

They appear missing – An examination of the apparition of language, discourse and agency in a Finnish landscape of education

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Abstract

This article examines the visual apparition of language, discourse and agency in a school unit in Southwest Finland. It addresses the disciplinary functions of schools as landscapes and the discourses materialized in them. The purpose of this article is to render visible the discourses, the systematic practices that form the objects of which we speak that are manifested in the landscape. The results indicate high levels of linguistic homogeneity, marked by high use of Finnish and English text. This is in clear contrast with a linguistically heterogeneous study body, marked by the apparent, albeit marginal visual presence of other languages not taught in the school as parts of its curricula. It is evident that the official discourses of language and education are manifested in the landscape. These materialized discourses function to instill desired national and linguistic identities and proprieties on students while landscape operates to effectuate indifference towards these processes. This is further apparent in the behavior of the students who are passive in comparison to the teachers and the school staff and typically express themselves textually either in Finnish or English. The students are not explicitly prohibited from freely expressing themselves, yet their participation in the landscape decreases and homogenizes as they progress through the school system.

Keywords

landscape; education; language; discourse; discourse materialized

First submission: October 2018; Revised: January 2019, Accepted: February 2019

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Introduction

Educational institutions are important contemporary apparatuses of order, discipline and regimentation (cf. Foucault, 1995; Kraftl, 2015). They are built environments in which most people spend significant portions of their lives, likely under the assumption that they are static environments in which information is neutrally communicated from teachers to students. While there is no shortage of research in education, there is little research on education that pertains to built environments. When it does pertain to them, the studies tend subscribe to an image of thought (Deleuze, 1994: 129-139) that treats space as a given totality, a mere container, and/or privileges the autonomy of the subject (cf. Brown, 2018; Laihonen and Tódor, 2017; Pakarinen and Björklund, 2018; Szabó, 2018). In other words, much of the existing literature does not recognize educational institutions as landscapes, as orderings of reality, and the general indifference towards them, which, in turn, ignores how landscape enables and reinforces the disciplinary function of these institutions.

This article examines a school unit situated in an officially bilingual urban municipality in Southwest Finland, offering a glimpse to Finnish primary and secondary education when the national core curricula of 2003 and 2004 were in effect. The school is approached as its own miniature world and explored as a critical reading of a landscape, not unlike Benjamin (1999) or Goss (1999). This is necessary as it is very unlikely that the locals, those to whom the landscape is part of their everyday life, pay attention to the particulars in the landscape (Cresswell, 2003: 277). In my view the researcher should not make people do the unthinkable, make people go beyond their sense of reality (Bourdieu, 1977: 164, 1993: 154), otherwise one risks projecting oneself on to others, providing expert accounts in the guise of lay accounts. As aptly expressed by Lewis (1979: 12), landscape is “our unwitting autobiography, reflecting our tastes, our values, our aspirations, and even our fears, in tangible, visible form.” In other words, we are not particularly self-conscious about our involvement with the landscape and therefore landscapes are bound to be more truthful than the accounts provided by people themselves.

While landscapes can be examined in numerous ways, this article is limited to addressing three issues posited as four research questions: how language discourses materialize in the landscape, how agency discourses materialize in the landscape, how are they connected to one another and how they are grounded on the de jure language and education discourses? Similar to Schein (1997), answering these questions is a process that consists of archival research, examining the relevant discourses on language and education, and fieldwork, identifying the manifestations of these discourses, followed by further discussion of these findings in relation to the relevant de jure and de facto discourses.

The first part of this article elaborates the premise, mapping the problematics that underpin this study. The second part of this article provides a discussion of the materials and methods. The third part of the article provides relevant background information: demographics, key pieces of legislation and the curricula. The fourth part contains the examination of the data. The fifth and final part discusses the findings and addresses them in the light of the purpose of this article.

1. Premise – a map of problematics

Following Deleuze and Guattari (1987) and Massumi (1992), I conceptualize landscape as a facialized world, the correlate of the abstract machine of faciality, operating at the intersection of discursive formations and non-discursive formations. As an abstract machine it does not merely reflect nor represent reality. Instead, it assembles it for the observer (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987: 142), acting as “a non-unifying immanent cause that is co-extensive with the whole social field”, executing its relations within it, not outside it (Deleuze, 1988: 37). In other words, landscape appears to the observer as a symbolic environment which has been given “form from a particular angle of vision and through special filter of values and beliefs” (Greider and Garkovich, 1994: 1). More concisely, it is a conditioned way of seeing the world (Cosgrove, 1985: 45; Greider and Garkovich, 1994: 9-12) which results in a peculiar redundancy, a gestalt, looking at nothing in particular, substituting apperception for perception (Mitchell, 2002b: vii-viii).

It is possible to extract a literal diagram of the abstract machine (Massumi, 1992: 17-18), making it possible to utilize landscape as a medium (Mitchell, 2002a: 5). Its uses are principally twofold. Firstly, it can be utilized to appropriate space, to secure property, as identified by Cosgrove (1985: 45-62). Secondly, it can be utilized to instill desirable proprieties, as discussed by Matless (2016). It is in the latter sense that Ronai (1976: 154-155) argues that landscape can function as the face of the nation by linking the aesthetic appearance to materiality. This is particularly relevant to this article as it pertains to socialization, how landscapes of education can be utilized as a medium, in order to instill certain desirable identities and proprieties on students by controlling the visual appearance of our surroundings (Duncan, 1978b; Greider and Garkovich, 1994: 17-19).

As identified by Lewis (1979: 11), the central problem of landscape is that for many landscape simply *is*, a mere matter of appearance, at best limited to the appraisal of its aesthetic qualities. Summarizing Rose (2006), this passive disposition is explained by how landscape offers people dreams of presence, a reassuring foundation, marked by a longing for the past that provides a tangible sense of security. In other words, it provides a symbolic representation of collective history (Greider and Garkovich, 1994: 4). As argued by Cosgrove (1985: 55) and Ronai, (1977: 79-80), it presents a posture, a mastery of observation, an alluring structuration of the world, an impression of order and control, which is, nonetheless, a mere illusion of such, a mere imposture. Moreover, as recognized by Cosgrove (1985: 46), landscape is such an effective and widely embraced idea because it is based on the certainties of geometry. In Foucault’s terms, (1972: 178-195), as a discursive formation landscape can be understood as having become axiomatic and considered as space itself, as objective reality, which results in naïveté towards it.

