confronting great linguistic diversity in its activities. This reflection will be returned to in the last chapter of the present thesis.

Unfortunately, the above suggestion may be easier said than done; institutions tend not to be as progressively minded about language use, as they still excessively practice the ideology of languages as bounded entities in their policy and practice (Blommaert and Rampton 2012: 10). Blommaert and Rampton (2012: 10 – 11) explain that because this view on language is still widely acknowledged, it remains highly influential in many areas, such as education and popular culture. There is therefore a clash between two realities: the actual linguistic reality in the world and the institutional reality which imposes linguistic restrictions on the members of society and migrants alike. The migrant, when trying to cope in her new superdiverse environment, uses all the different linguistic resources available to her, but is sadly at the mercy of the linguistic restrictions of her surroundings. For instance, a migrant from Spain might need to visit a government office in Finland. However, she might struggle to get help at the office because *Spanish* is not a language with which Finnish officials are required to communicate. This is true on the internet as well, as one is able to utilise those websites whose linguistic resources correspond with those in the linguistic repertoire of the visitor. Moreover, Blommaert and Rampton (2012: 10) admit that even some sociolinguistic researchers are still guilty of treating languages as "bounded systems linked with bounded communities". In the present study, however, the author will try to steer this ship away from these dangerous waters, and bear in mind this clash between the two realities when analysing the language policies on the websites of the

Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland: my focus here is on the different *linguistic resources* appearing on the websites, instead of merely on the websites' language options. The language policies on the websites have been embedded in the linguistic resources and they form *linguistic landscapes*, which will be our next foci of attention.

3.2 The kiss of Judas, also known as *linguistic landscapes*

Blommaert (2013: 1 – 3) explains that linguistic landscapes are, quite simply, fragments of languages that one can encounter in public spaces. However, he observes that the power of linguistic landscapes (henceforth LLs) does not lie in merely counting languages, but rather they are highly valuable for sociolinguistic research due to their analytic potential. Blommaert emphasises the significance of LLs as a means for the study of social behaviour, as studying these landscapes means concentrating on spaces, and these spaces always function as an arena for social, cultural and political play. In Blommaert's view (2013: 3), public spaces are multidimensional: they regulate social behaviour, are characterised by historical traditions, are always owned by someone and thus may exert power over those engaged in these spaces. Blommaert therefore recognises the power of sociolinguistic analysis of public spaces: revealing the underlying social, cultural and political structures that are engraved in linguistic landscapes. To this, Shohamy (2006: 111) adds that public spaces do indeed function as the battleground of power for many different actors, such as governments and municipalities. She highlights that it is therefore crucial that language fragments appearing in these spaces be recognised as political tools, since they may have been chosen and emplaced by authorities for a specific political reason. Linguistic landscape analysis may therefore function as a highly relevant method for sociolinguistic research, as it has the possibility of revealing a great deal about the surrounding social reality.

Linguistic landscapes have become the object of analysis in sociolinguistics relatively recently (Ivkovic and Lotherington 2009: 18-19). Along the lines of Blommaert, Ivkovic and Lotherington (2009: 18) observe that the main object of previous LL study has been physical public spaces in the form of the *linguistic cityscape*, which means studying the publicly visible semiotic resources in big cities, such as Montreal or

Bangkok. However, Shohamy and Waksman (2009: 315) argue that the Internet can been added to the list of public spaces: online spaces also constitute LLs. They (2009: 315) continue that public spaces, including online environments, are now characterised in terms of instability and change. Moreover, Ivkovic and Lotherington (2009: 19) suggest that one of the differences between analysing linguistic cityscapes and *cyberscapes* is that the content on the internet is less fixed, as it may be updated more frequently and with less effort than in physical environments. They also recognise the unbounded nature of virtual linguistic landscapes (henceforth VLLs); these landscapes are available for everyone who has access to the internet. In the same vein, Shohamy and Waksman (2009: 315) state that anyone may gain access to virtual landscapes regardless of their physical location. This applies to religious cyberscapes, too; Campbell (2005: 12) argues that the Internet may be seen as a tool where anyone can find information on religion or religious activity. Due to the unbounded nature of the internet, new immigrants in search of social networks, solace and social support in the form of religious organisations can begin searching this information online, as it can be accessed regardless of their physical location. For this reason, it is therefore crucial that the Evangelical Lutheran Church, the largest and most visible religious organisation in Finland, offer information on their websites also for those visitors who do not have Finnish linguistic resources in their linguistic repertoires.

Linguistic landscapes are, in a way, the Judas of modern language politics. Shohamy (2006: 110 – 123) explains that both the visibility and absence of language fragments in public spaces may tattletale a great deal about the language policies placed by authorities; the visibility of languages may be seen as the symbolic legitimation of their speakers in societies and vice versa. She continues that where there is language use, the prevalence of language policies as part of decision-making is an undeniable fact, and they are therefore a functional instrument for authorities to control existing language use. Shohamy (2006: 50) explains that it is possible to study language policies either explicitly or implicitly: through official documentation or by investigating existing institutional language practices. If, indeed, the internet is considered a public space, then it must also be treated as a site of regulation and ownership where language policies may be examined implicitly by investigating language practices on specific websites. Shohamy (2006: 123) repeats that the choice of language in a public space is an obvious statement from authorities as to “who is in

charge". Investigating language choices and linguistic landscapes is therefore highly relevant on institutional websites, as the visibility and function of languages are a window to the language policies of the institution in question. As part of these policies, linguistic landscapes online may reveal the institution's attitudes towards their audience as well. The availability of different linguistic resources has the power of enabling and limiting the accessibility of the content on institutional websites. The visitor is at the mercy of the language policies; the scope of the linguistic resources emplaced on the websites allow and deny the visitor's access to the provided information. For instance, if an institution offers information on their websites merely in Finnish, their language policy is clearly to interact with only those members of the audience who have Finnish resources in their linguistic repertoires. Thus, virtual spaces may be accessed from where-ever in the world, but it is linguistic landscapes that determine the true accessibility to these spaces. The linguistic landscapes on the websites of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland therefore not only reveal the language policies of the organisation, but also dictate who has access to the content on the websites. This, in turn, may have implications on the real-life encounters of the Church as well. If one does not have access to the information on the Church and its activities online in the first place, one might not feel welcome to join its activities at all.

If linguistic landscape analysis of physical spaces is a relatively new idea, analysing LLs in virtual environments is even more so. The problem with analysing linguistic landscapes on institutional websites is that the aforementioned "factuality of named languages" (Blommaert and Rampton 2012) in public thinking is still pervasive, which is why most linguistic landscape research online has focused on language options, rather than on the distribution of linguistic resources, on institutional websites. Even if institutions remain attached to obsolete language ideologies which have little to do with real life language use, it is the researcher's task to bear in mind that these two realities coexist and conduct research from this perspective. However, one should not undermine the importance of also studying language options in virtual environments; they, too, function as a useful way to investigate institutional language policies, especially if the website in question demonstrates little mixing of linguistic resources. For instance, in her study of the language options and linguistic landscapes on the websites of Finnish banks, Háhn (2016: 201) suggests that language options, especially

on corporate websites, highlight corporate values and identities. The two-fold aim in Háhn's (2016) study was to investigate what kinds of implications design, content, structure and usability have on the distribution of languages on the websites, and what kinds of language policies one is able to detect on these corporate websites. Moreover, she identified four types of strategies for organising websites' language options: balanced, one-language dominant, hierarchy and two-language dominant. Regarding the present thesis, Háhn's study works as a functional example of research conducted by applying linguistic landscape analysis on websites.

As stated above, previous study on linguistic landscapes online has focused on language options on institutional websites, and it has also had the tendency to concentrate on corporate environments. Moreover, these studies have usually used a quantitative or a mixed-method approach, which has typically meant counting languages on a large number of websites. For example, in Kelly-Holmes' (2006) study of global consumer brands, a quantitative approach was emphasised, which allowed a great number of websites to be included in the study: her data consisted of 548 websites. However, non-corporate websites have started to receive increasing attention in research as well. These have included, for instance, university websites. By way of illustration, Callahan and Herring (2012) conducted a study in which they studied language options on 1140 university websites in 57 countries. As we can see, the orientation in this strand of previous research differs slightly from that of the present study, as the objective here is not to examine wider trends in online multilingualism, but rather the focus is on one particular institution. However, these studies are examples of research conducted on language policies online.

3.3 Ecclesiastical representations

Discourse is in a key role when producing desired representations of oneself to specific audiences. Kress and van Leeuwen (2001: 24) define *discourse* as "socially constructed knowledges of reality". In a similar vein, Fairclough (2003: 129) posits that with discourse one may create representations that portray a certain phenomenon from a particular point of view. It is therefore possible to create a favourable representation of oneself through discourse, and this works on any level, whether it be

personal or institutional. The meanings conveyed through representations can be understood because they are available via language - text, images and sound, for example - as a representational system that becomes understandable thanks to *culture* as a set of "shared meanings" (Hall 2013: xvii). From this perspective, according to Hall (2013: xviii - xix), culture is a *set of practices* created by the participants as they make meanings for themselves and others. In other words, one may construct favourable representations of basically anything through discourse, and others are able to understand these representations through the shared access to a specific culture, where meanings are created in social interaction.

Discursive representations in corporate contexts usually form a part of companies' branding. Schnurr (2016: 293) explains that branding is of a great significance in corporate contexts. Of equal importance, she continues, is conveying the said brand in a successful manner to various audiences, for example stakeholders. Schnurr (ibid.) suggests that successful corporate representation may also attract prospective clientele, and thus open new sources of income. As discussed in Chapter 1, while the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland is not a profit-oriented organisation, the attractiveness of its self-representations is nevertheless a significant factor in securing funding for the organisation, as the major part of the Church's funding is dependent on the number of its members. It is therefore plausible to juxtapose the Church with profit-oriented organisations when considering institutional representations, even though the general orientation and function of these kinds of organisations is different. Furthermore, one might argue that actions to renew the Church's marketing strategies, if there are any, are highly necessary as the Church continues to lose members, a trend which has been increasing ever since the 80s.

Websites function as an exceptionally useful source for the analysis of representation. Hallett and Kaplan-Weinger (2010: 5) explain that even though the content of any website is always specific to the creators and to the websites on which they appear, discourse is always emplaced in such environments to represent identities as well as to promote institutional ideologies. This idea may be transferred to any context, even though Hallett and Kaplan-Weinger's specific focus was on the discourse of tourism. By way of illustration, Jousmäki (2014) investigated the self-representations that were constructed multimodally on the websites of Christian metal bands; her focus was on

the visual and textual features that were part of constructing these representations, and she discovered that for instance, photographs and colours were a significant part of meaning-making on the bands' websites. One may therefore state that the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland, too, uses marked type of discourse to construct self-representations on their numerous websites, especially if one considers the Church's online presence *a tool for promoting religious practice*.

Discursive identity construction in both spoken and written interaction has received a great deal of academic interest over the years but analysing the construction of online corporate identities through the collaborative use of different elements, such as text and images, has somehow escaped the scholarly spotlight (Schnurr 2016: 291 – 292). Hallett and Kaplan-Weinger (2010: 10-11) suggest that *a multimodal approach* offers greater possibilities to study how identities are constructed in discourse, as online discourse consists of both linguistic and visual material (emphasis added). There are some studies in which identities have been researched online from a multimodal perspective. For example, Hallett and Kaplan-Weinger (2010) investigated corporate identities on tourism websites by utilising multimodal discourse analysis. In their study, multimodal discourse analysis consisted of both critical discourse analysis (CDA) and the analysis of visual elements, such as images. Despite this, multimodal discourse analysis à la Hallett and Kaplan-Weinger cannot be fully digested for the purposes of the present study. The reason behind this derives from the critical objectives of CDA which, as Blommaert (2005: 27) explains, are rooted in "theories of power and ideology". The motivation behind the present thesis is less political, but its main aim is to observe what kinds of self-representations the Church has created to promote itself to immigrants, rather than to criticise unequal power structures in our society. An example of a study in which multimodal discourse analysis was conducted without the side order of CDA is the Professional and Academic Discourse (PAD) Research Group's (2016) study on the construction of brand image and corporate identities on the websites of *innocent*, a UK-based fruit juice produce. They utilised a mixed-methods approach, which included corpus analytical tools and discourse analysis. The discourse analysis in the "innocent" study did not include a socio-critical aspect, but rather positioned itself in the field of Workplace Discourse, and the analysis concentrated on both the textual as well as multimodal features of the websites. The multimodal discourse analysis realised in the present thesis, however, will follow

neither of the two approaches. Instead, the current analysis is based on *a social semiotic theory on multimodality*, which will be introduced next.

3.4 Praise thyself multimodally

The term *multimodality* implies the existence of multiple *modes*. Kress and van Leeuwen (2001: 20 – 22) explain that discursive action may be realised in different semiotic *modes*, and these modes may be actualised through multiple media. Semiotic modes are therefore resources with which one may construct meaning. Kress (2010: 79) argues that modes are "socially shaped -- resources used in representation", and for example image, writing, music, layout and colour are different modes. These modes have different *affordances* - potentials - and are used in a variety of fashions in different societies, which means that the usefulness of modes varies from one culture to another (Kress 2010: 83 – 84). Kress (2010: 83) mentions that for instance in Western societies, image and writing have long reigned as the main means of making meaning.

Kress (2010: 54) argues that all multimodal study needs to be situated in an explicit theoretical framework; for him, this is provided by *social semiotics*. According to Kress (ibid.), the social-semiotic theory places meaning in the centre of interest, in all its manifestations. Meaning, in turn, emerges in social interactions, Kress continues (ibid.). He (ibid.) explains that *sign* is the most fundamental unit in semiotics and it displays "a fusion of form and meaning". Signs come to life in all modes, which is why the relevance of every mode in a *sign complex* should be evaluated. In *semiosis*, which means the making of meaning, signs are not used but always newly made in social interaction (Kress, ibid.). Kress (ibid.) provides an explanatory list of assumptions according to which social semiotics is positioned:

> --signs are always newly *made* in social interaction; signs are *motivated*, not *arbitrary* relations of meaning and form; the motivated relation of a *form* and a *meaning* is based on and arises out of the interest of makers of signs--

By mentioning "the arbitrary relations of meaning and form", Kress (2010: 63) makes a reference to the structuralist semiotics of Saussure, where the meaning (signified) of

the sign (signifier) is chosen arbitrarily. This view, however, is nowadays considered obsolete in social semiotics, because in it meaning is taken to arise from social interaction, rather than as the result of random choice.

A social-semiotic theory of multimodality calls for a rethinking of language, in the same way to the *paradigm shift* in sociolinguistics. According to Jones (2012: 71), each mode has a unique potential for making meaning. If this is the case, then verbal language should no longer be treated as the superior mode that has potential to produce all meanings, Kress (2010: 79) proposes. Instead, verbal language is merely a mode among others, and it is really the unique potential of distinctive modes that condition the selection of modes in social interaction (Kress 2010: 79). However, this does not entail that each and every mode has a separate set of grammatical rules according to which meanings can be analysed, a method inherited from the study of language, but rather that modes have distinctive methods of organising meaning, and the researcher is responsible for determining what that system is (Jones 2010: 30). Thus, the multimodal approach to discourse also helps us to escape the notion of verbal language as the dominant mode.

Let us return to the concept of *representation.* Firstly, Kress (2010: 59) explains that social semiotics embraces the basic elements of representation, for instance modes, and is capable of providing information about the functions of each mode in multimodal discourse, as well as about the relations between these modes. Secondly, the focus in social semiotics is on the *sign* in which meaning and form have been intertwined, as stated above. By investigating the sign, one may expose the underlying motives of the sign-maker (Kress 2010: 65). Kress (2010: 70 – 71) argues that these motives are rooted in the sign-maker's place in the world, and representation has the sign-maker's motives and interests at heart. In other words, studying multimodal representations may reveal a great deal about the author of the multimodal text as well as about her ideologies. A social-semiotic theory of multimodality is thus a useful framework according to which one may study multimodal representations online. In the present study, I am therefore able to examine the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland's motives and interests through investigating the multimodal representations created on their websites. In sum, social semiotics provides a perspective from which the multimodal discourse analysis in the present study is conducted.

A social-semiotic theory of multimodality proposes that all modes are equally important in semiosis, but context may pose some restrictions to the modes included in a sign complex. Pauwels (2012: 250) explains that multimodality online is restricted to two types of modes: visual and aural. However, even with visual and aural modes, one may express a multitude of meanings online, as the diversity of these modes is more extensive than usually considered (Pauwels ibid.). The diversity of the visual includes for instance text, typography, layout and design, whereas that of the auditory mode covers speech, music and noise, to name a few (Pauwels ibid.). This, obviously, has implications for the present study as well, and the focus here is therefore limited to visual and aural modes. Modes and multimodal discourse analysis will be explored further in the following chapter, when the methodology of the present study is presented.

