

Abstract:

This article sets out to analyze how landscape functions in an educational context. It examines how landscape functions as an irreducible totality and as a nexus of discourse. The article focuses on the materialization of de jure and de facto discourses pertaining to languages in a primary level school in Southwest Finland. It also examines the role of different landscape participants in relation to the materialized discourses. Therefore the purpose of this study is to render visible, not the visible (Klee 1920, 28), focusing not on appearances but on the apparition of materialized discourses (Schein 1997). In order to achieve that, the article provides a concise examination of the relevant core concepts, discourse, discourse materialized and landscape. The results indicate the materialization de jure and de facto discourses on monolingualism and bilingualism, pertaining to Finnish and English. Teachers and staff are largely responsible for the materialization of these discourses.

Keywords: landscape; discourse; discourse materialized; education

Introduction

This article investigates the materialization of discourses in a primary school located in a bilingual urban municipality in Southwest Finland. It focuses on language discourses in an educational context. It pertains to the status of Finnish, a de jure national language, and the status of English, the de facto dominant foreign language in Finland. The school in question is interesting because its primary medium of instruction is Finnish and the first other language taught is English. Moreover, the school is particularly interesting as it also offers bilingual education in Finnish and English.

I define landscape as an abstract machine situated in between discursive and non-discursive formations (Deleuze and Guattari 1987). I study its function as a node of intersecting discourses (Schein 1997). I render apparent materialized language discourses by examining the presence of languages in the landscape and contrast the findings with national and local language and education policies and curricula. The data used in this article was gathered in 2015 and therefore it is contrasted with legislation, policies and curricula in effect at the time. I am not only interested in which languages are manifested in the landscape but also who are responsible for their presence. Therefore this article aims

to answer four research questions: how language discourses materialize in the landscape, how are they materialized in the classrooms and the corridors, how are discourses materialized on the monolingual and bilingual tracks and how is their materialization connected to agency?

The first part of this article introduces the conceptual framework and the key concepts discourse, discourse materialized and landscape. The second part of this article focuses on the materials and methods. The third part of the article is dedicated to the examination of the relevant discourses, namely language and education legislation and policies. The fourth part examines the landscape, followed by a discussion of the key findings.

Conceptual framework – discourse and landscape

Prior research on the presence of languages in Finnish landscapes of education is nearly non-existent. The notable exceptions are the studies conducted by Pakarinen and Björklund (2018) and Szabó (2018). However, similarly to recent research conducted outside Finland (cf. Brown 2018; Gorter and Cenoz 2015; Laihonen and Tódor 2017), they ignore much of existing geographic landscape research that indicates that it is exceptional for those who live and work in the landscape to pay attention to their environment as it has come to appear natural and inevitable to them (Duncan 1990, 18). My own research deviates from much of prior educational research on landscapes in this regard, bearing similarity to prior geographic landscape studies (cf. Van Ingen and Halas 2006).

I subscribe to Foucault's definition of discourse as the 'practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak' (1972, 49). They function to both enable and to disable (Duncan 1990, 16–17). Resistance is not exterior to power in a power relationship as power is capillary, multiplicitous and omnipresent, coming from everywhere, and resistance is its irreducible opposite (Foucault 1978, 92–96; 1995, 198). Therefore power and the function of discourse should not be defined in negative terms but in positive terms, as productive instead of destructive (Foucault 1995, 194). While there are no simple all encompassing binary opposites, it does not, however, entail that there are no hegemonic, totalized effects that may come to dominate power relations (Foucault 1978, 94, 1983, 218–219).

Scollon (2008, 233–234, 241–243) elaborates a process he calls a discourse itinerary. It is as a cyclical

process that starts with action or practice, the repetition of action, followed by a narrative, the characterization of action and/or practice, authorization, the legitimization of the narrative, certification, the identification of the authorization, metonymization, the simplification of the prior stages, remodalization, shifting from one mode to another, materialization, shifting from a process to an object, and finally technologization or reification, enabling the object to become action and practice. Once a discourse is materialized it can function to discipline, to limit human action and thinking (Schein 1997, 663). A zebra crossing is a good everyday example of a materialized discourse, one that is intended to compel human action on the basis of a certain social order or normativity (Scollon and Wong Scollon 2003, 183).

I consider landscape a facialized world, the correlate of the abstract machine of faciality, an in-between, located at the junction of discursive and non-discursive formations (Deleuze and Guattari 1987; Massumi 1992). It does not reflect or represent reality but rather constructs it for the observer (Deleuze and Guattari 1987, 142). In terms of faciality, it functions as the face of the nation (Ronai 1976, 154–155). This also makes it possible to utilize it as medium, to construct reality in any desired manner (W.J.T. Mitchell 2002a, 5). In less abstract terms, landscape is a way of seeing or a gaze, based on a set of time-honored rules on the validity of evidence and the legitimacy of the object inquiry (Cosgrove 1985; Ronai 1976, 1977; Schein 1997), drawing much of its legitimacy from science and knowledge, from the geometrical certainties of the linear perspective and pretension to mimesis (Cosgrove 1985, 46; Schein 1997, 662). In other words, it has become an axiomatic discursive formation to the extent that it is generally understood as space itself, the objective reality. It results in a peculiar redundancy, an invitation to look at what is there to be seen, the view, while whatever is present in our environment, the various particulars, are substituted by an irreducible totality, a gestalt (W.J.T. Mitchell 2002b, vii).

The central problem with landscape is that to most people it simply is, unremarkable, and typically not addressed beyond its appearance, its aesthetic qualities (D. Mitchell 1994; Lewis 1979). It presents an illusion of harmony, an a(n)esthetic, a sensible insensible (Ronai 1976, 127; 1977, 78). It offers dreams of presence, a reassuring foundation, marked by nostalgia, a bittersweet longing for a journey back to an origin, mixed with conservative sentimentality and aesthetic pleasure (Cosgrove 2006; Lowenthal 1975; Rose 2006). This passive disposition affects some more than others as landscape is only appraised by those who have no real part to play in it (Lowenthal 1968, 72). Those less fortunate have

‘neither the energy nor the spirit to contemplate scenery’ (Lowenthal and Prince 1976, 117–118). In this regard a landscape researcher is in a privileged position of an outsider, having the disposition and the opportunity to examine landscapes.

