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School as a Space – Through Teachers Experiences

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School is conceptualized differently by each person. These conceptualizations are people's experiences of school as a place. As a place school is meaningful in one way or another to everyone. Due to people's having different experiences of school it naturally leads to different understandings and meanings of school for people. As a space, school can be considered from various perspectives. In this research Lefebvre's Spatial Triad is used to research school as a socially produced space. Lefebvre's Spatial Triad consists of three dimensions: spatial practices, representation of space and representational space. In other words, perceived space, conceived space and lived space. The purpose of the research is to find out how teachers define school as a place and how school is defined as a space. Through these research questions a deeper understanding of teachers' conceptualizations on school as a place will be gathered, later expanding the perceptions into understanding school as a space.

The concepts of place and space in this research, are from the field of human geography. These concepts have been applied in the context of school, focusing on how school is presented through the Spatial Triad. This research aims to discuss school from different perspectives, providing more information of the movement in schools, its' purposes, central physical features and how school is experienced in lived reality. This is done with qualitative research methods creating a questionnaire and carried out through a theory-based content analysis. We received 27 answers from teachers in total.

As a space school is very diverse and it has many user groups daily. School is not only a place for pupils and teachers, but other people are also present daily, and the spatial movement varies on the role one is representing, e.g. pupils' movement is more restricted than teachers. Teachers list different purposes for school, one of the most important being "growing to be a member of the democratic society". The gym hall and diverse tools available for pupils were seen as key elements when discussing the traits of school. School is also filled with social interactions and emotions. Therefore, school withholds multiple meanings, purposes, uses and features within it, making it into a diverse space.

Keywords: school, place, space, Lefebvre, spatial triad

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Jokainen käsitteellistää koulun eri tavalla, nämä käsitteellistykset muodostuvat ihmisten omista kokemuksista koulusta paikkana. Koulu paikkana on merkityksellinen kaikille jollain tavalla. Ihmisten kokemukset eriyvät ja näin ollen kaikilla on ainutlaatuinen kokemus ja ymmärrys koulusta. Koulua voidaan tarkastella useista tilan eri perspektiiveistä. Tässä tutkimuksessa hyödynnetään Lefebvren tilan kolminaisuutta tutkimalla koulua sosiaalisesti konstruotuna tilana. Tämä tilan kolminaisuus muodostuu kolmesta ulottuvuudesta: spatiaaliset käytännöt, tilan representaatiot ja representationaalinen tila. Toisin sanoen havaittu, käsitteellistetty ja eletty tila. Tutkimuksen tarkoituksena on ymmärtää kuinka opettajat määrittelevät koulun paikkana ja kuinka koulu määritellään tilana. Näiden tutkimuskysymysten avulla selvitetään opettajien käsityksiä koulusta paikkana ja myöhemmin havaintoja sovelletaan ymmärtämään koulua tilana.

Paikan ja tilan käsitteet tässä tutkimuksessa pohjautuvat kulttuurimaantieteeseen. Nämä käsitteet on tässä tutkimuksessa sovellettu koulun kontekstiin soveltaen, miten koulu tulkitaan tilan kolminaisuuden välityksellä. Tämä tutkimus pyrkii tarkastelemaan koulua moniulotteisesti, tarjoten kattavampaa ymmärrystä koulun liikehdinnästä, tarkoituksesta, fyysisistä piirteistä ja kuinka se on koettu eletyssä todellisuudessa. Tämä tavoitetaan kvalitatiivisen tutkimuksen keinoin laatimalla kysely, joka analysoidaan teorialähtöisellä sisällönanalyysillä. Kyselyyn vastasi 27 opettajaa.

Tilana koulu on hyvin monimuotoinen, ja sillä on useita eri käyttäjäryhmiä päivittäin. Koulu ei ole paikka vain oppilaille ja opettajille vaan tiloja käyttää myös useat muut ihmiset päivittäin ja näin ollen spatiaalinen toimintakin vaihtelee näiden ryhmien välillä. Oppilaiden liikehdintä on huomattavasti opettajien liikehdintään verraten kontrolloitua. Opettajat listasivat koululle erilaisia tarkoituksia, joista ”kasvaa demokraattisen yhteiskunnan jäseneksi” nähtiin etenkin tärkeänä. Liikuntasali ja monipuoliset työkalut oppilaiden käytössä koettiin keskeisinä, kun puhuttiin koulusta tilana. Koulu on myös täynnä sosiaalisia kohtaamisia ja tunteita. Näin ollen koulu pitää sisällään useita merkityksiä, tarkoituksia, käyttötarkoituksia ja ulottuvuuksia, mitkä tekevät siitä moniulotteisen tilan.

Avainsanat: koulu, paikka, Lefebvre, tilan kolminaisuus

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1 Introduction

In this research, we are researching how teachers define school as a space. The idea for this theme came from our bachelor's thesis *School as a Diverse Place* (Putkinen & Rajala, 2020) where we investigated school as a place by conducting a literature review. Now we are researching how teachers conceptualize their experiences of school as a space through their experience of place. This is done by gathering theoretical background that discusses and applies the theory of space and place into the context of school. Concepts of space and place are defined in the field of human geography. Based on the theoretical background; the questionnaire is created to determine how teachers conceptualize their understanding of school based on their personal experiences. Later the teachers' responses are analyzed and reflected on with the theoretical background created earlier.

This master's thesis is based on the theoretical background of school, space and place. School is at the very center of this research as it is central part of all societies. As we are teacher pupils, school is a possible workplace for us in the future too. Thus, it is necessary to critical think what makes school a school. Schools is a commonly known concept and place in our modern society. Hung and Stables (2011, pp. 193) state that schools are often seen as an environment where education takes place. However, we believe that school is also more than that.

Space and place are also familiar words from everyday life, and they indicate common experiences (Tuan, 1977, pp. 3). Tuan (1977,3) mentions that both spaces and places are often taken for granted but when given more thought often they may assume unexpected meanings and raise questions. However, they both are crucial for us, and Tuan continues that space is a biological necessity for all animals and human beings it also is a psychological need, a social perquisite and it can also be a spiritual attribute. (pp. 3 & 58). The experience of space is subconscious, and we do not actively think about space (Tuan, 1977, pp. 118). In experience the definition of space and place easily merge but to simplify it, space is more abstract than place (Tuan, 1977, pp. 6). Tuan (1977) says that the transition to place happens once one gets to know the space better and connects it with their personal values turning it from space to place. And it is possible to know a place both intimately as well as conceptually. (pp. 6). Tuan (1977, pp. 3) simplifies the ideology of place and space as such: "*Place is security, space is freedom: we are attached to the one and long for the other*".

For our research purposes we have chosen to use Lefebvre's (1991) Spatial Triad for socially produced space. In this approach space is understood as a human creation, making it socially valuable (Lefebvre, 1991). Therefore, space would not be meaningful nor existing if people would not conceptualize it. Spatial Triad is comprehensive approach, as it aims to study spaces from three different dimensions, spatial practices, representations of space and representational space (Lefebvre, 1991). Within those dimensions, it also reminds to critically reflect space's physical, mental and social aspects (Lefebvre, 1991).

The aim of the research is to gather a deeper understanding of school as a space. Such research findings do not exist, but there is plenty of discussion on the state of school buildings as many are in a bad condition and do not serve the purpose of modern schools. The forever changing curriculum also has changed plenty of the times and not all school buildings are meeting the expectations that are set for schools. During the past years open-learning environments have become more popular, but those have received also very controversial welcome in the field of education. At the latest when COVID-19 pandemic hit and forced schools to reshape their teaching into remote methods as gathering at schools was no longer possible. This raised the discussion on the importance of the school and the physical building among most people who had not even thought of it previously. Suddenly, everyone was interested on discussing the importance of school and whether pupils should attend it face-to-face or not. For these reasons we decided this to be a very crucial and burning topic to conduct research. Hopefully, by the end of the research we can offer schools, architects and all other people working along school some new perspectives on the importance of the school building, as well as bring up the different purposes and uses that schools carries within its' user groups.

First, we will represent the theoretical background of our research. This focuses especially on the concepts mentioned earlier, so school, space and place. Theoretical background is gathered as a literature review, referring to many remarkable researchers in the field of education and human geography. Theoretical background is followed by representing how this research has been conducted. After that, we present the findings from our questionnaire, while also discussing and reflecting to the theoretical background of this research. Finishing with discussion, that answers to the research questions and takes a look into the future and possible follow-up research themes.

In order to guide our research, we created two research questions. These questions both start with the word *how* as Elkatawneh (2016, pp. 2) state that research questions in qualitative research are usually exploratory and therefore start with question words such as *what* or *how*. Our research questions are philosophical in nature, and there are no simplified answers to those. However, we aim to answer those as well as we can. First research question focuses on individual teacher's experiences and how they conceptualize school as a place based on their own experiences and understanding. Once we have data from multiple teachers, we can start looking for differences and similarities within their responses. In this state teachers' responses are analyzed and reflected to the theoretical background and Lefebvre's Spatial Triad (Lefebvre, 1991). We are hoping to be able to reform our theoretically based understanding of school as a space through content analyses.

Research questions:

- How teachers define school as a place?
- How is school defined as a space?

2 School as Space and Place

In this chapter we will take a deeper look into the research background and theory of school, space and place. Schools are present in all societies and therefore a very important concept to take a deeper look into. We will also introduce space and place in a deeper sense while reflecting these phenomena in the context of school.

2.1. School as an Institution

School is one of the most central institutions in Western society (Kontio et al., 2017, pp. 1). It is often thought as a built physical environment where formal education takes place (Hung & Stables, 2011, pp. 193). In the United Nations' Declaration of Human Rights (1948, Article 26), it is defined that everyone has the right for free education in the elementary level and that it should be compulsory. In addition, higher education should be equally accessible for everyone based on their merits (Article 26). The Declaration of Human Rights does not take a stand on how education should be organized, as long as it is available and accessible for all. In the end, parents have the right to choose the education for their children (The United Nations, 1948, Article 26). Thus, the education provided does not need to be practiced in school based on the Declaration of Human Rights, as long as education is available. As an institution school is defined through its' pedagogical activities. Together with a physical school building, school as an institution coexist in a same space, but do not mean the same thing. In the Convention on the Rights of the Child (The United Nations, 1989) school is mentioned twice. First, school is mentioned in the context of States Parties taking actions to encourage regular attendance in schools. And secondly, in emphasizing States Parties role in taking measures to ensure that school discipline is administered in a way consistent with child's human dignity and in conformity with the present Convention. (Article 28).

Thus, school seems to be perceived as an important space that has a central role in different societies. School is also having an entrenched role in the society being more than an institute and it is recognized as a space where pupils should attend regularly and orderly, so the safe environment and appropriate discipline is guaranteed in a respective manner. These declarations do not determine what school should be but instead provide a guideline and a few necessities that need to be available for everyone despite their background or location in order to

guarantee education as a human right. As school is mentioned to be an essential part of the societies, let's take a more detailed look at it.

When discussing school, teachers and teaching are also in the center of attention. Kontio and colleagues (2017) have studied school as a pedagogical institution. The perception of teaching is that it is a form of interaction that happens in an education institution. Teaching can also happen in other situations when someone needs help or guidance but teaching that takes place in a pedagogical institution is more than just occasional help as it is done continuously in an organized setting. They continue that the main task in a pedagogical institution is teaching that is completed by professionals with knowledge, skills and qualifications. Schools have teachers to teach and offer pupils skills and knowledge to solve everyday problems and continue learning as well as produce educated individuals. Kontio and colleagues state that “task of creating school as an institution was to create a pedagogical space where human growth, development and learning processes could subject to special pedagogical arrangements and attention”. (pp. 5).

Mollenhauer (2014, pp. 28–31) brings up the notion that no more children are directly exposed to the working life but rather go through a controlled pedagogical setting which has become compulsory for children to attend. Therefore, nowadays parents and guardians send their children to school instead of a workplace. Schools are specialised institutions that are constructed on the basis of pedagogical aims (Mollenhauer, 2014, pp. 28–31). Mollenhauer (2014) and Kontio and colleagues (2017) both have focused on schools as pedagogical institutions, which have predefined pedagogical tasks and aims.

Teachers are an important part of school. Goodlad (1984) discusses about the work description of teachers and highlights that it is often thought that teachers have it easy with long holidays and short workdays. The biggest part of the workday is taken up by daily teaching which is inflexible around set hours. In addition, lesson plans, correcting exams and papers, reporting pupils' attendances, taking part in meetings, reporting, and communicating with parents as well as providing different kinds of data for the school are some tasks that teachers take on during their workdays and outside set working hours. Goodlad continues that during the long breaks some teachers need to take on additional jobs even outside the field of education. (pp. 168–169). Teachers are educated experts in the field of education, and they carry pedagogical responsibility. In Finland teachers choose the method of teaching and are quite independent in their classroom this gives advantage to teachers to modify their teaching to their liking and get the best results from the class (Kyöstiö, 1969, pp. 15).

2.1.1. Purpose and Societal Importance of School

School as in the concrete form and institutional structure that it is understood as today, has developed throughout a long period of time and views along the way about school have changed (Kontio et al., 2017, pp. 2). The change in view from pre-modern or traditional society to the modern society has changed school critically on concepts of schooling, teaching, and learning processes (Kontio et al., 2017, pp. 2). These big discussions can be seen even in recent discussions on what should or should not be included in the curriculum or what methods of teaching support pupils best. The objective for the education in Finland is defined in the Finnish Basic Education Act (628/1998). Basic Education Act states that the purpose of education is to promote equality and *bildung* while also supporting pupil's personal growth into humanity and into ethically responsible members of society, providing them the knowledge and skills needed (Basic Education Act, 628/1998 § 2). Bildung is originally from German language and it does not have an exact translation to English language. According to Mollenhauer (2014) bildung is how people form themselves in relation to other people, eventually becoming mature human beings. This development is never final as people keep on gathering more and more maturation. (xvi). Finnish Basic Education Act has its' roots in the Human Rights declaration that goes as follows:

Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance, and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

(The United Nations, 1948, Article 26, Act 2.)

As we can notice, education and its purpose are defined in various declarations and laws. However, those acts do not discuss about school, but education. Like mentioned earlier, school is one possible space where formal education can take place (Hung & Stables, 2011, pp. 193). If school is a space where education takes place, the purpose of the school should be in line with the main task of education. Kontio and colleagues (2017) define the final task of school to be

expanding the prevailing horizon and everyday experiences of the pupils. They continue by discussing about the initial task of the school that in early days was to ensure that new generation adopts necessary cognitive and practical skills to operate in the industrialized society. Further the pedagogical task of the school in society nowadays is to provide real opportunities for individuals to fulfill their educational processes, learning potentials and ideas. (pp. 5.) These thoughts presented have similar purposes for school and education as the Declaration on Human Rights (The United Nations, 1948, Article 26, Act 2).

Kontio and colleagues (2017) discuss that school is a pedagogical institution that can be understood through functional necessities of society and economy as well as through the role of an institution with the task of open reflective learning processes but also challenging one on their social and cultural life forms. Continuing that the relation between society and school is reciprocated. The function of school is always resolved by “the factually- and historically –formed societal and economical necessities and cultural life forms, this determination is not absolute” (pp. 1). Therefore, school is a dynamic institution that adapts and effects the surrounding society, as well as is affected by the society. As a pedagogical institution, the school is formed and defined by the societal necessities and cultural life forms (Kontio et al., 2017, pp. 1). Seppäläinen-Pänkäläinen (2009) points out that schools follow different school policies set by the government. The policies are guided by the cities and their instructions given to local schools. However, immediate needs of the society are not alone the basis that on which schools as a pedagogical institution is built on, but also individual learning objectives and educational needs are to be considered in a pedagogical institution (Kontio et al., 2017, pp. 6). The societal role and function of school has been under critical debate and redefinition like Kontio and colleagues (2017) mention. These critical and reflective discussions about education and school proves that school is an important institution in our society. (pp. 1–6).

When discussing school, it is important to also discuss about what takes place in schools and a big part of that is what is being taught. The purpose of basic education is to create a foundation of general knowledge and ability to all pupils (National Core Curriculum, 2014, 22). The National Core Curriculum (2014) presents several basic education values that are for example addressing the uniqueness of each pupil, richening cultural diversity, sharing the understanding of sustainability as well as having the right to good education. Pupils are seen as active actors throughout the National Core Curriculum. Basic education is the foundation of the education system offering pupils a good foundation of general knowledge and abilities to build their futures by learning. The Basic Education Act withhold the national goals for basic education as

well as the Government Degree that is even more detailed, these documents guide the formation of the National Core Curriculum. (pp. 22–34).

2.1.2. Brief Look at the Formation of School as We Know It

Lefebvre and Nicholson-Smith (1991) state that any social space, like school, is constructed on top of its' own history. Therefore, it is crucial to have a brief look back in the time about schools and their role in the society. Organized education can be dated back to 2500–2000 BCE where first teaching practices took place in the form of Sumerian reading and writing techniques and later in Plato's Academy and Aristoteles's Lyceum in ancient Greece (Kontio et al., 2017, pp. 2).