4 METHODOLOGY OF THE PRESENT STUDY

In this chapter, I will present the set-up of the present thesis, which consists of the aim and research questions; the data, its selection and collection, and the methods with which the analysis was conducted. In the last section of this chapter, I will discuss the research ethical considerations related to the present study.

4.1 Aim and research questions

The main aim of this study was to examine how welcoming the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland is towards non-Finnish speakers. This aim was reached by examining both the language policies used and self-representations created by the Church on the websites of three joint parishes. To help me in this task, a number of research questions was developed:

1. Which linguistic and other semiotic resources were used to distribute information on the websites?
2. How have the different linguistic resources been distributed on the websites?
3. What kinds of self-representations were constructed of the Church and its congregations for English-speaking visitors of the websites through the use of multimodal semiotic resources?

Determining the language policies of the Church entailed providing an answer to the first two research questions. By answering the first research question, it was possible to distinguish with whom the Church was willing to communicate, because, as discussed in Section 3.2, one way for institutions to legitimize speakers of certain languages is to include their languages in the linguistic landscapes of the public spaces they oversee. The second question, in turn, revealed how significant the speakers of languages other than Finnish are for the Church by examining one's accessibility of these resources; the easier it is to find information in a specific language on a website, the more important the speakers of that language are for the Church. This phenomenon is what Pauwels (2012: 258) calls *priming*, and I will return to this topic later on in this

chapter. The last question addressed the multimodal aspects of the data. Exploring the Church's self-representations on the websites, created through multimodal semiotic resources, revealed the attitudes of the Church towards people who do not speak Finnish. Through the self-representations one was able to observe how the Church saw itself, or wanted to be seen, in relation to the non-Finnish speaking audiences. This, in turn, shed light on how the Church saw these audiences and therefore also on what kinds of attitudes they held towards them. In this part of the thesis, the multimodal content aimed at English-speaking visitors was chosen to be the object of study due to the indisputable role of the language as lingua franca in intercultural communication. The aim and research questions of the present thesis have now been presented, and the following section is devoted to *data*.

4.2 Data

The Evangelical Lutheran Church was chosen as the infrastructure of superdiversity under scrutiny in the present study, because it remains the biggest religious organisation in Finland. In 2018, the Church had approximately 3,8 million members, which made 69,7 per cent of the whole population of Finland (Tietoa kirkosta 2019). By way of illustration, Moberg (2012: 7) characterises the status of the Church as the "majority national "folk" church" in Finland. Interestingly, when the current author began working on this thesis in 2017, the percentage was still 70,7. These numbers have been in constant decrease since the 1980s, when 90 per cent of the population was still a member. (Kirkkoon kuuluvuus n.d.). Despite the fleeing members, the Church remains visible in both the media and everyday life. Furthermore, the Church's administrative structure has undergone changes during recent years. Many congregations, which previously functioned independently in the same area, have been merged to form so-called joint parishes. In the present study, all of the websites under investigation belong to a union of multiple congregations. Table 1 lists the three joint parishes and their websites. In the present study, 'website' is a term for a bundle of webpages found under the same domain.

TABLE 1. The joint parishes and their websites.

Espoon seurakunnat (’Espoo parishes’)	http://www.espoonseurakunnat.fi/
Helsingin seurakunnat (’Helsinki parishes’)	https://www.helsinginseurakunnat.fi/
Vantaan seurakunnat (’Vantaa parishes’)	http://www.vantaanseurakunnat.fi/

The chosen websites were those of the joint parishes of Helsinki, Espoo and Vantaa, all located in the Helsinki metropolitan area. The rationale for choosing these three websites is provided by two main factors: the location of the joint parishes and the number of immigrants in these areas. Traditionally, migration concentrates in bigger cities. In Finland, 26,5 per cent of the entire population and approximately half of the immigrant population lived in the Helsinki metropolitan area in 2017 (Tilastotietoja Helsingistä 2017). Moreover, the number of people who do not speak Finnish in the Helsinki metropolitan area is predicted to double during the next 15 years (Malmberg 2019). These three cities are also among the four biggest in Finland. Furthermore, the population in all of the cities features a high percentage of immigrants: 18 per cent in Vantaa, 15,5 per cent in Helsinki, and 16,1 per cent in Espoo (Maahanmuuttajat n.d.). In 2016, a large majority, 85 per cent, of the so-called non-Finnish-speaking population were not members of any religious organisation (Väestörakenne 2017). The people who belong to this portion of the population therefore constitute a potential demographic for the Evangelical Lutheran Church, too. Due to the high number of immigrants in this area, one might assume that the Church may try to appeal to this part of the population more strongly than in parts of Finland where immigration is less prominent.

Next, I will briefly present the three joint parishes. The websites in the present study are considered, according to Campbell (2005), *a tool for promoting religion or religious practice*. Usually, congregational websites offer information on religious life, forthcoming activities in which one can partake, and on Lutheranism in general as well

as contact information for finding support in life's crises. They are thus convenient bundles of information for migrants who are in need of support in the face of change. The first one of these bundles in my data is the joint parish of Espoo, which is a union of six congregations, one of whose official language is Swedish whilst the rest make do with Finnish. At the end of 2018, the joint parish was formed of 166 497 members in total, and the largest congregation was Tuomiokirkkoseurakunta with its 46 608 members. 58,7 per cent of the Espoo inhabitants belong to the Evangelical Lutheran Church, which is slightly less than the national percentage. (Faktoja ja tilastoja n.d.).

The number of members in the two other joint parishes does not differ drastically from those of the Espoo joint parishes. The joint parish of Helsinki consists of 21 congregations, three of which are Swedish speaking. In total, in 2018 there were 337 955 members, and the overall percentage of the population affiliated with the Church was 52 (Vuositilasto 2018). Lastly, the joint parish of Vantaa consists of six Finnish and one Swedish congregation. One of these congregations, the congregation of Tikkurila, is one of the biggest congregations in Finland with almost 40 000 members. In 2016, 129 366 people of the Vantaa inhabitants were a member of the Church, which makes it the smallest joint parish in the data. According to their websites, the members have diverse backgrounds and speak over 60 different native languages, the most common of which are Swedish, Russian and Estonian. (Tietoa Vantaan seurakunnista n.d.). In sum, one can state that in all of the joint parishes the member percentages are lower than the corresponding national member percentage. It thus seems that the Church's mission to reach all people is facing great difficulties in the secular-minded metropolitan region.

In the collection of the data it was important to save the websites as completely as possible for the purposes of the analysis. Due to the changeable nature of websites, I wanted to have at my disposal a version of each of the three websites, collected approximately at the same time. Pauwels (2012: 251) explains that there are three approaches to cultural website analysis from which one may select the most applicable: *a snapshot approach, a diachronic longitudinal study* or *a dynamic diachronic approach*. The first one entails the analysis of a "static slice of a dynamic medium at a certain point in time", the second one consists of "different snapshot data at certain time intervals", and the last one involves the analysis of changes during a longer period

of time (Pauwels 2012: 215). These three approaches were carefully considered when designing the present study, and due to the type of study in question as well as its temporal restrictions, the first one, *a snapshot approach*, was chosen. The data were collected during the spring and summer of 2018. Some preliminary data had been collected already in the December of 2017, but due to the extensive changes which occurred both on the Espoo and Helsinki websites, I decided to dispose of the existing data and re-collect them so that all of it was collected approximately at the same time. Because of the changes on the Espoo pages, I re-considered taking the third approach, but as it turned out, the author moved outside Finland for the spring term of 2018 which meant that there was not a lot of time for data collection. As a result, all of the data was collected in 2018, by either taking a screenshot of the desired object or by downloading an offline copy of the webpage with the Chrome plugins *PageArchiver* and *Save Page WE*. These plugins made it possible to have the particular version of the webpage existing at the time of the download at one's disposal once it had been downloaded. During this process, I tried to collect the pages as thoroughly as possible, but as I had to do it manually, it was impossible to ensure that every single page on the extensive websites was collected. However, it was made sure that at least all of the pages containing other linguistic resources than Finnish were saved. Below, I have provided a table in which the number of webpages and screenshots collected under each domain is presented.

TABLE 2. Data statistics.

Domain	**Webpages and screenshots collected in total**
http://www.espoonseurakunnat.fi/	903
https://www.helsinginseurakunnat.fi/	782
http://www.vantaanseurakunnat.fi/	586

One encountered the greatest number of linguistic resources other than Finnish on the Espoo joint parishes' website, which is why the number of collected webpages and screenshots was the highest, 903 items. Out of these 903 items, 859 were webpages and 44 were screenshots. In the case of the Helsinki joint parishes' website, on the

other hand, the number of collected items was 782, which included 779 webpages and 3 screenshots. Lastly, the number of items collected on the Vantaa joint parishes' website was 586 and consisted completely of webpages.

4.3 Analytic framework

As the focus of the present study is two-fold, the Church's language policies and self-representations, two main methods of analysis were required: linguistic landscape analysis and multimodal discourse analysis. The present analytic framework was constructed by combining these two approaches. On the one hand, linguistic landscape analysis was used to answer the first two research questions, and multimodal discourse analysis was conducted to answer the third research question. The basis of the present analytic framework is on Pauwels's (2012) *multimodal framework for analysing websites.* Pauwels' model functioned particularly well as the basis for the present analytic framework; the model was designed for analysing websites as sources for social and cultural data, which is the orientation of the present study as well. Pauwels (2012: 252) has divided her framework into six different phases, as follows:

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 implied audience(s) and purposes,*
5. *analysis of information organisation and spatial priming strategies,* and
6. *contextual analysis, provenance and inference*.

While the objective of Pauwels's framework is to investigate the multimodal aspects of websites, the analytic framework of the present study also involved linguistic landscape analysis. Pauwels's framework was therefore adjusted when needed; the succession of phases in Pauwels' original framework was modified, and more emphasis was put on some phases than on others: a rationale for each modification is explained below. As Pauwels' original model is based on multimodal discourse analysis, adding linguistic landscape analysis into the present analytic framework

required changing the succession of the phases in Pauwels' original model in order to answer all of the research questions.

Pauwels (2012: 253) explains that the first phase of analysis should occur before realising the actual analysis, as the researcher familiarises herself with the data. Regarding the present study, this phase was realised at the same time as the data was collected, as first impressions and thoughts were noted down at that point. Answering the first research question on the use of linguistic and other semiotic resources emplaced on the three websites entailed realising the second phase of Pauwels's framework. Pauwels (2012: 252 – 253) explains that the second phase in her framework means the mapping out of the content of the websites, as one catalogues both the present and absent features and topics on the websites. By including the linguistic and other semiotic resources in this phase of the analysis, it was not necessary to go through the data again later on in order to answer the third research question. Due to the specific orientation of the thesis towards linguistic landscapes, emphasis was put on the linguistic resources found in the data. Similarly to a study conducted by Háhn (2016), all of the different linguistic resources appearing on the websites were documented as thoroughly as possible. However, her study concentrated on the different *language options* on the websites of Finnish banks. Instead of focusing solely on language options, my interest here lay on the use of different linguistic resources, which meant that I examined all of the textual material on the websites to determine whether linguistic resources from different language entities were mixed and used to communicate with the visitors of the websites. It was therefore possible to sketch a more holistic picture of the language policies used by the Church.

Answering the second research question, which deals with the distribution of the different linguistic resources, involved phase five in Pauwels's framework. Pauwels (2012: 258) observes that investigating the organisation of a website may also reveal significant details about cultural or social hierarchy, as an easy access to specific items on a website could be suggestive of the relative importance of such items and vice versa. In the present thesis, Pauwels's idea was adapted to concern the linguistic resources found on the websites as part of linguistic landscape analysis. Furthermore, Pauwels (ibid.) identifies two strategies regarding the construction of websites: *priming* and *burying.* She explains that present-day websites have a tendency to feature

a great number of designs to prime specific content, which can inform the visitor of the website owner's values, for example. Thus, exploring the accessibility of the linguistic resources emplaced on the chosen websites by concentrating on priming and burying strategies revealed with whom the Church wishes to communicate on its websites, whilst also revealing how important these audiences are for the Church. Even though Pauwels's method, yet again, relates to all of the content found on websites, I am arguing that concentrating on the visibility of different linguistic resources on the websites offered a practical insight into the Church's language policies. Furthermore, the present study also focuses on the strategies through which the languages on the websites were represented. In the same way as Háhn's (2016) study, I paid attention to the linguistic content, design and usability of the websites and identified which one of the four types of strategies identified in Háhn's study (balanced, one-language dominant, hierarchy or two-language dominant) were used.

The last research question was answered by using multimodal discourse analysis, which, in turn, meant utilising phase three in Pauwels's framework. Pauwels (2012: 253) describes phase three in the following manner: "look at the information that resides in the separate modes". She (2012: 253-255) has divided semiotic modes or multimodal signifiers into five categories: *visual, typographic, verbal, sonic* and *layout*. Pauwels (2012: 253) continues that analysing these modes may be realised by two distinct methods of analysis: *intra-modal analysis* and *cross-modal analysis.* According to Pauwels (ibid.), *intra-modal* analysis means examining the meaning conveyed by distinct modes, whereas through *cross-modal analysis* one inspects how the modes interact in conveying meaning. In the present study, I utilised *intra-modal* analysis when performing linguistic landscape analysis and investigating the linguistic resources emplaced on the websites.

The social-semiotic theory on multimodality entails that all modes need to be examined in a sign-complex, and language should no longer be considered the superior mode which carries the most information value, as discussed in Chapter 3. As this theory is a fundamental part of the theoretical basis in the present thesis, analysis of the Church's self-representations in the present thesis was therefore a *cross-modal* investigation of the visual and verbal modes. More specifically, layout was granted the status of a mode in the present analysis, while after the initial examination of the data,

the *sonic* mode was excluded from the analysis due to the rather small amount of sonic material, such as video and audio, on the websites. Moreover, along the line suggested by Kress and van Leeuwen (2001: 59), colour was considered an important signifier in multimodal discourse. This is because colour is significant for the Church: for example, *Liturgical colours* in Lutheran tradition convey specific meanings, such as green, which symbolises hope and eternal life (Liturgiset värit, n.d.). In sum, the present analytic framework included both *intra-modal* and *cross-modal* analysis of modes. By way of illustration, also Jousmäki (2014) applied both of the above approaches when investigating self-representations created through multimodal semiotic resources on the websites of Christian metal bands.

There are two main approaches to multimodal discourse analysis, and the first concentrates on texts such as websites, and the second on "real time interaction" (Jones 2012: 71). As the data in the present study consisted of websites, the approach applied here was the former. Jones (2010: 29) observes that the roots of multimodal discourse analysis of texts are in M.A.K Halliday's *systemic functional grammar*, where grammar is treated as a "system of *resources* for making meaning", and is being formed by what "people need to *do* with language". In systemic-functional grammar, Halliday identified three metafunctions in order to interpret language, and they are the *ideational*, *interpersonal* and *textual* function (Jones 2010: 72). Kress and van Leeuwen (2006: 20) suggest that Halliday's tripartite model serves well for analysing modes of representation, even though it fails to be the ideal model for understanding language. According to Kress and van Leeuwen (2006: 42), every "semiotic system has to be able to represent objects and their relations in a world", which is the *ideational metafunction* of modes. The *interpersonal metafunction* of semiotic systems, they continue, means that semiotic systems should also be capable of representing the relations between sign-makers and the receivers of signs. Lastly, the *textual metafunction* entails that these systems must also be able to create sign complexes, that is, *texts* (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006: 43). As the final metafunction has less to do with representation, which is the object of interest in the multimodal discourse analysis of the present study, the focus here therefore was on the *ideational* and *interpersonal* metafunctions. When investigating the *ideational* metafunction on the websites, I analysed the representations of the Church and the joint parishes created by using multiple modes. In turn, I analysed the interpersonal metafunction by looking

at the relationship established between the visitor of the website and the Church through multimodal discourse. For instance, verbal resources and images were often under scrutiny when the interpersonal metafunction was analysed.

Kress (2010: 87) admits that it is not simple to determine whether for instance *colour* or *layout* are modes. In the social-semiotic theory of multimodality, the three metafunctions are capable of helping one ascertain what exactly counts as a semiotic mode. In *Social Semiotics*, a mode is a mode when it serves all of the above metafunctions, Kress (2010: 87) observes. Kress (2010: 87 – 88) also argues that the meanings which are conveyed multimodally are always culturally specific and socially created. Meanings created through colour, for instance, are especially tied to culture (Kress 2010: 88). Granting layout the status of a mode, on the other hand, is a trickier task, because it has been questioned whether layout can actually serve the three different metafunctions (Kress 2010: 88). In order to provide an answer to these reservations, Kress (2010: 89) applies *commutation* from structural linguistics to test out whether changing the arrangement of layout has an effect on the *ideational* and *interpersonal* metafunctions. For instance, Kress (2010: 92) discovered that layout

> dispose(s) information in semiotic space; it positions semiotic elements and their relations; it 'orients' viewers/readers to classifications of knowledge--.