2. Conceptual framework

I follow Foucault (1972: 49) in his definition of discourses as “practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak”, Scollon (2008) in his definition of materialized discourses as parts of a discourse itinerary, a process in which discourses become reified, resulting in either reinforcing or modifying the existing discourses, and Schein (1997) who locates this process of reification in the landscape. In short, in this article landscape operates as a nexus of practice (Scollon and Wong Scollon, 2003), as a node of intersecting discourses that stretch across space

(Schein, 1997). Importantly, as explained by Schein (1997: 663), it is in the landscape, once materialized and aggregated, that discourses function to discipline, to limit human action and thinking, including the level of conscious engagement with the landscape. Reciprocally, as argued by Schein (1997: 663, 2003: 202-203), it is our naïveté towards landscapes, the unquestioned and unspoken qualities associated to them, that underlines the disciplinary capabilities of the materialized discourses, making landscape central to the (re)production of everyday life.

It is not my intent to examine the landscape in this article as a totality, as a matter of appearance. Instead, following Deleuze (2002: vii), empiricism is understood as pluralism and the purpose is to “find the conditions under which something new is produced”, as a matter of apparition. As expressed by Klee (1920: 28), the goal of this article is not to render *the visible* but to render *visible*. I have therefore adapted Tuan’s (1979: 89-90) understanding of landscape as an ordering of reality, an integrated image that does bear the appearance of a totality, but which at the same time contains smaller units or clues that together provide information regarding the materialized discourses in the landscape. This is important because our surroundings and the objects in them come effect people and who they become (Duncan, 1978a, p. 29).

3. Framework in place – materials and methods

This article examines a school unit that provides compulsory education primarily in Finnish to students aged 6 to 16 (grades 1 to 9) and voluntary secondary education to students aged 15 to 18. It caters to approximately 800 to 900 students each school year, of which approximately 300 are primary level students (grades 1 to 6), 250 are lower secondary level students (grades 7 to 9) and 250 are upper secondary level students. As indicated in Savela (2018a), the school is known for its heterogeneous student body, consisting of not only students who speak Finnish, but also of students who speak Albanian, Arabic, Kurdish, Lithuanian, Latvian, Russian, Sami, Somalian and Vietnamese.

The examined landscape consists of different physical areas, the school exterior, the entrances, corridors, staircases, sports facilities, a cafeteria, an auditorium, 39 compulsory education classrooms (21 for students on grades 1 to 6 and 18 for students on grades 7 to 9), 9 voluntary education upper secondary level classrooms and two classrooms shared by the lower secondary and the upper secondary levels. No changing rooms and toilets were included due to their private nature. Moreover, no storage rooms, cafeteria, kitchen spaces, staff meeting rooms or offices were examined due to being inaccessible to the students without supervision.

The gathered data consist of 6016 photographed items. I gathered and annotated the data in the spring of 2015. The gathering conformed to the Personal Data Act (523/1999) and the principles set by the Finnish Advisory Board on Research Integrity (2009). For this reason the school is not identified in this article. Use of imagery is kept to a bare minimum for this reason. Each unit of analysis is defined pragmatically as one textual unit, as presented in figure 1:



Figure 1: A lavatory door with script

Figure 1 contains a photograph of a white door with black tape markings on it. If a physical definition were applied in this instance, each piece of tape, ‘W’ and ‘C’, would have to be considered a separate unit of analysis. This would result in absurdity (cf. Deleuze, 1990: 12-22), ignoring that together the letters transform the understanding of the door into a lavatory door.

I consider language to be an indivisible, yet I recognize that languages are typically considered as bounded entities distinct from one another (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987: 130; Voloshinov, 1973: 73; Årman 2018: 57). Therefore, they are categorized as such in this article. For example, the acronym in figure 1 is short for water closet and recognizable as English. If an item contains more than one language, the order of languages is defined on the basis of code preference, interpreted by text size, contrast, quantity and/or composition, as elaborated by Scollon and Wong Scollon (2003: 116-128). To be more specific, composition is defined by privileging center over margin, top over bottom and right over left, as explained by Kress and van Leeuwen (2006: 179-197). Figure 2 illustrates the most typical of these, the preference of top over bottom composition, presenting Finnish as the primary language and English as the secondary language, whereas figure 3 illustrates a case where the preference is based on quantity, the label containing more German than English:

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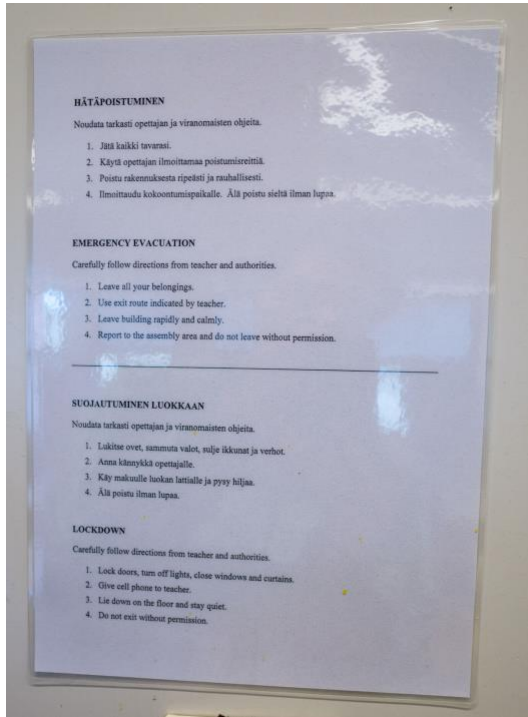


Figure 2: A laminated placard with emergency instructions



Figure 3: A label on the side of a machine

Figure 4 illustrates how attention shifts from low contrast top part containing German and English to the high contrast bottom part that contains English and Finnish with Finnish being the dominant one by quantity, while the round sticker in figure 5 contains Finnish and English in its margins, Finnish on the top and English on the bottom with English being markedly larger in size than English:



Figure 4: A label on the side of a machine



Figure 5: A sticker on a glass pane

Bearing relevance to understanding landscape as “our unwitting autobiography” (Lewis, 1979: 12), Samuels (1979: 64-65) notes perceptively that “landscapes without authors would be like books without writers.” In other words, it is important to not only consider what landscape is and/or what it contains, but also who is responsible for it and the items present in it, who is behind this and/or that proposition (Deleuze, 1990: 13-14). In this article agency is further distinguished in a Derridean (1987: 5; 1988: 5-6) fashion between designer (writer) and issuer (signatory) and acknowledging the distinction between the intended audience (addressee) and the actual audience (recipient). The actual audience is, however, not taken into account as the items put on display in the school can be examined by anyone. Figure 6 illustrates this categorization of agency:



Figure 6: Overlapping placards

The overlapping placards in figure 6 are issued by a teacher, but it is evident that they have been designed by an external entity, paint manufacturer Tikkurila. Instead of creating this teaching material on his or her own, the teacher has reappropriated the material and issued it with added emphasis to certain parts of the placards. However, by using existing materials the teacher has relinquished some control over the design of the materials to a third party.