I approach landscape as a node of intersecting discourses and study how discourses become materialized in landscapes (Schein 1997, 663). Therefore discourses are not merely located, but also co-located, drawing part of their meaning and function from being situated in relation to one another in a semiotic aggregate (Scollon and Wong Scollon 2003, 180–193). In other words, this is not a matter of interdiscursivity, that the different discourses influence or shape one another, but rather a matter of interdiscursive dialogicality in which discourses are partly formed in co-presence of other discourses (Scollon and Wong Scollon 2003, 193). It is when discourses are aggregated that they become rendered seemingly inert and untraceable to a great degree (Schein 1997, 663).

In summary, landscape is an abstract machine that constructs reality as a pleasurable irreducible totality. It is this capacity of landscape that further amplifies the disciplinary capabilities of the materialized discourses by obscuring their presence (Schein 1997, 663). This is what makes landscape central to the (re)production of everyday life (Schein 1997, 676). In other words, landscape may bear the appearance of fixity, but it is not only important for what it is, but also for what it does, subtly and discreetly exerting power over people (W.J.T. Mitchell 2002a, 1; 2002b, vii). It operates by instilling certain proprieties on people (Matless 2016). I am interested in how it operates in instilling desirable national and linguistic identities on students.

Materials and methods

This article is part of a larger study initiated in 2015, as first presented in Savela (2018). The examined school unit is located in a bilingual urban municipality in Southwest Finland, catering for approximately 800 to 900 students per study year. Relevant to this article, the school unit provides compulsory education to approximately 300 primary level students (grades 1 to 6) per school year. The student body is known to be linguistically heterogeneous, as illustrated in fig. 1:

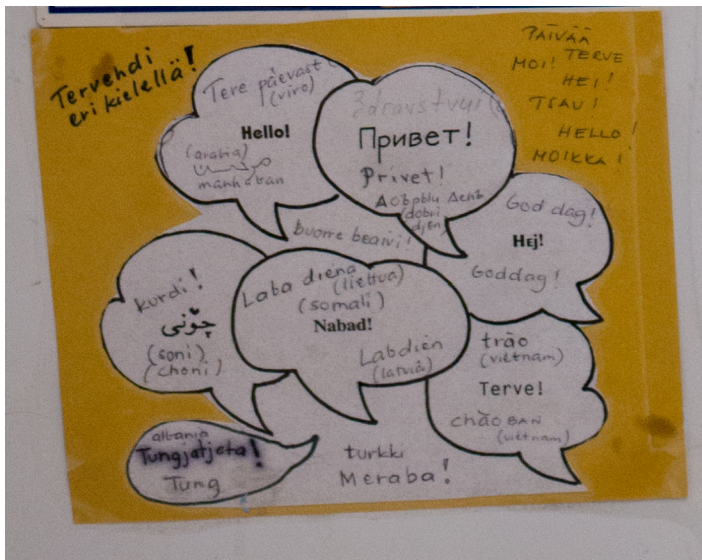


Fig 1: A placard on corridor wall containing multiple languages

The placard in fig. 1 contains 14 languages: Albanian, Arabic, English, Estonian, Finnish, Kurdish, Lithuanian, Latvian, Russian, Sami, Somalian, Swedish, Turkish, and Vietnamese. These are some of the languages spoken by the students. I examine items such as the placard in fig. 1 as subsidiary clues (Tuan 1979, 89–90) to the materialized discourses (Schein 1997). On the primary level the examined areas of the school consist of 21 classrooms and the corridors that connect them, as well as the staircases and the entrances. No areas deemed private, such as changing rooms and toilets, or inaccessible to the students without supervision, such as storage rooms, were included in the primary level data.

The data, the semiotic aggregate, is a subset of a 6016 item set of data gathered in the spring of 2015. It consists of 2910 annotated items, which is 48 percent of all the items. The data gathering conformed to the Finnish Personal Data Act (523/1999) and the principles set by the Finnish Advisory Board on Research Integrity (2009). I approach landscape as an ‘archive full of clues’ (Meinig 1992, 16). Each item is defined semantically as a unit of analysis (cf. Conseil de la langue française 2000). This is illustrated in fig. 2 and 3.:

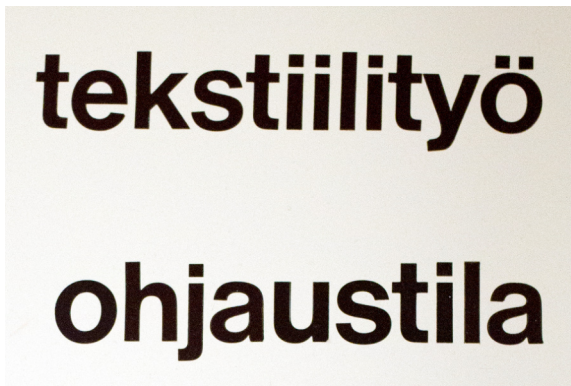


Fig 2: Writing on a classroom door

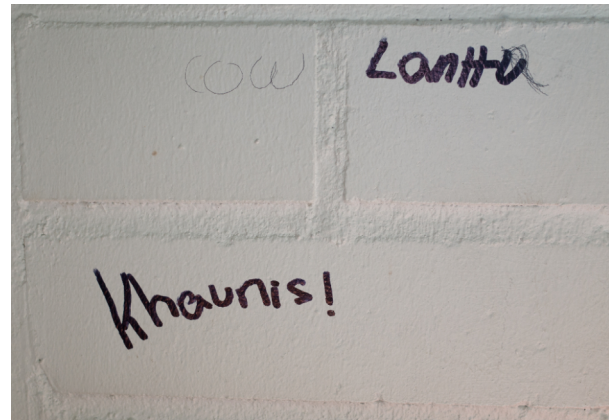


Fig 3: Writing on a corridor wall

Fig. 2 contains two instances of text painted on to a white door. While physically separated on the door, each instance of text is interpreted as part of the same unit as they both pertain to what the room behind the door is used for. However, as previously presented to exemplify this in (Savela 2018), this does not apply to the writing in fig. 3 as it consists of separate expressions that bear no evident connection to one another. In this article the data is examined as an aggregate, according to a limited number of categories presented in Savela (2018): the languages used, the number of languages used, the issuer of items, spaces and unit. Figs. 4, 5, 6, and 7 illustrate the use of languages:



Fig 4: A laminated banner on a classroom wall



Fig 5: A sticker on the side of a fire extinguisher



Fig 6: A laminated piece of paper on a door

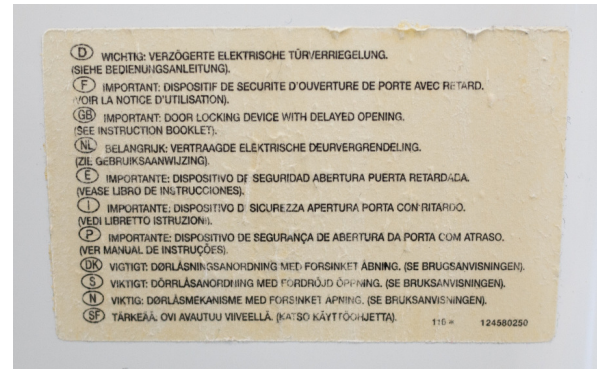


Fig 7: A warning label on the front of a washing machine containing multiple languages

Fig. 2 contains only Finnish, whereas fig. 4 contains only English. Therefore they both only contain one language. Fig. 3 and fig. 5 contain Finnish and Swedish, whereas fig. 6 contains Finnish and English. Therefore they all contain two languages. Fig. 7 contains 11 languages: German, French, English, Dutch, Spanish, Italian, Portuguese, Danish, Swedish, Norwegian and Finnish. It is worth noting that in this case the presence of languages does not represent the student body as it pertains to the provision health and safety related information applicable to multiple jurisdictions.

Agency is defined on the basis of who issued the items, put them on display, rather than who has created them (Derrida 1987, 1988). For example, in fig. 4, the item is created by an external entity but put in place by a teacher. Items are classified as issued by students, teachers, students together with teachers, members of the school staff, and external entities. For example, fig 3. is attributed to students, fig. 4 is attributed to teachers and fig. 5 is attributed to the school staff.

The categorization of data by spaces and unit make it possible to examine the landscape in segments, adding further nuance. Spaces designate the type of space in question, such as a corridor or an ordinary classroom. For example, the placard in fig. 1 is located in a corridor, whereas the laminated banner in fig. 4 is located in an industrial arts classroom. Unit designates the specific space in question. For example, the banner fig. 4 is situated in the primary level industrial arts classroom, not in the lower secondary level industrial arts classroom.

Context of the study – linguistic demographics

The population of Finland can be described as linguistically homogeneous. In 2015 the population of Finland was nearly 5.5 million, of which 88.7 percent were native speakers of Finnish, 5.3 percent were native speakers of Swedish and 6.0 percent were native speakers of other languages (2016a). The largest foreign language groups were native speakers of Russian (72 436 speakers), Estonian (48 087) and Somalian (17 871) (Statistics Finland 2016b).

De jure discourses – language legislation

Finnish and Swedish are national languages and they enjoy de jure status set in the Constitution of Finland (731/1999, 17 §). The Sami peoples, the Roma and those using sign language are granted lesser provisional rights in the same section of the constitution. The Basic Education Act (628/1998) sets the requirement to provide education in Finnish, Swedish, Sami, Romani and sign language to their native speakers.

The Language Act (423/2003, 5 §) determines municipalities either as monolingually Finnish or Swedish municipalities or as bilingual municipalities. The act (423/2003, 33 §) also determines that signs erected by the authorities are to be accordingly either monolingual or bilingual, unless the state or municipal unit in question, such as a school, is monolingual. In other words, a school located in a bilingual municipality does not need to adhere to bilingualism in its signage.

The school system is marked by what Heller (2006, 5) refers to as parallel monolingualism, maintaining Finnish and Swedish in separation from one another, rather than bilingualism (From and Sahlström, 2017, 466; Björklund, 2013, 118–119), maintaining them in tandem, despite being explicitly defined and promoted as bilingualism in the Strategy for the National Languages of Finland (Tallroth 2012). However, in the context of schools that cater to the Finnish speaking population, there is nothing that explicitly prohibits the schools from providing education in Swedish or in any other language as it is not necessary to safeguard the linguistic rights of the majority, inasmuch the provision of education in other languages does not hinder learning Finnish and adheres to the content of the curricula (Basic Education Act 628/1998, 10 §; Government Decree 1435/2001, 8 §). Limitations apply only to the

recognized minorities (Tallroth 2012, 14). This is also the case in practice as there are Finnish-language schools that do provide some of the education is Swedish, either as language immersion or as content and language integrated learning (CLIL) (Kangasvieri et al. 2012, 23; Pakarinen and Björklund 2018, 5–6). Therefore, while the national languages are officially maintained largely separately from one another, it appears that Finnish-language schools are at liberty to exhibit more Swedish in their schoolspace than Swedish-language schools may exhibit Finnish in their schoolscape.

De jure discourses – primary level education in Finland

It is determined in the Basic Education Act (628/1998) that compulsory education consists of a 9 grade comprehensive school. As indicated in the Comprehensive School Act (476/1983, 4 §), in the past it was officially further divided into two levels. The first six grades (1 to 6) were part of the primary level education and the three following grades (7 to 9) were part of the lower secondary education. However, this division is no longer recognized in the Basic Education Act (628/1998). Nevertheless, in practice the division still largely exists due to the existing school infrastructure and the required teaching qualifications. Therefore the division is applied in this article.