The above list provides proof of the *ideational* metafunction performed by layout. Kress (2010: 92) concludes that layout as a mode challenges the extent of the ideational metafunction, and proves that we are still suffering from the language-centric thinking in semiosis and communication in general.

The analysis of *embedded implied audience(s) and purposes*, phase four in Pauwels' framework, still remains to be explained. Pauwels (2012: 257) asserts that analysing both the *point(s) of view* and *implied audiences* on websites requires looking at all of the multimodal features. In short, by *point(s) of view*, Pauwels (ibid.) refers to master narratives through which values or attitudes on a website are expressed, and by *embedded audience(s)* she refers to the intended primary and secondary audiences for whom a website has been designed. Pauwels (ibid.) notes that determining the *point(s) of view* on websites may be difficult, as even the most obvious ones may, in fact, be artificial. This means that one may consciously create content aimed at specific

audiences, and present it from a specific point of view, even though in reality it is not the author's point of view. Pauwels (ibid.) explains that the motivation behind this phase is to investigate the intended audiences of the websites to "further add to an understanding of whose goals are served, whose values are propagated and who is to benefit from expressing them". She continues that phase four may be realised by observing specific content, such as feedback areas and types of address, on the websites. However, I am arguing that the whole analysis in the present study fulfils this phase. As the aim of the present study is to investigate how welcoming the Church is towards people who do not speak Finnish, one must determine who the 'people who do not speak Finnish' are. Firstly, emplacing certain linguistic resources on websites, or indeed the lack of them, is also a significant indicator of points of view and implied audiences as they signal with whom the Church wishes to communicate. Secondly, the analysis of the *interpersonal metafunction* on the three websites directs the attention to the relationships the Church wishes to establish on the websites.

Lastly, the sixth phase in Pauwels's framework entailed relating the websites into a wider sociocultural context. Pauwels (2012: 258) explains that the conclusions regarding the cultural significance of the findings should be examined against the existing situation in the world. Regarding the present study, this meant considering the aim in the light of the findings. The aim of the present study was to investigate how welcoming the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland is towards non-Finnish speakers, and phase six was therefore performed by answering the above question based on the findings of the present study.

In sum, the present study consisted of the six phases in Pauwels' (2012) multimodal framework for analysing websites. The framework was modified to better serve the purposes of the present analysis. Phase one was realised at the same time as the data was collected, and it was followed by phases two, five, three and six. Phase two entailed mapping out all the semiotic resources identifiable in the data in order to answer the first research question, and phase three concentrated on the third research question: the self-representations created on the websites. Phase five was applied at the same time as phases two and three, as it was used to provide answers to both the second and third research question. Phase four, the analysis of the *embedded audience(s)* and *point(s) of view*, was realised throughout the analytic process. Lastly,

phase six entailed relating the websites into a wider sociocultural context, which meant reaching the aim of the present study; I investigated how welcoming the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland was towards non-Finnish speaking people based on the findings of the present study.

4.4 Research ethical considerations

I also had to take into consideration some research ethical questions whilst conducting research on the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland and three of its joint parishes. Sveningsson Elm (2009: 69 – 71) explains that when conducting research online, it is the researcher's responsibility to ensure the privacy of the parties involved. She continues that informed consent is highly important when conducting ethical research. However, it may be difficult to obtain informed consent when doing research online; asking for permission from every single visitor of, for instance, a popular virtual platform would be both time-consuming and could also interfere with the research process as it is not part of natural discourse online. (Sveningsson Elm 2009: 72). Sveningsson Elm (2009: 72 – 73) continues that the Association of Internet Researchers, founded in the 1990s to battle the dilemmas regarding virtual research, has concluded that informed consent is not necessary when the platform is *public,* and the content is not sensitive by nature. However, at times it may be difficult to determine whether information on the internet is public or not. Sveningsson Elm (2009: 74 – 75) suggests that one should approach the divide between public and private as different degrees rather than as dichotomy. She explains that a public environment

> is one that is open and available for everyone, that anyone with an internet connection can access, and that does not require any form of membership or registration. Public online environments can for example be represented by open chat rooms or web pages.

Public environments online are therefore those platforms that are openly accessible for anyone who has access to the internet as they do not require registration (Sveningsson Elm 2009: 75). Applying this logic to the present study entailed that conducting research on the chosen congregational websites did not require me to obtain informed consent from the joint parishes.

5 LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE ANALYSIS

In the present chapter, I will provide answers to the first two research questions by utilising phases two and five from Pauwels' (2012) multimodal framework for analysing websites as part of linguistic landscape analysis. This meant that I investigated the language policies found on each of the websites through mapping out the different semiotic resources found in the data and analysing the distribution of the linguistic resources on the websites. The chapter has been divided into four subsections, and each of these subsections is devoted to the analysis of the language policies found on each of the joint parishes' website and lastly to the summary of the findings in the present chapter. The first complex of congregations under scrutiny is that of the Espoo joint parishes.

The analysis began by realising the second phase in Pauwels' (2012) framework, which entailed determining which semiotic resources had been emplaced on the three websites. The semiotic resources found in the data were mostly of a *verbal* and *visual* nature, and meanings were created through the interplay of the following modes: text, images, colour and layout. There were few instances when audio was also part of meaning-making, but this mode was not utilised in the sections aimed at English speaking audiences, and therefore it was excluded from the current analysis. When analysing linguistic landscapes, our first foci of attention, the interest lay in the different *linguistic resources* emplaced in public spaces. As discussed in Chapter 3, virtual linguistic landscapes may reveal a great deal about the language policies of those in charge of the website. The other semiotic resources will, in turn, be under scrutiny in Chapter 6 when the multimodal self-representations of each of the joint parishes are investigated.

5.1 Language policies on the Espoo joint parishes' website

The Espoo joint parishes' website demonstrated the existence of five language policies, which were as follows:

a) The joint parishes embrace a great number of languages in their activities.
b) The Espoo joint parish are mainly a bilingual parish.
c) One must have at least some Finnish resources in one's linguistic repertoire in order to participate in the parishes' activities.
d) One must have some English resources in one's repertoire to be considered a prospective member of the Church.
e) Most of the linguistic resources perform more than one function on the website.

Based on the findings, one may conclude that the joint parishes of Espoo do indeed function as an infrastructure of superdiversity in the Helsinki metropolitan area. The linguistic resources that formed linguistic landscapes on the website featured languages from 12 language entities, which in itself suggests that there is an existing audience who requires services in languages other than Finnish and Swedish, the two national languages in Finland. As discussed earlier, different linguistic resources found in public spaces have been placed in such places for specific political motives (Shohamy 2006: 123). So, too, had the linguistic resources on the Espoo joint parishes' website, and in this case the reason was to communicate with those visitors of the website who have these resources in their linguistic repertoires. The default language of the website is Finnish, but in the upper corner on the right-hand side of the home page, there were two additional language options, Swedish and English, as seen in Figure 1 on page 42. Furthermore, linguistic resources from other languages had consistently been emplaced the website, usually among English linguistic resources. These languages are Russian, Arabic, Estonian and Hungarian. Lastly, there were also some resources that did not fill the function of communication. An analysis of the resources and their functions on the website is provided towards the end of the present section. In sum, the linguistic diversity on the Espoo joint parishes' website indicated that there is an actual need for multilingual activities and services in the Espoo area and that the activities aimed at non-Finnish speakers feature a wide array of languages.

The second language policy that was identified through scrutinising the website was that the Espoo joint parishes form a bilingual unit. The Espoo joint parishes consist of five Finnish and one Swedish congregation, which makes the unit bilingual by default. However, the linguistic resources emplaced on the joint parishes' website also

confirmed this conclusion. The joint parishes' logo featured the parishes' name both in Finnish and Swedish (Figure 1). The logo was clearly visible, as it was situated in the upper right-hand side of the website and the role of Swedish in the parishes language policies was therefore significant. Including both Finnish and Swedish in the logo was a prominent statement of the Church's views on its own self-representations and on the role of these languages in its language policy. In the same vein, Jousmäki (2015) explains that in addition to being self-representative tools, logos are used to fashion a sense of community. By including these languages in the logo, the joint parishes suggested they are a bilingual unit, which therefore indicated that bilingualism is also part of their language policies.

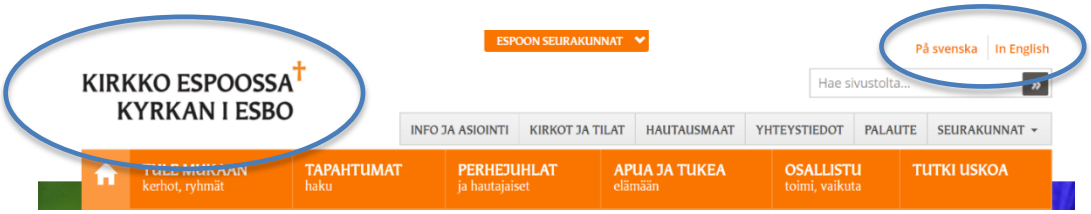

FIGURE 1. The Espoo joint parishes' logo and language options.

The linguistic resources in the joint parishes' logo was not the only feature on the website which suggested the bilingual language policy. One may find that the ordering of the language options on the website also indicated that Swedish has a significant role in the Espoo joint parishes' language policies. As seen in Figure 1, Swedish was second in the tripartite order of language options. By clicking the "På Svenska" hyperlink, the visitor of the website was taken to the Swedish version of the website, where the content on the Swedish webpages was almost as extensive as on the Finnish pages. This strategy is what Háhn (2016: 209) calls a "hierarchy" of languages on a website; even though Finnish was the dominant language, the Swedish webpages had been built almost equal according to content and design, leaving the English pages less informative. Third, Swedish linguistic resources were emplaced here and there also on the Finnish pages, as seen in Figure 2. For instance, Swedish resources were consistently used on the website to guide the visitor to the Swedish pages under the section which offered information on confirmation schools. Furthermore, placing Swedish resources persistently among Finnish text suggested that the language has a

special role in the joint parishes' language policies. Lastly, the overall visual landscape on the website supported the dyadic arrangement, as for instance pictures portraying the cemeteries had both Finnish and Swedish in them, which reflects the bilingual reality in the parishes. At times, there were also quotes from the Bible and they were presented both in Finnish and in Swedish. In conclusion, based on the linguistic landscapes on the Espoo joint parishes' website, one of the most visible language policies is that the joint parishes are a bilingual unit.

FIGURE 2. Swedish resources.

The third language policy identifiable on the Espoo joint parishes' website entailed that one is required to have at least some knowledge of Finnish in one's linguistic repertoire to be able to participate in the parishes' activities. The Finnish pages offered content mainly in Finnish, but there were certain sections where English, Swedish and Russian linguistic resources had been used to communicate with specific audiences (Figure 3). To support this claim, a specific case based on the content found on the Finnish pages was built, and it is called *Case: Confirmation*.

FIGURE 3. Russian resources under the Finnish webpages.

Case: Confirmation

The Finnish pages featured an extensive section on confirmation. The content under this section featured mainly Finnish resources, but other linguistic resources had been emplaced among Finnish text to offer relevant information for non-Finnish speakers. The different linguistic resources were Swedish, English and Russian. However, to gain access to this information one had to have at least some Finnish resources in one's linguistic repertoire. Swedish was used to guide the visitor to content in Swedish, whereas English and Russian only provided information on what one needs to do if one wants to receive confirmation, but "does not speak very good Finnish" (quote obtained from the Espoo joint parishes' website). For instance, the Tapiola parish organises bilingual confirmation camps, which, according to the website, are mainly organised in Finnish, but key points are presented also in English. The content providing information on these confirmation camps in English was emplaced amidst Finnish text on the Finnish pages and was hidden beneath three clicks, starting from the homepage. All of the clicks one had to go through in order to find the English content were on the Finnish pages, and thus the visitor had to have some knowledge of Finnish to find this information. The path from the front page onwards is demonstrated in Figure 4. Confirmation is one of the most significant steps one must take, after being baptised, on the road to becoming a member of the Evangelical

Lutheran Church. The Church itself explains that through confirmation God strengthens the faith of those who are being confirmed, and it is when one states one's desire to live according to the faith into which one has been baptised (Rippikoulu n.d.). Thus, 'Case: Confirmation' suggests that those who are interested in participating the Church's activities are required to have at least some Finnish resources in their linguistic repertoires.

Step 1. Homepage

Step 2. Tule mukaan

Step 3. Rippikoulu

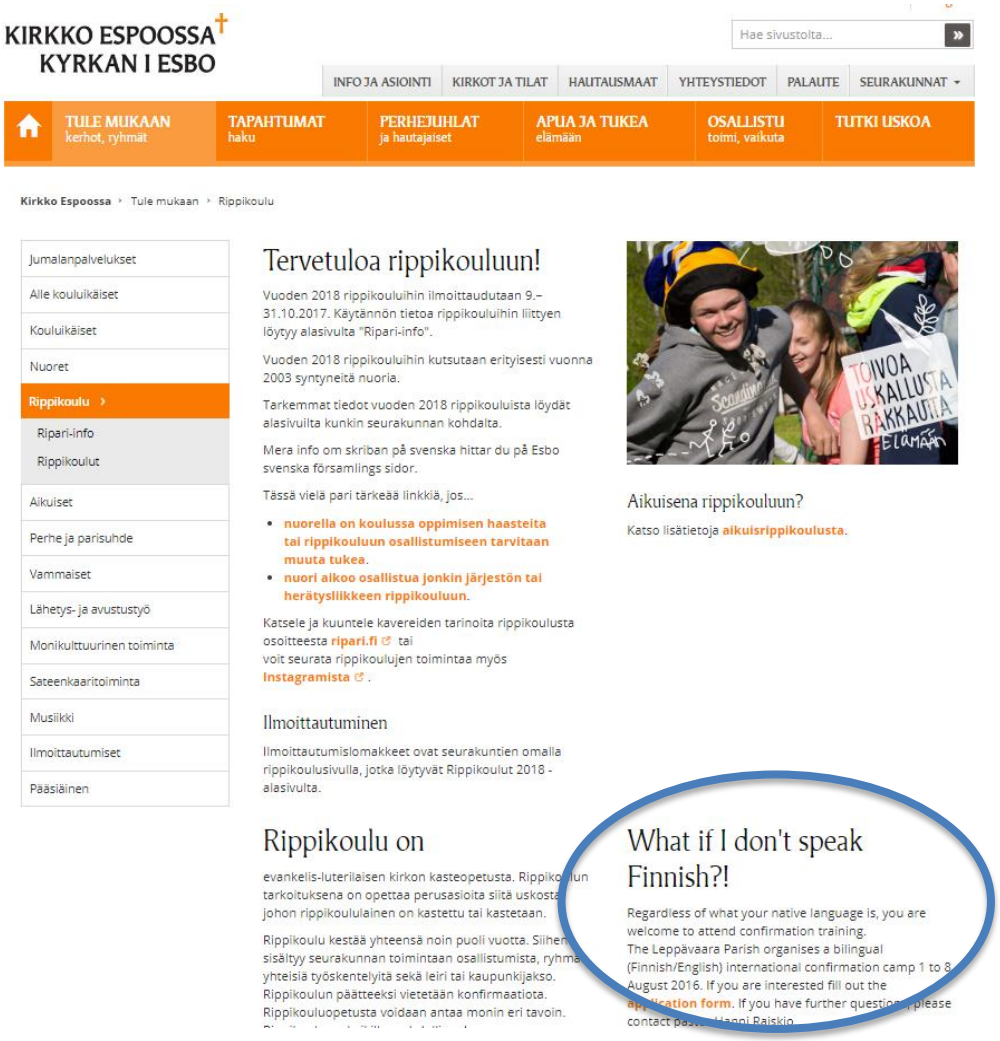

FIGURE 4. The road to confirmation.

The English pages offer further proof for the third language policy. The English pages were two-fold, as they had been divided into two separate sections titled “Lutheran Church in Espoo” and “Colourful Espoo”. My focus here is on the latter. The content on the “Colourful Espoo” pages is targeted at immigrants, as stated on the pages:

(1) Colourful Espoon ohjelma koostuu tapahtumista, joissa käytetään useampia kieliä, kohdataan eri kulttuureista tulevia ihmisiä sekä puhutaan elämästä ja uskosta. (Kirkko Espoossa, n.d.)

Colourful Espoo – consists of multilingual events, where one can encounter individuals from different cultures, and where one may speak about life and faith. (my translation[3])

[3] All the translations appearing in the present analysis are mine.