Much later, when Finland was under the Swedish rule, they both shared the same legislations when it came to education (Cederberg, 1937, pp. 10). Cederberg (1937, pp. 10–11) continues that both countries followed the order from the 1571 church order that were later in 1649 combined to the school law or in 1723 to the school order. In Finland the church was the only party concerned about public education until 1866 (Kyöstiö, 1969, pp. 7). The primary school act in the year 1866 enabled primary school (*kansakoulu*) as an institution to the whole society like Kyöstiö (1969) tells. He adds that for upper classes it took a long time before they sent their children to primary school as there were special preparatory schools they rather attended (These preparatory schools led to the formation of grammar school (*oppikoulu*) and they were organized under the church until the act of 1869. (pp. 7). The first Finnish speaking grammar school was found in 1858 before that the language of instruction was Swedish for all pupils (Kyöstiö, 1969, pp. 7). Surprisingly the 100-year Russian rule had a very minimal impact on the Finnish education according to Kyöstiö (1969). Kyöstiö (1969, pp. 7) continues that it was not until Finland gained its independence in 1917 that gave the Finnish people the chance to start developing education properly. (pp. 7)

Compulsory education reform was established in 1921 (OVL, 1921). Meaning that attending school became mandatory from the age of six. Pekkarinen and Uusitalo (2012) list that the next significant occurrence was the elementary school reform that took place in the 1970's and was the result of a heated political debate with the aim of increasing the level of schooling of the age group. Continuing that the old primary school and grammar school were combined into one elementary school, where there was a more guided curriculum. At this time teacher education

was moved to the university level. (pp. 128.) This reform shaped schools in Finland to the form that they are today. Also, these changes raised Finnish education to be at the top of the world at the beginning of the 2000 while scoring top scores in the Programme for International Pupil Assessment (PISA) along other Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) nations and become known as the “Finnish miracle” (Sahlberg, 2011, pp. 34). Throughout history only the primary school has been compulsory in Finland (Kyöstiö, 1969, pp. 9) until year 2021 where the Finnish government made a change of compulsory education until the age of eighteen meaning that all pupils will need to continue their educational journey after basic education, grade nine (OKM, 2022).

The modern concept of school as a pedagogical institution for all citizens is a product of modernization, the exact pinpointing of the development is not possible or even necessary like Kontio and colleagues (2017) discuss. The change from pre-modern to modern way of life forced towards a more goal-oriented learning processes in order to guarantee the future of the next generations. This change led to institutional education, and it became an important part of modern societies. (pp. 2–3).

2.2. The Concept of Space

Space can be defined in numerous ways, depending on the emphasis and context (Crang & Thrift, 2000; Lefebvre, 1991). Before going into the definitions, it is good to take note that space, landscape and place are interrelated terms and each definition of those can be contested (Cresswell, 2004, pp. 12). We will discuss more about the differences between concepts of space and place under chapter “Place Through Tuan and Agnew”. This section will focus more on the definition of space and especially on the socially produced space. Like in other sciences, also in human geography the current ideologies and philosophy have impacted the approach in defining space (Crang & Thrift, 2000; Lefebvre, 1991). Our approaches and definitions on space and place are based on human geography.

Whether we discuss about a ‘shopping mall’ or a ‘corner of the street’, we all know what is meant by these (Lefebvre, 1991, pp. 16). A term like ‘shopping mall’ is used to distinguish one particular space from another one (Lefebvre, 1991, pp. 16). This differentiation is possible due to the social spaces, that are always corresponding to a specific use of the space, and hence spatial practices that are constituted and expressed (Lefebvre, 1991, pp. 16). As Yi-Fu Tuan

(1977, pp. 3) says, we people live in space. Actually, we live in multiple spaces that are inter-related to one another.

Harvey can be seen as one of the most important researchers researching space and he demonstrates his understanding on space. Harvey (2004, 2) has identified a tripartite division to understand space. These three divisions are absolute space, relative space and relational space. If space is regarded as an absolute, it gains an existence independent of matter meaning it becomes a thing. Absolute space is also fixed and, in its frame, where we plan or record events. Geometrically this absolute space is known as the space of Euclid and can be specifically defined by three-level coordinates for example. Relative space suggest space to be understood as a relationship between objects like time, expenses, or social interaction. Thus, relative space is quite different from absolute space. The relational space on the other hand, perceives that there is no other space outside the process that defines it, as processes do not take place in space but do define spatial frame of their own. Things and phenomena are existing and get their meaning in the networks and relationships between people and societal activities in the concept of relational space. The formulation of both relative and relational space demonstrate that it is impossible to untwine space from time. (pp. 2–13.)

Another highly valued geographer, Massey, has developed space even further, her views are from the left-wing and feminism as well as a relational approach to her interpretation on space (Rodgers, 2011, pp. 277; Sergot & Saives, 2016, pp. 344). In her view space is a social and material construct (Sergot & Saives, 2016, pp. 339). Massey's (2005, pp. 9) very first view is to recognize space "as the product of interrelations; as constituted through interactions". Massey (2005, pp. 9 & 148) continues stating that space is the sphere of relations that is always under construction. Meaning that space is never finished or closed instead it is open for the unexpected and always in the process of making (Andersson, 2008, pp. 231; Massey, 2005, pp. 111). Massey (2005, pp. 118) states that "space is the product of social relations" and therefore everyone alters the space minimally but still altering not just by travelling through or across it.

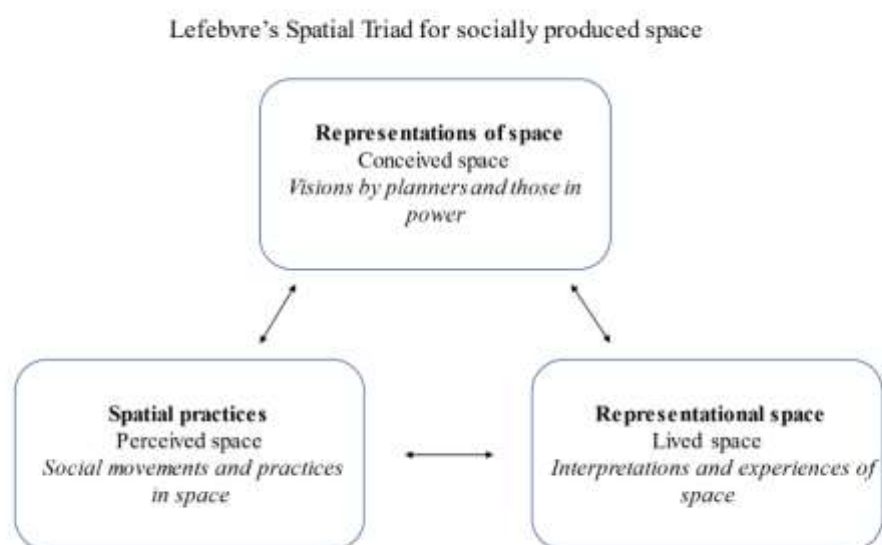
However, for this research, Henri Lefebvre's definition for space will be in the center of attention. Lefebvre has created an approach for a social space in the 1970s (Crang & Thrift, 2000, pp. 169). Lefebvre's conception of space has a lot of similarities with Massey, as they both are defining space under relational space, emphasizing social elements. Lefebvre's basis for defining space was to try to demystify current capitalist social space, by diving deep into the roots of the inner dynamics and general features of space (Crang & Thrift, 2000, pp. 171). Therefore, Lefebvre (1991) is not trying to define the discourse on space, but rather the production of

space. Lefebvre argues that space should be defined based on its' physical, mental and social aspects (pp. 6–12). This leads to redefining space as social space, because after all space is produced by humans, hence it is social space. Lefebvre is exploring and bringing out ways how space is socially constructed.

Crang and Thrift (2000) discuss that Lefebvre's social space is a dynamic concept as it is always an outcome of a process that has many aspects and contributing factors in it. For Lefebvre, space is not passive or a plain surface, where things are happening (compare e.g. to the absolute space) Lefebvre refers to space by saying that "it (space) gets produced before it is reproduced—even though reproduction is obviously a necessary condition or further production" (pp. 171 – 172.) One important factor of every social space is their own, specific history that has affected the space (Lefebvre, 1991, pp. 110).

Lefebvre is discussing production of space by a complex heuristic device, called spatial triad (Crang & Thrift, 2000, p. 173; Lefebvre, 1991, pp. 33–38). It consists of three moments called: spatial practices, representations of space and representational space as demonstrated in figure 1 (Lefebvre, 1991, pp. 33). Spatial practices and representations of space are more abstract or cognitive aspects, whereas representational space is a practical level.

Figure 1. Lefebvre's Spatial Triad for socially produced space.



Spatial practices refer to the perceived space, so for the social movements and practices that take place in certain space (Lefebvre, 1991, pp. 33–38). These movements occupy space and time in different ways in relation to one another. Spatial practices have certain level of cohesiveness, but as people do not act in the same way, spatial practices and people's perceptions for a space are not coherent (Lefebvre, 1991, pp. 33–38). Spatial practices often represent the popular action and outlook of the space (Shields, 2011, 281).

Representations of space is about the conceived space and how spaces are tied with the relations of production and the knowledge of those, for example different signs, codes, maps, and other forms of representing space (Lefebvre, 1991, pp. 33–39). Conceived space is defined by those in power (Lefebvre, 1991, pp. 33–39). Power in this context refers to professionals and parties that have a say in how the spaces are produced, especially in theoretical level (Shields, 2011, pp. 281). Politicians, planners, and architects are good examples of those in power.

Representational space refers to the lived experience and interpretation of associated images, symbols and descriptions of space (Lefebvre, 1991, pp. 33–39). This can lead to more or less coherent system of non-verbal symbols (Lefebvre, 1991, pp. 33–39). People's imagination and interpretations of spaces are kept alive through the culture, like arts and literature (Shields, 2011, pp. 281). Lived space has all the time some tension going on with the conceived and perceived space, as people do not always act or use the space as intended (Lefebvre, 1991, pp. 38–39). In that individual's interpretations play a role in how the space is experienced.

Based on this spatial triad, it can be said that the physical space and architecture reflects the values, expectations, and ideologies of the society. However, it does not guarantee the expected use of the space, because people are interpreting space from their own individual starting points. People have different experiences, and they might perceive the space a bit differently, but also have different lived experiences in it.

In the context of school Lefebvre's spatial triad can give us insight on how school is as a socially produced space. Schools indeed have a lot of spatial practices as there is plenty of movement taking place daily. Also, the word school withholds plenty of symbolisms and everyone has some understanding what a school is and what happens over there. When discussing about the representations of space in schools we can see schools represented on maps and through different road signs that indicate the location of the physical school building. Architects, city council and teachers for instance are some people who hold the power on how these schools are produced. The physical properties that the people with power end up choosing has an influence on

how the space is experienced. Representational space also known as lived space in schools is how the school building is actually being used. For example, teaching and learning often takes place in a classroom and stereotypically pupils sit on their tables while the teacher is at the front of the classroom. However, school is not only a space where teaching and learning take place, but in addition it has multiple lived experiences as a social environment, safe or unsafe place or workplace.

2.2.1. School and Spatial Practices

School forms an operational environment that requires certain type of behaviour, lifestyle and the habitus related to it (Antikainen et al., 2021). According to Antikainen and colleagues (2021) In school pupils' actions are strictly controlled and there are expectations for their behaviour. They say that school is playing a big role in pupils' lives, and pupils spend many hours in school on a regular basis. Therefore, pupils and schools form routines that give structure for the day-to-day activities. After all, only in few places actions and behaviour are as strictly controlled and under equal obligations as in school (Antikainen et al., 2021).

Schools have their own rhythm when it comes to time (Antikainen et al., 2021). The length of a lesson is standardized, and the days are divided into periods that follow each other (Antikainen et al., 2021). Antikainen and colleagues (2021) continue by describing that days are constructed around lessons, recesses, and a lunch break. Thus, pupils adopt the concept of time in the school environment, as well as the routines that guide them through the days. Teachers on the other hand are also following the school's concept of time and they are timekeepers in a sense that they make sure that everything happens in the right order and on time (Antikainen et al., 2021). Gordon (1999, pp 106) has studied that during the workday teachers are actively moving in their classrooms, although if presented with a conflict between teacher and pupils the teacher feels as if their movement in the space is after all limited.

Teacher's do not only make sure that everything takes place at the correct time, but they also ensure the appropriate use of the space (Antikainen et al., 2021). In school it is determined when classrooms, corridors or outdoor areas are used and by whom (Antikainen et al., 2021). As teachers decide how time and space is being used, they also have the advantage to use the space in diverse ways depending on their teaching subject, pedagogical views, or their personal preferences (Gordon 1999, 112). Some areas in the school, like teacher's lounge are prohibited

from the pupils (Antikainen et al., 2021). Therefore, school is just seemingly an open environment for pupils but in reality, it is strictly controlled by time and space.

School is perceived differently between individuals, but because school is a central institution in the society, we all have somewhat similar experiences of it because we have been pupils in school, or we might have heard about school. School is also presented in many movies and books, and together with our experiences, we create an understanding of how school is perceived and what are the general social practices that are often related to school.

2.2.2. School and Representations of Space

In their doctoral thesis Nuikkinen (2009) analyzes what society expects from the school, especially when it comes to the physical space and architectural decisions. Society's expectations together with limitations set by the construction of the school as well as pedagogical requirements are theoretically creating a good school environment (Nuikkinen, 2009, pp. 48). In this chapter we will be referring to the physical school environment with a term school environment, even though in the daily interaction environment refers also to the societal and more abstract aspects of environment.

As mentioned, earlier, the National Core Curriculum, as well as the Finnish Basic Education Act (628/1998 § 2) define the main tasks and values of the education and schooling system in Finland. These consider learning to be an active process, in which different collaborative, investigative and experimental teaching methods take into account different learners and ways of learning (Nuikkinen, 2009, pp. 50–51). The physical school environment is part of the learning environment, but it is not the only place where learning happens (Nuikkinen, 2009, pp. 52) as learning can take place anywhere.

Architecture to this day has an important role on how one senses and feels in a space (Tuan, 1997, pp. 116). This is also valid when discussing about school. The process of designing and building as well as occupying a building requires a long period of time as well as a diverse group of people working on it, when a school building is in question it can be unclear who the client is (Daniels et al., 2017, pp. 1–2). Thus, it is important to understand the complex social structures to develop more suitable schooling environments (Daniels et al., 2019, pp. 170) Even though each school building is different, they share their architectural structure (Antikainen et

al., 2021). This structure is built during the schooling history and according to Antikainen and colleagues (2021), it consists of circles, outermost being the outdoor area reserved for recess activities. Next circle is the school building with its' doors, windows, and corridors. After those Antikainen and colleagues (2021) dive into the classrooms, each with their own function. Close to the classrooms are other specific areas like dining area or toilets. The own specific circle in the center of the school is the area reserved for leadership, so teacher's lounge or headmaster's office (Antikainen et al., 2021).

The needs of school buildings change with time and therefore something that was radical and functional when built, now it could be considered outdated (Frelin et al., 2021, pp. 217). Research on school buildings for education is limited when it comes to education research in the Nordic countries (Frelin et al., 2021, pp. 217). As teaching has moved towards a more pupil-centered learning this has brought out the need for flexible learning environments (Woodman, 2016, pp. 51). For that reason, since 2016 open learning environments have become mainstream in Finnish basic education (Niemi, 2021, pp. 284). The idea for opened learning environments is based on modern learning theories with pupil's activeness and constructivism, while the open space offers pupils the chance for self-guiding and connecting themselves with the school community (Ruokamo & Pohjolainen, 1999). Open environments mean that there are no specific classrooms that are surrounded by doors instead they can be big open spaces with movable walls for instance. The idea of open learning environments was already presented at the end of the 20th century, but the ideology did not take off quite then yet (Tapaninen, 2006).

School is not only a place for pupils but also for teachers. For teachers' school is a workplace where their job description is to teach, give guidance and support learning, resulting on pupils learning (Nuikkinen, 2009, pp. 79). Thus, school is both, a work environment as well as learning environment (Nuikkinen, 2009, pp. 80). In their thesis, Nuikkinen (2009) sums up, that appropriate school-work-environment (koulutyöympäristö) is a space that considers the individuals' facilities. The purpose of school is to promote education and equality while considering the individual differences. School supports pupils in their growth, care, and overall wellbeing. (pp. 80–83).

School buildings play a key role in the transformation of education as they should inspire learning, provide a safe space for pupils and staff all a while being practical for the entire community (Daniels et al., 2017, pp. 4). Daniels and colleagues (2017, pp. 19) study suggest that the connection between school design and practise is critical, also the suitability of the building for pedagogic will be revived through time while adapting along to the changing school's spatial

needs. Research shows that the building is most practical for the schools needs when someone from the school usually the principal has been part of the design and construction process. (Daniels et al., 2016, pp. 19). This is a new trend as traditionally no educational professionals have been part of the planning or building process, only architects (Niemi, 2021, pp. 289). Even OAJ, the Trade Union of Education in Finland have created a twenty-item list on what all schools should take into consideration when building in order to guarantee a safe learning and working environments for all (OAJ, N.d. a). The list includes things such as clean indoor air, accessibility as well as a safe and restricted yard.

2.2.3. School and Representational Space

Representational school is formed by lived experiences in it and created by interpretations as Lefebvre (1991, pp. 33–39) states. This is why, school is experienced in various ways and people have different lived experiences with it.

One of the first things, that might come to mind when thinking about school is learning and teaching. We have already covered those topics earlier as we have discussed about school as a pedagogical institution. The Finnish Basic Education Act (628/1998 § 2) defines the goals of the education and like Nuikkinen (2009, pp. 52) confirms, school is one of the spaces where formal education takes place. Next, we will give a brief insight on other aspects of school and how school can be experienced and lived in diverging ways, not only as a space for learning and teaching.

Teaching and education are often controlled by the pedagogical experts, teachers (Opetusministeriö, 986/1998 4 §). For them school is a workplace, where are special areas or rooms only for them, but also common areas shared with pupils (Antikainen et al., 2021). Teachers are not the only staff members, who experience school from the perspective of a workplace, as there are also other staff members like janitors, food service assistants and nurses (Poikonen, 1987). They experience school in a very different way compared for the pupils, but also, they have variety on their stance towards school, because they have previous experiences and expectations towards school that have impacted their current approaches. These staff members affect the social relations, as well as the social movements in the school (Poikonen, 1987).

School has an important role in the area as it advances the societal connections and norms locally (Opetusministeriö, 2002). Thus, school is a space where pupils, their parents and the entire neighborhood can participate in developing their personal skills and knowledge but also taking care of the society (yhteisten asioiden hoitaminen) (Opetusministeriö, 2002). Hence, school is not only a space where pupils are developing skills and knowledge with the help of teachers, but school is an environment that benefits the society comprehensively. Nuikkinen (2009) in addition points out that school has an important role being the local activity and cultural center, consequently wanted to be actively used all day long (pp. 50). In other words, school is not only used by pupils, but it has a diverse user base and applications outside ‘the official school hours.’