4. Context of the study: demographics

In 2015 the population of Finland was nearly 5.5 million, of which 88.7 percent reported themselves as native speakers of Finnish, 5.3 percent as native speakers of Swedish and 6.0 as native speakers of other languages (Statistics Finland, 2016a). The largest foreign language groups were native speakers of Russian (72 436 speakers), Estonian (48 087) and Somalian (17 871) (Statistics Finland, 2016b). Notably, only the speakers of Russian make up more than a

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percentage of the total population (1.3 percent). Therefore, the population can be characterized as linguistically highly homogeneous.

5. De jure discourses: language legislation

Finland is a bilingual country. It has two national languages: Finnish and Swedish. The status of these languages is enshrined in the Constitution of Finland (731/1999, 17 §). The Language Act (423/2003) defines their applicability to state and municipal authorities. The act (423/2003, 5 §) designates municipalities as either as monolingually Finnish or Swedish speaking municipalities or as bilingual municipalities. Correspondingly, it is stated in the act (423/2003, 33 §) that signs erected by the authorities must contain either Finnish or Swedish or Finnish and Swedish. However, the same section contains an exception for municipal units, such as schools. Therefore, schools are not required to be bilingual in bilingual municipalities.

In practice, Finland is marked by a parallel school system in which most education is provided mutually exclusively in either Finnish or Swedish (From and Sahlström, 2017: 466). In fact, this stance is emphasized in the Strategy for the National Languages of Finland (Tallroth, 2012: 14). School exteriors, however, may not necessarily be considered a part of a school and therefore the requirements set in the Language Act may apply. In this case the school is required to carry only Finnish signage, the exception being the necessity to provide certain health and safety instructions on fire extinguishers in both Finnish and Swedish.

6. De jure discourses: legislation on primary and secondary level education

It is stated in the Basic Education Act (628/1998) that the compulsory basic education consists of a 9 grade comprehensive school. Its predecessor, the Comprehensive School Act (476/1983), divided the comprehensive school to two levels: the primary level (grades 1 to 6) and the lower secondary level (grades 7 to 9). The division is no longer recognized. In practice, however, this is still largely the case due to the existing school infrastructure and the required teaching qualifications on these levels of education (Government Decree, 986/1998). Compulsory basic education is supplemented by voluntary upper secondary education that takes three years to complete.

Both the basic education syllabus and the upper secondary education syllabus privilege language subjects, giving precedence to mother tongue and literature, the second national language and foreign languages among all subjects (Basic Education Act, 628/1998, 11 §; General Upper Secondary Schools Act, 629/1998, 7 §). Both acts define mother tongue primarily as either Finnish or Swedish (Basic Education Act, 628/1998, 12 §; General Upper Secondary Schools Act, 629/1998, 8 §). The privileged position of languages is further evident in the allocation of lesson hours on both levels of education, which emphasizes the mother tongue in particular, followed by two mandatory language subjects of which one is the other national language (Government Decree, 1435/2001, 6 §, 955/2002, 8 §). The full extent of basic education is a minimum of 222 study units, of which mother tongue is 19 percent, first other language is 7 percent and the second other language is at least 3 percent. It is, however, worth noting that the units are not evenly allocated by the level of education. Primary level is more marked by the mother tongue whereas the lower secondary level is more by the other language subjects as it

becomes possible to opt for a third, as well as a fourth language subject only midway through the primary level (FNBE, 2004: 304).

Similarly, to the lower secondary level and unlike on the primary level, on the upper secondary level there is an emphasis on overall language learning, not specifically on the mother tongue. This depends on the choices of the individual students as the students are granted more freedom to select the courses than on the compulsory levels. In summary, the mother tongue comprises 8 to 12 percent, a second language subject comprises 8 to 11 percent and a third language subject comprises 7 to 9 percent of the total minimum required courses.

7. Language education and learning in Finland

Considering that the mother tongue is in most cases either Finnish or Swedish and the second national language is also Finnish or Swedish, approximately one third of the languages taught as mandatory subjects is open to choice. The latest published data on basic education indicates that nearly 80 percent of all lower secondary students (of approximately 180 000) studied two languages besides the mother tongue during a time period between 2010 and 2012 and that over 90 percent of the students (of approximately 57 000) opted for English as the first other language on the third grade between 2008 and 2012 (Kumpulainen, 2014: 43-44). This indicates that the typical combination of language subjects consist of Finnish or Swedish as a mother tongue, English as the first other language and Swedish or Finnish as the second other language. Only approximately 25 percent of the students opt for a third other language, primarily choosing English, Swedish or German (Kumpulainen, 2014: 45). Moreover, only less 20 percent of the students opt for a third or a fourth other language, primarily choosing German or French (Kumpulainen, 2014: 46).

In upper secondary education it is most common to study only two languages besides the mother tongue, with over 45 percent studying only two languages in 2013, followed by slightly under 40 percent studying three languages and slightly over 10 percent studying four languages (Kumpulainen, 2014: 98). Nearly all, 99.6 percent of the 30 231 students, completed studies in English as the first other language in 2013, whereas Swedish, Finnish, German and French studies were completed by only 7.6 percent, 6.7 percent, 4.3 percent and 1.9 percent respectively (Kumpulainen, 2014: 99). The second other language is typically either Swedish or Finnish due to the mandatory nature of studying the other national language. Third or fourth other languages are typically German or French, with 8 to 10 percent who studied German and 6 to 8 percent who studied French (Kumpulainen, 2014: 100). Overall, with the exception of English, studying languages as offered in their full extent has declined noticeably, with a 28 percent drop in studying French, German, Russian and Swedish as the first and second other languages from 2003 to 2013 (Kumpulainen, 2014: 101).

8. The local curricula

It is stated in the national core curricula that the education providers form their own local curricula based on the national curricula (FNBE, 2003: 8, 2004: 10). The schools are steered by the national curricula, but it is possible to deviate from them within certain limits. This allows the schools to profile themselves to a limited extent by emphasizing certain areas of the curricula.

The examined school unit offers a variety of languages to its students in basic education, including English, French, German, Russian, Swedish, Spanish and Latin. All the languages except Latin and Spanish are available on the upper secondary level. In practice, however, the language education also depends on the selection of language subjects by the students. Typically, language education is only provided if large enough a group of students opt to study the language, which can be a limiting factor in the variety language education provided by the school (Hakulinen et al., 2009: 79-82).

The school unit supplements its basic education with an optional English track, marked by content and language integrated learning. The upper secondary education has no tracks, but it offers an optional English medium program alongside the Finnish medium national program. The language education offered is more limited on the English medium program as Russian is not offered to the students. However, either German or French must be studied during the first year of the program. Moreover, any non-Finnish nationals must study Finnish as a foreign language in their first year on the program. The notable difference is, of course, the use of English as the primary language of learning. In addition, the school building caters to a small number of international students on the lower secondary level, with English as the primary medium of instruction.