The overall trend on the joint parishes' website was to direct immigrants to the "Colourful Espoo" pages. By way of illustration, "Maahanmuuttajalle", which translates to 'For immigrants', section on the Finnish pages featured a hyperlink which directed the visitor to the "Colourful Espoo" pages. "Colourful Espoo" events were therefore obviously aimed at immigrants and seemed to promote the Church's position as an infrastructure of superdiversity. A more detailed analysis on how this phenomenon relates to the Church's self-representations on the website is given in Chapter 6. All of the information on the "Colourful Espoo" pages was systematically provided first in Finnish and then in English. An extract of this language policy may be seen in Figure 5. To use Pauwels's (2012) terms, Finnish was *primed* on webpages where the main motivation was to promote events for individuals from diverse linguistic backgrounds. Thus, it seems logical to assume that one is required to have at least some Finnish resources in one's linguistic repertoire before one is able to take part in events aimed specifically at immigrants.

FIGURE 5. Finnish and English resources.

The webpages that offered information on "multicultural events" on the Espoo joint parishes' website also indexed that immigrants should have Finnish resources in their linguistic repertoires. These pages typically featured a mixture of Finnish and English, or they offered information only in Finnish. By way of illustration, in a section on a "Holy Eucharist" event, the headline was in English, but the body of the article was in

Finnish, as demonstrated in Figure 6. This phenomenon occurred several times on the website. Interestingly, the Finnish-English dichotomy occurred also when events in other languages, such as Arabian or Chinese, were promoted. The promotion of multicultural events only in Finnish was also repeated multiple times on the website. Furthermore, it was possible to search for events on the website only in Finnish, as there was no option to search by language in the "Tapahtumat" ('Events') section. As argued in Chapter 2, the internet is nowadays one of the main platforms for searching information, so one wonders whether the Church has taken this into consideration when designing the website. For instance, it would be quite difficult to sign up for a 'Family club in Russian' if one had no Finnish resources in one's linguistic repertoire; the post on "Venäjänkielinen perhekerho", is completely in Finnish and states: "äidit keskustelevat heille tärkeistä aiheista ja syövät itse valmistamaansa iltapalaa" (Kirkko Espoossa, n.d.), which translates to 'mothers discuss topics important to them and eat a self-prepared evening snack'. One wonders how these mothers find their way to this event if they have merely Russian resources in their linguistic repertoires.

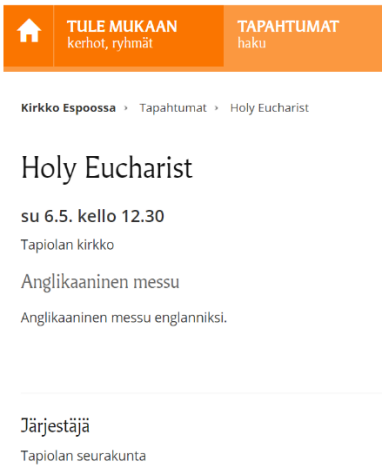

FIGURE 6. Holy Eucharist.

The fourth language policy on the Espoo joint parishes' website indicated that in addition to Finnish, one is supposed to have some English resources in one's linguistic repertoire in order to participate in the events of the Church. Firstly, English functioned as the 'lingua franca' for non-Finnish and non-Swedish speaking visitors of the website, as it was the third language option as showcased in Figure 1. In fact, Leppänen and Nikula (2007: 343) explain that English has become the main language of

communication in specific circumstances in Finland, in spite of being a foreign language. One was able to find the two-fold English pages through two different routes on the Espoo joint parishes' website: either by clicking the "In English" hyperlink on the homepage, or by clicking "Osallistu" which brought the visitor to the Finnish pages under which the two-fold English section had been incorporated. It was therefore possible determine that the website followed the hierarchical strategy which was introduced by Háhn (2016) and discussed earlier, as the English pages featured notably less content than its Finnish and Swedish equivalents.

To provide further evidence for the fourth language policy, let us return to Case: Confirmation. If a non-Finnish speaking visitor of the pages wished to find information on how to become a member of the Church, she found that:

> (2) Confirmation classes for immigrants are often baptismal classes, because many participants have not received a Christian baptism before. (Kirkko Espoossa, n.d.)

Thus, participating in the confirmation classes in the Espoo joint parishes means possibly becoming a member of the Church. According to the Espoo joint parishes' website, these confirmation classes are usually in Finnish, but for example Leppävaara parish offers bilingual confirmation camps in both Finnish and English for immigrants who "do not speak Finnish so well" (Kirkko Espoossa, n.d.). An immigrant interested in joining the Church may therefore become one by partaking one of these confirmation camps, where English is used as an additional language when her linguistic repertoire does not include enough Finnish resources.

The last language policy concerns language functions. Most of the different linguistic resources fulfilled more than one function on the website. Below, I have provided a table in which I have listed the different linguistic resources and the functions they fulfilled.

TABLE 3. Linguistic resources and their functions on the Espoo joint parishes' website.

LINGUISTIC RESOURCE	**FINNISH**	**SWEDISH**	**ENGLISH**	**RUSSIAN**	**OTHER***
FUNCTION	to inform	to inform	to inform	to inform	to inform (Arabic, Estonian, Hungarian)
	lingua franca		lingua franca		
	to name	to name	to name		to name (French, German, Latin, Italian, Hebrew)

*Arabic, Estonian, French, German, Latin, Italian, Hebrew and Hungarian

Most of the linguistic resources present on the website were used to inform and communicate with specific audiences. As discussed above, English functioned as a *lingua franca*, as a common language used when the participants do not share any specific language. In this case, English was used to inform those visitors of the website who do not have enough Finnish or Swedish resources in their linguistic repertoires to utilise the website in said languages. Moreover, English was also used to guide the visitor to content in other languages, as the content was always situated under the English pages. These other languages were Arabic, Estonian and Hungarian. In Figure 7, one may find that these resources were emplaced on the website for example in hyperlinks. These resources were therefore also used to inform, as following the hyperlinks one was able to find content in these languages. In turn, Swedish was mainly used to communicate with Swedish speakers, as the Swedish version of the website featured very little, if at all, linguistic diversity. Finnish, on the other hand, had a binary communicational function; it was not only used to communicate with Finnish speakers, but also as a lingua franca. For instance, under the section called "Apua ja tukea" ('Help and support'), the visitor found a page called

“Maahanmuuttajalle” (‘For immigrants’) where an introduction to the services aimed at immigrants was provided in Finnish, as well as a hyperlink to the “Colourful Espoo” pages, where there was information on events aimed at immigrants in both Finnish and English. Russian was used to communicate with Russian speakers. Due to the linguistic deficiency of the author, however, it was not possible to provide a more in-depth analysis on the Russian content.

FIGURE 7. Other linguistic resources.

Lastly, different linguistic resources were also used as a naming strategy in the Espoo joint parishes. English resources were used frequently in names for places and events, as for example a chapel in the Olari parish had been named ‘Chapple’. The name is a play on words, as the chapel is situated in the Iso Omena shopping centre in Matinkylä. English and Finnish resources were often blended to form names also for different confirmation schools, such as “Cityripari”. The possible implications and reasons for this kind of English use are discussed in Chapter 7. Furthermore, the data included occasions where linguistic resources from other languages were used to name choirs and other musical groups. These included Latin in such words as Laetificus, Vox Edeni and Piccolochorus, to name a few. Latin and English resources were also used to explain the etymology of certain words associated with Christian tradition.

In sum, I identified five language policies on the Espoo joint parishes’ website. As the website featured linguistic resources from 12 languages, one may conclude that the joint parishes do function as an infrastructure of superdiversity in the area, as there is evidently a need for communicating in such an array of languages. The languages were Finnish, Swedish, English, Russian, Arabic, Estonian, French, German, Italian, Latin,

Hebrew and Hungarian. The language policies identified were a) the joint parishes embrace a great number of languages in their activities, b) the Espoo joint parishes are a bilingual unit, c) one must have at least some Finnish resources in one's linguistic repertoire in order to participate in the parishes' activities, d) one must have some English resources in one's repertoire to be considered a prospective member of the Church and e) most of the linguistic resources perform more than one function on the website. Next, I will present the findings based on linguistic landscape analysis performed on the Helsinki joint parishes' website.

5.2 Language policies on the Helsinki joint parishes' website

The Helsinki joint parishes' website was constructed in a more complex way than the two other websites by using a completely different layout, which rendered the analysis for this part of the data difficult. The content on the website was provided as separate articles, and these articles usually appeared on the website multiple times, which is why going through this part of the data was excessively time-consuming. Moreover, parts of the website, especially those aimed at the English-speaking audiences seemed to be under construction, as some of the sections on the website lacked content completely. In general, the language policies on the Helsinki joint parishes' website suggest a great likeness to those on the Espoo joint parishes' website. Due to the lack of content, however, the number of the policies identified on the website was smaller. The language policies on the website were:

a) The Helsinki joint parishes are linguistically diverse, even though
b) mainly bilingual.
c) The different language entities perform multiple functions on the websites.

The findings regarding the above language policies which were identifiable on the Helsinki joint parishes' website are presented below.

In total, linguistic resources from 12 language entities were identified on the Helsinki website, which is the same number of languages as on the Espoo website. However, the linguistic diversity on the Helsinki joint parishes' website was greater than on the

Espoo joint parishes' website. The language options on the website were threefold; the website had separate pages in Finnish, Swedish and English. By again utilising Háhn's (2016) language policy strategies on websites, one may observe that similarly to the Espoo joint parishes' website, the Helsinki joint parishes' website followed a hierarchical strategy (Figure 8). However, the layout on the two websites was different. Whereas the English content was emplaced under the Finnish pages on the Espoo joint parishes' website, the Helsinki joint parishes' website had its own version of the website in English. Interestingly, the content emplaced under the English pages was usually in other languages than English: mostly in Estonian, Russian and Finnish. As seen in Figure 9, English resources, in turn, were utilised for the most part in navigation menus, even though the articles on the pages were in other languages. Nevertheless, due to the reason mentioned above as well as the absence of content on English pages, it may be concluded that the strategy regarding language options on the website is indeed hierarchical.

FIGURE 8. Language options on the Helsinki joint parishes' website.

FIGURE 9. English resources used in the navigation menus.

However, the linguistic diversity on the Helsinki joint parishes' website included more languages than merely Finnish, Swedish and English, as there were also separate sections providing information in Estonian and Russian under the Finnish pages. Furthermore, the website offered an excellent function for its linguistically diverse visitors, as it was possible to search for events or articles, to name a few, according to a specific language (Figure 10). The language options of the website's search engine were Finnish, Swedish, English, Estonian, Russian, Arabic and Chinese. Such an array of languages was not surprising, as these languages were represented on the Espoo pages also, albeit in a minor role. The presentation of the different linguistic resources differed between the websites of the two units of parishes. Even though the Helsinki joint parishes' website embraced great linguistic diversity, there was very little mixing of resources on the same page. On the Espoo joint parishes' website, on the other hand, placing linguistic resources from different languages on the same page was a frequent phenomenon. Nonetheless, introducing a numerous array of languages on their website indicates that the Helsinki joint parishes, too, function as an infrastructure of superdiversity in the Helsinki metropolitan area.

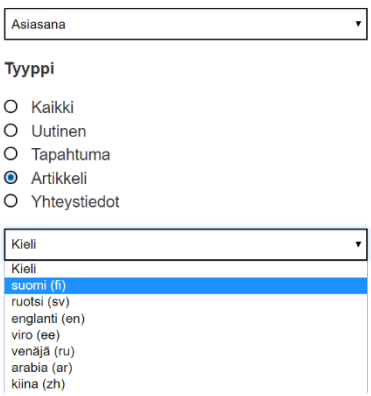

FIGURE 10. Search engine's language options on the Helsinki joint parishes' website.

The findings suggest that the Helsinki joint parishes, too, are bilingual. The joint parishes consist of four Swedish congregations in addition to the Finnish ones, which in itself is a clear indicator of this phenomenon. However, the websites concurred with

this hypothesis. Firstly, there were two logos on the website: the logo of the joint parishes (Figure 8) and the logo of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland. Both of the logos presented the name in question both in Finnish and in Swedish. Secondly, the content found on the Swedish pages was much more extensive than the content on the English pages, which suggests that the role of Swedish is more prominent than that of English. There was less content on the Swedish pages than on the Finnish pages, but then again the number of Swedish-speaking congregations in the Helsinki joint parishes is smaller than that of the Finnish ones. Lastly, the Swedish pages contained little linguistic diversity, which indicated that Swedish linguistic resources were used to communicate primarily with Swedish-speaking visitors of the website. The Swedish pages featured some articles where Finnish linguistic resources had been emplaced here and there.

In the same way as on the Espoo joint parishes' website, the different linguistic resources emplaced on the Helsinki website served different functions. Below, the different linguistic resources as well as their functions are presented in Table 4.

TABLE 4. Linguistic resources and their functions on the Helsinki joint parishes' website.

LINGUISTIC RESOURCE	**FINNISH**	**SWEDISH**	**ENGLISH**	**ESTONIAN**	**RUSSIAN**	**OTHER***
FUNCTION	to inform	to inform	to inform	to inform	to inform	to inform (Arabic, Chinese)
	lingua franca		lingua franca			
		to name	to name			to name (German, Italian, French, Latin, Spanish)

*Arabic, Chinese, German, Italian, French, Latin and Spanish

Most of the linguistic resources on the website were utilised in order to provide information for the visitor. Finnish was used to communicate both with those visitors who have Finnish resources in their linguistic repertoires, and as a lingua franca. For instance, the Finnish pages featured articles on the joint parishes' different churches and chapels. These articles were systematically provided in Finnish, Swedish and English, which suggests that Finnish performs the function of a lingua franca to a certain extent. In comparison, the articles on the different churches and chapels on the Swedish pages were only provided in Swedish, and Swedish was used to provide information for the Swedish-speaking audience. Chinese resources were also emplaced on the website to provide information on after school clubs as a separate, downloadable document, as seen in Figure 11. Furthermore, Estonian and Russian were also used to provide information. By way of illustration, information was provided on different aspects of the Christian tradition, such as baptism and confirmation, as well as on the events where these languages were present. However, the location of this information is further proof of the function of Finnish resources as a lingua franca; though Estonian and Russian were given separate section on the pages, they were still hidden under the Finnish pages. Moreover, it could be argued that because of the location of the Estonian and Russian sections, one is assumed to have at least some Finnish resources in one's linguistic repertoire in order to participate in the joint parishes' activities. However, as the language policies on the website do not otherwise make one lean towards this conclusion, it could also be that the location of the Estonian and Russian content had been decided arbitrarily.

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电话：09 2340 4753

邮箱：reija.lind@evl.fi.

FIGURE 11. Chinese resources.

It was possible to identify multiple functions for the English resources emplaced on the website. As discussed earlier, English was given tertiary status in the hierarchical strategy which concerned language options. It was one of the language options, but the content on the English pages was less extensive than on the pages in Finnish or Swedish. Furthermore, and somewhat surprisingly, there was actually very little content *in English* on the English pages, as most of the articles under the English section were presented in other languages, such as Estonian, Russian, Swedish or Finnish. Thus, the English resources' first identifiable function was to work as a lingua franca that guided the visitor to content in other languages. In fact, the articles that present information for the visitor in English were mostly aimed at *tourists*, which sheds light both on the language policies and on the actual linguistic reality of the joint parishes. As illustrated in Figure 12, the content aimed at tourists consisted mostly of pages that provided information on the different churches and their opening times, as well as on events that might be of interest for this demographic, such as concerts. The implications of these findings regarding the self-representations of the Helsinki joint parishes are discussed in the following chapter. Moreover, English was used as a lingua franca also when providing information on masses and other religious events in languages other than Finnish, Swedish, Estonian or Russian. By way of illustration, English was used in an article on an event where French was spoken. The second identifiable function for English was that the language was used as an *assistive language* in the Helsinki joint parishes' website. For example, the articles that presented information on Bible groups where 'easy Finnish' is used, the information was provided both in Finnish and in English. English therefore had multiple functions on the website, and the last one of which is perhaps the most interesting one.


Home page > Cathedral parish > Tourist information

Tourist information

Cathedral parish

28.12.2018, 17:26

Welcome to Helsinki Cathedral Parish! Helsinki Cathedral Parish is a lutheran congregation in central Helsinki. All are welcome to our events and churches.

TUOMIOKIRKKO
CATHEDRAL
HELSINKI

Unioninkatu 29, +358 (0)9 2340 6120

Open daily 9 am–6 pm, June–August 9 am–midnight

Opening hours are subject to change as per Sunday morning Service or other church ceremonies. Sightseeing visits are not possible during church ceremonies.

Entrance is free of charge.

Welcome to visit Helsinki Cathedral

All are warmly welcome to the communion services, concerts and prayers. **Program** for services and prayers is available in English, Finnish, Swedish, German, Russian, Hungarian and Estonian.

The Cathedral Information Stand (left of the main entrance) is manned in May–September Mon – Fri at 9 am–4.30 pm and Sat 9 am–noon. At other times the stand operates on a self-service basis.