Schools are also places for care and active participation (Opetusministeriö, 2002). The care is seen in the school’s after-school activities that are targeted for the pupils (Opetusministeriö, 2002). Consequently, school or after-school activities are not only to preserve pupils there for a day while their guardians are at work, but to also give them safe environment to learn new skills and have a safe environment to grow in. Some sort of a care is also special needs education that is offered for pupils (Opetusministeriö, 2002; Finnish Basic Education Act 628/1998, 31 §). School also provides care for the mental and physical wellbeing of pupils (Opetusministeriö, 2002) as schools have school nurses, psychologists, curators, and other experts working in school. In this way, school is a space that promotes wellbeing. According to Salmela-Aro (2017), school must give pupils a feeling of independency, togetherness and accomplishment, or there is a risk that pupils might become exhausted or marginalized. We would argue that these elements are also crucial for teacher’s and other school staff’s wellbeing.

Schools should be safe learning environments (Finnish Basic Education Act, 628/1998, 29 §). A safe school environment is warm, clean and offers place for rest and nutrition. In Finnish schools, schools must offer free school lunch (Finnish Basic Education Act, 628/1998, 31 §). The physical school environment or food offered in school are not only features that impact the feeling of safety in school, but in addition social environment can enhance or diminish ones feeling safety in school (Mertanen, 2013, pp. 8–9). Everyone in school is contributing towards making a good, safe, school culture (Mertanen, 2013, pp. 8). Unfortunately, school is not a safe place for everyone, and some people do not feel safe in school, due to not feeling good enough about themselves, maybe because of bullying or lack of self-confidence (Uusikylä, 2006). On the other hand, for some, school might be the only place where they feel safe, possibly because of poor and unsafe home environment (Thomson, 2019).

Schools have many purposes and offers many opportunities and along this one important factor is the social relationships that take place in school. It is seen that social relations in elementary school go hand in hand with wellbeing (Minkkinen, 2015, pp. 76). These significant social relationships can happen between teachers, staff, and pupils, obviously the nature of these relationship varies depending on if it is between pupils and teachers or just among pupils for example. Relationships between pupils often are friendships while teachers usually present as a safe adult for pupils and can offer an ear to listen as well as support and encourage the pupil. It can be seen that social interactions and friendships may support learning in school as these relationships enhance cognitive development (Kutnick & Kington, 2005, pp. 522). Recesses are a part of school days and are significant when it comes to social relations as it is the main setting where schools' social life takes place (Blatchford, 1999, pp. 60–61). It is so significant that as an adult when remembering school those recess encounters are often the memories that come up, however negatives can also be remembered as most of bullying takes place on playgrounds (Blatchford, 1999, pp. 61).

In the end, schools are the most important and most long-lasting public buildings remembered in the neighborhood, town, or city (Opetusministeriö, 2002). One's own school is part of people's lives and identities (Opetusministeriö, 2002). School also reflects the values and attitudes of the eras, making the experience of being a pupil, a bit different for each generation (Opetusministeriö, 2002).

2.3. The Concept of Place

Place is a word full of meaning (Tuan 1977, pp. 179). Place as a word that has been used for as long as geography has existed, but it was not until the 1970s that it received its full meaning of a particular location combined with meaning and attachment (Cresswell, 2009, pp. 1). Yi-Fu Tuan is one of the first geographers who has aimed to define place (Entrikin & Berdoulay, 2005). As place and space are key concepts in the field of human geography and in the centre of this research it is important to define both. Cresswell (2004) has studied about place and summed up the core meaning of place based on the research of the main humanistic geographers like Yi-Fu Tuan and Agnew. Dourish (2006, pp. 300) also states that it is important to look at the question of place and space together and take a look at the relationship between them. Especially, because in daily life place and space are often used as synonyms and clear distinction

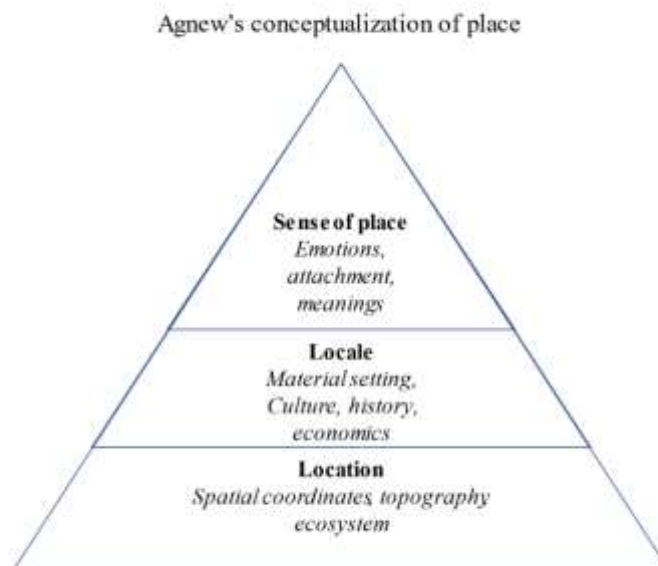
between them is not made (Cresswell, 2004, pp. 8). The main differences between these two concepts can be simplified to space being more general and abstract, whereas place is more specific and particular (Entrikin & Berdoulay, 2005; Cresswell, 2004, pp. 8). It is good to state already at the very beginning that 'place' and 'space' are easily confused terms in both daily life and in human geography. Even though there has been dualism of 'place' and 'space' going on since the 1970s, place is still often confused with social space, or more specifically with socially produced space by Lefebvre, because the latter plays very similar role as place (Cresswell, 2004, pp. 10). Lefebvre (1991) himself distinguishes a place being the one where intervention occurs. Hence, place is the momentary suspension of social flow in space (Lefebvre, 1991).

Tuan (1977) discusses that the curiosity of places is part of general curiosity of things, it comes from the need to label experiences in order to become meaningful and part of one's schemes. Just as for things, they are not quite real until they are given a name and classified. (pp. 29). A place can take on a deeper meaning for adults through years and occurrences that take place as even a stain in the wall tells a story (Tuan, 1977, pp. 33). Children and adults have a very different way of creating places as children have a shorter past and their activity level does not give time for exploring the space, also their imagination is special and can transform spaces (Tuan, 1977, pp. 33). Adults look at places through present and immediate future occurrences but also reflect on the past and at times places can be haunted by memories (Tuan, 1977, pp. 33). Knowledge has a big influence on the feeling for place such as knowing if the place is man-made or small (Tuan, 1977, pp. 32).

Distinguishing between place and space is not simple, as we have mentioned. One way to differentiate those two terms could be through meaning. Cresswell (2004) separates space from place, saying that space is a real without meaning. Once a person gives space a meaning, and becomes attached to it, it becomes a place. Hence, the most simplified definition for place could be that place is a meaningful location. (pp. 7–10). This meaningful location can exist in many scales from a chair to whole earth (Cresswell, 2004, pp. 20). Thus, there is no one scale or size for a place, but it changes according to context. Place is like a momentary sampling of a space (Cresswell, 2004, pp. 8). Yi Fu Tuan (1977, pp. 6) states that *"if we think of space as that which allows movement, then place is pause; each pause in movement makes it possible for location to be transformed into place."* Therefore, place needs to be meaningful in order to exist. This meaningful location can be understood and conceptualized through Agnew's three aspects of

place: location, locale, and sense of place (Agnew et al., 2003; Cresswell, 2004, pp. 7). Visualized in figure 2.

Figure 2. Agnew's conceptualization of place.



Location refers to the very exact geographical point that can be defined i.e., by coordinates (Agnew et al., 2003; Cresswell, 2004, pp. 7). One can find the exact place from the map once the scale and coordinates are given to them (Cresswell, 2004, pp. 7). In addition, physical elements like topography and ecosystem are part of the location (Agnew et al., 2003). Nonetheless, location does not need to be stationary, as by location one can point to a moving object like a ship or an airplane that does not have a fixed set of coordinates (Cresswell, 2004, pp. 7). This latter element of non-stationary location challenges our understanding of the word 'location'. Cresswell (2004, pp. 22) wonders if the location, in the sense of fixed location, is even a sufficient or essential condition of place.

By *locale* Agnew means the material setting where the social relations take place (Agnew et al., 2003; Cresswell, 2004, pp. 7). Socially constructed culture, history and economics are part of the locale aspect as those have effect on the material things (Agnew et al. 2003). Although material setting is the core of the locale aspect, Cresswell (2004) adds up that places almost always have a concrete form, leaving space for a concept of placelessness. He continues that if

we think of a physical place, or an imagination place from a book or a movie, we relate elements like walls, windows, plants, and other items in the place. In this sense, places are material things. (pp. 7).

Once the subjective and emotional attachment for the place is there, it is defined by term *sense of place* (Agnew et al., 2003; Cresswell, 2004, pp. 7). Sense of place is individually formed based on person's emotions, attachment and meanings given to a certain place (Agnew et al., 2003). It is not necessary for a person to visit in a place physically, but through experiences created, they can form a sense of place. This sort of experience might come for example after watching a movie or reading a book, and then having a feeling of knowing how it would feel like to be in the scene (Cresswell, 2004, pp. 8).

Place can be defined as a setting that gains persistent and recognizable social meaning through interaction (Dourish, 2006, pp. 299). This social aspect brings it close to the concept of space that is often considered to have more notable social dimension than place (Cele, 2006, pp. 36). However, place can also be said to form on a basis of meaning and shared experience, as well as having a social interaction in it (Cele, 2006, pp. 36). Places are spaces with a meaning including expectations and behavioral appropriateness (Harrison & Dourish, 1996, pp. 69). When discussing about place it is important to emphasize the meaning of personal experience as places are felt on a personal level where no one else has the exact same understanding or experience of the exact place, this is part of the sense of place (Cresswell, 2004, pp. 7-8). Hung and Stables (2011, pp. 193) also mention that depending on the place one is in it has an effect on how one conceives, perceives and acts. Thus, places have an impact on us even if we are not actively reflecting on our relationship with various places. Understanding of place can change with time as new events take place and shape the relationship between the place and the person experiencing the place (Hung & Stables, 2011, pp. 195). A large proportion of the meaning of a place is formed by their spatiality (Harrison & Dourish, 1996, pp. 69). Our understanding of places is dynamic and unstable and various features are impacting it from the concepts of location, locale, sense of place and time.

Cresswell (2004, pp. 37) points out that in general places are never finished, but they are becoming, part of unfinished process. Essentially place is a static concept, if we see the world as a process that is constantly moving and changing, then it would not be able possible to create a sense of place (Tuan, 1977, pp. 179). Movement in space can be either circular or going in one direction (Tuan, 1977, pp. 179). The images of space and time do merge (Tuan, 1977, pp. 179).

Lefebvre discusses about socially produced space, that is very close to the definition of place (Cresswell, 2004, pp. 12). Thus, the differentiation between these two is not simple and requires some deeper understanding of both concepts. Perhaps, the best way to differentiate socially produced space and place is by paying attention to the level of individuality as well as the sense of place. Place is experienced differently by every person, whereas social space is more of a combined understanding of space by various individuals. Thus, space is constructed on top of individuals' place conceptions, summing up the differences and similarities between individuals' conceptualizations.

2.3.1. Place and School

Places are significant to people and their lives. School is an important place for pupils, and it takes up a large portion of the hours that have daylight in childhood and therefore many memories take place in schools (Goodlad, 1984, pp. 95). The place of where one is being educated in has an influence in how one learns (Hung & Stables, 2011, pp. 193). Therefore, it is important to have a deeper look on what school means as a place and space, because school environment carries different responsibilities. Ones' meaning of school as a place is constructed on their interaction with their school (Hung & Stables, 2011, pp. 200). Cresswell (2004, pp. 38) uses universities as an example when he discusses about how places are being reproduced daily. Universities are inhabited by people in accord with expectations about what people generally do in universities, like take exams, visit library, have meetings or lectures (Cresswell, 2004, pp. 38). This makes them places that are performed and also reproduced every day by the individual people (Cresswell, 2004, pp. 38). In a similar way also schools, like any other places, are both produced and producing, making those dynamic concepts.

In order to be able to locate oneself in a place there needs to be an understanding of the meaning of place (Hung & Stables, 2011, pp. 200). All people have some kind of an understanding of school. Also, Mollenhauer (2014, pp. 49) has noticed that even within one family, there are different expectations for school and expressing ways of life which are not always that consistent. They give an example of a family, in which parents have different interpretations for the matter of school, even though they both think that going in school is a normal thing to do (Mollenhauer, 2014, pp. 49). Thus, people have some similarities but also differences in their interpretations. Most people also have formed school into a place with their knowledge of place

and experiences in it. For school to be a place, there needs to be meaning and experience connected to it while these experiences are felt individually by pupils as Cresswell (2004, pp. 7–8) states. Therefore, schools are places and spaces at the same time for people who have had any kind of relation or even understanding of school. As stated earlier, pupils spend a big part of their childhood in schools and along with home, school is one of the most time spent and significant places and most of their life takes place in these two settings. For this reason, school is a very important place for pupils.

As mentioned earlier that schools withhold many expectations from different people. These conceptualizations are people's conceptualizations of place, meaningful location.

2.3.2. Understanding Placelessness

Alongside place there is a phenomenon called placelessness. There are several different terms used for placelessness such as placeness, but in this research placelessness is the term being used. Yi-Fu Tuan and Edward Relph are humanists that introduced both place and placelessness in the 1970s (Zhang et al., 2021, pp. 1). Placelessness is an attitude that is becoming more dominant by the day where it is seen that that a true deep sense of place or the creation of authentic places is harder and harder (Relph, 1976, pp. 80). Media is something that directly and indirectly encourage the creation of placelessness, which means the weakening of place's identity so that place feels and looks the same (Relph, 1976, pp. 90). Media spaces are meant when speaking of audio-video environments and other computer networks that makes communication across time and space possible (Harsisson & Dourish, 1996, pp. 70). Patterns of use create and sustain placelessness (Harsisson & Dourish, 1996, pp. 70). Whereas placelessness is not something we can design in, it is something to support as we can design for it (Harsisson & Dourish, 1996, pp. 70). Media spaces provide a structure from where placelessness can arise, similarly to how spaces can transform to places (Harsisson & Dourish, 1996, pp. 70).

Technology by itself cannot form places but it can be used to help re-create existing places (Turner & Turner, 2006, pp. 2). To continue placelessness was not designed to be a place but rather for people to make places in them (Harsisson & Dourish, 1996, pp. 70). In a similar way placelessness or non-places do not seem to have history or sense of belonging in them, and thus airports or tourist villages are artificially created environments, in which people generally do not feel attached to (Cresswell, 2004, pp. 44–47). These non-places can possibly turn into places

if one is emotionally attached to it and gives it a special meaning. Cresswell (2004, pp. 37) adds that places are constructed by people doing things and therefore constantly being performed in a meaningful way.

As discussed, school is a space, and for each individual, it is a place that is different from others' understanding of school as a place. Individuals' experiences of school form the base for the broader, generalized concept of school as a space. Our understanding and experiences of school are dynamic and open for a change. Recently, in spring 2020 the traditional sense of school took a radical turn when schools were faced with a new situation as the world closed due to the pandemic, COVID-19 (OKM, 2020). COVID-19 closed all the schools in Finland and with a few days' notice they moved from contact teaching to distance learning (OKM, 2020). As schools doors were shut the teaching took place through computers and screens meaning that suddenly the location of school was transferred into home. This changed the concept of school even though the purpose of school stayed mainly the same. In distance learning parents were forced to step up and be more involved in the studies of their children (Kaakinen, 2020). The method of teaching changed as well as the physical aspects as the space where teaching happened, now it was at home environment (Kaakinen, 2020).

Distance learning was seen as a possibility to stretch the borders of school already by Cresswell in 2004. Cresswell (2004, pp. 37) discusses about the development of the pedagogical institution as a place and possibilities and challenges that the distance teaching learning can create to it, as places are never finished but always becoming and part of the process. Distance learning during the pandemic forced pupils, teachers, parents, and other people to change their understanding of school as a place because teaching did not happen anymore in the traditional school building. Distance learning challenged the place-based education making contact teaching possibly redundant (Cresswell, 2004, pp. 37). This raised a lot of discussion about the purpose of school and school's role in the society and children's lives (E.g., Eskonen, De Fresnes & Pietarinen, 2020; YLE News, 2020; Hirvonen, 2020; Stenroos, 2020).

Virtual visual spaces are not shared just made available, one can see the other person and their surrounding through a camera on their screens (Harsisson & Dourish, 1996, pp. 73). However, the other cannot be in the same frame and share the same space (Harsisson & Dourish, 1996, pp. 73). This is what happened when schools turned into distant learning and teacher's face was on the pupils' screens, but they did not share the space together or with their peers. A big part of schools is the other pupils in the classroom and outside but now the social connections were taken away.

3 Conducting the Research

Qualitative and quantitative research are easily put to compete with one another as qualitative research is not seen as proper or trustworthy with its small sample size (Hammarberg et al., 2016, pp. 498). However, quantitative research can be seen as generalising personal experiences or even recognise research biases (Hammarberg et al., 2016, pp. 498). We did consider both methods for our research but ended up choosing qualitative methods as it does support our research questions best. As qualitative methods answer the questions such as perspective, experience and meaning from the participants point of view (Hammarberg et al., 2016, pp. 499). This research is qualitative in nature, as it aims to test and elaborate theoretical background of school as socially produced space.

Qualitative research analysis aims to create themes by observing the research materials, this is very time consuming (Elkatawneh, 2016, pp. 3). Qualitative research in nature is narrative with a lot of text while also having direct quotes from the participants (Elkatawneh, 2016, pp. 4). Elkatawneh (2016, pp. 3) speaks of qualitative research as inductive meaning that the research conducted is not based on theory or the researchers' expectations but rather let the data speak for itself. However, in our research we have based our questionnaire and research heavily on the existing theory we have introduced at the beginning of this thesis. We have used a questionnaire as a method to collect data. Our questionnaire is constructed based on theoretical background presented in our research. The data collected is analysed in content analysis using theory based analyse method that leans on theoretical background presented (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2018, pp. 110–111).