As previously discussed in Savela (2018a), with regards to the school’s heterogeneous student body, the school prides itself on being a multilingual school and explicitly promotes awareness of multilingualism on its premises. Additional learning support is routinely provided to speakers of Albanian, Arabic, Kurdish, Russian, Somalian and Vietnamese. However, this support is subject to change, depending not only on the number of speakers of various languages but also on the availability of teachers competent in both Finnish and the specific languages.

9. Analysis of language in the landscape

The data consists of 6016 units of analysis, including items that contain language and items that do not contain any language. Proportionally 64 percent of the items in the data contain language (3832 items) and 36 percent contain no language (2184 items). More specifically, 53 percent of all items and 83 percent of items containing language contain only one language (3198 items), 9 percent of all items contain and 15 percent of items containing languages contain two languages (566 items) and 1 percent of all items and 2 percent of items containing languages contains more than two languages (68 items). In summary, the landscape can be deemed highly monolingual in the sense that 83 percent of items containing language contain only one language and conversely only 17 percent contain two or more languages. Table 1 illustrates the languages present on monolingual items:

Language	n	%
Albanian	2	0%
Danish	1	0%
English	582	18%
Estonian	1	0%
Finnish	2456	77%
French	29	1%
German	67	2%
Greek	2	0%
Italian	4	0%
Latin	9	0%
Portuguese	1	0%
Serbian	1	0%
Slovakian	1	0%
Spanish	1	0%
Swedish	41	1%
Total	3198	100%

Table 1: Languages on monolingual items

Table 1 indicates that monolingual items are predominantly Finnish (77%) and that English is the second most used language on monolingual items (18%). The presence of other languages on monolingual items is at best marginal (5%); only 160 of the 3198 items contain a language that is not Finnish or English. It is worth noting that German (2%), Swedish (1%), French (1%), Latin (<1%), Spanish (<1%) are all taught language subjects in the school unit. Therefore, only 13 items containing only one language, less than half a percent (0.41%), contain languages unrelated to the school and its curricula.

Multilingualism can be principally approached in two ways. It can be defined as cumulative, including all tokens (4607 tokens), all instances of languages on any item, in any combination with or without other languages present on the same item (one or more languages) or alternatively as including only the items that contain more than one language (1409 tokens), thus excluding the monolingual items in the total count (3198 items). As previously presented in in a slightly different form in Savela (2018b), figure 7 illustrates the former (4607 tokens):

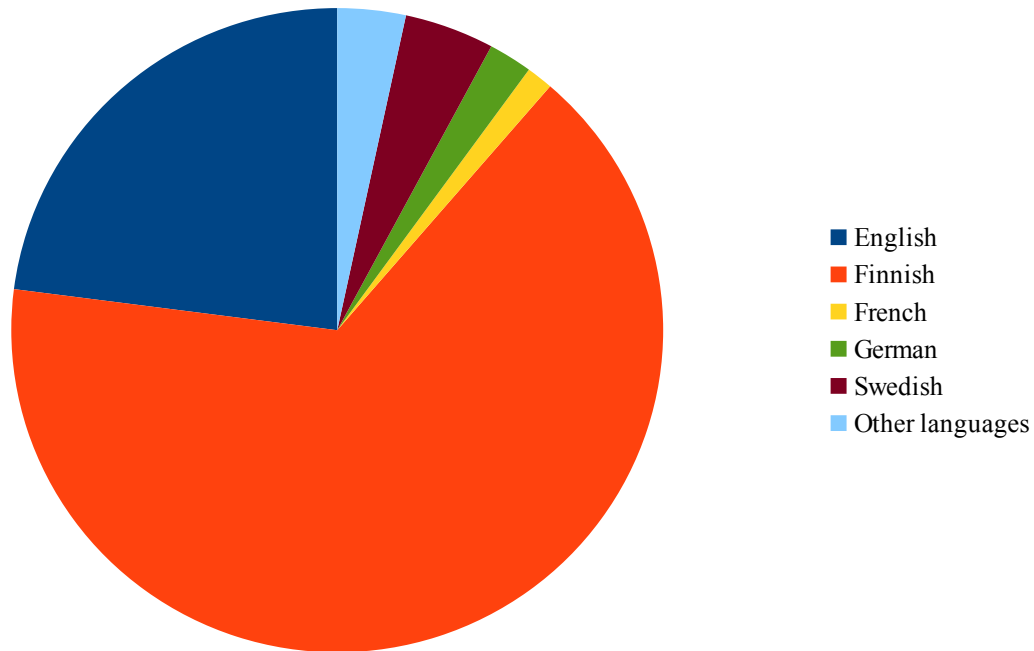


Figure 7: Languages in the landscape

Figure 7 indicates that if all tokens are counted, as manifested on both the monolingual and the multilingual items, Finnish (3028 tokens) and English (1058 tokens) are the salient languages in the school. However, Finnish is 11 percent less salient (from 77% to 66%) and English is 5 percent more salient (from 18% to 23%) in the cumulative data than it is in single language data, as presented in table 1. Most notably, Swedish (205 tokens), German (100 tokens) and French (60 tokens) stand out more in the cumulative data than they do in the single language data. This is on the expense of the other 36 recognized languages in the data, combined (156 tokens) in figure 7 as other languages for the sake of clarity, considering that each of these languages counted only for less than a percentage of the total number of language tokens (4607 tokens). It is worth noting that the third, fourth and fifth most salient languages, Swedish, German and French, are all languages taught in the school unit. The alternative approach to multilingualism, excluding the monolingual items in the total count of tokens (1409 tokens on 634 items), is illustrated on table 2:

Language	n	%
Finnish	571	41%
English	476	34%
Swedish	164	12%
German	33	2%
French	32	2%
Italian	28	2%
Albanian	12	1%
Arabic	12	1%
Spanish	11	1%
Other	70	5%
Total	1409	100%

Table 2: Languages on multilingual items

Table 2 indicates that Finnish (41%) and English (34%) are salient also on the items containing more than one language. The third salient language Swedish is proportionally more prominent on the multilingual items (12%) than on monolingual items (1%) and in the cumulative count of languages on items (4%). The previously discussed other taught languages of the school unit, German (33 tokens) and French (32 tokens), remain marginal at 2% percent each in this subset of data. For the sake of clarity, 30 very marginally present languages were combined into one stack in the table.