Wheeled access to the Cathedral is possible from the Cathedral Crypt. The address of the Crypt is Kirkkokatu 18. Please call the church warden (tel. + 358 9 2340 6120) in advance to confirm that the door to the Crypt is open.

Weekly Programme at the Cathedral

FIGURE 12. An extract of an article targeted at tourists.

Similarly to the findings on the previous website under scrutiny, the last phenomenon on the Helsinki joint parishes website regards naming strategies. On the Helsinki joint parishes' website, some events were named in German, Latin, Italian and Spanish, such as the summer café called Corazon grande. Moreover, choirs and other musical groups tended to be named in French, Latin or Italian, such as the choir Vox Sonora. In the same way as some other languages, also English was used as a naming strategy on the website, mostly by using English resources in names of events and groups. For example, the website featured a gospel choir called Higher ground, and a restaurant called Waste & feast, whose aim was to reduce food waste. Using English resources as a naming strategy occurred frequently on all the websites under scrutiny in the present thesis, and English was used much more systematically than the other linguistic resources appearing on the websites.

In sum, I identified three language policies on the Helsinki joint parishes' website. The language policies were a) the Helsinki joint parishes are linguistically diverse, even though b) mainly bilingual and c) the different language entities perform multiple functions on the websites. Similarly to the Espoo joint parishes' website, it was

possible to discover linguistic resources from 12 languages on the website. However, the linguistic diversity was greater on the Helsinki website. The identified languages were Finnish, Swedish, English, Estonian, Russian, Arabic, Chinese, German, Italian, Latin, Spanish and French. Due to the great number of languages appearing on the website, it was possible to conclude that the Helsinki joint parishes also function as an infrastructure of superdiversity.

5.3 Language policies on the Vantaa joint parishes' website

The linguistic construction of the Vantaa joint parishes' website followed the same tripartite array of language options as did the two previous websites; Finnish, Swedish and English each had their separate sections. The pages in Finnish included the most content, and the Swedish pages were built equal to the Finnish pages even though they offered less content for the visitor. Almost identically with the Espoo joint parishes' website, the English version of the website had been placed under "Osallistu" ('Take part') on the Finnish pages, which would make, yet again, the language political strategy of the Vantaa website hierarchical, in Háhn's (2016) terms. The language option bar was placed in the same upper right-hand corner as on the Espoo joint parishes' website. In fact, the entire website was built using the same template as the Espoo website, just like a plethora of other websites belonging to joint parishes working under the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland (for instance the Jyväskylä parish's website). The detected language policies on the Vantaa joint parishes' website were similar to those on the two previous websites. Despite the similarity, however, the language policies were not identical to those presented previously in this chapter. The identified language policies on the Vantaa joint parishes website were:

a) There is little mixing of linguistic resources on the website.
b) One should have at least some knowledge of Finnish in her linguistic repertoire to participate in the joint parishes' activities.
c) The Vantaa joint parishes are a bilingual unit, but less visibly than the two previous parishes.
d) Some of the different linguistic resources featured on the websites fulfil more than one function.

The linguistic landscapes on the website were strikingly uniform in linguistic resources, and generally, the website featured a great deal of Finnish resources. There were three versions of the website, Finnish, Swedish and English, but the content in each of these versions was provided to a large extent only in the specific version's language. By way of illustration, the homepage of the Finnish version of the website featured mainly Finnish, except for one hyperlink to an article in Swedish (Figure 13). Overall, the entire website involved little mixing of linguistic resources, which is a notable difference to the two other websites. Whereas the other websites demonstrated linguistic diversity by emplacing linguistic resources from two or more languages under the same page or in the same article, the trend on the Vantaa joint parishes' website tended to be the opposite. There were, however, some exceptions to this rule. For instance, one was able to find the contact details of the Swedish parish in Swedish under the Finnish pages, and the English pages included hyperlinks to content in other languages such as Arabic, Russian and Chinese. Furthermore, the English section on the Korso parish's own pages on the website featured some text in Arabic, but all in all there was little mixing of resources on the Vantaa joint parishes' website. The Vantaa website featured 10 languages in total. Although the linguistic diversity on the Vantaa website is not as great as on the other two websites, the resources such as Arabic do suggest that the Vantaa joint parishes, too, may function as an infrastructure of superdiversity.

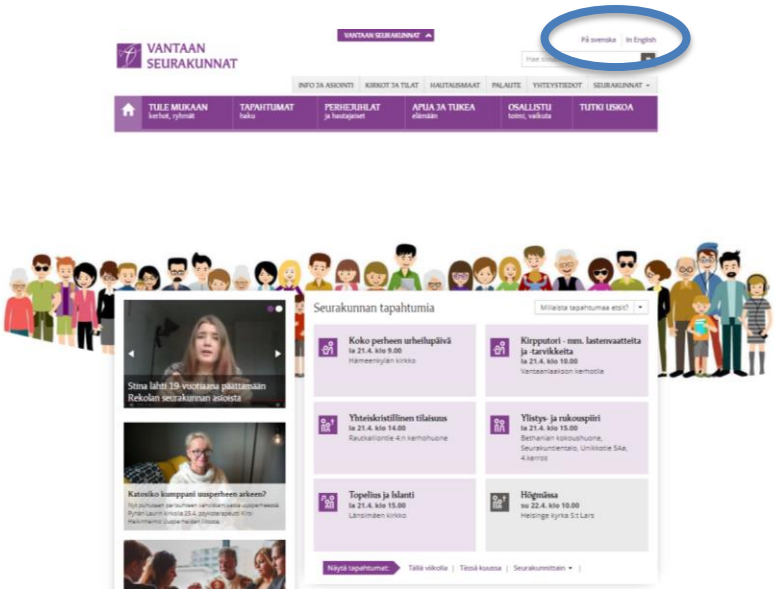

FIGURE 13. Homepage of the Vantaa joint parishes' website.

The second identifiable language policy on the website was that one was required to have at least some knowledge of Finnish in order to partake the joint parishes' activities. One may reach this conclusion primarily by observing the location of the content aimed at immigrants on the website, as all of the English content was emplaced under the Finnish pages. Firstly, the English version of the website was placed under the Finnish pages, and similarly to the Espoo joint parishes' website, required traversing multiple pages in Finnish before reaching the English content. Furthermore, many of the parishes' own pages involved some content in English also. Finding this content, however, required some knowledge of Finnish as it was situated under multiple layers of webpages in Finnish. These parishes were for instance the Hämeenkylä, Korso, Tikkurila and Rekola parishes. The person who does not speak Finnish and is searching for information on the Vantaa joint parishes' website is therefore expected to have at least some resources in her linguistic repertoire in order to find information on, let alone partake, the parishes' activities.

Based on the website, the Vantaa joint parishes are a bilingual unit, just like the two previous parishes. The joint parishes consist of six Finnish congregations as well as one Swedish congregation. Even though the website mainly offered content in Finnish, there was a separate section in Swedish to provide information on the Swedish congregation. In the same way as on the two other websites, Swedish was granted secondary status based on the language option bar and the content under the Swedish pages. However, bilingualism was not as visible a language policy on the Vantaa joint parishes' website as it was on the two other websites. For instance, the parishes' logo only featured Finnish resources, which differed from the bilingual logos of Helsinki and Espoo joint parishes', as demonstrated in Figure 13. Moreover, there were fewer Swedish resources emplaced on the Finnish pages than on the two previous websites, which also indicates that the Vantaa joint parishes are a bilingual unit, but less so than for example the Espoo joint parishes.

The last language policy discovered on the Vantaa joint parishes' website suggests that some of the linguistic resources on the website perform at least two functions. Below,

one may find a table in which the linguistic resources and their functions have been presented.

TABLE 5. Linguistic resources and their functions on the Vantaa joint parishes' website.

LINGUISTIC RESOURCE	**FINNISH**	**SWEDISH**	**ENGLISH**	**OTHER***
FUNCTION	to inform	to inform	to inform	to inform (Arabic, Russian, Estonian, Chinese)
		lingua franca	lingua franca	
			to name	to name (Italian, Latin, Hungarian)

*Arabic, Russian, Chinese, Estonian, Italian, Latin, Hungarian

The English resources were the most versatile ones regarding language functions. Firstly, they were used to inform, just as most of the Finnish and Swedish resources on the website. Second, English was used as a lingua franca language for the non-Finnish and non-Swedish visitors of the website, as hyperlinks to other websites which offered content on the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland in the Helsinki metropolitan area in languages such as Arabic, Russian, Chinese and Estonian. Moreover, as mentioned above, the English pages under the Korso parish's section on the website featured some text in Arabic, and English resources were used to guide the visitor to this content, as seen in Figure 14. Finnish and Swedish resources were also utilised as lingua franca languages, but less prominently. For example, Swedish functioned as a lingua franca language when the Swedish pages guided the visitor to the pages in the two other languages. Lastly, English and linguistic resources from other languages were used as part of a naming strategy, similarly to both the Espoo and Helsinki joint parishes' websites. English resources were typically emplaced in

names for cafés, such as Carpenter's Café, events and names of choirs and musical groups, for instance HowManyMothers. Other linguistic resources, such as Italian and Latin, were used only in names for choirs and musical groups. Examples of these usages were Vivace and Vox Mea.

Do you speak Arabic? - ?هل تتحدث العربية

نحن كنيسة انجيلية لوثرية عضوٌ في اتحاد كنائس ابرشية بانتا اللوثرية التي تنتمي الى الكنيسة الانجيلية اللوثرية في فنلندا. نخدم في منطقة كورسو و نرحب بكم معنا الى المشاركة في نشاطات الكنيسة المختلفة خلال الاسبوع، بما في ذلك قداس يوم الاحد في تمام الساعة العاشرة صباحا في مبنى الكنيسة في وسط كورسو.

اين نحن

نحن في منطقة كورسو التي تتكون من عدت مناطق منها منطقة ميكيكولا، نكيماكي، يوكيبارسي، لفاكورفي، متسولا، كولوماكي، باليبنويا و بيراسماكي. يمكن الاطلاع على المزيد من المعلومات بزيارة موقعنا:

http://www.vantaanseurakunnat.fi/korson-seurakunta/in-english1

كما يمكنكم الاتصال بمكتب الكنيسة على العنوان الاتية:

العنوان:Merikotkantie 4, 01450 Vantaa

تلفون:+358 9 830 6550

الاكتروني: البريد**korson.seurakunta@evl.fi**

تفتح ابواب مكتب الكنيسة كل اسبوع من الاثنين الى الجمعة من الساعة 9 صباحا حتى الساعة الثالثة ظهرا. يمكنكم الاتصال بالفس على التلفون الاتية بين الساعة 10 صباحا الى الساعة 12 ظهرا: 358+ 96038455 و بالشماسة على التلفون:

+358 9 60386067

للمزيد من المعلومات يرجى الاتصال ب صموئيل لواك، سكرتير الارسالية على العنوان الاتية:

samuel.luak@evl.fi

050 573 6359

For more information, contact Samuel Luak (phone +358 50 573 6359, Samuel.luak@evl.fi).

FIGURE 14. English and Arabic resources in the Korso parish.

In sum, I discovered four language policies and linguistic resources from 10 language entities on the Vantaa joint parishes' website. As the websites provided information in many languages, for instance in Arabic, it may be concluded that the Vantaa joint parishes also function as an infrastructure of superdiversity in the Helsinki metropolitan area. The languages were Finnish, Swedish, English, Arabic, Russian, Estonian, Italian, Latin, Chinese and Hungarian. The language policies identified on the website were a) there is little mixing of linguistic resources on the website, b) one should have at least some knowledge of Finnish in her linguistic repertoire to participate in the joint parishes' activities, c) the Vantaa joint parishes are a bilingual unit, but less visibly than the two previous parishes and d) some of the different linguistic resources featured on the websites fulfil more than one function.

5.4 Summary of the findings in Chapter 5

Performing linguistic landscape analysis on the three websites revealed a great number of language policies used by the Church. All of the websites were linguistically diverse and due to the great number of languages present on each of the websites, it may be concluded that all of the joint parishes function as infrastructures of superdiversity in the Helsinki metropolitan area. The languages discovered on the three websites were Finnish, Swedish, English, Russian, Estonian, Italian, French, Spanish, Hungarian, Arabic, Chinese, German, Hebrew and Latin. There was less mixing of resources on the Vantaa website than on the other websites. The language policies demonstrated that all of the three joint parishes are bilingual units. The most notable language policy was that one was required to have at least some Finnish resources in one's linguistic repertoire to participate in the Church's activities. This policy manifested itself both on the Espoo and the Vantaa pages. Lastly, the linguistic resources emplaced on all of the websites tended to serve multiple functions. In the following chapter, I will answer the third and final question of the present study by presenting the findings based on performing multimodal discourse analysis on the English sections of the three joint parishes' websites.

6 MULTIMODAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

In the present chapter, the results obtained from conducting multimodal discourse analysis on the English pages of the three joint parishes' websites are introduced. The second part of the analysis entailed answering the third research question: what kinds of self-representations were constructed of the Church for the English-speaking visitors through the use of multimodal resources? This part of my analysis is also meant to realise the third and fifth phase in Pauwels (2012) multimodal framework, which was introduced in detail in Chapter 4.

The semiotic resources I identified on the three joint parishes' websites were predominantly *visual*; the multimodal self-representations were constructed by using text, images, colour and layout, and semiosis was achieved through the interplay of all the above modes. To investigate the representations created in the sign complexes, websites, the analysis focused on the *ideational* and *interpersonal metafunctions* created through the common interplay of the above listed resources. As Kress and van Leeuwen (2006: 4) remind us, semiotic systems must have the capacity to represent both objects and their relations outside the semiotic system (ideational metafunction) and the relations between the sign-makers and the receivers of signs (interpersonal metafunction). Presently, *the objects and their relations* refer to objects and their relations in the real world, *sign-maker* refers to the Church and *receiver of signs* refers to the visitor of the website. Moreover, and following the line of reasoning presented in Chapter 4, investigating these metafunctions revealed the Church's attitudes towards the English-speaking demographic. As the specific foci are the non-Finnish speaking visitors of the websites, the analysis focused on the English section on each of the three websites. The task at hand shall begin by the presentation of the self-representations found on the Espoo joint parishes website.

6.1 A divided Church in Espoo

The semiotic resources which formed the sign complex were the visual and verbal modes of images, layout and text. The self-representations which were aimed at the English-speaking visitors of the Espoo joint parishes conveyed an image of a charitable

institution whose Christian community is not close-knit; the Espoo joint parishes appeared to divide immigrants into two distinct categories, which has serious implications also on how the parishes represented themselves on the website. In other words, the Church wishes to promote itself in two distinct manners: as an organisation who caters to the needs of two kinds of immigrant audiences that differ greatly from one another. On the one hand, there are the Lutheran immigrants, who are already part of the international Christian community and who reside in Finland most likely as expatriates. For this immigrant audience, the Church was promoting an image of itself as a caring, family-oriented and profoundly Lutheran organisation. On the other hand, there are the rest of the immigrants, who are seen by the Church as a more diverse group, and to whom the Church was trying to appeal as a *colourful* community. Next, these ecclesiastical representations are delved into in depth.

Let us first investigate how the Church represents itself under the subsection which had been primed and titled "Lutheran Church in Espoo". As discussed above, the English section on the website had been divided into two subsections, and they were called "Lutheran Church in Espoo" and "Colourful Espoo". Under "Lutheran Church in Espoo" one was able to find a representation of the Church as a charitable institution. This representation of the joint parishes also rendered a picture of the Church as a family-oriented, Lutheran organisation. Firstly, by observing the layout, one was able to find that there was a separate section titled "Do you need help?". Under this section one found information on the aid provided by the Church in hospitals, for families and if one was struggling financially. Moreover, there was information on where to find help outside the Church if one was an undocumented immigrant and needed health services. However, that was the extent on which one as a migrant was able to receive help in the Espoo joint parishes. The inclusion of this section on the pages that are fairly limited in content to begin with, the Church may have wished to highlight their charitable aspect in their representation.