Qualitative research is not hypothesis driven (Hammarberg et al., 2016, pp. 498). As hypothesis is a prediction, which is typical for quantitative research while qualitative research aims to explore the respondents' views (Elkatawneh, 2016, pp. 2). For these reasons we do not have any hypothesis presented.

3.1. Research Process

Forming a deeper understanding of school as a space is the purpose of this research. In order to gain a deeper understanding on how school is as a space, teachers' thoughts and experiences are

required. To get there, the first step on this research was to define research questions. In the beginning of this research process, we wanted to understand school as a space better. School has not been in the centre of attention earlier, when it comes in understanding and describing school through a human geographical concept, space. Therefore, we were curious to research it in more detail, choosing that to be theme for our research. After deciding that, we defined the main concepts which in this context are school, space and place. School is described in Finnish context, using appropriate peer-reviewed articles and literature together with Acts and legal document related to it. Space and place are defined using approaches from human geography. We chose to apply these concepts into the school environment due to our mutual interest in both education and geography. To define all of our concepts applied in this research, we have used peer review articles and literature from recognized researchers. As school is socially constructed, we can discuss about it as a socially produced space, using Henri Lefebvre as one of our key researchers (Lefebvre, 1991). Socially produced space can be understood through a spatial triad that consists of three aspects: spatial practices, representational space and representations of space (Lefebvre, 1991). We have applied Lefebvre's spatial triad in the context of school for the purposes of this research.

After defining theoretical background for our research, we started to think how we could expand our understanding of school as a space. We thought that teachers are experts when it comes to conceptualizing school as they have experiences of school in the roles of a pupil, teacher, and citizen. Some teachers can also have experienced school as a parent or guardian. Thus, they seemed an adequate target group that could have something to offer our research. To gather data, we decided to make an online survey that was forwarded to teachers around Finland. The theoretical background has worked as a base for the survey, as the questions are all based on the theoretical background and especially on the spatial triad of socially produced place by Lefebvre. We have analysed school through the dimensions of the spatial triad and used those findings in the creation of the survey.

The research was conducted by creating a survey on the Webropol platform (appendix 1). It was decided that a survey would be most beneficial for the research and give the most accurate findings as well as get access to teachers. We chose to use an online survey also to save some time in our research process. The survey was sent to principles from all over Finland and asked to forward it to their schools' classroom teachers. This took place in September 2022. Answering the survey was voluntary and anonymous for all. The survey was completed in Finnish so

that it was accessible for the majority of teachers in Finland. For the survey we chose to use Finnish language, so teachers would be able to express themselves in their mother tongue.

With having a survey, it opened us the possibility of having different types of questions presented to teachers. There were some multiple-choice questions and quite many open questions that let to respondents to open up more of their thoughts. Open questionnaire has features from both qualitative and quantitative research (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2018, pp. 84). Whereas a structured questionnaire is mainly perceived as a quantitative method (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2018, pp. 84 & 87). Tuomi and Sarajärvi (2018, pp. 87) discuss about the pros and cons of using “survey interview”. They consider survey interview to be more of a quantitative method and quite often not suitable for qualitative research, unless respondents can be classified somehow for qualitative classes (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2018, pp. 87). Every single question in a survey interview must be arguable from the theoretical framework and all questions must be meaningful when it comes to the purpose of research and problem setting (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2018, pp. 87). While keeping this in mind, we created a test questionnaire, that got sent to our teacher colleagues for some comments. Based on their answers and comments, we modified the questionnaire, and for example changed the structure of the questionnaire so it would be more approachable and not feeling too heavy in the beginning with larger open-ended questions. Our test respondents seemed to favour multiple choice questions over open-ended ones, finding those easier to answer. In the end, our questionnaire was divided into four sections. First one being background information, following by questions related to the representations of school. After this we had some open-ended questions about spatial practices, finishing with section of representational school.

As our research has quite a bit of qualitative elements, it is aiming to describe and give theoretically meaningful interpretation for school as a space, instead of creating statistical generalisation (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2018, pp. 98). Thus, it is important that examinees, in our research teachers, know a great deal of the research subject and have relative experience (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2018, pp. 98). That is the case in our research where teachers are interviewed through the questionnaire, asking about their conceptualization of school based on their personal experiences. Like we brought up, teachers are experts in the school environment as it is their workplace and they have earlier attended school as pupils. Some teachers also experience school from the perspective of a parent or active member of society.

For the content analysis we used classification and sub-categories which arose from our theoretical background. However, we had to make some new sub-headings apart from those to help in finding differences and similarities in responses. Later our findings were summed up, and gathered together in the key findings, following by discussion.

3.2. Collecting the Data

The survey was sent to primary school principals from South to North and from East to West of Finland. Principals were asked to forward the survey to teachers teaching in their school. In total the survey request was sent to 158 principals by e-mail. We do not have a precise number of how many principals forwarded the research request or how many teachers in each school answered as these information's would not bring any extra value for our research also, this guarantees that the respondents stay anonymous. Some principals replied to us either saying that they have forwarded our questionnaire to their teachers or asking for a research permit. Messages were sent between 12th and 23rd of September and the answering period was open until the 30th of September. In total we received 27 responses on our survey.

Research permits became a challenge to us, as we had not known that we would require permits to conduct our research with teachers. It seemed that different cities have different procedures when it comes to conducting research. However, we did apply for a research permit from the city of Kajaani, and that got accepted. Due to our tight schedule, we didn't have time for other research applications, as those typically take around 3 weeks to go through the process.

3.3. Analysis Methods

Schreier (2013) concludes qualitative content analysis method as having three features, which are reducing data, being systematic and being flexible. These features fit well in our research. In our research we chose a theory based analyse method as a base for the content analyses. Tuomi and Sarajärvi (2018) consider theory based analyse to be traditional analysing method that strongly leans on theoretical framework. In this method various concepts and terms have been defined using already researched concepts and theories. According to Tuomi and Sarajärvi, in theory based analyse, the purpose of the research is often to test old theory or practice

in a new setting. (110–111). In our research that is to apply human geographical concepts of space and place in the context of school. In this kind of research, the theoretical framework guides research questions and answers are reflected and analysed hand in hand with the theory base (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2018, pp. 110–111). Thus, results are either in line with the theory strengthening it or results can reform the theory base (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2018, pp. 111). Before moving to the content analysis, we started by creating a theoretical framework for our research, that was the fundament for the questionnaire. In the analysing phase all answers have been reflected and analysed in the light of the theoretical framework presented. One central concept in the research findings phase has been spatial triad of socially produced space by Lefebvre (1991).

The first step on content analyses in theory-based approach is to create an analyse frame which is similar to the theoretical framework (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2018, pp. 127–128). This gives a possibility to collect answers under ready-made categories or keep a note on things outside the frame (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2018, pp. 128). The frame is the heart of the method as it assigns materials into clear categories (Schreier, 2013, 2). Schreier (2013) continue that qualitative content analysis aids with the reduction of the large amount of material as the researcher needs to prune the answers to find answers that relate to the research question. The process of content analysis is very systematic like Schreier continues. (pp. 2) In the case of our research, in the stage of content analyses we have collected answers under Lefebvre's Spatial Triad of socially produced place that includes spatial practices, representational space and representations of space (Lefebvre, 1991). In his work Lefebvre (1991) has analysed and reflected his perspectives in the light of physical, mental and social space. We have followed his example and used those categories as subclasses, dimensions of spatial triad being main categories. Our classification has been done first by dividing responses under the dimensions of spatial triad, so spatial practices, representations of space and representational space (Lefebvre, 1991). Then we under each section we classified the answers into physical, mental and social aspects. This classification has helped us gather together answers which are for example discussing the social aspects of school's representational space. After this we created new subheadings based on the theoretical background and things brought up in the responses. As an example, social aspect of school's representational space had following subheadings; skills, unity, group, interaction, meeting point, collaboration. Nonetheless, we decided not to use these subheadings excessively when presenting our findings, but focus more on having smooth text, because many of these categorizations are overlapping. These subheadings and categories helped us focus our attention on

certain aspects presented in the responses. Our way of working resonates with the content analyses for theory-based approach presented by Tuomi and Sarajärvi (2018, pp. 127–129). Whereupon theoretical framework is highly impacting and defining the analyse frame for the content analyses (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2018, pp. 127–131).

However, content analysis can have its fall as it aims to reveal the answers to the research question through a specified lens meaning that at times that some key findings can be overlooked as they do not meet the researchers' assumptions (Schreier, 2013, pp. 2). To avoid this, we did not stick on solely in the categories found from the theoretical background, but we created new subheadings when needed. Thus, content analysis can also be very flexible as the frame can be modified constantly so that it matches the material (Schreier, 2013, pp. 3). In the end, the purpose for our research was either to strengthen our theoretical background gathered or reform it like Tuomi and Sarajärvi remind (2018, pp. 111). Also, Elo and Kyngäs (2007, pp. 108) discuss content analyses benefit of flexibility when it comes to research design and its content-sensitivity method. Qualitative content analysis focuses on providing a proper overview of the material that is being analysed (Schreier, 2013, pp. 5).

After doing the content analyses for most of the data, we did quantification to the data received in the open-ended question number 11; "What is the purpose of school?". In the process of quantification, we have kept track of how many times various purposes were brought up in the results (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2018, pp. 135–138). This was interesting and important because it led to us noticing that our respondents emphasized different purposes of school compared to question number 5, which was about rating different tasks based on their importance for the respondents. Thus, our method for this research was not solely based on content analyses, but it had mixed methods at the end, meaning that we used both content analyses and quantification to analyse data (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2018, pp. 135–138). However, it mainly relied on the content analysis.

3.4. Research Challenges and Ethical Issues

Qualitative research in general can be criticised for not being objective as researchers own interpretations and experiences are always involved in the assessment of the research (Hammarberg et al., 2016, 498). In this view our whole questionnaire and its findings can be questioned

on its reliability. However, qualitative research is also valuable and offers different insights to the issue at hand. The research findings are interpreted by us and even though we have tried to be objective us as humans can never reach a totally objective level. We have approached through the theoretical background of our research. When opening our findings, we have discussed a lot together, to diminish an impact of just one of us and their viewpoint. Our questionnaire was done online, and it is possible that we might have interpreted some responses differently from what respondent have aimed to express in written form. As researchers, we have analysed and interpreted responses based on our best understanding and knowledge we have. We acknowledge that somethings can be missing, and different interpretations are possible.

Another typicality for qualitative research is a smaller sample size compared to quantitative research. We expected to have a big sample size even though composing qualitative research as we hoped to gather teachers views from a large range to increase the reliability and diversity of our findings. We hoped to have closer to 80 respondents, but this did not happen as we were met with difficulties of reaching the teachers. It was seen that most contacted principles did not forward our message, reasons for this could be that the message got lost in their inboxes or they did not see our research as important to be spread to their teachers. Happily, some principles showed interest and replied to us passionately about sending it forward. Another issue we bumped into was the lack of research permit to their city's areas, this was the situation with several cities whom we contacted. This turned out to vary depending on the principle and we had not heard of the need for research permits beforehand. Therefore, we were not prepared for the process and only applied for one city's permit as we were able to get that in short notice instead of three-week waiting time.

From our research statistics we can see that 81 people opened our survey and 49 started answering while only 27 people answered the whole survey. These numbers indicate that almost half of the people did not complete answering the survey for different reasons. Some reason could be the lack of time or difficulty of the survey. We understand that the topic of our research is not necessarily the easiest to approach with the terminology coming from human geography and having philosophical questions that teachers might not have thought of before. To make the questionnaire more approachable, we edited the survey after the test run with adding more multiple-choice questions and changing the order of the sections. Even though we added some multiple-choice questions, we felt that open-ended questions were required as well, so that we can gather a better understanding of the teachers views on the topic without guiding them too

much. This ended up being a good decision as responses in multiple-choice questions and open-ended questions brought up different aspects to our research.

When results are presented to be suitable for the context and people with shared experience can identify with the findings only then is qualitative research credible (Hammarberg et al., 2016, pp. 500). Thus, the results should not be very surprising or contradict to the previous knowledge. In surveys there is no one good answering rate it is usually seen as a good answering rate when it is above average and according to some sources that would be somewhere over 25 percentage answer the survey of the people who have been contacted on the matter (Ramshaw, N.d.). We do believe we get pretty close to this number when looking at how many teachers received the information of our research. However, we do not fully know this as we do not know how many principals sent our questionnaire forward or how many teachers there are in their schools.

The language can also be questioned critically as the survey was in Finnish. For the purposes of this research, we decided to translate our responses into English, to make research text more accessible. We understand that some nuances of expressions have possibly got lost in translation process and some misunderstandings or misinterpretation can occur, as we are working with respondents written expressions only. Our survey provides the respondents a very good anonymity as they cannot be named or located in any way as even us researchers are not aware of their backgrounds, apart from age, gender, and teaching experience. We believe that we have got responses from teachers only, as the questionnaire was distributed through e-mails sent to principals who have been asked to forward it to their teachers. In addition, all responses seem appropriate and do not raise concerns about their reliability.

4 Research Findings

As stated, we conducted our research through a survey. In total we received 27 answers from teachers who work in primary schools. As diagram 1 demonstrates more females answered the survey with a total of 18 respondents (67%) while there were 9 respondents (33%) who identified their selves as male. Meaning both genders are presented well even though it is a female dominated field. No one answered other for the gender question. Diagram 2 shows us that the largest group of respondents where 51–60-year-olds with the percentage of 37 (N=10). The second largest age group presented in our survey was 41-50-year-olds with eight respondents (30%). Four respondents (15%) where under the age of 30. Over 60-year-olds were the least presented with two respondents (7%) leaving that 11 percent (N=3) respondents where between the age of 31-40-year-olds. These are interesting as all age groups are presented and therefore, they bring different views and reliability to our research. Most respondents where 41-60-year-olds (N=18) this can be explained by peoples' workloads as that the people representing this age group could have the most time. As younger teachers tend to be new with their tasks and therefore require more time for other school activities such as preparing lessons. While the small representation of over 60-year-olds can be explained with the average retirement age in Finland being between 63 and 65 years (Työeläke).

Diagram 1. Gender of the respondents.

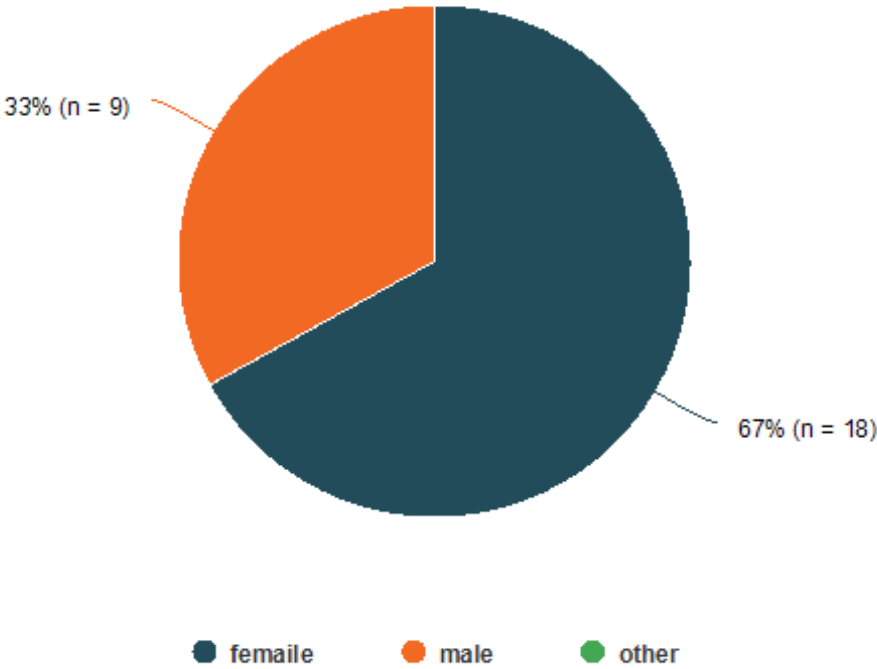


Diagram 2. Age of the respondents.