The cumulative counts do not address the combinations of languages present in the landscape. Due to the low number of items containing more than two languages (68 items), these items are examined separately from the items containing no more than two languages (566 items). Table 3 illustrates the combined use of languages on items containing one or two languages:

		L2																
L1 Only		Albanian	Arabic	Danish	English	Farsi	Finnish	French	German	Italian	Kurdish	Latin	luxembourgis	Malagasy	Russian	Spanish	Swedish	L1+L1&L2
L1	Albanian	2																2
	Arabic	0	0															1
	Danish	1	0	0														1
	English	582	0	0	2		67	7	1	6			1		1	1	2	670
	Estonian	1	0	0	0		0	0	0	0			0		0	0	0	1
	Finnish	2456	6	2	0	298	1	6	5	12	1	4	0	1	0	1	74	2867
	French	29	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	32
	German	67	0	0	0	7	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	76
	Greek	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
	Hawaiian	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	Italian	4	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
	Latin	9	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10
	Latvian	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	Portuguese	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	Serbian	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	Slovakian	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	Spanish	1	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
	Swedish	41	0	0	0	15	0	32	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	88
L2*	3198	6	2	2	326	1	105	13	7	18	1	4	1	1	1	2	76	3764

Table 3: Distribution of languages (one and two languages)

Table 3 indicates the combinations of languages present on the items containing one (3198 items) and two languages (566 items). The first language indicated in the first column and the second language in the first row under header L2. The column right to the L1 languages, indicates the number of monolingual items. The combinations of languages, L1&L2, are indicated in cells between L1 and L2 headers, starting from the column to the right of the L1 only data column. Invalid combinations of the same language as L1 and L2 are marked out in black for the sake of clarity. The row on the bottom, labeled as L2*, indicates the total number of L2 items per

language and the last full column to the right, labeled as 1+2, indicate the total number of L1 and L1&L2 items. Most noticeably, English is the most salient second language and it is present most often alongside Finnish (298 items), followed by Swedish as the second most salient second language, also present alongside Finnish (74 items). Finnish is the third most salient second language, present alongside English (67 items). Both the L1/L2 data and the combined L1 + L1&L2 data indicate salience of Finnish and English, followed by marginally present languages, notably Swedish.

The number of items containing more than two languages is very marginal. Only 68 items contain more than two languages. Out of those items, 50 contain three languages, 5 contain four languages, 5 contain five languages, 1 contains seven languages, 1 contains eight languages, 1 contains eleven languages, 2 contain 14 languages and 1 contains 15 languages. Most notably 44 of these items contain Finnish as the L1 and 21 contain Finnish, Swedish and English as L1/L2/L3, supplanted by further 6 items that contain Finnish, English and English as L1/L2/L3. These multilingual items are in line with the rest of the data as they are marked by the presence of Finnish and English, as well as Swedish.

10. Analysis of agency in the landscape

The analysis of agency is dedicated to examining who designs the items present in the landscape, who issues them in the landscape and who serve as their intended audience. Figure 8 illustrates the role of landscape participants as designers, as the creators of items present in the landscape:

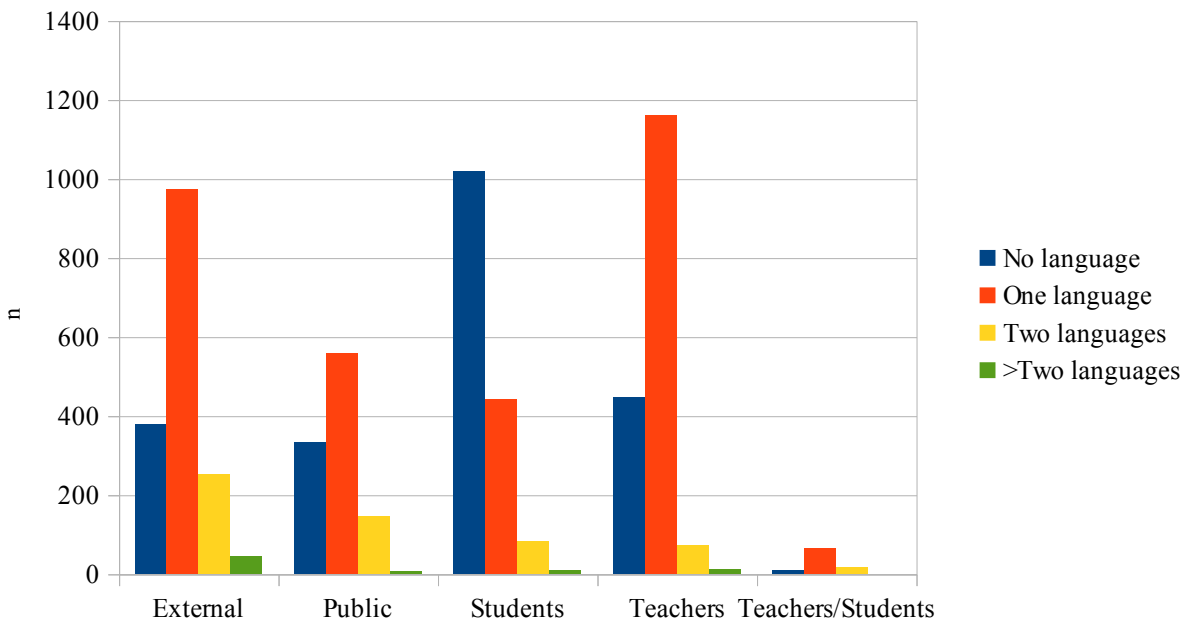


Figure 8: Participation and language use (designer)

Figure 8 indicates that no participant clearly dominates the landscape as its designer if no data is excluded in the analysis. External participants, i.e. item manufacturers and service providers, and teachers dominate the landscape as its linguistic designers. Students dominate the landscape as its non-linguistic designers. Figure 9 illustrates the role of participants as the issuers, as the people who place items in the landscape:

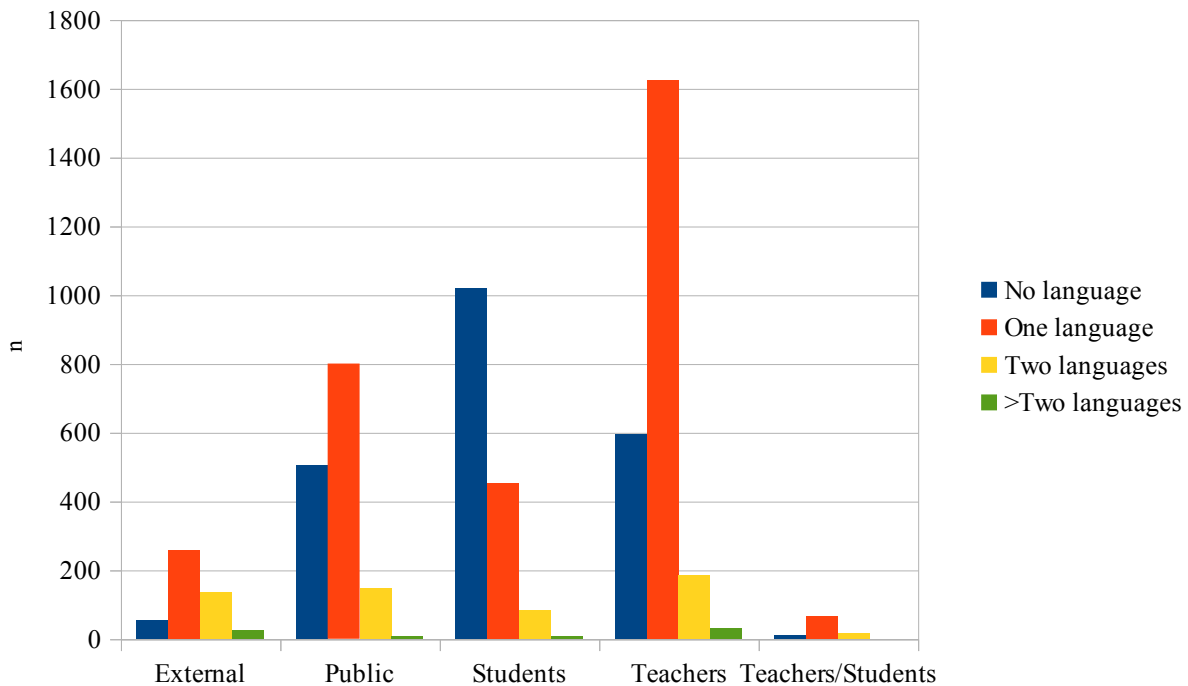


Figure 9: Language use and participation (issuer)

Figure 9 includes the same data categories as figure 8 but there are certain notable differences in agency between participants as designers and as issuers. The role of students as issuers differ very little from their role as designers. The roles of teachers and the public, namely the other members of the school staff such as administrators, maintenance and janitorial services personnel, are more pronounced as item issuers than they are as item designers. Notably, only 473 items (29%) out of the 1646 items designed by external participants are also issued by external participants. A high portion, approximately 69% of the externally designed items are issued by the teachers and the staff. The shift can be attributed to the use of externally designed and prefabricated materials used in the school, such as commercially branded items, health and safety signage and prefabricated learning materials used by the teachers. Figure 10 addresses the role of participants as the landscape audience:

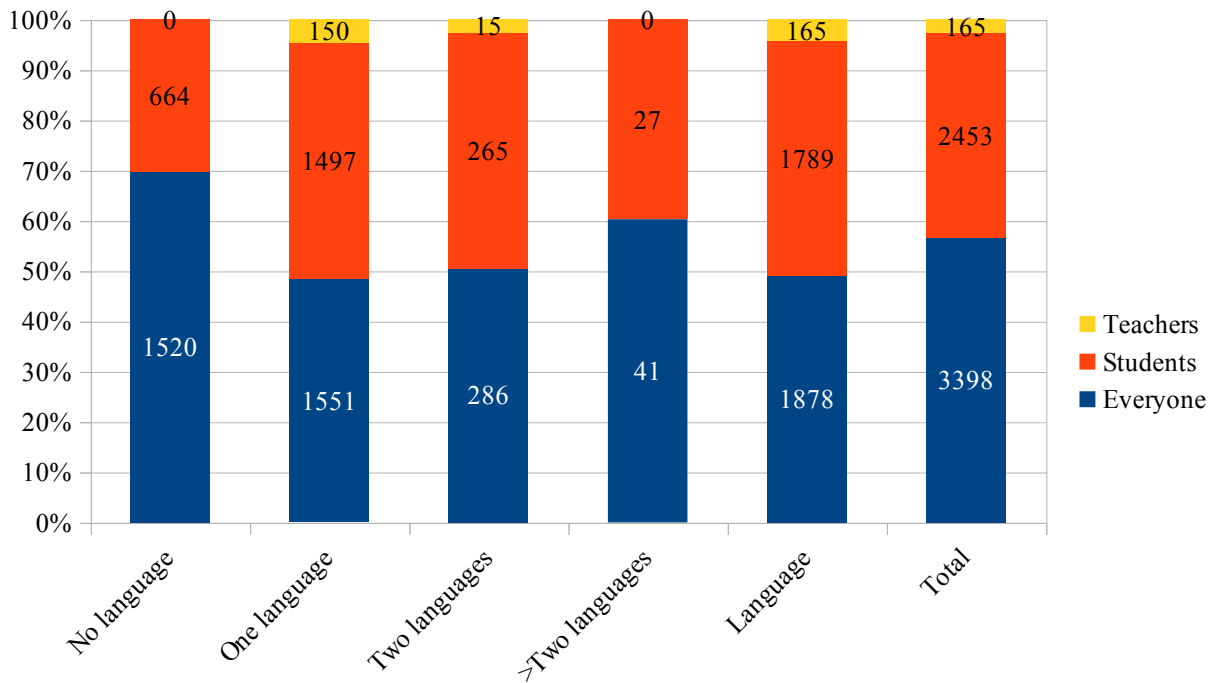


Figure 10: Language use and audience

Figure 10 indicates that over half (56%) of all items (n=6016) in the landscape are intended for everyone. Similarly, most (70%) non-linguistic items (n=2184) are intended for everyone. Items containing language (n=3832) are intended for everyone (49%), with a slight margin over students (47%). Nevertheless, regardless of which portion of data is examined, it is evident the landscape caters primarily to the students, considering that a high proportion of items are intended only for students and students are also included in the non-discriminative category that contains everyone. Items intended only for teachers are at best a marginally present in the landscape.