The Espoo joint parishes conveyed a picture of a family-oriented organisation under the subsection "Lutheran Church in Espoo". This argument is based on the following observations: first, families were mentioned twice in the short introductory text on the

first web page of the subsection. For example, the last paragraph in the introductory text says: “we seek to provide pastoral care and counselling for individuals and families.” Jones (2012: 72) describes that “the ideational metafunction of language is accomplished through linking participants (typically nouns) with processes (typically verbs)”. If one analyses the ideational metafunction in this extract, one may find that the Church (we) is one of the participants and through the process of providing help, the Church establishes a relationship with the other participants, who in this case are families. Moreover, a large number of images under “Lutheran Church in Espoo” contributed to the interpretation of the Church as a family-oriented organisation, as most of them featured children and assumedly their care givers. Jones (2012: 72) explains that according to the ideational function of semiotic systems, a *narrative image* is representative of objects and participants in action. As an example of the images appearing under “Lutheran Church in Espoo”, the narrative image in Figure 15 depicts three figures, a priest, a baby and her godparent or care giver, engaged in the action of baptising the child. Furthermore, following Jones (2012: 75), attention could here be paid to the distance between the viewer and the figures in the image may reveal details on the intimacy between the sign-maker and the viewer. In Figure 15, the viewer is observing a baptism from a relatively close distance, which might imply that the viewer is assumed to be familiar with the Christian tradition and especially, family events. As most of the images under this subsection featured primarily white people taking part in events which belonged to the Lutheran tradition, one may assume that the intended audience of “Lutheran Church in Espoo” were white, Lutheran families.

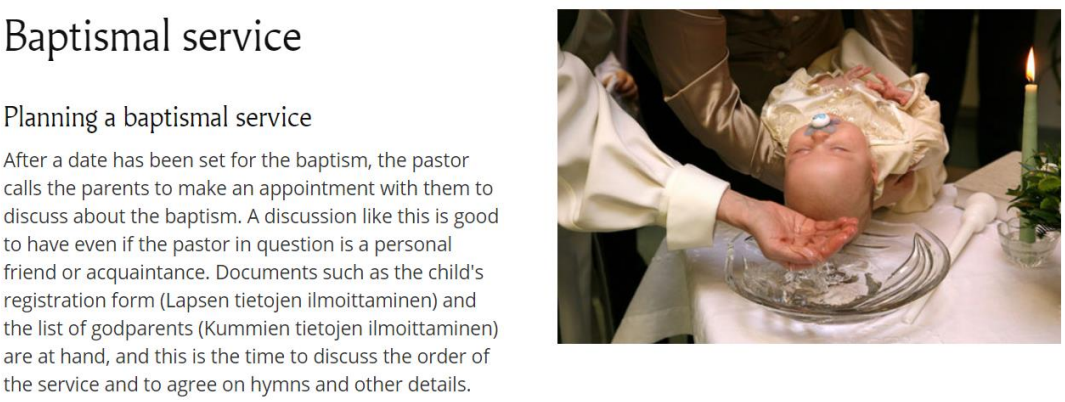

FIGURE 15. Baptism of a child.

Speaking of Lutherans, the "Lutheran Church in Espoo", quite obviously, painted a picture of a Lutheran organisation. In fact, the Lutheran aspect is highlighted in such a manner that one wonders whether it is a conscious choice to differentiate this subsection from "Colourful Espoo", and therefore also a conscious choice regarding the Church's self-representation. The representation of the Church as a Lutheran organisation was conveyed through the following modes: layout, text and images. Firstly, the subsection had been built in a way which included the presentation of all the main Lutheran traditions, such as baptism and wedding. As these traditions were introduced to the visitor under this section and not under "Colourful Espoo", one may only assume that the audience to whom this content was aimed was also presumed to be more interested in this content than in the content aimed at the "colourful" visitors of the English section. Secondly, the textual choices under "Lutheran Church in Espoo" also emphasised this aspect in the joint parishes' representation. For instance, the words "Lutheran" and "Lutheran church" appeared frequently under this subsection. Moreover, the Lutheran image is foregrounded in the introductory text on the first page of the English subsection:

> (3) The six Evangelical Lutheran Parishes of Espoo offer worship, church ceremonies, family clubs, Sunday school, confirmation classes for youth and adults, summer camps and various other activities in English and other languages. We seek to provide pastoral care and counseling for individuals and families. In hospitals our chaplains are there to serve patients and their close ones. (Kirkko Espoossa, n.d.)

As we can see in the above extract, the Church wishes to communicate to the visitor of the website that a large number of Christian activities, such as worship, church ceremonies, confirmation classes and pastoral care, are offered in the joint parishes. The participants in the above extract are the Church and those to whom the Church is in the *process* of offering its services. By emphasising these factors, the Church is promoting an image of itself as a Lutheran organisation whose primary objective is to offer help and serve the Christian God. An immigrant who is perhaps not familiar with these concepts and in need of for instance new social contacts may feel discouraged to take advantage of the Church as an infrastructure of superdiversity due to the unfamiliarity.

The self-representations created under "Colourful Espoo", on the other hand, painted a picture of a multicultural and multilingual Church who educates the "colourful"

immigrant audience. To be fair, some of the “Colourful Espoo” activities had been mentioned also under “Lutheran Church in Espoo”, and therefore the division between the two sections was not always clear-cut. However, if one explored the other subsection, “Colourful Espoo”, one noticed that the manner in which the Church represented itself and its activities differed from the representations created under “Lutheran Church in Espoo”. First and foremost, the most significant item sold by the Church remained worship, and in addition to their godly business, they also promoted themselves as an educator of the immigrant audience. Both of these statements became evident when one looked at the layout, as hyperlinks to webpages on multilingual worship and Finnish language clubs were primed in the organisation of the subsection, as seen in Figure 16. Other hyperlinks had been emplaced under these two hyperlinks, and featured information on other clubs, excursions and summer camps which belonged under the “Colourful Espoo” topic.

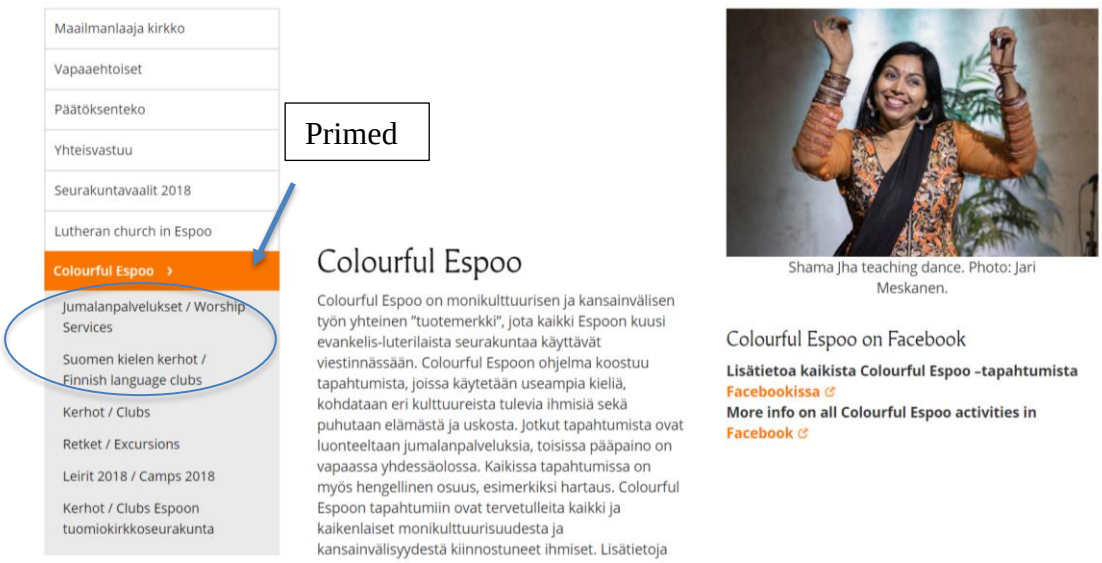

FIGURE 16. Primed hyperlinks.

Here one may see that the hyperlinks which led to webpages on worship services and Finnish language clubs were primed in the layout, and thus their importance in relation to the Church’s representation was presumably higher.

The visual modes, which in this case were again images, speak for the dual representation of the Church and outline a picture of the Church as a multicultural organisation. Whereas most of the images under "Lutheran Church in Espoo" featured white people partaking activities and events associated with the Lutheran tradition, the images under "Colourful Espoo" were more culturally diverse. For instance, the narrative images (Figure 17) emplaced under "Colourful Espoo" feature black people, presumably women, who are dressed in traditional African clothing, attending a worship service. When analysing the interpersonal metafunction in both images, the viewer is in both instances positioned as one of the participants of the service. Moreover, the figures in both images are quite far away, which creates a more impersonal relationship between the viewer and the figures. As most of the images under "Colourful Espoo" demonstrated a likeness to these two images, one may conclude that under "Colourful Espoo", the Church is constructing a representation of itself as a multicultural organisation.

FIGURE 17. "Colourful" worship in Espoo.

Ultimately, the verbal resources in the section "Colourful Espoo" complemented the representation of the Church as a multicultural and multilingual organisation. First of all, the word "colourful", which is used frequently to describe the Church, is in itself rather questionable, as one wonders what kind of factors make the Church colourful. On the first page of the "Colourful Espoo" subsection, the "Colourful Espoo" branding was introduced. The introductory text was in Finnish:

(4) Colourful Espoo on monikulttuurisen ja kansainvälisen työn yhteinen ”tuotemerkki”, jota kaikki Espoon kuusi evankelis-luterilaista seurakuntaa käyttävät viestinnässään. Colourful Espoon ohjelma koostuu tapahtumista, joissa käytetään useampia kieliä, kohdataan eri kulttuureista tulevia ihmisiä sekä puhutaan elämästä ja uskosta. (Kirkko Espoossa, n.d.)

Colourful Espoo is the common “brand” of the international and multicultural work, which is used by all of the six Evangelical Lutheran parishes in Espoo. Colourful Espoo’s programme consists of events where you may use different languages, meet people from different cultures and talk about life and faith. (my translation).

As one may see in the above extract, “Colourful Espoo” is a deliberate part of the Church’s brand to appeal more strongly to the immigrant population. The Church wishes to communicate an image of itself as not only a multicultural but also a multilingual organisation, who provides a space for multicultural encounters with a twist of religion. Lastly, one must note that under the “Colourful Espoo” pages, there was a great deal of Finnish text. Moreover, English text had often been emplaced after the Finnish sections, thus serving as translations for the Finnish text (see section 5.1 for a more detailed discussion). This strategy might be part of the Church’s effort to build a more cohesive representation of itself as a multilingual organisation.

In sum, the English section on the Espoo joint parishes’ website painted a picture of the Church as a charitable institution whose Christian community is not close-knit, as the joint parishes appeared to divide immigrants into two categories: the Lutheran immigrants and the multicultural, “colourful” immigrants. To the Lutheran immigrants, the Church conveyed a self-representation of itself as a caring, family-oriented and profoundly Lutheran organisation. For the rest of the immigrants, the Church created an image of itself as a multicultural and multilingual Church who educates the “colourful” immigrant audience.

6.2 A touristic Church in Helsinki

The small amount of text featuring English linguistic resources in the English section on the Helsinki joint parishes’ website was noteworthy. Because the website appeared to be under construction, there was less material to analyse than on the two other websites. However, the Helsinki joint parishes’ website painted a picture of a multilingual, multicultural and charitable Christian organisation, whose churches are promoted as tourist destinations. The semiotic resources whose interplay established such representations were visual and verbal: layout, text and images.

The first self-representation on the website was that of the joint parishes as a multilingual and multicultural organisation. This became evident when one looked at how layout contributed to the semiosis at hand. While one of the three language options on the website was English, most of the pieces of text under the English pages were in other languages, such as Russian, Estonian, Swedish and Arabic. Because these multilingual pieces of text had been emplaced throughout the English pages, they conveyed a representation of the joint parishes as a multilingual cohort. An example of this representation was the homepage of the English section, as it presented to the viewer hyperlinks to texts on a variety of topics in five languages: English, Finnish, Russian, Swedish and Estonian (Figure 18).

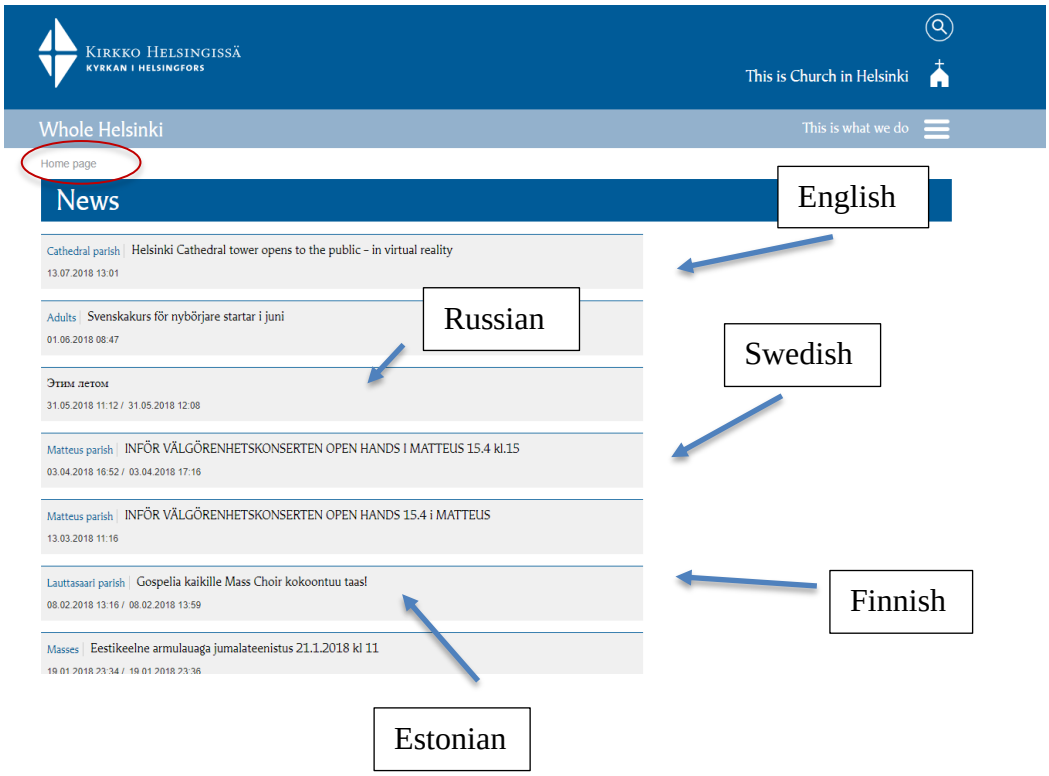

FIGURE 18. Helsinki joint parishes' home page.

Here one can see that the English homepage of the Helsinki joint parishes' website featured a variety of languages. This phenomenon occurred throughout the English pages.

The second type of self-representation on the pages was that of the parishes as a charitable Christian organisation. The verbal resources on the website indicated that the joint parishes offer various types of assistance to those who may need it. The charity they offer is not necessarily religious by nature. As seen in Figure 19, the Church presents the support they offer for new entrepreneurs. By analysing the ideational and interpersonal metafunction on this webpage, I found out that the verbal resources "Support for entrepreneurs" and "Common parish functions" were primed and thus conveyed the idea that this kind of activity is common in the joint parishes. Moreover, a relationship was established between the Church and the visitor of the website by using the pronoun "you". Jones (2012: 51 – 52) explains that relationships in language are oftentimes indicated through modality. He continues that this may be established for instance by using pronouns, such as "you". In this instance, the pronoun "you" was used twice and "we" once. Furthermore, this type of self-representation manifested itself also when analysing both the verbal resources and the layout of one of the drop-down menus. The menu was titled "This is what we do" (Figure 20). Focusing on the ideational metafunction, the Church, "we", was the main participant in the process of *doing* something. In the drop-down menu, one found hyperlinks to other webpages under the English section. The hyperlink titled "Help and support" was primed, as it was emplaced as the first item in the biggest column on the left-hand side. Kress and van Leeuwen (2006: 4) acknowledge that "Western visual communication is deeply affected by our convention of writing from left to right". Due to this convention, I would argue that the viewer's attention is first drawn to the items on the left-hand side of the menu, which makes them more salient. The other hyperlinks under the menu led for instance to pages dedicated to the different aspects of Christian life. The interplay of the layout and the verbal resources emplaced in the "This is what we do" menu therefore contributed to the reading of the Church as a charitable, Christian organisation.

FIGURE 19. Support for new entrepreneurs.

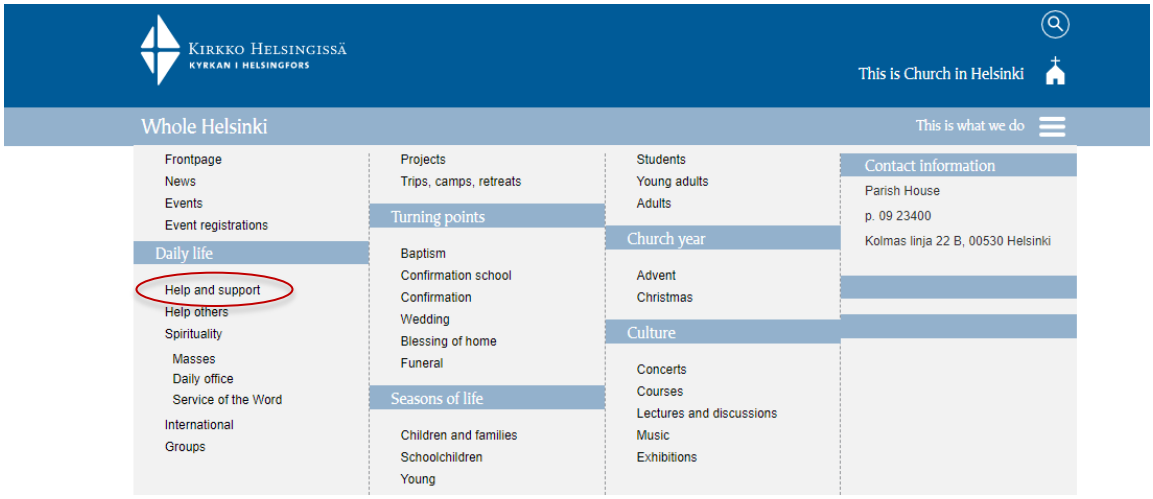

FIGURE 20. “This is what we do”.