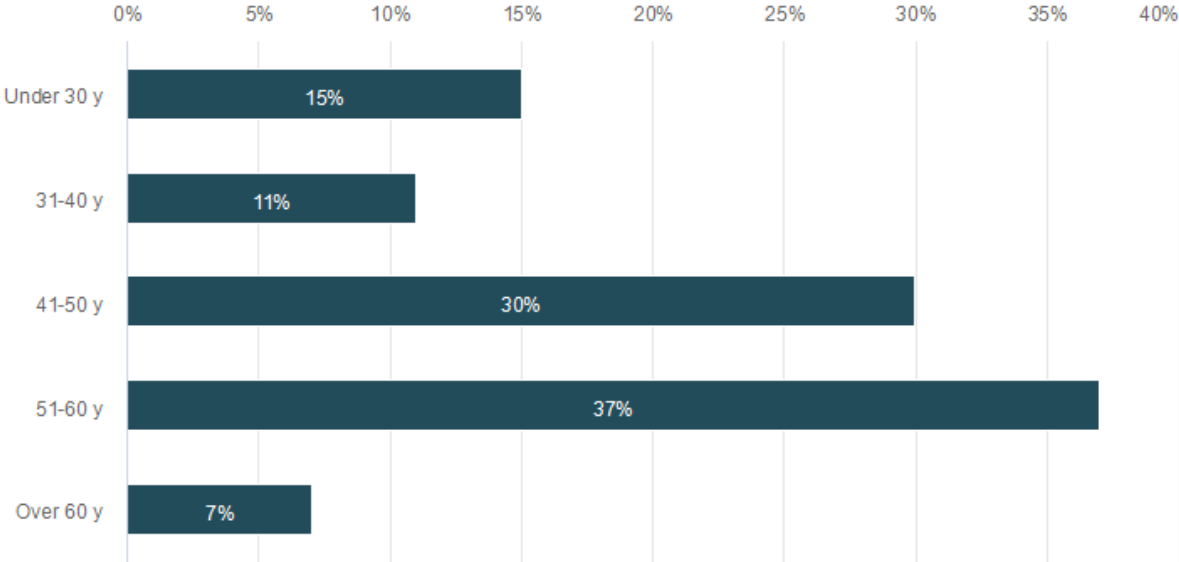
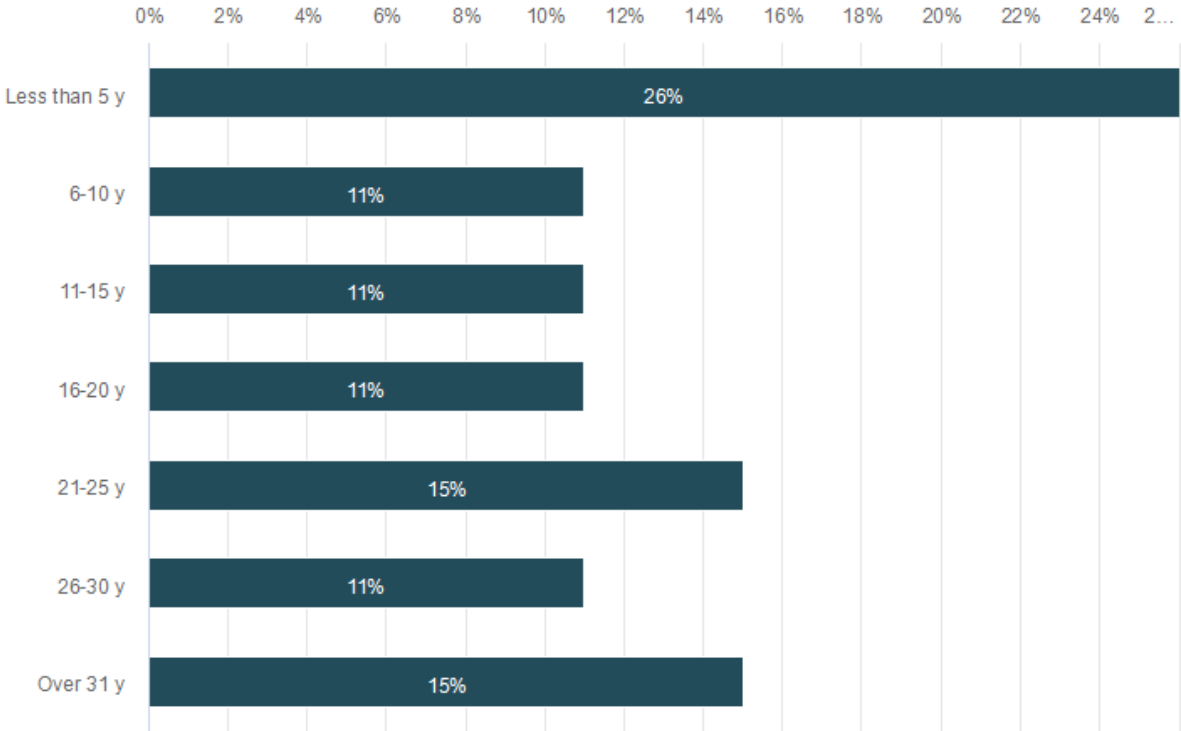


Diagram 3 demonstrates how long the respondents have worked as a teacher; these findings vary a lot. Surprisingly under 5 years teaching experience received the most votes from 7 respondents making it 26 percentage of all respondents. Groups that had been in the field for 21-25 and over 31 years both received 15 percent (N=4). All other groups of experience 6-10, 11-15, 16-20 and 26-30 received three respondents in their group (11%). This shows that we received answers from a diverse group of teachers when it comes to their experience in the field. It is also interesting to see if there are differences on the understandings and experiences of school depending on their years as a teacher.

Diagram 3. How long the respondent has been working as a teacher.



4.1. Spatial Practices in School

In this section we will dive into the research findings on our questionnaire regarding teachers experiences with spatial practises in schools. We will focus on several different groups’ movements such as pupils, teachers, other school staff and evening users. In question 12 we asked respondents to describe pupils’ spatial practices. Following by question 13 about describing

teacher's or counsellor's movements in school. Next question 14 asked about movement of cleaners and question 15 after that was taking stock of respondents' conceptualization of evening users' spatial practices. Lastly, in this section respondents had an opportunity to tell if there was something still in their minds regarding the spatial practices of some user group of school.

It is good to take notice that schools are accessible in different ways, some being more accessible than others. Respondent 6 brought up that moving in their school has been made accessible for all regardless of their disabilities. Whereas respondent 24 says that they are having many stairs and not any elevator in their school. Therefore, between schools and individuals in one school might have different possibilities for the spatial movements in time and space.

4.1.1. Pupils' Spatial Practices in School

School is an environment that expects certain type of behaviour from its' users (Antikainen et al., 2021). In school pupils must adapt to routines that are in relation to time and space. Antikainen and colleagues (2021) bring up that only very few places are as strictly controlled as school is when it comes to people's behaviour and actions. Like expected, similar findings were found from our survey.

In many results while answering question 12 about pupils' movement in schools, teachers brought up that pupils' movement is highly controlled in day-to-day life. Pupils are expected to follow school rules throughout the day. When thinking about spatial practices and space used, respondents pointed out that pupils are mainly moving between few areas: from the school yard to classroom, from classroom to dining hall or toilets and from classroom to school yard (R1; R3; R12; R15). These answers are in line with Antikainen and colleagues (2021) description of how school days are constructed around lessons, recesses, and lunch breaks. Pupils are occasionally also allowed in other areas in school, like subject specific classrooms in Art, Physical, Education, Handicrafts or Music (R3; R25). Thus, school is not an open environment for pupils, but their actions and possible movements are highly controlled by spaces in which they are allowed to go. However, pupils cannot move between these allowed places freely, but rather their movements are controlled by time (R10; R11; R14; R19). Like Respondent 15 says: "*... actually all movements [by pupils] are somewhat limited, taking into consideration pupils age and action.*"

As mentioned, teachers control pupils' movements by allowing or restricting it. Respondent 10 brought up the contradict challenge in the classroom when the task is supposed to bring two different outcomes at the same time *"is to encourage pupils to move as it boosts learning, but also to maintain calm working environment so learning can happen."* In some lessons it is possible to move to some other place to work, instead of staying in your own place in the classroom, in order to find a calm learning spot (R7). In this case pupils need to follow set rules. Some movement is coming also from the steps taken inside the classroom, especially during active teaching, but also in daily activities like when going to sharpen your pencil, going to the smartboard, meeting your friend by their desk, or going to check your answers in mathematics (R5; R10). Nonetheless, this movement cannot happen at any time, as respondent 21 reminds that movement also takes place on inappropriate times in the classroom.

Adapting to the limitations of space and time in school can be challenging for pupils as they are considered to be *"lively and joyful in nature, but at the same time restless and noisy (R18)."* When these lively pupils are spending time together, it can cause loud corridors when pupils are chatting and using their phones. Some schools are shoeless schools, meaning that pupils leave their shoes by the outdoor and are moving inside the building wearing socks or indoor slippers (R10; R14). This helps to keep the floors clean while making the environment more pleasant (R10). Having your clothes or shoes left on a specific outdoor area also guides pupils to use the same route when moving inside and outside the building as well as vice versa. We believe that wearing socks instead of shoes could also ease a bit of the loud voices on the corridors as one voice source is taken off. Another way to try lower the volume on the corridors is by encouraging pupils to walk instead of running like Respondent 13 talks about their practices. Walking inside can also be justified as a safety question. A more suitable place for running would be the gym hall. Respondents consider Physical Education lessons in the gym hall or outside to be times for more active movements, although still guided and restricted by teachers. However, not all pupils want to move during Physical Education lesson as Respondent 21 mentions.

As our respondents describe, recess areas for pupils are either outside on the school yard or inside in the corridors or hallways. Outside pupils can run and play more freely inside the dedicated area that is often marked by a fence. Teacher's feel that pupils have more freedom of movement outside in the school yard than what they have inside the school. Even though pupils have more freedom to move outside, teachers are still maintaining the order there with recess supervision. One respondent (R5) mentions that her school has divided the school yard into

sections that are used at different times with different classes during the week. After school the school yard is in free use for the neighbourhood. As respondents bring up, pupils and youngsters often come to the school yard in the afternoon to hang out. That makes school an important meeting point for the local youth.

As we have noticed, there are areas where pupils are allowed to go at specific set times during their school day. However, there are also places which are not for pupils' access, like storage rooms or teachers' lounge. There might also be school specific restrictions like in one comprehensive school certain corridors that are connecting buildings together are only in pupils use during the wintertime (R10). Thus, certain spaces might be available for pupils only during very specific times if never.

4.1.2. Teachers Spatial Practises in School

Question 13 was about teacher's and counsellor's movements in school. Teachers' spatial practises in schools are not as restricted as pupils due to their different position. However, pupils do at times destine teachers' movement as they are following and guiding pupils to different places. Teachers are actively moving also between classrooms as they need to move to the classroom where the next lesson is going to be held in. Also, before pupils arrive and after their departure, teachers are moving actively around the school to other teacher's classrooms, special education teacher, copying machine, storages etc. In one answer it is described that teachers are constantly in movement. In other cases, teachers' movement is even more restricted to pupils like in the case of respondent 14 "*Teachers meet the class at the front door. Movement with a smaller group to smaller working area (jakotila). Counsellor is present in all recess movements when going in and out. Teachers have the recess supervisions.*" This might be the case especially in smaller village schools (kyläkoulu), with only few staff members or in special needs schools where pupils need constant supervision due to difficulties with basic needs or behavioural challenges.

Even though teachers can move more freely in the classroom it still can have consequences. As teacher's excessive movements can cause restless behaviour in the classroom "*At least I – move too much in the classroom. ... It would make it calmer if the teacher would stay more still. This would require good planning...*" (R5). It would create a calmer learning environment if there

was no need to leave the classroom during the lessons e.g., to the copying machine or storage room. Respondent 18 also spoke of hurried movement taken by teachers in the school “*Prompt movement where the goal is to move clearly from place A to place B*”. While on the contrary respondent 13 stated “*Teachers and councillors move calmly and greet each other*” This allows for a good collaboration and creates a sense of community. Some teachers or staff members move more than others, as their job description might require more movement in school building. Respondent 22 points out that special needs educator needs to change classroom for nearly every lesson as they are working with many different pupils from various classes.

Teachers control the movements when it comes to time and space of pupils. Teachers also have movement regardless of pupils. From the answers we received it is clear that pupils have only a few spaces that they are allowed in whereas teachers mention many locations they have access to. Teachers are some sort of referees as they make sure that pupils are following the school rhythm and things happen at right time in the right place (Antikainen et al., 2021). At the same time teachers are easily accessible for pupils but also set boundaries at the same time. There comes some challenges when teachers are restricting movement while trying not to hinder pupils’ excitement and need for the movement (R8). It is a challenging combination to have movement enhancing learning while keeping the class calm so that learning can take place (R10). Challenge in this is that movement can cause restless behaviour and noise among pupils (R10). One simple way to add movement and activity level in the school is to make use of diverse learning environments, sometimes taking lessons and learning outside the classroom to the hallways, school yard or local neighbourhood (R20). However, most teaching takes place in the classrooms. Teachers spend time in their home classrooms when pupils are outside if they were not having a recess supervision. Teachers seem to spend also quite lots of time in their respective classrooms before and after school, like respondent 18 mentions.

Like we have already discussed, teachers also have access to rooms and areas that are restricted from pupils. Teachers can for example go to the teachers' lounge between lessons and have breaks there and socialise with colleagues which is prohibited from pupils, (R1; R12; R15; R19) (Antikainen et al., 2021). Teacher’s lounges differ between schools, and there are different school cultures as well as personal preferences about time spent in teachers’ lounge. In addition to teachers’ lounge schools might have personal spaces for staff, where are lockers for personal belongings (R24). Some teachers come to school also later in the evening if they have hobbies or free time activities that take place in the school (R9), this most likely happens more often in

smaller cities and if the teacher is living close to the school. In those cases, teachers are also part of the local neighbourhood and use school building as workplace along with activity centre.

4.1.3. Other School Staffs Spatial Practises in School

Other staff apart from teachers and counsellors, are people who also move and take space in schools are cleaners, cooks, secretaries, janitors, school psychologists and nurses. They are easily forgotten and overlooked when discussing school, like is brought up in some of the responses (R8; R11) asked in question 14. In our research we asked teachers to elaborate on how cleaners move in the space of school in the context of physical spatial movements as well as time. However, in addition many teachers spoke of also other staff moving and taking space in schools and therefore we have included other staff of schools here as well. Now we will be discussing about the spatial practices of the other staff based on the responses we got in the survey. Unfortunately, daily practices of other school staff are not studied and there is no theoretical background found regarding their role in the school. Nevertheless, we perceived them being important part of the school and wanted to research their spatial movements in school.

Many respondents discussed on cleaners being invisible workers who occupy empty classrooms and corridors to clean efficiently (R3; R8; R15). Cleaners tight schedule was mentioned several times (R1; R15; R20; R24). Tight schedule came up also in a context of not having time to clean anything extra because of the schedule (R1). Cleaners work descriptions seemed to vary, as in some schools they also have the task of the school cook, while in other schools there are several cleaners focusing on cleaning in the building at the same time (R7; R9; R25). This must have quite a lot to do with the size of the school building, because big comprehensive schools require more time to get cleaned compared to smaller village schools. Surprisingly one respondent (R25) pointed out that in their school classroom counsellor (ohjaaja) helps teachers during the day and in the afternoon, they move to help the cleaners.

Most of the movement by cleaners take place during the day but also before and after main school hours (R3; R7; R19; R21). *“Cleaners’ routes are predictable as they are repeated daily, which makes it easily predictable for other users in school”* (R5). They have often scheduled days that are structured around lessons and pupils’ movement. Thus, cleaners give space to school’s other occupants, being described as *“doing invisible work”* and moving in silence but

working effectively (R11; R14; R18). Their movements are, nonetheless, described as purposeful (R13). They are respected workers in school as mentioned by respondent 13: “*All in all they [cleaners] are a pleasant group of people*”. Some of the respondents (R2; R6) talk about cleaners with disgrace when saying that cleaners only move things and furniture around, having an easy job or taking their time mopping. However, the latter respondent described cleaners to be happy people in their school (R6). Thus, respondent 6 could have meant that in their school cleaners are not having such a tight schedule and enjoying the work, instead of being disrespectful towards cleaners’ job.

In the survey it was pointed out that the facility services (kiinteistö- ja tilapalvelut) people move around the school depending on their tasks and where they are needed (R3). Respondent 11 also spoke on the movement of school psychologist, school nurses, school social workers, occupational therapist and speech therapist that takes place during the school day or right after the classes. In the survey we did not receive much information about spatial practices of the other staff, but from the respondents we got, their movements seem to be purposeful and not limited to only few areas in school.

4.1.4. Evening Users Spatial Practises in School

Unfortunately, there is no research conducted on the schools evening users in Finland. However, most cities offer facilities in their schools for different evening uses, information on these can be found on cities own websites (eg. Ouka.fi). We believe it is important to also discuss the evening users of the schools because they do also have significant spatial practises and leave their mark that can also be seen from our survey’s answers, especially in question 15 that asked respondents to describe spatial practices of evening users. From the survey results we could quickly pick up, that some of the teachers are not really aware of how evening users are using school as a space (R6; R13; R18; R20). This is probably due to their intersecting times spent at school. However, teachers can see tracks from the evening users during the day, when they have left behind water bottles and clothes and in the shoeless schools (kengätön koulu) also some unwanted dirt from the shoes can be found on the next day (R5; R14). Based on the answers we got, teachers seem to know that some evening users are there, but they are not happy to see any traces of them in the morning (R5; R8; R14). Thus, evening users are a bit of a contradict group as they do use the school space, but they should not leave any traces.

Evening users come to school building mainly in the evenings and on weekends (R10). Spaces used in the school differ as our responses show us. In some schools evening use is quite minimal, just having couple groups using school premises (R6; R7). And then on the other end are schools that are in high demand, having all available slots, especially in the gym hall, booked: “*once one finishes, other one starts* (R10)”. The gym hall is often brought up, as it seems to be the mostly used space in school by evening users (R9; R10; R11;). Respondents do mention that also other rooms can be booked but they are not that well utilized by evening users and could be potentially utilized more effectively, for example auditoriums, handicraft classrooms or music classrooms (R9; R23). Other spaces in school can be used for learning languages, art, or music (R14). However, those spaces might not be freely used by evening users, as respondent 1 says that their school has restricted evening users' movement only into the dressing rooms and gym hall, having access only for those spaces (also R19; R22). Possibly some other spaces can be also utilized by evening users depending on the need of the user and booking made (R15).

Often evening users are regular users who have their own spatial practices when it comes to how, when and where they use the space in school (R25). Respondent 24 discusses that their city makes it possible to reserve other spaces from the schools alongside to the gym hall, but people do not use the opportunity. People might not be aware of this possibility that schools offer or the schools maybe located in an area that is not easily accessed and therefore not used for other events. Respondent 21 indicates that schools could be used more diversly by the society by having sales, lectures in the facility as some school has been used for a movie during summer vacation. This would yet again emphasise schools' potential to be integrated even more as a part of the society and have a bigger role in the everyday life of all citizens.

4.2. Representations of School

In this section we will open our research findings from how representations of space are seen in schools. Meaning how school is understood as a physical space. Here again we will have several points of views from which we will make our findings from. The physical space of school is critical in how school is seen and felt for example respondent 8 states: “It is nice to come to work a building that welcomes you” (R8). First, we will take a look at the physical elements of school, which are highly related to the architecture and decisions made regarding

the physical school environment. This will be followed by presenting the responses about the purpose of school. Answers to these questions were collected by asking following questions.

First one in this section was question number 5, in which respondents were asked to rate from 1 to 5, how important they consider certain tasks of school to be. This question was continued by question 6, what of the following elements are central to the schools' physical environment in your opinion? Followed by asking for question 7 which of these elements make school a school. Question number 8 was to survey whether school's physical elements meet respondent's needs for teaching. Followed by question 9, why so? Question 10 asked respondent to ponder on schools' different dimensions such as classrooms and hallways if they brought up some values that school withholds. The last question 11 in the section was an open-ended one asking the respondent to elaborate what the purpose of school is.