The syllabus for basic education set in the Basic Education Act (628/1998, 11 §) emphasizes the role of languages as mother tongue is given priority over other subjects, followed by the second national language and foreign languages. This is further emphasized in a Government Decree (1435/2001) that defines the subject groups and the allocation of lesson hours. Native speakers of foreign languages not competent enough in Finnish or Swedish study either language as a second language (FNBE 2004, 44). This also makes learning the second national language voluntary if education is provided in the student's mother tongue (FNBE 2004, 44). In practice, this is assessed on a case to case basis. In primary education, a mandatory second language is introduced on the third grade. Moreover, it is possible to study another language on the primary level, starting on the third grade. It is also possible to opt for more language studies, pending the school has the resources to provide such.

It is indicated in the official statistics on education (Kumpulainen 2014) that the mother tongue is typically one of the national languages, Finnish or Swedish. It is also indicated that the first other language chosen by students is predominantly English, whereas studying the other national language

not one's mother tongue becomes relevant on the lower secondary level. In summary, it is evident that the national languages are privileged in primary level education. They are followed by English, which has gained a de facto status as the dominant foreign language in Finland (Leppänen et al. 2011, 17–20). It is popular in schools to the extent that it is considered problematic and undermining learning other languages, including the de jure privileged Finnish and Swedish (Hakulinen et al. 2009, 76–83).

The school unit and the local curriculum

The education legislation and the national curricula form the basis for the local curricula and the education provided in schools. It is indicated in the national core curriculum that schools may deviate from the national framework, but only to certain extent (FNBE 2004, 10). It is thus possible to emphasize certain subjects in the curriculum while offering comparable education across the country.

The examined school unit offers education in a variety of languages on the primary level: English, French, German, Russian, Spanish and Swedish. English is the mandatory language subject introduced on the third grade. The other languages can be studied as voluntary subjects starting on the fourth grade. Therefore the local curriculum reflects the provision of language teaching in Finland. English is the default language subject, but not unlike other urban schools the school has the resources to provide language teaching in other languages as well (Hakulinen et al. 2009, 77). In practice the availability also depends on the selection of languages by the students. This also reflects the situation as a school is required to provide language education only if a minimum group size requirement is met, which may limit the actual variety of language subjects considerably (Hakulinen et al. 2009, 79–82).

The provision of bilingual education is fairly uncommon in Finland, albeit not exceptional, with English being the prominent language in general (Kangasvieri et al. 2012, 25, 55). The examined school offers an optional English language track that emphasizes CLIL. Both Finnish and English are used as the medium of teaching and learning on this track. At least one quarter of the teaching is in English, as mandated nationally (FNBE 2004, 91). The curricula is the same as it is in general, but students study one additional hour of English per week. Students have to qualify for this track.

The school also caters to those whose first language is not Finnish by providing additional learning

support to speakers of Albanian, Arabic, Kurdish, Russian, Somalian and Vietnamese. This support depends on the availability of support teachers who are competent in Finnish and in these languages. In other words, the availability of support in languages not taught as part of the regular curriculum is largely dependent on external factors and thus subject to change.

Analysis – distribution of items in the primary level landscape

Due to the high degree of spatial isolation of the different levels of education, it is largely possible to examine the school unit according to the levels of education. The primary level spaces examined in this article contain nearly half of items (n=2910, 48%) present in the whole school unit (n=6016). Table 1 indicates the distribution of the all items as present on the primary level:

Unit	n	%	Space	n	%
Corridor	626	22%			
Entrance	27	1%	Corridors	666	23%
Staircase	13	0%			
Classroom 1	66	2%			
Classroom 2	170	6%			
Classroom 3	110	4%			
Classroom 4	46	2%			
Classroom 5	195	7%			
Classroom 6	92	3%			
Classroom 7	103	4%			
Classroom 8	84	3%			
Classroom 9	152	5%	Classrooms	1910	66%
Classroom 10	148	5%			
Classroom 11	128	4%			
Classroom 12	108	4%			
Classroom 13	119	4%			
Classroom 14	112	4%			
Classroom 15	84	3%			
Classroom 16	69	2%			
Classroom 17	124	4%			
Music classroom	26	1%	Music classroom	26	1%
Biology/lab classroom	34	1%	Biology/lab classroom	34	1%
Textile Arts classroom	69	2%	Textile Arts classroom	69	2%
Industrial arts classroom	141	5%			
Industrial arts machine room	32	1%	Industrial Arts	205	7%
Industrial arts paint room	32	1%			
Primary total	2910	100%		2910	100%

Table 1: Distribution of items on the primary level classified by unit and space

Summarizing table 1, it is evident that two thirds of the 2910 annotated items are located in the ordinary multipurpose classrooms, each catering for a class of students. Items located in the corridors make up nearly one fourth of all items on the primary level. It is obvious that the number of classrooms emphasize their importance. A single classroom of any type, however, makes up only one (n=26) to seven percent (n=195) of the total primary level landscape and four percent on average (n=104). Comparing the grade specific ordinary classrooms, there are differences between them, but no clear trend of either gradual decrease or increase: first grade classrooms contain 382 items (13%), second grade classrooms contain 288 items (10%), third grade classrooms contain 442 items (15%), fourth grade classrooms contain 194 items (7%), fifth grade classrooms contain 331 items (11%) and sixth

grade classrooms contain 273 items (9%). As only two fourth grade classrooms are included in the data, their overall presence has to be approximated. Multiplying the average number of items present in the fourth grade classrooms (n=97) by three, the total number would be 291 items (10%). It is possible that the number of items present in the classroom depends on the teachers and therefore it may well be the case that the semiotic aggregates gradually decrease in size. Nevertheless, the data does not lend support to this claim as the second grade classrooms present an anomaly. The classrooms marked for specific use, the biology/lab classroom and the music classroom, differ from the other classrooms as the number of items present in these classrooms is lower than in the ordinary classrooms. The textile arts classroom has similar number items present as the ordinary classrooms. However, the textile arts classroom is clearly larger in size than the ordinary classrooms and therefore the numbers are not exactly comparable, especially when contrasted with the similarly sized industrial arts classroom which is more on par with the ordinary classrooms in terms of the density of items.