Moreover, the self-representation of the Helsinki joint parishes as a charitable organisation manifested itself when observing the verbal resources and the ideational metafunction on a webpage where multicultural work in the Malmi parish (one of the

joint parishes) was discussed (Figure 21). In “Multicultural work at the Malmi parish supports the social integration of the immigrants living in the area”, one of the participants is “Multicultural work in the Malmi parish” who is in the process of *supporting* the other participant, “social integration of the immigrants living in the area”. By emphasising the fact that the parish is doing this line of work, they are creating an image of themselves as a public benefactor.

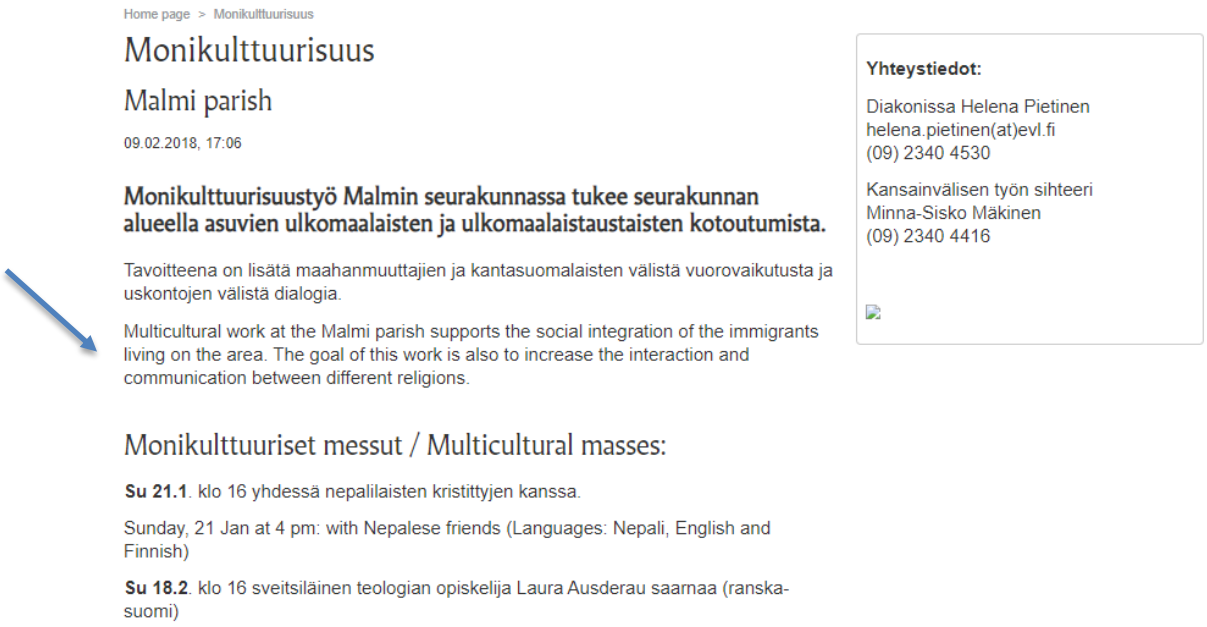

FIGURE 21. “Monikulttuurisuus”.

However, the most prominent self-representation under the English section of the Helsinki joint parishes’ website was that of the Church as a touristic destination. The representation was created mainly through layout, verbal resources and images. The majority of the English content was situated under the sections which provided information on the Helsinki Cathedral parish and Töölö parish. Consequently, the most popular churches regarding tourism belong to these parishes. The churches are the Helsinki Cathedral, Suomenlinna Church, the Old church and the Temppeliaukio Church. The verbal semiotic resources under these sections contributed to the touristic representation, as expressions such as “visitor”, “tourist”, “to visit”, “tourist information” and “tourist sight” appeared throughout the English webpages offering

information on the two parishes mentioned above. For instance, a webpage offering information on the Helsinki Cathedral Parish featured the expressions “tourist information”, “sightseeing visits”, “to visit” and “souvenir and gift shop”, all of which are expressions related to tourism. The visual resources, which consisted primarily of images, were also a significant factor which added to the semiosis at hand. The better part of the images featured in the sections under scrutiny were pictures of different churches, as for example in Figure 22. According to the ideational metafunction, the image demonstrated in Figure 22 is narrative; it is a visual representation of the participant, which is Suomenlinna church. These kinds of images do not reveal a great deal of the Church as an organisation, but rather they display what the church has to offer. In this case, the Church is offering four important tourist attractions in the capital area. The viewer is positioned quite far away from the church, which in turn suggests that she is not assumed to have a close relationship with the Church. Furthermore, the image was paired with the verbal resources “Tourist information”, which further emphasised the self-representation created on the webpage.

FIGURE 22. Churches in the Cathedral parish.

I chose a webpage offering information on virtual reality tours of the Helsinki Cathedral tower as the last example of the Church’s self-representation as a tourist attraction (Figure 23). According to the webpage, tourists are now able to come and admire the “spectacular” view from the tower by using virtual reality headsets. The

access to the tower would not otherwise be possible for the public. By analysing the ideational metafunction of the passage appearing at the top of the page below the publish date, I found out that the verbal resources painted a picture of an amazing new feature at the Cathedral Parish that had been the dream of tourists and Helsinki citizens alike. For instance, in **"**Many tourists to Helsinki as well as people living in the vicinity would be thrilled to see it [the view]—" the participants were the tourists as well as the people living in Helsinki, and they are in the process of wanting to see the view from the tower. Furthermore, the ideational metafunction of the image emplaced on the webpage supported this self-representation. The image is again narrative, and depicts two participants, an adult and a child, who are wearing virtual reality headsets and standing in the middle of what appears to be the Helsinki Cathedral's aisle. The participants are engaged in the process of using the virtual reality headsets. One may assume that the participants are miraging the view from the Helsinki Cathedral's tower, as the image is emplaced in the middle of text informing the visitor of this new possibility in the Helsinki Cathedral. Because the figures are of different ages, one may assume that the Church wished to convey an image that people of all ages visit the Church. In sum, the image and the verbal resources on this webpage support the self-representation created of the Church as a tourist attraction.

Passage

Helsinki Cathedral tower opens to the public – in virtual reality

Cathedral parish

13.07.2018, 13:01

The view from the top of Helsinki Cathedral is spectacular. Many tourists to Helsinki as well as people living in the vicinity would be thrilled to see it, but the steps up to the top of the cupola are too narrow and difficult to allow for tours. This summer, for the first time ever, it is possible to take a virtual reality tour to the top of the Cathedral.

Visitors to Helsinki Cathedral can now rent, for a small fee, a virtual reality (VR) headset, either at the Cathedral Information desk or at the Cathedral Shop in the Bell Tower (Tapuli). Using the VR headset appears to transport you to the top of the cupola where you can marvel at the view in all directions. The VR experience also offers information about the Cathedral and the statues of the 12 Apostles that adorn the Cathedral roof. In this pilot phase of the VR experience, visitors can learn more about Helsinki Cathedral and the surrounding area in either Finnish or English.

Helsinki Cathedral is open daily from 9 a.m. to 6 p.m., but from June through August it is open till midnight.

Headsets for a virtual reality tour of the Cathedral tower can be rented at the Cathedral Shop in the Bell Tower (Tapuli) during the shop's opening hours:

Monday–Saturday, 10 a.m.–5 p.m.; Sunday, 11 a.m.–3 p.m.

Headsets can also be rented from the Information desk in the Cathedral, Monday–Friday, 9 a.m.–4.30 p.m.; Saturday, 9 a.m. till noon; and Sunday, 11.30 a.m.–3 p.m.

During parish events and church services, the Information desk inside the Cathedral is closed. VR headsets can be rented at the Bell Tower even when the Cathedral Information desk is closed.

The basic fee for use of a VR headset is €4.

Concessions: €3 for children aged 7–18, the unemployed, pensioners and students.

Free for children under the age of 7.

FIGURE 23. Tourism in the Helsinki joint parishes.

In conclusion, the English section of the Helsinki joint parishes' website painted a picture of the Church as a multilingual, multicultural and charitable Christian organisation, whose churches are promoted as tourist destinations. Next, it is time to move on to the last piece in this puzzle.

6.3 A welcoming Christian community in Vantaa

The self-representations created by the Church on the English pages on the website of the Vantaa joint parishes were that of a welcoming, charitable and multicultural Christian community. The semiotic resources identified on the Vantaa website were the visual and verbal modes of images, colour, layout and text.

Both the layout and the verbal material emplaced in the section which was aimed at the English-speaking visitors on the Vantaa joint parishes website conveyed an image of the joint parishes as a unified, welcoming community. First, when describing the joint parishes in Vantaa, a large number of the pronoun “we” was used, for instance in sections titled “Who we are”, “What we do” and “What we believe” (Figure 24). Here, if one concentrates on the realisation of the ideational metafunction of language, the Church creates a sense of a community, where the members collectively create a unified whole who does similar things (“we are”) and believes in a similar manner (“we believe”). Second, expressions such as “welcome to the Lutheran Church of Vantaa” and statements such as “-- you are always welcome to join us” and “you are most welcome to visit—" appeared throughout the English pages and added to the interpretation of the Church as a welcoming community. Furthermore, the layout put emphasis on this interpretation. For instance, on the first page of the English section, the headline said, “Welcome to the Lutheran Church of Vantaa”. When this kind of text is primed, it becomes evident that one of the primary missions of the joint parishes is to engage with the visitor and thus to establish a relationship with her and wishing her welcome in the community.

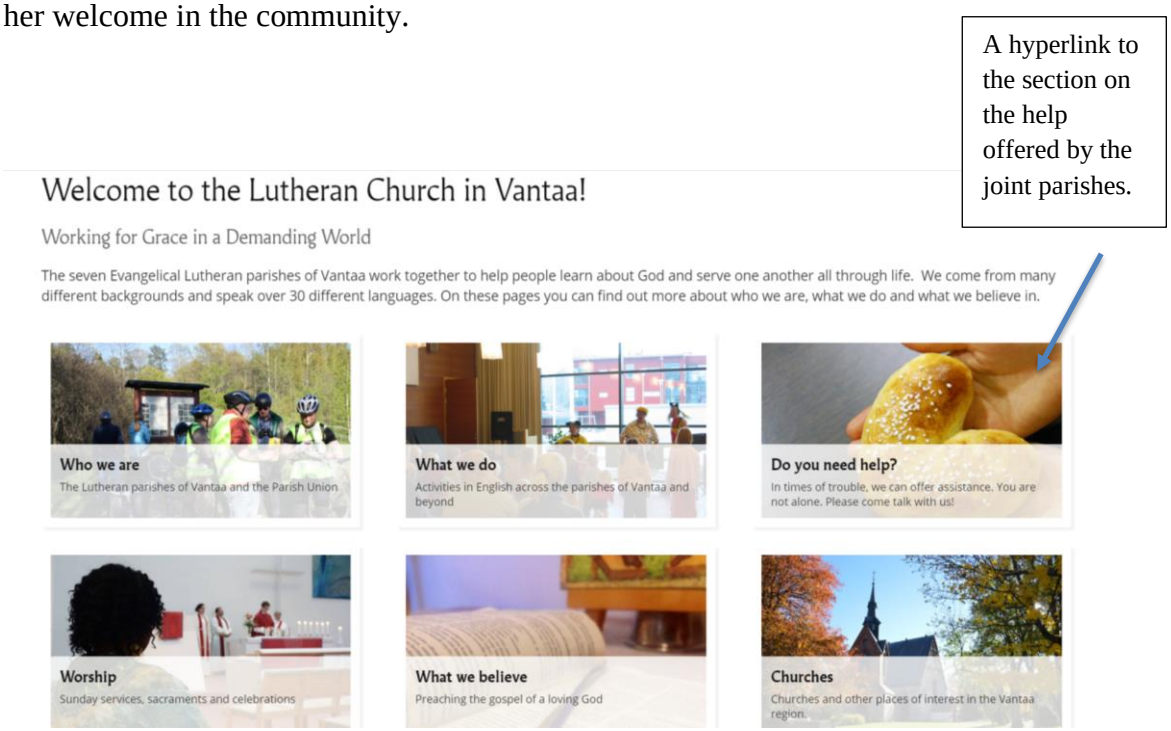

FIGURE 24. “We” and “Do you need help?”

By investigating the layout on the first page of the English section, one noticed that the representation of the joint parishes as a tight-knit, yet welcoming, community was one of the most prominent representations on the website. Using Pauwels's (2012: 258) terms, both the information on the parish itself and the words of welcome were primed by placing them at the top of the page, and rest of the information on for instance activities and churches was emplaced more towards the bottom of the page. Pauwels (2012: 258) explains that priming certain information by emplacing it on a website in a more visible location, such as on the top of the page, means that the relative importance of the information is higher. Thus, in this case the verbal semiotic resources in question are prominent signifiers in the Church's self-representation, as they were primed on the website.

Another kind of self-representation created by the Church was that of a charitable, benevolent organisation. The English pages on the Vantaa joint parishes' website featured information on what kind of help the Church provides. As this information was given a great deal of attention on the English pages, one may interpret that it is an important aspect regarding the Church's self-representation. A hyperlink to the section dedicated to this topic was emplaced very visibly on the first page of the English section, as seen in Figure 24. The location of the hyperlink highlights the importance of this information. Moreover, by investigating the interpersonal metafunction on the English section of the Vantaa website, one was able to detect a relationship being established between the Church and the visitor of the website. This relationship was also further evidence of the charitable image the Church was trying to project. Under the section titled "Do you need help?", the relationship was created through the use of verbal and visual resources. Similarly to the Helsinki website, the visitor was directly addressed multiple times under "Do you need help?", as seen in Figure 25. In the section "Do you need help", the pronoun "you" is used eight times, "we" once and the possessive pronoun "your" also once. The large number of pronouns that appeared under this section on the English webpages therefore suggested that the Church wanted to present itself as a charitable and benevolent organisation especially for the English-speaking visitors of the website.

Do you need help?

Whatever problems you may experience, we are here to support you. Oftentimes just talking can help. All meetings with a pastor or a diaconal worker are strictly confidential and free of charge.

Each person's religious convictions and philosophy of life is respected on the basis of freedom of belief. You do not need to be a member of the church to speak to a pastor or a diaconal worker.

► **Family counseling**

► **Students**

► **People in hospitals**

► **Migrants and refugees**

You are not alone! Come and talk with us

Pastors offer:

- discussion
- spiritual and emotional support
- family and relationships counselling
- confession

Diaconal workers offer:

- discussion
- financial advice and material assistance
- help in dealing with authorities and form filling
- family and relationship counselling
- emotional support
- addiction counselling

► **Contact your nearest parish**

Note: There are pastors and diaconal workers working in hospitals, in certain workplaces, in prisons and in schools. If you don't know how to contact a pastor, you can ask a nurse, a social worker, a teacher or a police officer to help you find one.

In an emergency?

If lives are in danger, call 112.

► For emergency health care, see **Vantaa Emergency services**

► For social emergencies, see **Vantaa Social Emergency and Crisis Center**

FIGURE 25. “Do you need help?”

The visual resources emplaced on the website also contributed to the representation of the Church as a charitable institution. For instance, an image found under “Do you need help?” features a diaconal worker, presumably a woman, who is discussing with another person over a table in an office type of environment, as seen in Figure 26. If one analyses the ideational function of the image, one may find that is narrative. As

the image is paired with the text “You are not alone! Come and talk to us” and “diaconal workers offer discussion—", one may deduce that the diaconal worker in the image is offering some type of counsel to the other person in the image. Because the woman is faced to the direction of the camera, the interpersonal metafunction entails that the visitor may position herself in the position of the person being helped. Jones (2012: 75) elucidates that the viewer may be positioned and established a relationship with in images for example through perspective, which is how the interpersonal metafunction is accomplished. The Vantaa joint parishes are therefore aiming to represent themselves as a charitable institution in addition to an image of themselves as a welcoming, unified community.