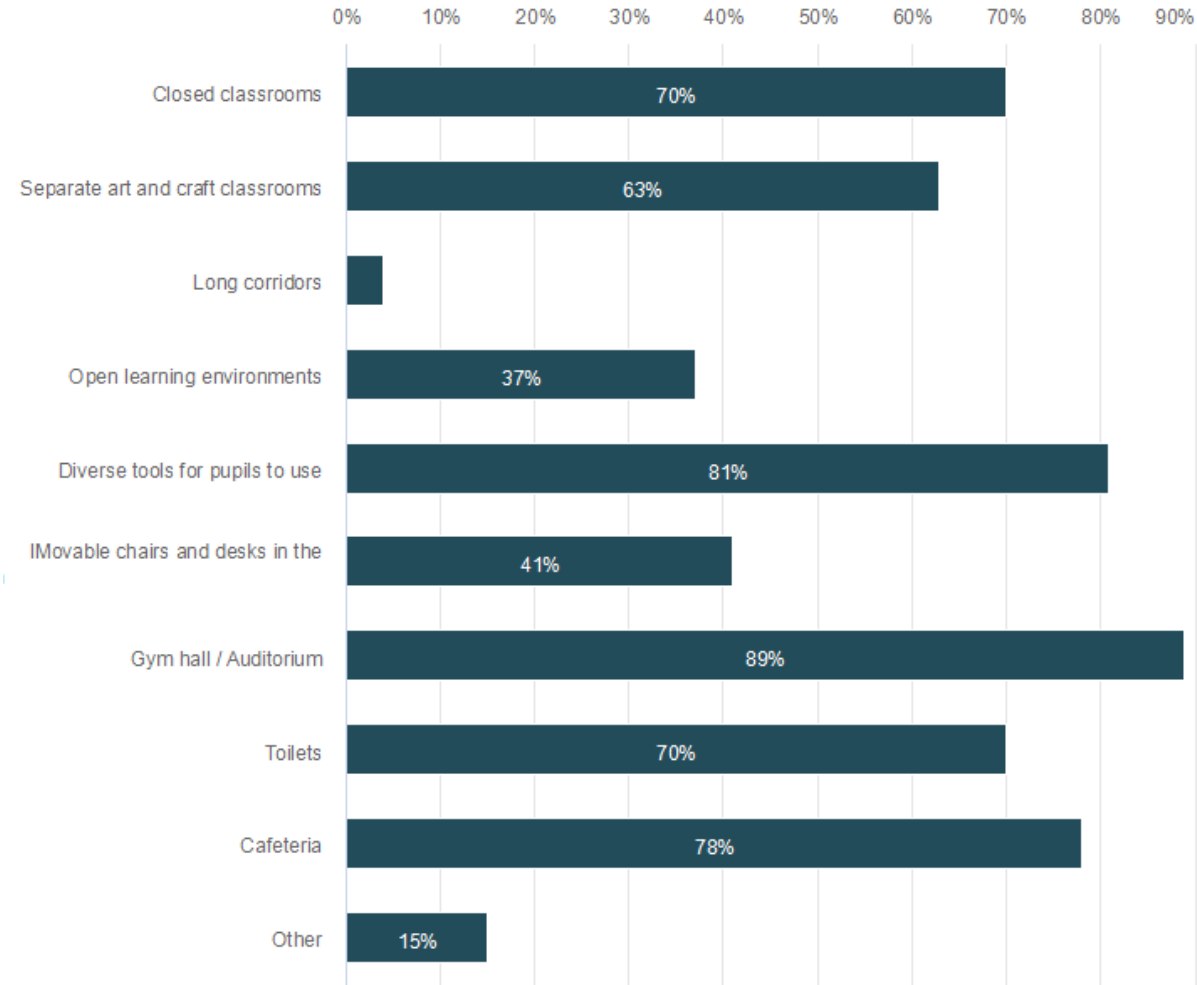
Here again we will have several points of views from which we will make our findings from. The physical space of school is critical in how school is seen and felt for example respondent 8 states: "*It is nice to come to work a building that welcomes you*" (R8). First, we will take a look at the physical elements of school, which are highly related to the architecture and decisions made regarding the physical school environment. This will be followed by presenting the responses about the purpose of school. Answers to these questions were collected by asking following questions.

4.2.1. Physical School Building

Question 6 in the questionnaire asked: "What of the following elements are central to the schools' physical environment in your opinion?" The respondents could choose as many of the element as they wanted to. As can be seen from diagram 4 the gym hall received the most votes with 89 percent meaning that it is seen as the most central element of school. This speaks of the importance of the space, yet it can be surprising as at first thought it could be thought that classrooms would be the central element. However, in the survey classrooms were divided into several more detailed categories closed classrooms (70%), open learning environments (37%) and separate art and craft classrooms (63%). The difference between closed classrooms and open learning environment is big and very interesting, some of our respondents might have

negative or positive experiences in open learning environments but others might not have any experience and rely on the discussion that has been taking place in the past years on the matter.

Diagram 4. What of the following elements are central to the schools’ physical environment in your opinion?

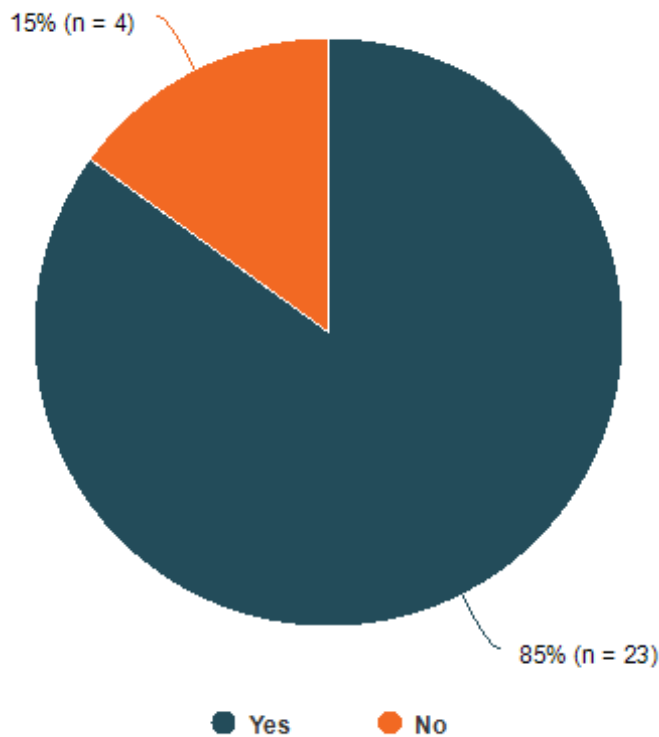


Diverse tools available for pupils received the second highest percentage of 81, meaning that these different tools are central when discussing about school. Respondents did not open up how they understood the “diverse tools available for pupils to use”, but as we thought it refers to the tangible manipulatives, as well as books, tablets, computers or other teaching material used in schools. Related to these tools, it is interesting to notice that movable chairs and tables in the classroom received only 41 percent of votes. The answer might look different if the word movable was not there as some teachers might find the movability of furniture in the class not

to be as important. Cafeteria (78%) and toilets (70%) also received many votes in being central aspects in school, they are necessary as they provide basic needs for all regardless of one's age. Long hallways received only one vote; therefore, it can be stated that long hallways are not a central element of schools. This is a distinguishable finding as in ordinary discussions that is how many describe and remember schools this finding speaks of the development of modern school buildings. Respondents who answered other mentioned "school as a building", "small spaces (jakotilat)" and "recess areas both inside and outside" as factors they see important in the physical school. Responses in this question 6, give us an insight into what elements are required in the physical school building. It is good to note that gym hall is perceived as an important part of the school, as well as cafeteria, toilets, and some sort of classrooms (open, closed, or subject specific ones).

Question 8 asked if the physical school environment met their teaching needs. 85 percent of the respondents answered yes meaning that they are satisfied with the environment their schools offer for their teaching (diagram 5). However, that means that 15 percent of the respondent teachers were not satisfied and do not feel that the school meets their needs for teaching. For example, respondent 14 said that their school does not meet needs as it does not even meet the needs of an elementary school because it is a temporary location in a shelter (väestötila). Continuing that some of the reasons are echoing spaces, too high coat racks, small playground and no parks or fields near to hold physical education lessons. These are all elements that do not make school accessible for all children for example if pupils cannot reach the coat racks their feeling of independency will decrease and they need to rely on adults' help in a task that they would otherwise be capable of completing. Pupils, who are one of the main user groups of school have not been considered in the architecture in this case, that shelter works as a school building. Those spaces in a shelter are not design for children or for schooling purposes, leading for dissatisfaction of the physical environment. From this we can conclude that it is important to include pupils and teachers in the process of designing school as it is a space where they spend many hours daily. Duet to spending a lot of time in school, they are the experts of the school space and have an idea of what works or doesn't work, or which architectural decisions are suitable for that environment.

Diagram 5. Does your school meet your teaching needs?



Respondent 14 answering question 9 describes some reasons their school is not suitable for teaching. First, they state that their school is in four floors, elaborating that the floors are stone, slippery and echoing also mentioning that there are not enough toilets in the different floors. Continuing to mention that the social aspects of school does not take place as well as it could as pupils see little of each other because there are three different playgrounds (R14). In this case, it seems to be similar situation as earlier, that the school building is not designed for the users and as a result of poor architectural decisions. One important factor of a school is to be a social space and having separate areas for the recess are not promoting unity of the entire school. However, Enqvist (1987) discusses about features that give school its' special atmosphere and feeling of school. They think that history, architecture, decorations, and teaching materials are important in making school feel like a school (Enqvist, 1987).

Respondent 12 gave some concrete improvement ideas that would help make the building more accessible for teaching, they would want to have more diverse group working spaces as well as closed spaces for individual working. Nonetheless, they say that their old schools' classrooms

and playground are good and suitable for their purpose (R12). Another opinion from the responses was that the environment is good enough to guarantee quality education even though it's not new and nice (R21). Thus, the age of the school building is not crucial, but more emphasis is whether it meets the needs of daily users, so it is suitable especially for teachers and pupils. Slightly in contradict to this, respondent 1 brings out the situation many schools in Finland have faced in the previous years that the school building is old but has been completely renovated recently. On this note respondent 11 and 6 elaborated how they were part of the designing process of their new school buildings as teachers. They were able to present their wishes during the construction and architecture stage leading to a modern and functional school buildings, which they have found being suitable for their purpose of being schools (R6; R11). Schools should be designed in collaboration with teachers to make sure that schools are well-functioning in the present day like Perkiö-Mäkelä (2006) states. One respondent had vice versa approach as they thought that the teaching needs to be planned according to the circumstances (R4). Meaning, they felt that they can't impact much the physical environment, but rather adapt their own actions, like teaching to the surroundings and possibilities that it provides.

Respondent 8 discussed how schools speak of their times architecture. Schools follow very strictly the pedagogical trends of the time; they have been built in. This also can have an effect on how people's definition for school buildings can vary depending on when they attended school and when the building itself was built. For example, 30 years ago built school buildings are not that likely to have modern open learning environments. Pupils and teachers can have very different experiences depending on if they are in a brand-new open school versus in an old school with long hallways and closed classrooms. These differences could also be seen on the different answers on our survey, as often our respondents seemed to be describing the school building and school environment where they are working at the moment. Some teachers described that closed classrooms make school a school, and some told that school must have open learning environments in order to be a school. Especially the latter approach is reflecting to the current pedagogical trends which are emphasizing open learning environments as new possibilities for teaching and learning. For example, respondent 12 felt that their school only meets somewhat their need for teaching. Continuing that their school has been built in the 50th century and it has its ups and downs. While another respondent (R18) reflected that their choices in the questionnaire speak of a stereotypical and even old understanding of school as a space and environment. Explaining that it comes from the way they understood school to be when they attended school as a pupil, however they would still use the same ways to describe the school

they are working in as a teacher at the moment (R18). Therefore, even when pointing out differences within time, and having modern open learning spaces available in school, in the end schools have not changed much and they carry same key elements which make school a school: gym hall, cafeteria, toilets and some sort of classrooms. Jetsonen (N.d.) mentions that throughout the history, classrooms have been the base for the school's architecture, but also cafeteria, gym hall, toilets, library, handicraft room, teachers' lounge and dressing rooms have been elements found in schools.

4.2.2. Inside the School

Classrooms are central for schools, and especially for teachers to have their own classrooms like respondent 13 says. Respondent 16 emphasises that what makes school a school is the teaching space that is used for teaching purposes. *“School premises with their features should make studying each subject as easy as possible. There must be a possibility for tranquillity, focusing on, calm discussing and listening. And also, enough space and tools to study each subject”* (R20).

Inside the classrooms it is important to recognise the necessary tools that are required in addition to guarantee quality teaching as respondent 11 brings up that besides diverse spaces also materials that allow diverse learning are required. Also, enough space and plenty of equipment's are needed to facilitate all different subjects into the classroom (R20). Clear places for all the materials are required and these are also being thought at schools for example *“First year's education concentrates on teaching pupils to take care of their belongings and it is important that everything has its own place so that it is possible to teach these skills”* (R14). Like we mentioned earlier, diverse tools for pupils to use received second most votes (81%) in the question number 6, that asked about central elements of school's physical environment. However, apart from these couple of respondents, diverse tools, teaching material or furniture were not brought up in open-ended questions. Thus, we do not have data to define which tools are crucial in the school environment. Nevertheless, this is not an issue, as it is not central to our research question. For now, it is enough to acknowledge that suitable material and tools to use are important in school.

Nowadays both, open learning environments as well as closed classrooms are preferred as a key element for school. Respondent 10 says that both closed and open classrooms, diverse tools for pupils, gym hall, toilets and cafeteria are needed, forming the base for functional learning environment. For functional learning environment both open and closed spaces are required (R10).

Respondent 19 elaborates that closed, soundproofed classrooms and having a lot of separated spaces for differentiation are important element for school. Another respondent also agrees stating that school is meeting the needs as there are classrooms and also separate smaller spaces for learning (eriyttämistila) (R27). Respondent 9 also speak of the importance of closed classrooms as they provide a calm environment for learning, therefore closed classrooms are an essential way to support focus. Respondent 20 interpreters their school's newly renovated spaces not enhancing learning. According to them they have classrooms that are noisy as you can hear voices from the corridors and other classrooms (R20). They continue that glass walls are also distracting pupils in the classroom in the middle of learning while classrooms are too small (R20). Respondent 5 discuss about the importance of an own classroom as it is an important space for building up class spirit and making it possible to feel that you are part of a group (R5). Having some hallway space in addition to old classroom would be good, but now the open learning environments have taken too big off a share from the classrooms feels respondent 20. Respondent 7 challenges the idea of having only closed classrooms by stating that *"Classrooms are always symbols of a school, but those do not need to be closed, neither teaching needs to take place in a classroom"*. Moving teaching or learning outside the classroom or school area, is nearly related to concept of placelessness, as if pupils would never come to the physical school building but formal learning would always happen somewhere else, then school building would not be considered to be a place by pupils as it would not be constructed or performed in a meaningful way by people (see Cresswell, 2004, pp. 37).

Classrooms itself also present some values, like stability, being the "nest" for pupils like respondents 1, 9 and 10 open up in question number 10. Respondent 10 discusses also about the balance between closed classrooms and open learning environments. They consider own closed classroom bringing stability by having tranquillity and safety, because stimuli can be restricted better compared to open learning environment (R9; R10). In addition, own classroom is important for pupils as it is part of the structured daily life, which is important (R9). Respondent 10 adds up, that they also work in the open learning environment with the group and having a good balance between those different spaces is important. *"My own teaching space is big, and*

it enables great variety of activities. This is important to me” states respondent 18. Values and the purpose that school carries within care discussed more in another section.

Schools have many different spaces, as diagram 4 demonstrated classrooms are not the only spaces that make up the school as toilets, cafeteria, gym hall, handicraft classes and hallways were mentioned multiple times. The qualities of school should be of such that make pupils learning as easy as possible through offering the opportunity for tranquillity, focus, calm discussion and listening (R20). *“They [different spaces] are the foundation for a working learning environment. The rest (tables, hallways etc.) are also important and teaching is modified with what is accessible (käytettävissä). But both closed and open spaces are needed”* (R10). Therefore, the need for diverse spaces that offer the possibility for different working methods is something that most teachers who respond see as key (R21; R26). Different working spaces enable using diverse methods for teaching and learning. Spaces can enable or hinder this. One of the respondents who works in a comprehensive school (yhtenäiskoulu) stated that they have many types of spaces, and the usage is flexible (R9). Using different classrooms for different purposes makes it possible to create inspiring learning environments which serve for their purpose. However, using these environments in an appropriate or most suitable way is not that easy and requires expertise from the teacher. Diverse spaces in school offer pupils the chance to move and encourage working together during recess, both indoors and outside (R15). Thus, importance should be paid also to the recess or group work areas.

Cafeteria is another important part of the school as it was thought being important part of the school by 77.8 percent of respondents. Respondent 5 could not imagine a Finnish school without a cafeteria while respondent 27 elaborates that cafeteria is seen as a space where one gets nutrition and can discuss alongside on ordinary issues. Providing food for people but being also a social space to discuss and bond make cafeteria a place where memories are created. Parties and customs (tapakulttuuri) are also a big part of school, and these events usually take place in the gym hall, making the gym hall or auditorium important (R9). Often auditorium or some sort of a stage is in a same space with gym hall. Respondent 9 continues that Finland has a strength in teaching multidisciplinary subjects, during which pupils learn to direct their own actions and work persevering. Therefore, multidisciplinary classrooms are necessary (R9).

Respondent 8 brought out their thought on the matter that the beauty of the school building and its surrounding is also crucial alongside to being functional. Another respondent also discuss on the visuals of a school from a different perspective: *“The hallways do not reflect on our*

schools' values. When a teacher bothers to put up pupils' arts and handcrafts I am happy as it reflects on appreciating one's own work." (R5). They continue that often the hallways give off a messy unattractive vibe due to pupils lost clothes hanging all around (R5).