11. Analysis of language and agency in the landscape

The tables and figures presented thus far do not indicate which languages are used on the items issued by different participants, only the overall agency of participants and the overall presence of languages. Figure 11, previously presented in a slightly different form in Savela (2018b), illustrates the use of different languages by participant as issuers:

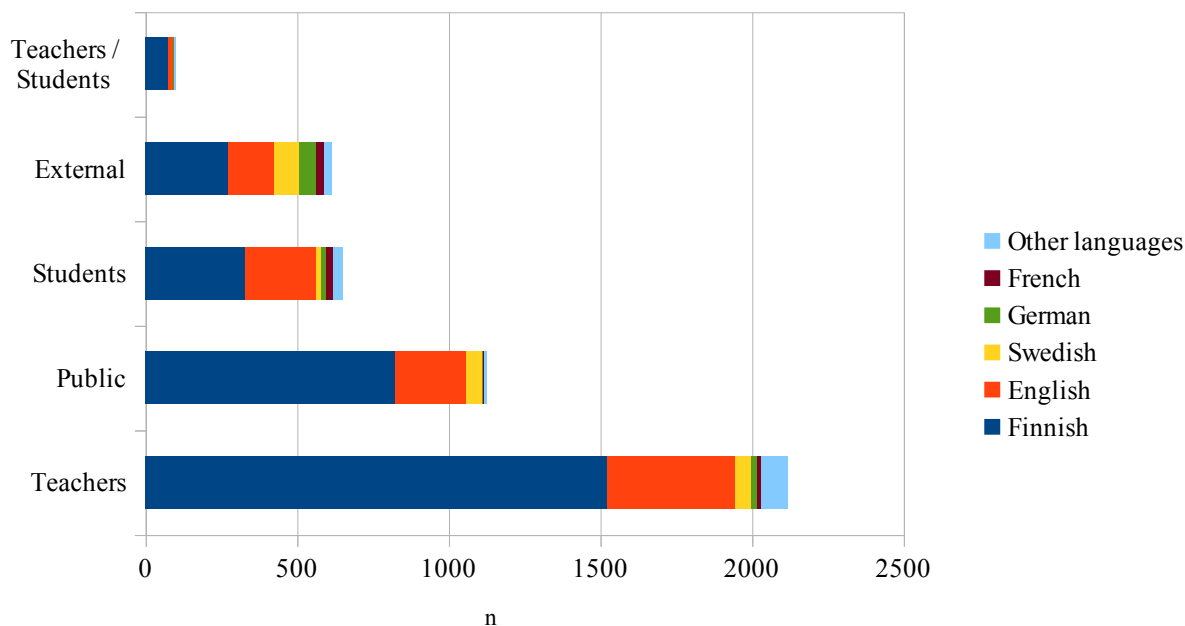


Figure 11: Language use by participant (issuer)

Figure 11 indicates that Finnish is the most used language by all the participants, followed by English. The other languages are in marginal positions in the landscape, as also indicated in the cumulative total count. However, the use of English is almost as common as the use of Finnish by the students. Figure 12 elaborates the use of languages on items issued by students (650 tokens):

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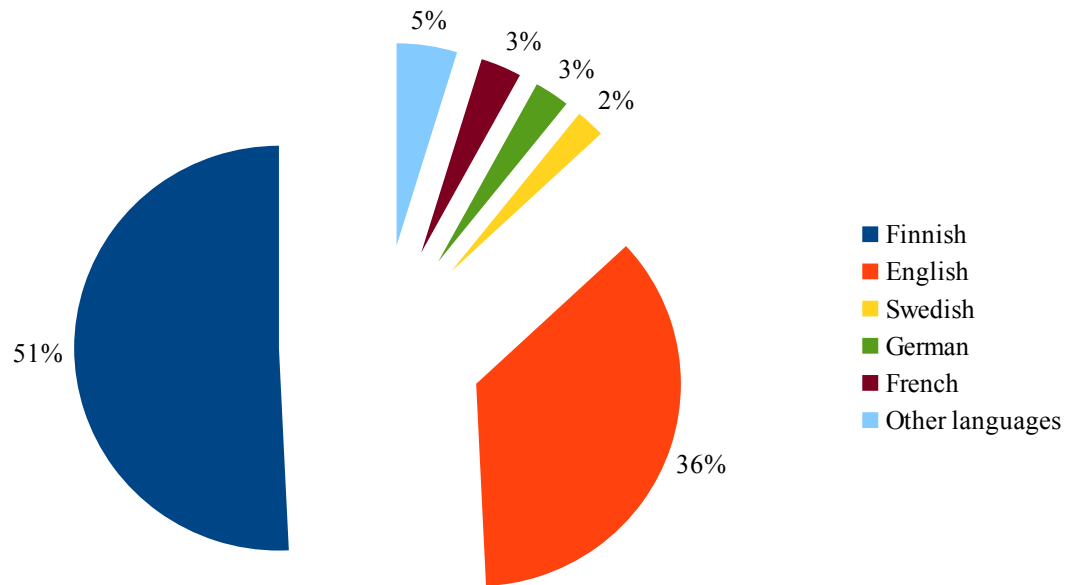


Figure 12: Language use by students (issuer)

Figure 12 clarifies that the use of Finnish and English by students is similar to that of external issuers, as illustrated in figure 11. The other languages category (31 tokens) consists of items that contain up to 3 tokens of 23 different languages. This category is likely a mixture of languages used by native speakers of these languages, for example Albanian (3 tokens), Arabic (3 tokens), Estonian (2 tokens), Farsi (1 token) and Russian (1 token), school language subjects, Spanish (3 tokens) and Russian (1 token), and/or languages used for other reasons, such as Italian (2 tokens), Afrikaans (1 token), Basque (1 token), Hawaiian (1 token), Luxembourgish (1 token) and Malagasy (1 token). Figure 13, previously presented in a slightly different form in Savela (2018b), further elaborates the use of languages by students:

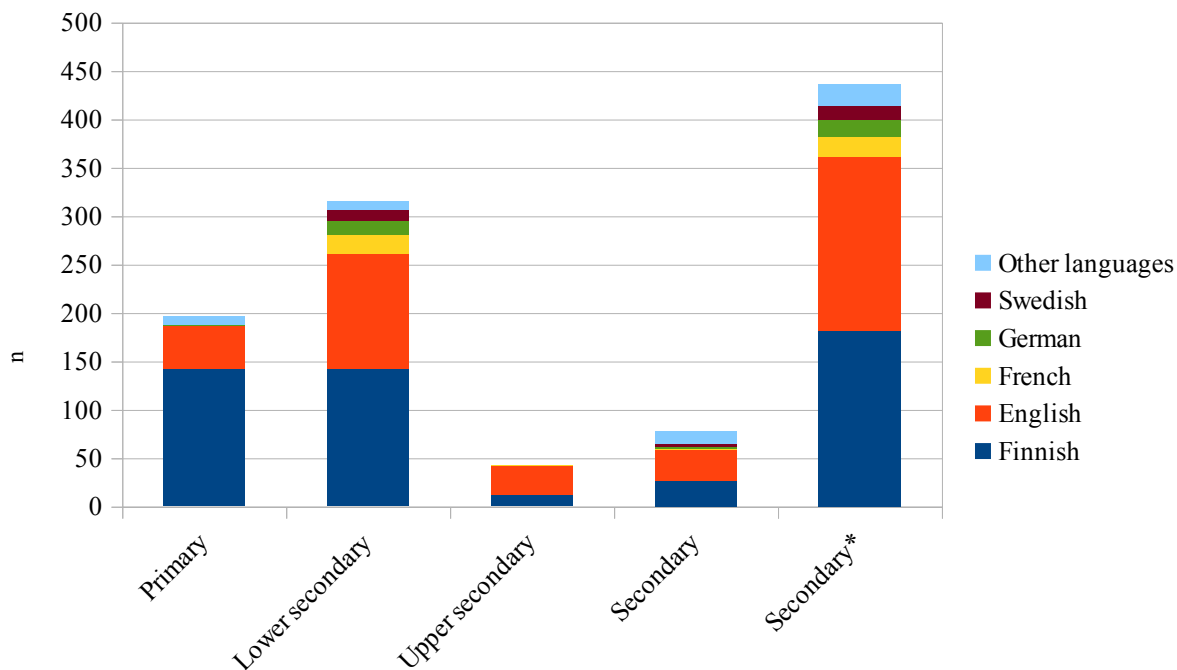


Figure 13: Language use by students (issuer) by level of education

It is highly fortunate that a high proportion of the school classrooms and corridors were clearly dedicated to different levels of education (632 tokens), excluding only eighteen tokens on items located in other mixed use areas, making it possible to contrast the different levels of education. Figure 13 illustrates the use of language on items issued by students, split by the level of education: primary (196 tokens), secondary (undifferentiated, 78 tokens), lower secondary (315 tokens), upper secondary (43 tokens) and secondary (cumulative, 436 tokens). It is evident that there is a clear difference in the use of Finnish and English between the levels of education. The upper secondary level seems to be dominated by English (72%). However, while data seems to suggest this, it should be analyzed with caution, considering the notable drop in participation on the upper secondary level.

Conclusion

It is worth reiterating that landscape is an ordering of reality (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987: 142). It constructs a peculiar redundancy, an apperception, looking at nothing in particular, overlooking instead of looking, as characterized by Mitchell (2002b: vii-viii). In other words, landscape makes us not question the various particulars surrounding us, the materialized discourses, and therefore it augments their disciplinary capabilities, making landscape central to the (re)production of everyday life, as argued by Schein (1997: 663, 2003: 202-203). This is why Mitchell (2002b: vii) characterizes its power as subtle; it is hard to resist because, as a gestalt, irreducible to any particulars, it is hard to notice.

Looking past the appearance, paying attention to the particulars, the analysis of the data renders certain materialized discourses apparent in the landscape. Firstly, it is apparent that Finnish is the

visually prominent language in the landscape, followed by English. Other languages are, at best, marginally present visually. Moreover, much of the visual salience of the other languages can be attributed to the curricula as languages, such as Swedish, French and German, are taught in the school on all three levels of education. Considering the linguistic heterogeneity of the student body and how the school claims to promote awareness of multilingualism on its premises, the overall homogeneity is remarkable. Therefore, contrary to what one might expect, the linguistic heterogeneity appears missing in the landscape, as if the presence of certain groups of people, speakers of other languages, was visually erased (cf. Schein, 2006: 4).

Secondly, it is apparent that the landscape participants have different roles in the landscape. Teachers and the other members of the staff are its primary agents as they issue most items in the landscape. Students do issue items, but they are in a more passive role. In other words, it is evident that the school as a public institution is largely in control of the items issued in the landscape whereas the largest group of landscape participants, students, is relegated to functioning more as an audience. In this sense they appear missing in the landscape. Furthermore, it is evident that teachers and other members of the school staff make use of materials created by third parties. I suspect that this a matter of convenience, using what is readily available, as opposed to creating something yourself as such may prove to be time consuming. Nevertheless, this partly shifts the agency from the teachers and the school staff to various external agents, thus granting them a degree of influence in the school.

Thirdly, considering that the school unit in question is known for its linguistically heterogeneous student body, the apparent overall linguistic homogeneity is somewhat surprising. However, in the light of the relevant *de jure* discourses, namely the language act, the education acts and the curricula, this is not particularly surprising. Alternatively, taking cues from Spolsky and Cooper (1991: 81-84), approaching this from the perspective of the students, it may well be that the presence of Finnish, as well as English, has to do with the students writing in the languages they know, the skill condition, followed by other reasons, namely writing in a certain language in order to be associated or identified with that language, the symbolic value condition, and in order to be understood by others, presumed reader condition. Moreover, as writing in other languages is not strictly speaking prohibited, the desire to be associated or identified with, for example, Finnish or Finnishness may explain why they may opt to use it instead of another language. Nevertheless, considering the dominant role of the teachers and the school staff, the disciplinary role of the institution should not be overlooked in instilling certain proprieties through the landscape (Greider and Garkovic, 1994; Matless, 2016), in this case the preferred national and linguistic identities, as explicitly asserted in the Strategy for the National Languages of Finland (Tallroth, 2012: 14).

Fourthly, it appears that the salience of Finnish is likely the result of the *de jure* discourses being materialized in the landscape. Similarly, the presence of Swedish, the most visually salient of the marginally present languages, can also be attributed to its *de jure* position in Finland. The apparition of Swedish comes across as a gesture to its position as the other official, albeit proportionally marginal language in Finland. The landscape could thus be characterized as marked by a materialized discourse of monolingualism. With regards to the languages that do not enjoy a *jure* position in Finland, English is materialized as a *de facto* discourse, reflecting its dominant position in language education in Finland. It is likely rendered further apparent by the

presence of the school's English language track, as indicated in the local curricula. Furthermore, its presence likely reflects the role of English as the other language of choice in Finland, especially among students.

It is worth noting that this article is limited to the examination of language and agency. While the examination of these categories is thorough in this article, it is by no means exhaustive. Not unlike Årman (2018) who focuses on one materialized discourse, this article cannot fully address the complexity of the landscape in question. It is clear that there is a broad range of other discourses that it intersects in this miniature world. It is, however, my intention to address this limitation to a certain extent in the future by examining other materialized discourses in the landscape. It is also worth acknowledging that the findings of this article are not representative of all landscapes of education. It only bears relevance to Finnish medium of instruction landscapes of education in Finland, inasmuch it pertains to language and the agency of those who spent their days working and studying in them when the 2003 and 2004 core curricula were in effect. In the context of Finland, contrasting the findings with those of a Swedish medium of instruction landscape of education would be of particular interest. It would be interesting to see whether the positions of the national languages are simply reversed in terms of their presence. Moreover, contrasting these findings with findings from studies conducted under the 2014 and 2015 core curricula would likely also prove to be of great interest as the new curricula are at least supposed to emphasize student activity. Furthermore, it would be of even greater interest if this type of contrastive examination were to be conducted in the same school, the one examined in this article. It would permit diachronic analysis, reflecting possible changes between the curricula, not only on the national level but also on the local level.

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Acknowledgments

The author wishes to thank the school for its cooperation.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.