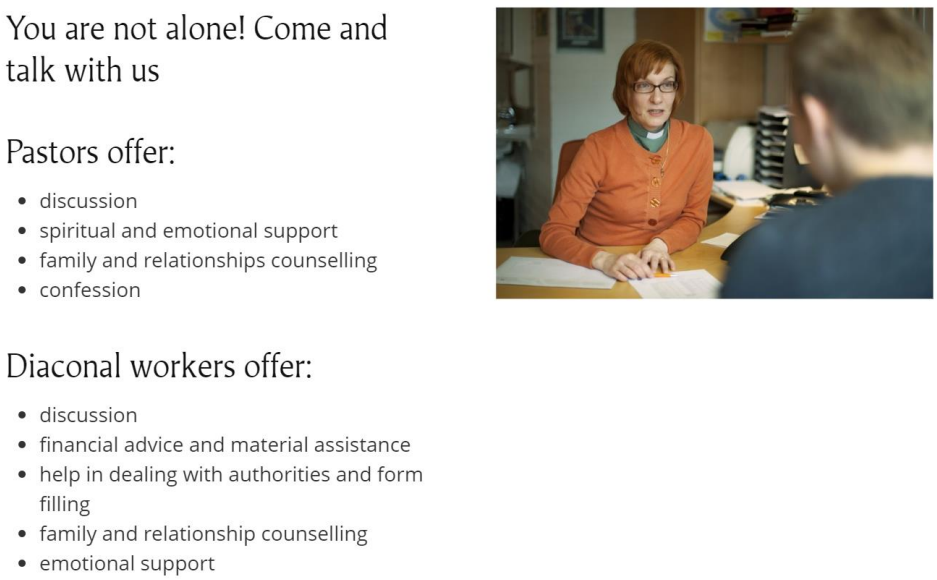

FIGURE 26. A diaconal worker offering counsel.

The English pages also convey a representation of a multicultural and multilingual community in the Vantaa region. Firstly, a photograph (Figure 27) was used in the sign complex to highlight this characteristic about the Vantaa joint parishes. In the image, a black person, who is presumed to be a woman and dressed in traditional African clothing, is attending a mass and watching priests prepare for communion. If one investigates the ideational and interpersonal metafunctions in Figure 27, one may arrive at the following interpretation: as the image is paired with the text “You are

welcome to join the service, even if we do not share a language", and because throughout the Vantaa joint parishes' website most of the images featured only white people, one may observe that the Church is indeed promoting an image of itself as a multicultural community on the English pages. Moreover, the interpersonal metafunction proposes that by placing the viewer in the nave beside the woman, the Church invites the visitor to join the Church's activities despite her cultural background. Secondly, the different linguistic resources emplaced on the English pages of the website indicated that the joint parishes desire to be recognised as a multicultural entity. The analysis on the different linguistic resources was provided in Chapter 5. Lastly, there is textual evidence to support the present claim. The Vantaa joint parishes specifically state that they are a multicultural joint parish, as they explain on the first page in the English section that they "come from many different backgrounds and speak over 30 different languages", leaving no doubt that they wish to represent themselves as both a multicultural and a multilingual community.

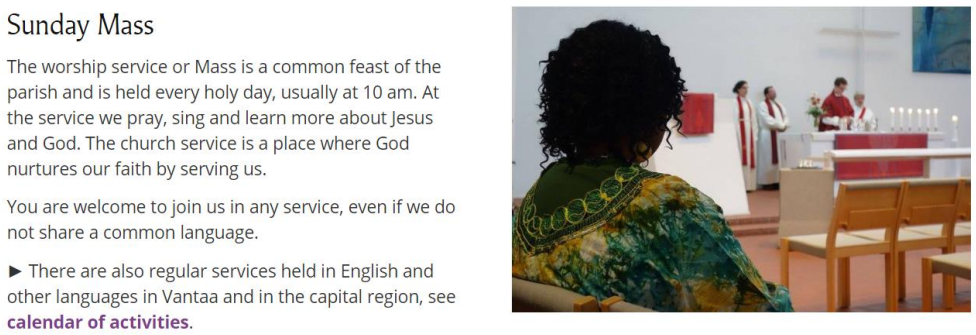

FIGURE 27. A multicultural community in Vantaa.

Lastly, and perhaps quite obviously, the self-representations created on the website are first and foremost that of a Christian community. This representation was ever present on the website and is brought to the viewer's attention constantly. It was fortified through textual features as well as images and colour. Firstly, on the first page of the English section the joint parishes declared that they are "working for grace in a demanding world", and that the parishes "work together to help people learn about God" and are "preaching the gospel of a loving God". Furthermore, the sections

dedicated to information on what are the Church's beliefs, and on the different religious services and activities provided by the joint parishes, such as the baptismal service, the blessing of a home and wedding, were rather extensive. Secondly, all of the pictures emplaced on the English pages featured a Christian theme, whether it be a funeral, a baptismal service or a plain old church building. Thirdly, on the Vantaa joint parishes' website, the main colour that had been used in the layout was purple. As the liturgical colours are loaded in meaning in the Christian tradition, there was good reason to assume that these colours carried such meanings also in the current context. In the Christian tradition, purple is the colour of penitence, expectation and reformation (Liturgiset värit, n.d.). As we are approaching data which belongs to the Christian tradition, one may therefore assume that the use of colour in this context also carries these connotations.

In sum, the self-representations created by the Church on the English pages on the website of the Vantaa joint parishes were that of a unified, charitable and multicultural Christian community.

6.4 Summary of the findings in Chapter 6

The semiotic resources I discovered on the three joint parishes' websites were mainly *visual* and *verbal*, as the multimodal self-representations were constructed through the interplay of text, images, colour and layout. Colour was under scrutiny only on the Vantaa website, because blue and orange, the main colours in the layout of the Espoo and Helsinki websites, do not convey meanings in the Christian tradition. The self-representations on the Espoo website conveyed an image of the Church as a charitable institution whose Christian community is not tight-knit. The Church seemed to divide immigrants into two categories. On the one hand, there were the Lutheran immigrants to whom the Church wanted to appear as a caring, family-oriented and profoundly Lutheran organisation. On the other hand, there were the multicultural, "colourful" immigrants to whom the Church created an image of itself as a multicultural and multilingual Church who educated the "colourful" immigrant audience. Moreover, the English section of the Helsinki joint parishes' website conveyed an image of the

Church as a multilingual, multicultural and charitable Christian organisation, whose churches are promoted as tourist destinations. Lastly, the Vantaa website painted a picture of the Church as a unified, charitable and multicultural Christian community.

7 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In the present chapter, I will consider the findings of the present study in relation to the aim, present a critical evaluation and possible future of the study and lastly, explore the potential implications of the study.

7.1 Findings of the present study

The aim of this study was to examine how welcoming the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland is towards non-Finnish speakers. This was done by investigating both the language policies and multimodal self-representations on websites belonging to three joint parishes of the Church. The joint parishes of Espoo, Vantaa and Helsinki were chosen as sources for data based on their location; all of the joint parishes are located in the Helsinki metropolitan area, where inbound migration is concentrated. The methodology created specifically for the purposes of the present study comprised of two distinct methods of analysis: linguistic landscape analysis and multimodal discourse analysis, drawing on Pauwels' (2012) multimodal framework for analysing websites. The multimodal discourse analysis in the present study was conducted from the perspective of social semiotics. Based on my findings, the Church appeared welcoming towards non-Finnish speakers *to an extent*.

By conducting linguistic landscape analysis, I detected that the Church utilised a variety of language policies on the three websites. Most of the language policies demonstrated that the Church is welcoming towards non-Finnish speakers. Firstly, the three joint parishes were bilingual units. Secondly, all of the websites demonstrated linguistic diversity, which is why I considered all of the joint parishes infrastructures of superdiversity in the Helsinki metropolitan area; the large number of languages emplaced on the website indicated that the joint parishes have a need to communicate in a variety of languages. The languages I discovered on the three websites were Finnish, Swedish, English, Estonian, Russian, Arabic, Chinese, French, Italian, Spanish, Hungarian, German, Hebrew and Latin. The linguistic diversity on the websites suggested that the Church is not afraid to communicate in other languages

than Finnish and Swedish. In particular, the Helsinki joint parishes' website demonstrated remarkable linguistic diversity, as the English version of the website featured very little English text, but rather there was a great deal of content in other languages, such as Estonian and Russian. The fact that the websites were linguistically diverse displays that the Church welcomes diversity in its activities.

The English resources in my data proposed that the language has a special role in the Church's language policies. A distinctive language policy on the Espoo joint parishes' website was that one was required to have some English resources in one's repertoire to be considered a prospective member of the Church. Moreover, most of the linguistic resources emplaced on all of the three websites served multiple functions, which were as follows: 1) to inform, 2) lingua franca and 3) to name. English resources, in particular, were used as a naming strategy on all of the three websites. One of the most interesting instances where this phenomenon occurred when one of the Espoo joint parishes' chapels was presented. The chapel is located in the Iso Omena shopping centre in Matinkylä, and its name is Chapple. As discussed earlier, the chapel's name is a play on the words *chapel* and *apple*. When considering this strategy together with the above language policy, one begins to wonder what the reason for such use of English resources could be. Blommaert and Rampton (2012: 8) state that the global movement of people is one of the reasons why the linguistic realities all over the world are changing. The fact that English has become a globally prominent language is an indisputable fact, and for instance in Finland, it is almost impossible to open the television or walk down the street without encountering at least some English resources on the way. Pennycook (2007: 6 – 7) proposes that instead of seeing the global spread of English as homogenization of American culture, one should consider English as a *translocal* language, which means that English travels across the world and becomes embedded in the local. As discussed in Chapter 3, Pennycook (2010: 84) observes that one should regard languages in general rather as *localised practices*, as interaction which is distinctive to its location. Superdiversity entails that Finland, too, has become linguistically a diverse society. If one regards English as a *translocal* language, it means that English has become embedded also in the local in Finland. Thus, the use of English resources as part of a naming strategy is perhaps not a conscious choice for the Church to appear more welcoming towards non-Finnish speakers, but rather, a localised practice.

There was one language policy that was not positive regarding the non-Finnish speaking visitors of the websites. One of the most significant language policies was that one was required to have at least some Finnish resources in one's linguistic repertoire in order to participate in the Church's activities. This policy manifested itself both on the Espoo and the Vantaa pages. Because the Church assumed that those who participate in its activities have some Finnish in their linguistic repertoires, it could be seen as discriminatory against this demographic. This, in turn, meant that based on my analysis, the Church is not always welcoming towards non-Finnish speakers.

The self-representations revealed by conducting multimodal discourse analysis on the English sections on the three websites portrayed the Church in distinctive manners. The semiotic resources I detected on the websites were predominantly *visual* and *verbal*, and the self-representations were created with text, images, colour and layout. The English sections on each website were under scrutiny in this part of the analysis due to the unquestionable role of English as lingua franca in intercultural communication.

The self-representations on both the Espoo and the Helsinki joint parishes' websites presented a conflicting image of the Church. On the Espoo website, the Church was portrayed as a charitable institution whose Christian community is not intimate, because the Church divided immigrants into two categories: the Lutheran immigrants to whom the Church wanted to create an image of a caring, family-oriented and profoundly Lutheran organisation, and the multicultural, "colourful" immigrants to whom the Church portrayed an image of an educational, multicultural and multilingual Church. As discussed in Chapter 3, one may reveal the underlying motives of the maker of the sign by analysing the sign (Kress 2010: 65). Whilst the self-representations created for both of these groups are positive and appealing, dividing the immigrants into two categories indicates that the attitude of the Church towards these groups is different. Moreover, on the Helsinki website, the Church was on the one hand presented as a multilingual, multicultural and charitable Christian organisation. This kind of an image could be highly appealing to a visitor of the website who is in need of an infrastructure of superdiversity. On the other hand, the

joint parishes' churches were promoted as tourist destinations. This type of representation is less appealing, as even though the visitor might be warmly welcomed to visit the churches, they are also expected as tourists to leave as soon as they have seen enough of the churches.

The Vantaa joint parishes' website conveyed the most welcoming image of the Church, as the self-representations painted a picture of a unified, charitable and multicultural Christian community. This type of representation is both positive and appealing and might therefore encourage the visitor of the website to join the Vantaa joint parishes' activities. Because the website created an image a unified, charitable and multicultural community, the visitor of the website might think that from the Vantaa joint parishes, one might be able to acquire both social capital and assistance by joining an infrastructure of superdiversity where many cultures are celebrated and welcomed. Next, I will present a critical evaluation as well as discuss the possible future of the present study.

7.2 Evaluation and future of the study

Working on this study was both enjoyable and interesting. Religion as a social phenomenon has fascinated me as long as I can remember, and combining this topic with my other passion, sociolinguistics, made the thesis process even more appealing to me. I find that due to the emerging superdiversity in Europe, and also because during the making of this thesis I encountered a great number of news articles in which the relation between religious organisations and immigrants was discussed, the theme of this study was topical. I find that combining linguistic landscape analysis with multimodal discourse analysis allowed me to get a more holistic picture of the Church and therefore helped me to reach the aim of the present study. However, there are a number of features that could have been realised differently when conducting this study. Firstly, the method with which I collected the data could have been better. The browser extensions that were utilised did not save moving items on a webpage, which is why some of the content was missing when conducting the analysis. Moreover,

using the browser extensions meant that it was difficult to save the structure of the websites, because it saved the webpages as separate documents, not as complete websites. On the other hand, it was good to have a referential copy of the websites at my disposal, because of the changeable nature of websites. By way of illustration, the Vantaa joint parishes' website has been completely transformed after collecting the data, changing the English pages almost completely. Second, it could have been wiser to concentrate only on one method instead of two distinct ones. Conducting research where two different methods of analysis were used was both time-consuming and meant that my study had two perspectives from which to conduct my analysis. Third, the number of websites in my data could have been different. On the one hand, I could have concentrated only on one website to reach more thorough findings. On the other, I could have included websites in a way that the whole of Finland was represented, as it would have been interesting to find out how the Church represents itself for instance in Northern Finland. Last, the making of this thesis has made me uncertain of the reliability of websites as data for this type of a study, for this way I have not heard the direct opinion of the Church on their relationship with immigrants. For instance, the reason for which websites are lacking a certain feature could be any, such as money. Also, the changing nature of websites means that it could be under construction without the researcher knowing about it, leaving her oblivious about the content that the author is planning to emplace on the website.

The present study indicates that there is a need for further study on the linguistic realities of religious organisations in Finland. The possibilities for conducting research on these linguistic realities are almost endless. First, the use of English as part of a naming strategy for events and places on the three websites suggests that English has become embedded in the local, which calls for further study on the use of English in the daily life of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland. Second, if one should develop the present study further, it could be realised through investigating the *physical* linguistic landscapes of the Church in the Helsinki metropolitan area. Third, the actual language practices of the Church's employees could be an interesting topic to study further by utilizing interviews; this would entail conducting the study from a more ethnographic point of view. Lastly, is could also be of interest to study the linguistic realities of Pentecostal churches in Finland due to the growing popularity of these churches among immigrant audiences.

7.3 Conclusion

The unstable situation inside the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland seems to be under discussion in the media frequently, which is why studying issues related to the Church was both topical and interesting. There is a plethora of issues inside the Church which is causing the unstable situation, and the greatest issue faced by the Church is obviously the problem of fleeing members. Only during the making of this thesis, the number of members belonging to the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland diminished by 63930 people. The reasons for which many people have decided to leave the Church are many, but for instance the question on the marriage of same-sex couples has been one of the most visible ones in the media during the past years. For instance, in the parish of Kotka-Kymi, even praying for these couples was forbidden in 2017 (Krautsuk 2017). Another issue has to do with the discrimination faced by female employees of the Church, and female priests in particular. This topic is also brought up in the media at regular intervals. Like discussed earlier, due to the loss of members, the Church is in need of funding provided by the tithe. Immigrants in search of social capital could be the solution to this problem, which is why appearing appealing to this demographic is important.

Religious organisations in Finland provide aid and activities for immigrants, at least in the Helsinki area. An example of the aid provided by the organisations is that they teach languages, especially Finnish. (Timonen 2014: 10 – 14). Whilst the websites in the present study demonstrated linguistic diversity, the language options on all of the websites had been divided according to three language entities: Finnish, Swedish or English. Both of these phenomena are examples of the institutional language ideology of treating languages as bounded entities, discussed by Blommaert and Rampton (2012). However, if the Church began to see communication as a more fluid use of different linguistic resources and not as mastering different language entities, it could be easier for them to welcome immigrants to join them in their activities and thus appear more appealing to this demographic. Moreover, producing appealing self-representations for the immigrant audiences could help the Church in this task. This is a great challenge for the Church that is nowadays faced with a plethora of issues ranging from coping with technological advancements to the continuous loss of members.

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