Classrooms have always been the trademark, but they do not need to be closed and the teaching does not always have to take place in a classroom (R7). Respondent 3 emphasises adaptable working spaces, while guaranteeing work safety and cosy environment. Respondent 12 continue on the subject of safety as they state that schools are supposed to be safe places. They criticize that open classrooms cause noise and do not create a safe environment or an own place for pupils (R12). They continue that in an ideal situation they would be nice but often there are too many pupils and open spaces do not work for all of them (R12). The respondent believes that familiarity, own place, knowledge of where to go in the morning, known games and stories create the sense of safety for pupils (R12). Respondent 27 emphasise pupils need for a personal space in the classroom that provides then the feeling of safety study. "*When there is safety, we can assume that pupils learn, and the energy doesn't go towards surviving.*" (R12.) Respondent 14 adds to the conversion that "*School is a safe haven to many pupils*" (R24). Feeling of safety is crucial as it impacts the wellbeing and learning and vice versa, if there is no feeling of safety, it affects pupils' social development and learning negatively (Launonen et al., 2004). Another respondent also brings up the approach for safety and overwhelming feeling, by saying that too big classrooms cause a lot of noise that can lead to challenges in coping (R6).

In question 10 we asked respondents to think about school's physical dimensions, like classrooms, corridors etc. and are those bringing up some values that school withholds? We have already touched on some of these values but wanted to present those responses also separately from other questions. Respondents mentioned following values in question 10. "Accessibility, shared responsibility, one common and safe school for everyone" (R24). This answer emphasizes school as an accessible and safe space for everyone. Accessibility is closely related to equality that was seen to be one of the values in schools that are having similar classrooms within the school (R21). Also, respondent 11 mentions equality and accessibility. Safety was brought up as a value also by respondents 7, 10 and 18. Own classroom was perceived to be important as it brings stability to pupils (R1; R9). Shared responsibility to take care of the school and its' premises was mentioned not only by respondent 24, but also by respondent 27. Similarly, to this, togetherness was seen to be possible thanks to the school environment (R11; R15; R18). Respondent 19 gave an example of common open lobby for everyone that promotes togetherness. However, respondent 14 felt, that the school environment was restricting and did

not promote togetherness. Respondent 12 brought up that school reflects values of storing, referring school to be a space where pupils come while their guardians are working. School environment, and especially its' closed classrooms make it possible to work in peace (R19). School can also make possible to practice certain skills like working life related skills through digital tools and collaborative learning (R15). Seeing pupils' art on the corridors talks about valuing pupils' own work (R5). This was brought up also by respondent 7.

4.2.3. Purpose of School

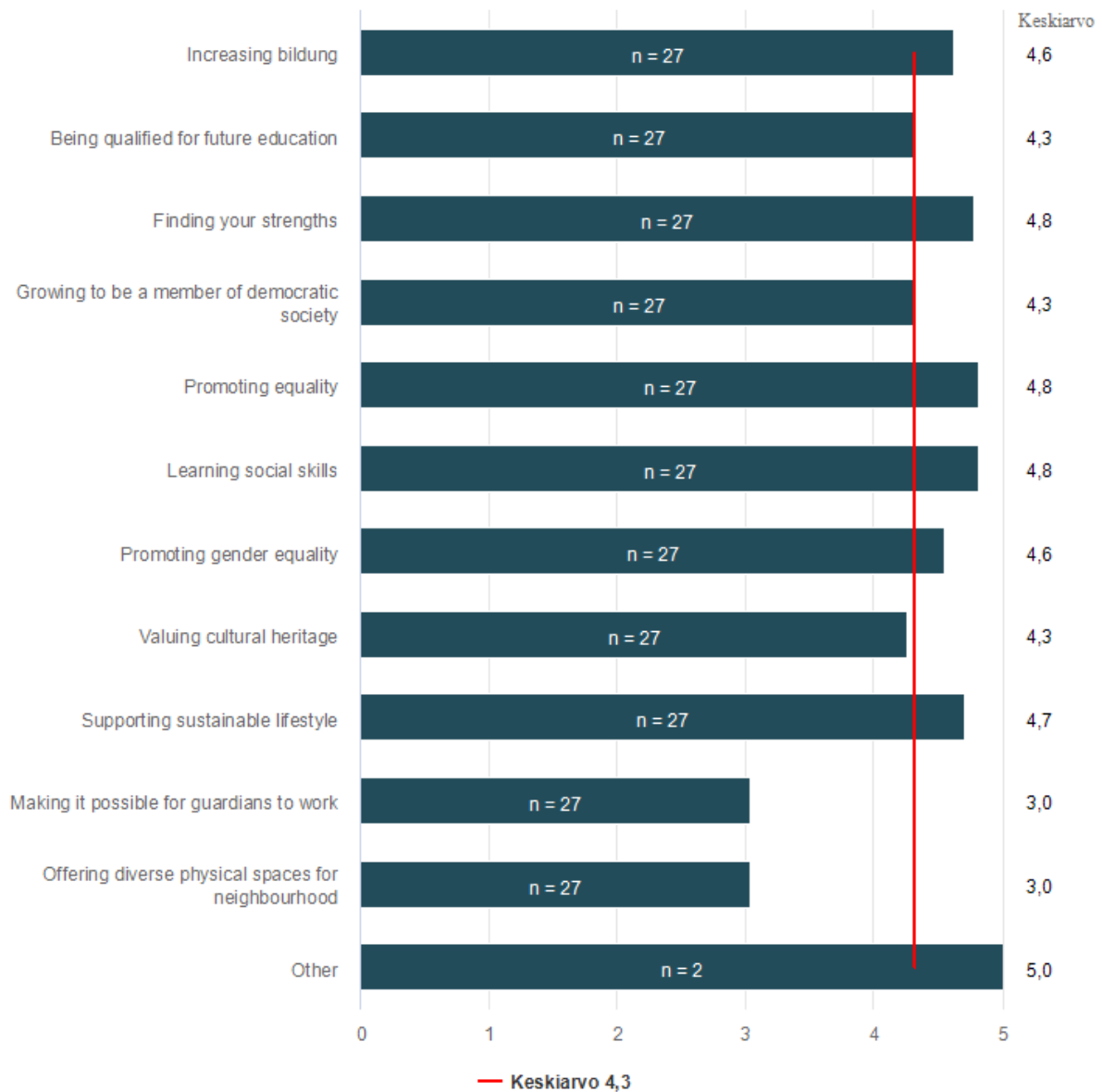
The purpose of school is part of the school's representations, as the purpose originates from the National Core Curriculum and Basic Education Act. School's task or purpose is defined in those documents, like we have discussed earlier. In our questionnaire the question number 5 was "How important are the following tasks of the school" (diagram 6). Rating 1-5, in which 1 = not important at all and 5 = very important". The propositions were picked from the legal documents and theoretical background of our research. The propositions formed the base, but after those it was possible for respondents to and an open answer in case, they felt that some important tasks of school was missing. Later in question number 11, we asked an open-ended question "What is the purpose of school?" This question was there to find out what respondents emphasize being the task of the school.

Based on the responses schools can be seen to have many different, important purposes. Basic skills and common knowledge are reported as the purpose by many respondents in our questionnaire (R1; R14). The societal aspect of school also arose from many of the answers as well as bildung and teaching pupils to be active members of society and provide important knowledge and skills to make do in life are mentioned by respondent 2 and 11. Diagram 6 also speaks of this as "increasing bildung" received an average of 4.6 when ranking its importance. Several respondents continued (R3; R5; R10; R25) on the thought of raising societal readiness (yhteiskuntakelpoisen) and healthy citizens that are able to take care of their selves, others, and the environment. Respondent 22 sums this thought as "*provide the keys for life*". "Support sustainable lifestyle" received as high as a 4.7. average on its importance as a purpose for school.

One respondent (R20) added in the open-ended question that the purpose for basic education is to prepare their pupils for further education. It was seen as important by other respondents as well as it received the average of 4.3. However, it does indicate that it is not the single most important task of school. *“School’s purpose is to teach basic skills and social skills according to the curriculum”* as respondent 14 states.

Also, these answers are supported by the ones from question number five and diagram 6 as the highest average of 4,8 was received by the following statements “finding one’s own strengths”, “advance equality and equal rights” and improving one's social skills”.

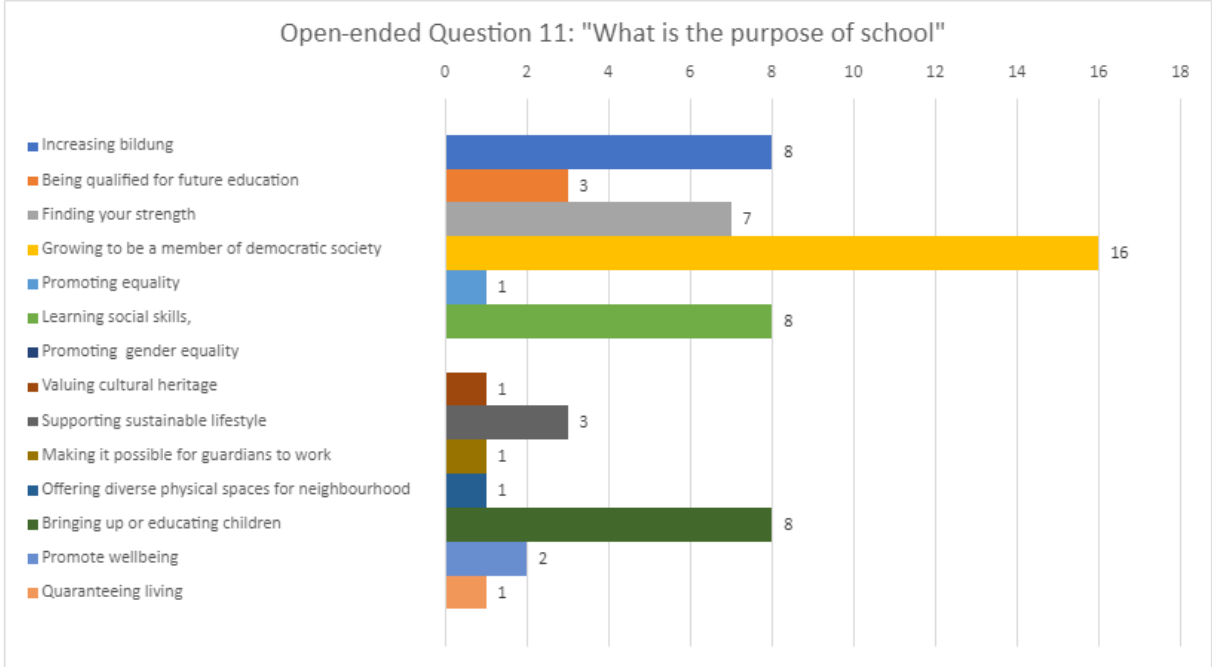
Diagram 6. How important are the following tasks of the school?



“Appreciating and building cultural inheritance” was seen important by our respondents as it received 4.3 average but in average it was seen as one of the least important aspects from the most important tasks of school. However, “Enable guardians to work” and “offering diverse physical spaces for the neighbourhood” were seen as the least important aspects of school receiving only an average of 3.0. However, an average of three is still reasonable meaning that it is not seen as the main purpose but still one of its tasks also as it is the average meaning some respondents find these more important and others less important.

In comparison to the diagram 6, that sums up the answers for question number 5, the open-ended question number 11 also asked about the purpose or tasks of a school. Interestingly, different perspectives for school were brought up in the open-ended question compared to the ratings. Based on the ratings school is especially about finding your strength, promoting equality, learning social skills, supporting sustainable lifestyle, promoting gender equality, increasing bildung, being qualified for future education, growing to be a member of the democratic society, and valuing cultural heritage. These all had a minimum of 4.3 rating out of 5, like seen in the diagram 6 In the diagram 7 is presented the open-ended answers from question 11, when those open answers are split up into the similar categories as in question number 5. It is really noticeable that growing to be a member of democratic society is highly emphasized. It is mentioned in 16 responses out of 24 respondents (67%) who filled this question, as it was not mandatory. In addition to this increasing bildung, learning social skills, and bringing up/educating children with basic skills gained all 8 out of 24 responses or 33%. Following by finding your own strength, with 7 responses or 29%.

Diagram 7. Classified open-ended answers in question number 11.



Respondents have mentioned for example following things as being the purpose of school. *“For teachers school provides a livelihood while for pupils it’s a place to learn new things as well*

as working together and growing into a community.” (R7). School was perceived also as a workplace, but also as a place for pupil’s learning and upbringing. Respondent 13 focuses on pupil’s learning and they perceive that school offers pupils the possibility to use their own strengths and gain experiences of success while increasing pupils’ self-knowledge. Also, respondent 26 mentions school’s task to provide the tools for pupils to believe and trust themselves. They also remind about the importance of learning social skills and having ability to work together with everyone (R13). School is there to teach pupils to be socially skilled and value differences (R19), as well as to consider other’s needs (R21). Respondent 8 focuses more on the physical environment of a school by defining its’ task as follows, “*The task of school is to be common, inspiring, creative and a beautiful working environment (R8)*”

Respondents 9 and 21 mention that the purpose of school is to prepare pupils for adulthood, being responsible and taking care of their own lives. Respondent 15 adds to this understanding oneself and upbringing healthy children and youth who have a chance to figure out their own strengths in school. Similarly Respondent 12 says “*Teach, to upbringing smart, competent, well performing individuals and at the same time good guys*” This can be worded also as “*The schools are supposed to support pupils’ growth, development, wellbeing and learning while creating a place that further equality*” (R18). This is basically about promoting good life for oneself and everyone around. Educating pupils towards a good life was in addition pointed out by respondent 24. Or in other words in a broader scale “*Create a strong base on nation’s development as part of the humankind*” (R23)

4.3. Representational School

Lived experiences are unique in nature like Lefebvre (1991, pp. 33) discuss. People experience, occupy and use school in different ways, creating their own conceptualization of the representational school. This section only had two questions for the respondents. Question 17 asked what other things take place in schools than just teaching and learning, while the last question 18 asked teachers to answer what emotions they have experienced during their work. As we have discussed earlier, one of the main tasks of school is to offer pupils a safe space for learning and growth. However, school is a lot more.

4.3.1. Social Aspects of School

School is a very social place and space. School's social aspects differ between every single person in school. Their unique experiences and how they perceive school are all different place experiences. Even though there can be found similarities between people's conceptualizations for school as a social place, there are also differences. People are having different relationships, each with their own uniqueness, having some great and some worse memories linked in those. As our respondents stated in question 17, social connections are important and part of the day-to life. Respondent 21 said that schools are filled with social interactions between pupils and adults. They continued to discuss the importance of positive encounters as they bring meaning for the work but also for life and therefore it is important to create time and space for these interactions during the school days (R21). Social interactions or relationships are mentioned being important in all responses, if not in the question number 5, that was about rating the importance of different aspects of school, then in one of the open-ended questions. This reflects the importance that school holds in the social connections. Learning customs, respect, listening and debating are all skills being taught (R2) alongside to plenty of group work opportunities in school (R26). Friendships are also formed due to interaction however also conflict inevitable between pupils (R4). School is a great place for social interaction and learning those skills because social skills are required in the modern society constantly.

Respondent 9 thinks that school is the most important meeting place for young people. Respondent 12 echoes that while adding that hanging with friends and playing with them are the most important things for pupils in comparison to teaching and learning in schools. Free time during school days is often used for social relationships, especially pupils are spending time together during recesses, but also after school in different clubs that might take place in school building (R15). School and school yard seems to be the meeting point for pupils' social interactions, as it is brought up by respondent 9 (Also R1; R10; R22). School yard can in addition be a meeting point for the families too (R10). It is a space where some are playing football on the field, some are playing or swinging, some doing tricks or just chilling in the shade (R10). Therefore, school yard withholds many social aspects and is important part of people's lives. Like brought up in the responses, school yard offers various possibilities and people are having different lived experiences within it, giving representational school differing faces. Not only are school yards being used by young people, children and families during weekends and evenings are using school yard for different purposes as respondent 10 has explains, referring to them hanging out, playing and meeting friends.

Respondent 8 ponders the nature of school and how school functions as a socially produced space. They describe school as a community but in a smaller scale, where its' working ants need to work in acceptable way before moving in bigger communities in the future where they are expected to work according to the norms (R8). Skills needed in the bigger communities and society are learnt in school. School is about growth and supporting pupils in their growth (R17; R18). To gain skills for the future, during the school days pupils are supported to work alone and together (R17; R18). Teachers and other staff in schools also help pupils in their personal growth and development.

In addition, school has also lot of planning that takes place there. Teachers are having some planning time before the lessons and after those, typically this planning will happen in their own classrooms (R18). Respondent 18 opens up planning including writing documents, preparing material, working on computer and copying worksheets for pupils. Multi-professional collaboration can also happen in school, as that is natural environment for pupils and teachers. Various therapists and other cooperative partners visit in school during and after school days (R10). Respondent 10 continues that also parents or guardians are visiting in school, meeting teachers or participating in parents' evenings. They might also come to school to pick up their children for doctor visits etc. (R10). Thus, school is a meeting point for professionals and guardians, and not only for pupils or teachers.

It is essential in order to guarantee safety for pupils and everyone in the school that the employees working in the grounds know the facility and the danger moments that could take place (R8). Thus, designing, architecture and routines in school needs to be planned in a way that safety of all users is considered. Respondent 13 emphasises the importance of spatial decisions as they allow the opportunities for the classroom creating a calm learning environment and a sense of unity for the pupils on a daily basis. This idea could be prolonged from classrooms to entire school building. Also, respondent 5 agrees that the space is crucial for giving the feeling of being part of a group and a space that allows the formation of class spirit typically the space is their own classroom.

4.3.2. Outside School Hours

In total four respondents had given *Offering diverse physical spaces for the neighbourhood* value 5, defining it being very important task for the school. Only respondents that had been in teaching less than 15 years had valued diverse spaces for neighbourhood as very important task. It is good to notice that *offering diverse physical spaces for the neighbourhood* as well as *Enabling parents working* were together the least important tasks for the school among all respondents, both having an average of 3.0/5.0.