Analysis – primary level classrooms

It is indicated in Savela (2018) that the overall linguistic landscape of the school unit is highly homogeneous as out of the 4607 tokens of language on the 3832 items containing language 66 percent are Finnish, 23 percent are English, 4 percent are Swedish, 2 percent are German, 1 percent is French and further 3 percent are other languages, consisting of 36 recognized languages too marginal on their own to be further elaborated in this article. In short, the landscape is dominated by the presence of Finnish and English. The homogeneity is further marked by the number of languages used: of items containing language 83 percent contain only one language, 15 percent contain two languages and 2 percent contain more than two languages. Starting from the number of languages used on the primary level, fig. 8 indicates the proportions of the number of languages present in the 17 primary level classrooms, classified by the class grade:

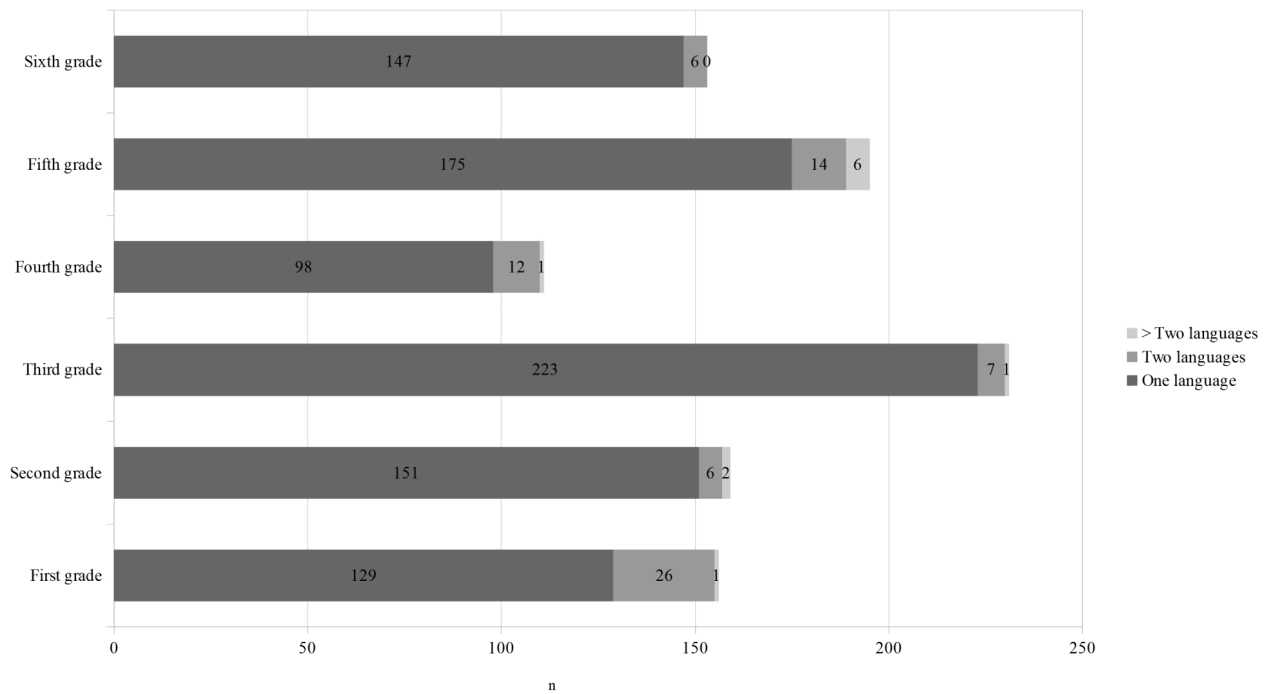


Fig 8: Number of languages in primary level classrooms by grade

It is evident from fig. 8 that items (n=1005) issued in the primary level classrooms utilize multiple languages at best sparsely. However, fig. 8 does not indicate which languages are present in the classrooms. Fig. 9 remedies this, indicating the language tokens (n=1113) present on items:

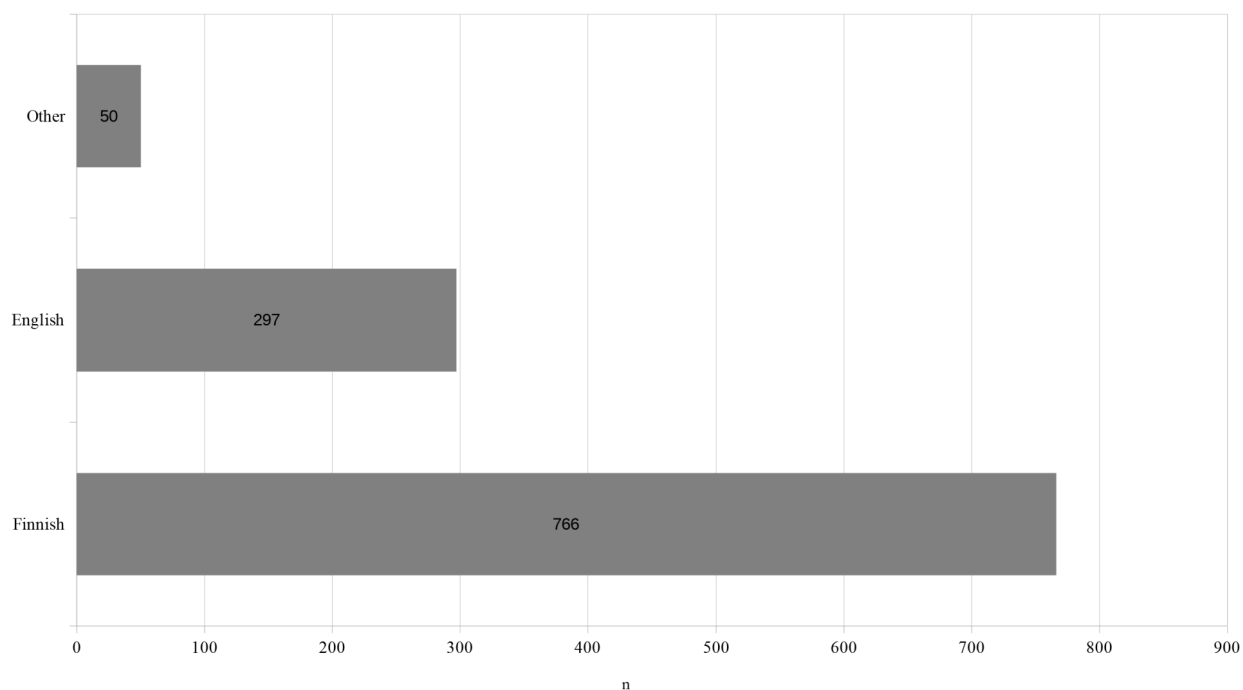


Fig 9: Languages in primary level classrooms

Fig. 9 illustrates that Finnish is the salient language in the primary level classrooms, followed by English. There are 13 other languages present in the classrooms indicated here as other (n=50, 4%). None of them, including Albanian (n=10) and Swedish (n=9), make up a percent of the total on their own. The proportions of languages are similar to the overall pattern of languages in the landscape, the notable exception being Swedish that is more prominent in the overall data. The approach is, however, still fairly broad and fails to capture possible differences between the classrooms. Fig. 10 addresses this:

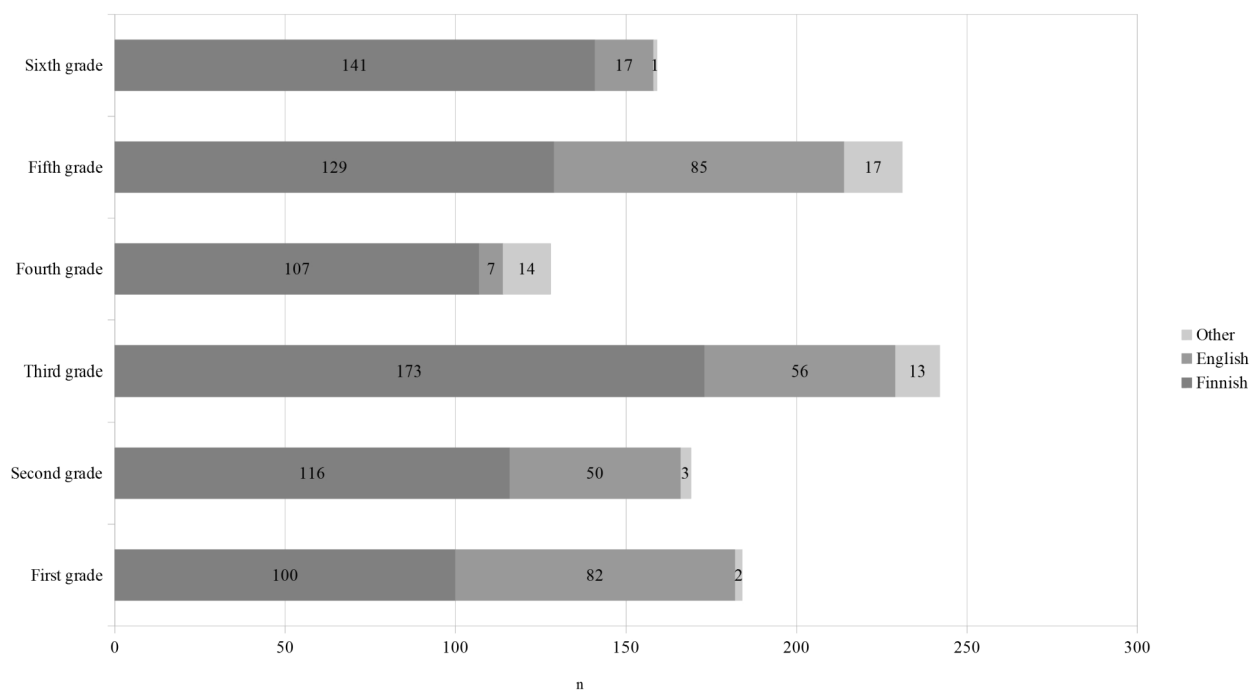


Fig 10: Languages in primary level classrooms by grade

The data presented in fig. 10 largely conforms to the findings in the overall data. The cumulative count of all language tokens ($n=1113$) on the items present in the primary level classrooms indicate that Finnish is the dominant language in the landscape. However, the presence of English is clearly elevated on the first, second, and fifth grades. This is attributable to the English track offered by the school. More specifically, four primary level classrooms included in the data host the school’s English track classes. These are on all grades except on the fourth and the sixth grades. This clearly evident in fig. 10, marked by the stark contrast in data between the non-language specific track classrooms (grades 4 and 6) and the in part English language specific track classrooms (grades 1, 2, 3 and 5). The other languages are consolidated in fig. 10 as their presence in the classrooms is even more marginal than in the overall data. Fig. 10 indicates the salience of languages on grades 1 to 6, but merges data from both

language specific track and non-language specific tracks. Fig. 11 addresses this:

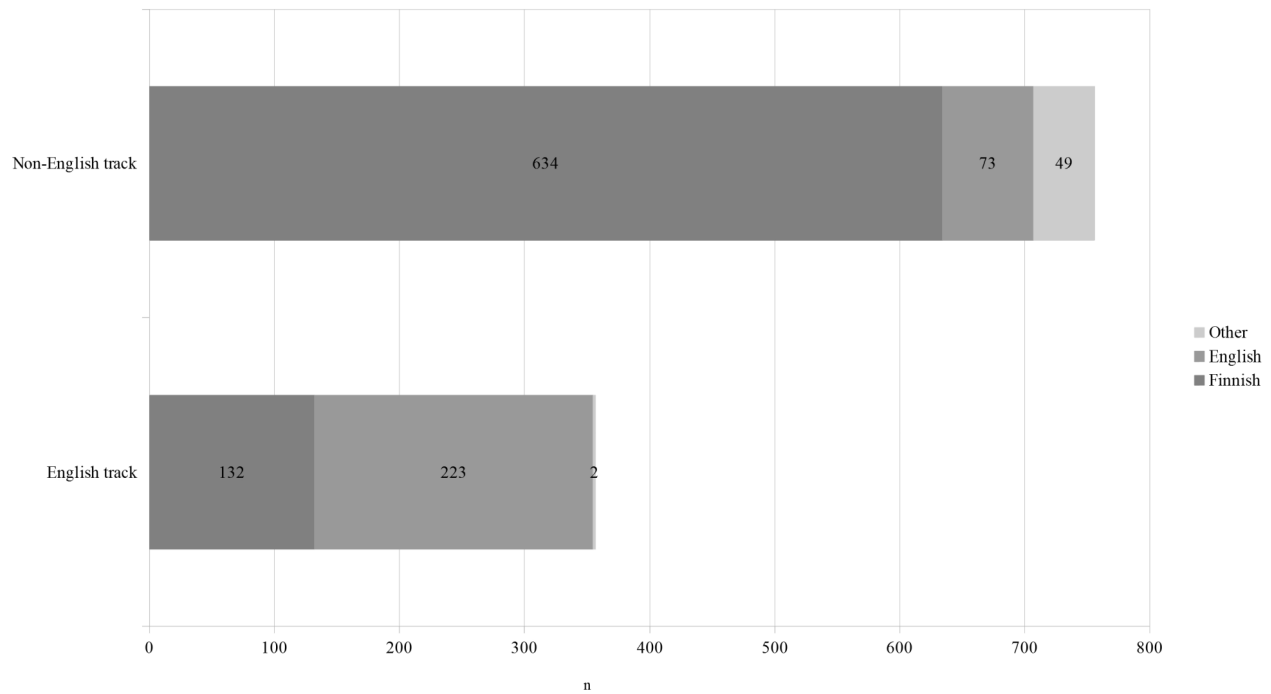


Fig 11: Languages in primary level classrooms by track

Fig. 11 offers a better understanding of the presence of languages on the language tracks than fig. 10. The four English track classrooms contain a total of 583 items of which 320 contain language on them, a total of 357 tokens, of which 223 are English, 132 are Finnish and the other 2 tokens are Swedish. The presence of English in the classrooms is strikingly high on the English language track. This is in stark contrast with the overall presence of English in the landscape on the whole. It is worth noting that not unlike the overall data, the English track is marked by the separation of languages as 89 percent of items containing language contain only one language, (n=284), 11 percent contain two languages (n=35) and only one item contains more than two languages. The non-English track classrooms are

even more marked by this as 93 percent of the items containing language (n=685) contain only one language (n=639), 5 percent contain two languages (n=36) and 1 percent contain more than two languages (n=10). However, the non-English track classrooms contain a wider range of languages than the English track classrooms, including instances of Albanian, Arabic, Bengali, Croatian, Danish, French, German, Italian, Kurdish, Latin, Somalian and Spanish. Therefore, while the English track is marked by the presence of a foreign language, it also marked by the absence of other languages besides English.

Fig. 11 only indicates the overall presence of languages in the English track primary level classrooms, but not who issues these items. The influence of the students is at best minimal as only 41 of the 320 items (13%) are issued by them and a further 15 items (5%) are issued by students in cooperation with the teachers. In stark contrast, 243 of the 320 items (76%) are issued by the teachers, of which 182 items (75%) contain English. The rest of the items are issued by the school staff (n=20, 6%) and external entities (n=1). Therefore it is evident that teachers are responsible for the dominant presence of English on the English track. It is, however, worth adding that the dominant role of teachers also applies on the non-English tracks, as 496 items of the 685 items (72%) containing language are issued by the teachers, 70 are issued by students (10%), 57 are issued by students and teachers in cooperation with one another (8%), 62 are issued by the school staff (9%) and 0 are issued by external entities. In other words, the dominant role of teachers is not only limited to the English language track.

Analysis – primary level corridors

Second to the ordinary classrooms, items in corridors, staircases and entrances (n=666) make up 23 percent of the primary level landscape. Roughly half of the items, 48 percent (n=323), contain language and the other half, 52 percent (n=343), contain no language. Moreover, 42 percent (n=279) of the items contain only one language, 6 percent (n=41) contain two languages and less than a percentage (n=3) contain more than two languages. If only the items containing language are included in the examination (n=283), 84 percent of the items contain only one language, 14 percent two languages and 1 percent more than two languages. Fig. 12 illustrates the salience of languages in the primary level corridors, including the staircases and entrances:

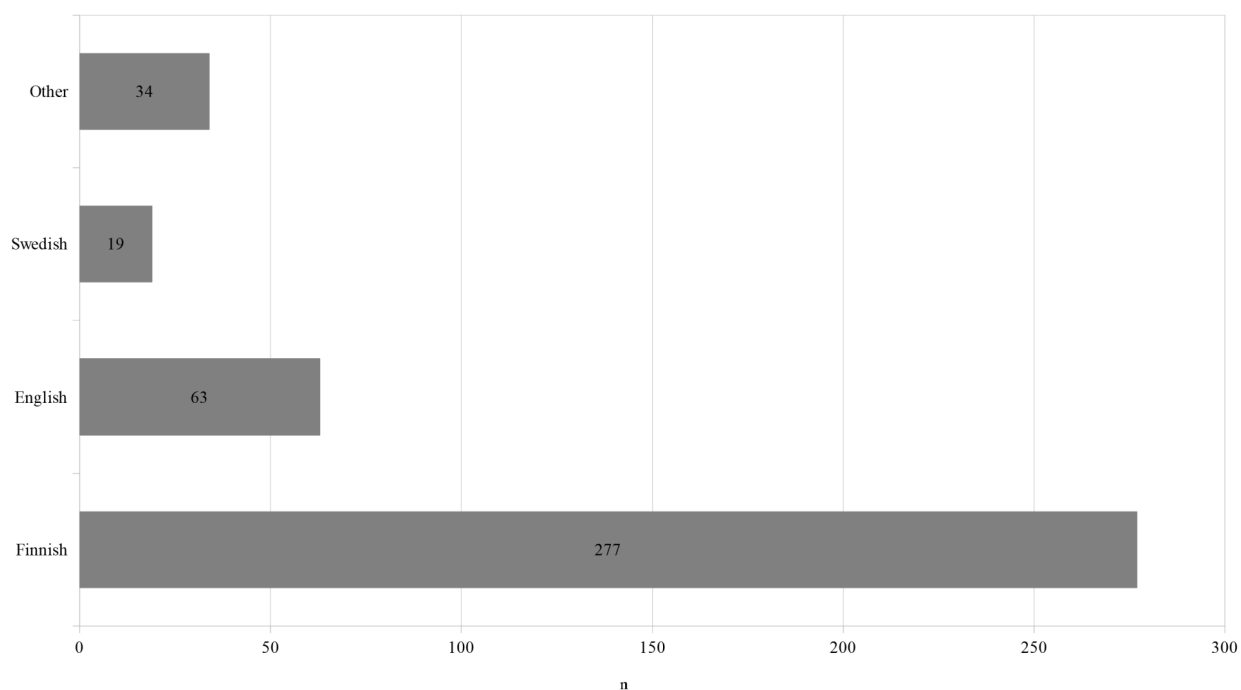


Fig 12: Languages in primary level corridors

Albeit the proportions differ by some percentages, it is evident from fig. 12 that, similarly to the overall data, Finnish is the salient language in the corridors, followed by English and Swedish. Other languages, consisting of 25 different languages, were merged into a single category as the number of tokens per language ranged from 1 to 3. The proportions are similar with the primary level classrooms as indicated in fig. 8, albeit the presence of languages other than Finnish and English is more prominent in the primary level corridors. It should be noted that similarly to the primary level classrooms, only 18 percent of the items containing language present in the corridors are issued by the students (n=59) and further 2 percent of the items (n=6) are issued in cooperation with the teachers. Conversely, 80 percent of the items issued in the primary level corridors have been issued by other participants (n=258): the teachers (n=124, 38%), the staff (n=108, 33%) and external entities (n=26, 8%). Therefore the students

have little influence over the languages present in the primary level corridors.

Discussion and conclusion

My interest in landscape stems from its function to organize reality in a way that appears as a pleasurable irreducible totality, thus disciplining us to divert our attention away from the particulars. However, I am equally interested in the particulars, how a landscape is a nexus of discourse and how the materialized discourses discipline us in everyday life while we pay little attention to them. Therefore I am interested in if and how de jure and de facto language discourses are manifested in a landscape of education as they pertain to instilling desirable ethnic and linguistic identities on students.

The analysis of the semiotic aggregate renders certain materialized discourses visible. Firstly, it is evident that both de jure discourse on Finnish and de facto discourse on English are materialized in the primary school landscape. This reflects the local curriculum, which in turn largely reflects the national curriculum and the dominance of English as a foreign language in schools, as well as outside schools. Secondly, the findings indicate that the materialization of these discourses is more apparent in the classrooms than in the corridors. Conversely, there are other discourses manifested in the corridors. The presence of other languages is also more salient in the corridors than in the classrooms. This hints towards a materialized discourse of multilingualism. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that the presence of other languages remains rather marginal even in the corridors. Thirdly, a closer examination of the classrooms indicates that the non-English track classrooms are marked by the dominant de jure and de facto discourses on Finnish and English, but they also contain a trace of a materialized discourse of multilingualism. In contrast, the English track classrooms are marked by a materialized discourse of bilingualism, using English side by side with Finnish as presented in the local curriculum. It is worth emphasizing that on the English track the English is more salient than Finnish. Moreover, it seems that the bilingual setting results in exclusion of other languages, at least in terms of their visibility in the classrooms. The requirement to qualify for this track may explain why other languages are marginalized in this context, at least to certain extent. Regardless of whether the qualification plays a role or not, it is evident that the intentional emphasis on English marginalizes the presence of other languages in the classrooms. Fourthly, it is apparent that the materialization of the de jure and de facto discourses are to be attributed largely to the teachers, as well as the school staff. In other words,

students have little influence over the presence of languages in their learning environments.

In summary, evident from the materialized discourses, the school landscape functions to instill desirable linguistic identities on students: Finnish as part of a national identity and English as part of an international identity. Conversely, other linguistic identities appear to be marginalized in the landscape, especially in the English track classrooms. It appears that the materialized discourses on Finnish and English leave little room for other languages, thus marking them as undesirable and relegating them to mere curiosities, subsidiary to the desirable national and international linguistic identities associated with Finnish and English. This seems to be the case particularly with English. Therefore, in terms of faciality, the linguistic face of the nation, largely created and curated by the teachers and the school staff, is marked by two desirable traits: Finnish and English. These findings are in line with Szabó's (2018, 185–186) observations that in Finnish-language schools Finnish is seen by the teachers as the default language, English as the *lingua franca*, the language of integration that bridges the gap between the locals, the native speakers of Finnish, and the others, those who speak languages other than Finnish, while, in fact, the emphasis given to English simultaneously erases the presence of other languages in the classrooms. Furthermore, the findings echo the concerns raised by Hakulinen et al. (2009, 76–83) that the emphasis on English undermines learning other languages.

Similarly to Årman (2018), this article focuses only on a small number of discourses. There are, of course, other discourses manifested in the landscape. The scope of this study is, however, limited and focuses only on a small number of discourses. It would be of interest to further study the materialization of discourses in this landscape. It is my intent to do so. Moreover, it would be of further interest to compare the findings with other schools, for example rural schools and Swedish-language schools. Similarly, it would be interesting to contrast the findings with findings from the same school or other schools after the new core curricula have been fully implemented, starting in 2019.

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