After school different hobby groups are using the space (R3; R6; R9). Respondent 9 elaborates saying that on weekends and evening school is widely used for hobbies like theatre, sports and music. Other events take place in school like variety of clubs, sport events, music events, seminars, meetings and bake sales (E.g. R20). In one response was mentioned school as a place for funeral caterings (R23). And respondent 3 tells, that before school day officially begins, in their school they prepare food for their own school, but also for local service centres. In other words, school has different role in the local society depending on the location. School can be a small village school mainly for pupils or be larger institution with variety of services for the society.

School premises are often well used by evening users, like our responses point out. It changes school to school, how well school spaces are utilized during the day. The school facilities can be used diversely for different hobbies during evenings and weekends as reported by several respondents (R4; R10; R9; R6; R3). Nuikkinen (2009, pp. 50) also mentions that school is a local activity centre and is often occupied throughout the day. In some schools the gym hall and some other spaces like music rooms, are having maximum usage like respondent 4 mentions. For the evening users school offer spaces for meetings, events and hobbies. Evening users are not part of the school users on daily basis but by weekly basis, and they are expected to follow school rules or practices, even though they are not school staff or pupils. This came up clearly by respondent 14, who told that evening users are not following their practice of having shoeless school, but they are leaving traces and dirt from their shoes, saying that *“School is so called shoeless school and pupils leave their outdoor shoes in the hallway. Evening users do not seem to be bothered (liikauttavan) by these rules. (R14)”*

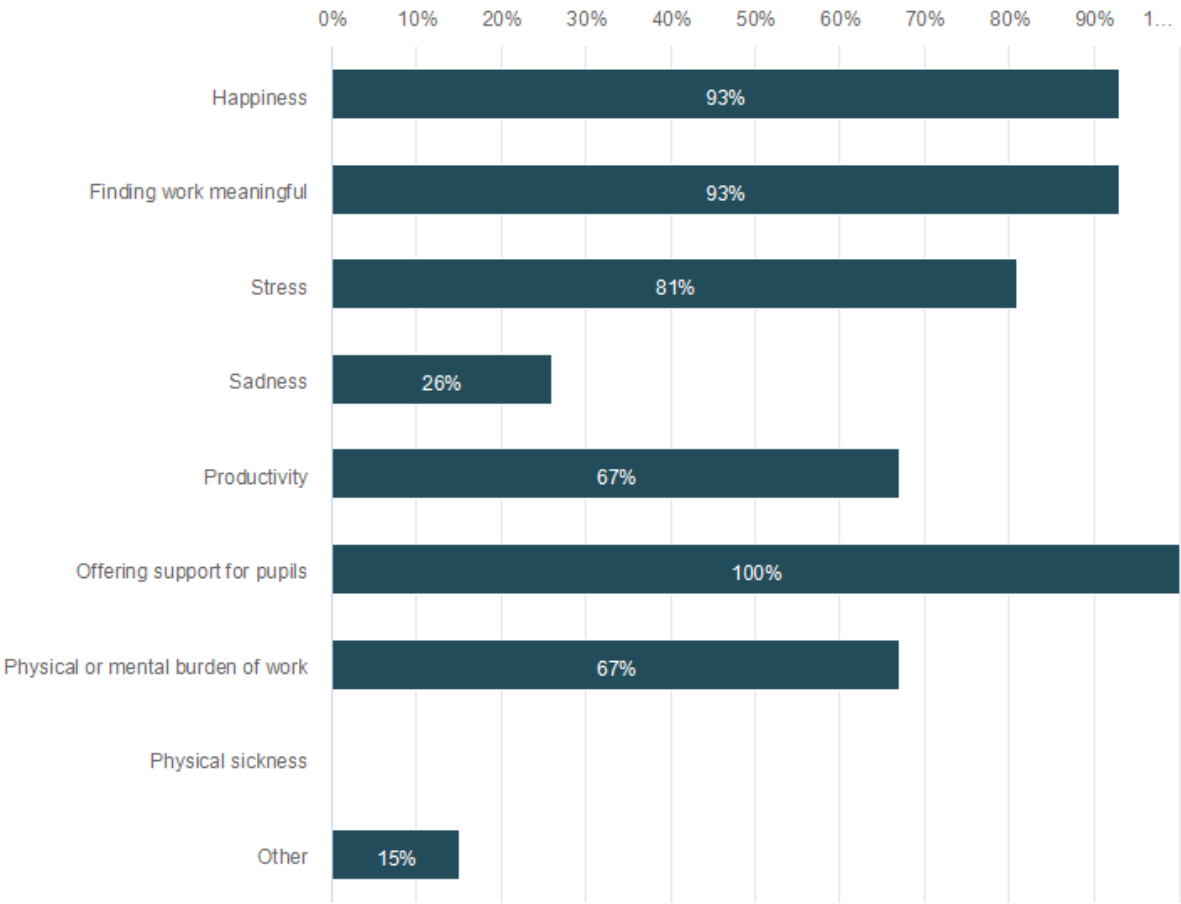
“School is part of the city and brings its’ own part to the variety of buildings of the town.” (R22). In this citation respondent 22 raises school’s role in the neighbourhood. That seems to be important and quite central, but still considered to be only one piece in the city jigsaw. Similarly, Ministry of Education (2002) remind that schools are one of the main public buildings,

that are remembered in their surroundings. Thus, school withholds many values and lived experiences.

4.3.3. Emotions Teachers Experience

The last question of the survey was number 18 which asked, “Do you experience some of the following while working in school?” Diagram 8 shows how the answers varied depending on the felt experience. All respondents (100%) had experienced “offering support for pupils”. This is in line with our previous findings as it is seen one of the main purposes of school. Therefore, it is good to see that teachers also feel that they can conduct it in their work. 25 respondents (93%) also chose the feeling of “happiness” and “job’s meaningfulness” as what they feel and experience in their job. Stress was felt by 81 percent (N=22) of the respondents. “Efficient” and “burden” were felt by 18 of the respondents (67%). Sadness was reported by only 26 percent (N=7) of the respondents, while nausea was not felt by any. These statistics demonstrate that many things are felt and experienced by teachers throughout their work some being positive and some negative feelings or experiences. Life always brings on new feelings and therefore it is only natural to feel a large range of feelings through working life as well. However, it is a pity that so many respondents report negative feelings, yet they are in line with what is being heard from the field through trade union OAJ’s reports in their moodmeter as well (OAJ, N.d. b). Four respondents answered other, complementing by mentioning “tiredness/inadequacy (R10)”, “every new day is a new chance to succeed! (R5)”, “city’s offering of insufficient resources (R1)” and “in school all emotions are present with teachers and pupils (R12)”. These results can be seen in diagram 8.

Diagram 8. Feelings experienced in school by teachers.



As we can see, many emotions and feelings are experienced by teachers, but also by other staff, pupils and user groups in school. Everyone is having their own unique experience of school and they are experiencing school as a place differently. School as a lived experience varies as different user groups are occupying school in diverse ways, having diversity also within the group. Teachers, our respondents have opened their conceptualizations for school as a place from their own, unique perspectives. They have opened up their feelings and their experiences of school as a lived experience, while also opening up the reality and lived experiences that school offers for other school users like pupils. To define school as a space, it is necessary to make classifications based on some features of the people in school. In the context of our research, that is done by dividing people into teachers, pupils, evening users and other staff. Purposefully we have left out some possible groups like guardians, to keep this research within the framework.

4.4. Summary of Key Findings

Most of the findings are supported by theory and previous research presented at the beginning of the thesis. And vice versa responses reinforce the theory presented. There was no to radical new findings as they rather support previous knowledge. Our survey had a diverse group of teachers answering from around Finland with different age, gender and experiences represented.

When discussing about the spatial practises taking place in school, it stood out that pupils' movements are highly controlled in everyday life stating that even the school rules provide plenty of things that restrict movement. Main movements occur when switching the classroom or when moving to the school yard, toilets or cafeteria. There are also assigned lessons for movement, during which movement is encouraged, for example in Physical Education. Teachers control pupils' movements either by restricting or allowing it. Schools provide restricted areas for pupils that are available for teachers and other school staff such as the teachers' lounge. Our research showed that teachers move more freely in the school grounds by visiting these different locations. One respondent did mention that the free movement of teachers can have consequences as to distract the class environment if teachers keep on running around the entire lesson. Teachers were not too aware of the evening users' spatial movements in schools but did raise discussion on the traces they leave behind them.

Looking back at what stood out from the representations of space we see that the physical school building was at the centre with its key elements in making school a school. Diagram 4 demonstrated how the gym hall and diverse tools available for pupils received the highest average meaning that they were seen as crucial in the school's physical environment. Classrooms did not receive the highest average and this possibly is one of the most significant findings as respondents were divided into supporting the traditional closed classroom or the open learning environments. To this there is no simple answer as it can be debated from both perspectives as demonstrated in our respondents' answers. However, respondents agreed that the classroom should provide a calm and safe space while making learning as easy as possible. As many as 85 percent of the respondents were satisfied with their school providing the necessities for their teaching. A few respondents discussed about the school being old or not being suitable for school needs while others mentioned about school renovations in which they had the chance to influence already at the building process. Purpose of schools was also diversely discussed and different aspects were brought up, depending on whether it was about rating the importance of

possible purposes, or having an opportunity to describe the purpose of school in your own words. In the latter “growing to be a member of democratic society” was emphasized among the respondents.

Representational space discussed especially the social aspects of school. School can be paralleled with a society but in a smaller scale as brought out in one of the answers. Schools build different and unique relationships between pupils, teachers and with one another and all these are felt on a personal level where everyone's experiences can vary. School offers a space for learning social skills while social interactions also lead to conflicts that also take place in schools. Some respondents raised their thought that school is the most important place for socialising for the youth as well as serves a key role in being part of the neighbourhood. Social interactions also take place with other staff working in schools and with parents. In the evenings when evening users use the space the interaction yet again is different. All respondents stated having felt “offering support for pupils” in their work. Happiness and significance of job had been experienced by many as well. However, also burden of the job had been experienced by 67 percent of the respondents. Therefore, we see that school is a very diverse place where plenty of interaction and emotions take place. As a space, school is also experienced and occupied in different ways, depending on the group of people or individuals.

5 Discussion

Our first research question being “how teachers define school as a place” was an interesting one and through our research we found out that teachers do define schools diversely as school as a place is different to each and every person. This is noticeable also in the responses, as teachers have emphasized different things and their answers have varied. Teachers define school from their own perspective and based on their personal experiences within the place. After analysing the responses in the questionnaire, we could conclude that based on teachers’ conceptualizations, school is a diverse place where pupils come to learn and gain skills for the future. However, every single response was different, and teachers have described school in many ways, including its social, mental, and physical aspects.

Answering the second research question “how is school defined a space” we looked into the responses as a whole to gather a full picture of the school as a diverse space. Like we have presented, school can be perceived through its’ spatial practices, representations of school and representational school. Official purpose of school is defined in various documents and acts, but school carries informal purposes and expectations also within it. This has been studied through the concept of hidden curriculum (E.g. Törmä, 2003). To be a physical environment that makes possible to fulfil those expectations and tasks, it is good to critically think architectural decisions, including pupils, teachers and other staff in the decision making. School isn’t solely a building for pupils, teachers, and other staff, but it also withholds values and is important part of the local society. In school various user groups are occupying the space in diverse ways. Evening users are having access only to certain rooms at specific times. In a similar way pupils’ movements are highly controlled and just ostensibly free, because in reality their movements are controlled by space and time. Teachers are those who control and guide pupils’ movements, having themselves more freedom. As a lived space, there are more user groups in school than the ones mentioned. Each person or a group that comes to school, occupies school in a different way. Some are coming to school to meet their friends, whereas some are feeling lonely in there, similarly it is a safe place for some, but opposite for others. For some school is a place where they come to work to get some income, whereas some come there from their own inner motivation. School is at the same time a space for learning, self-development, social interaction, planning and many feelings.

One factor that we did not anticipate through the background research was the emphasise on the visual beauty of the school building that was mentioned on several occasions by respondent

8. This reminds us that we are all individuals with different emphasis on what we feel as necessary and important. Individuals' interpretations differ a lot, like our respondents have proven to us. This reminds, that place experiences all are different and unique in nature, and like respondent 13 says in school *"Every single day matters."*

The physical school building is important as it provides not only spaces for formal education but also for other activities practiced in the school buildings. Thus, school premises are occupied by many different user groups. Groups are closely related to social dimension of school. Like our responses pointed out, school is a very social space, and many interactions take place in there. School was described being as being a meeting point for people. We argue that remote school and remote teaching that was practiced during the pandemic COVID-19, does not fulfil the social purpose of school. Through screens it is more difficult to create and maintain social relationships, compared to face-to-face interactions. However, we acknowledge that some pupils have benefit from the remote teaching and have felt more secure and safe when interacting through screens. Nevertheless, placelessness school that is missing the physical school environment cannot fulfil tasks that school withholds nowadays. Thus, Finnish word "etäkoulu", remote school cannot be understood as a school, but we should rather discuss about remote teaching, remote learning, or remote education.

As pointed out earlier the division between closed classrooms and open learning environments was significant in our findings. The national curriculum supports open learning spaces as it encourages working together among peers (NCC, 2014). As this is a new phenomenon it raised plenty of heated discussion for example in 2019 OAJ representative told YLE that schools should have walls instead of curtains in order to provide a calm working environment (Hevonnoja, 2019) referring to the open learning environments. Respondents highlighting the need for an own place that offers sense of safety to pupils with what learning can take place. While others spoke of the diversity of the spaces offering the possibility to do different exercises in them. While our findings spoke for both formats, others saw the good in both with a healthy balance. It is a good discussion on most likely will continue for a long time as teachers and pupils have their own preferences. The next National Core Curriculums will also guide the way which to we are moving forward to, but as the changes are already made in to building phase, we will be having open and closed learning environments for the foreseen future. Plenty of discussion has also surround Finland with its study success as mentioned gaining success in the beginning of the 2000 with PISA results (Sahlberg, 2011, pp. 34). However, now the discussions have changed as the previous 2015 PISA results demonstrated a decrease in test scores

(Ahonen, 2018, pp. 337). This kind of tests can be challenged as do they measure skills that are essential in the modern day, anyway it does offer us some measurable scale.

In the future it would be interesting to continue the research to see differences between schools and how they are experienced by teachers, pupils, or other staff. During recent years there has been an increased amount of discussion on areal segregation in Finland and its effects on schools when a certain group is overrepresented in the area. This was already seen in the previous PISA results where it could be seen that schools social economic background varied and there was seen a correlation to pupils' know-how (Ahonen, 2018, pp. 336). This has also led to parents choosing "better" schools for their children as they do not want to put their child into the nearby school they should go to. Most likely this phenomenon will increase in the upcoming years. To conclude, we do not know what schools will look like in the future, but as this research has shown school offers an important space that is carried throughout one's lifetime. As a space school is very diverse and it has multidimensional meanings, purposes, and features.

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Appendix 1 The Survey

Opettajien käsitykset koulusta paikkana

Pro gradu-tutkielmamme käsittelee koulua kulttuurimaantieteen käsitteiden paikan ja tilan kautta. Tutkimuksen tarkoituksena on syventää ymmärrystä koulusta monimuotoisena tilana opettajien tulkintojen kautta. Tätä varten tulee meidän käsittää opettajien käsityksiä koulusta paikkana. Tutkimuksen tarkoituksena on analysoida opettajien käsityksiä koulusta paikkana (eli heidän omiin kokemuksiinsa pohjaten), etsien yhteneväisyyksiä ja eroavaisuuksia siitä mikä tekee koulusta koulun.

Tutkimus on merkityksellinen, sillä ymmärtämällä koulun monimuotoista merkitystä eri käyttäjäryhmille, voidaan koulusta rakentaa yhä inklusiivisempi ja tarkoituksenmukaisempi tila yhteisölle.

Kyselyyn vastaaminen tapahtuu anonymisti ja on vapaaehtoista. Aineistoa käsitellään luottamuksellisesti, sekä tietosuojakäytänteiden mukaisesti ja hävitetään tutkimuksen valmistuttua. Kysely sisältää niin monivalintoja, kuin avoimia kysymyksiä.

Kyselyyn vastaaminen vie noin 15-20 minuuttia.

Lisäkysymyksiä ilmetessä vatsaamme mielellämme kysymyksiinne.

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Työmme ohjaajana toimii Oulun yliopiston yliopistolehtori Kimmo Kontio
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1. Vastauksia saa käyttää tutkimustarkoituksiin *

kyllä

ei

Taustakysymykset

2. Sukupuoli *

nainen

mies

muu

3. Ikä *

alle 30 v

31-40 v

41-50 v

51-60 v

yli 60

4. Kaunko olet toiminut opettajan työssä? *

alle 5 v

6-10 v

11-15 v

16-20 v

21-25 v

26-30 v

yli 31 v

Tässä osiossa kartoitetaan koulun representaatioita eli miten koulua kuvataan tai se nähdään fyysisenä tilana.

5. Kuinka tärkeinä pidät seuraavia koulun tehtäviä. Asteikko 1-5, jossa 1 = en lainkaan tärkeänä ja 5 = erittäin tärkeänä

	1	2	3	4	5
Yleissivistyksen lisääminen	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Kelpoisuus jatko-opintoihin	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

	1	2	3	4	5
Omien vahvuuksien löytäminen	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Demokraattiseen yhteiskunnan jäsenyyteen kasvaminen	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Tasa-arvon ja yhdenvertaisuuden edistäminen	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Sosiaalisten taitojen kartuttaminen	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Sukupuolten tasa-arvon edistäminen	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Kulttuuriperinnön arvostaminen ja rakentaminen	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Kestävän elämäntavan tukeminen	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Huoltajien työssäkäynnin mahdollistaminen	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Monipuolisten fyysisten tilojen tarjoaminen naapurustolle	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Muu	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

6. Mitkä seuraavista elementeistä ovat mielestäsi keskeisessä roolissa koulun fyysisen ympäristön osalta? *

- suljetut luokahuoneet
- erilliset taito- ja taideaineiden opetustilat
- pitkät käytävät
- avoimet oppimisympäristöt
- monipuoliset työkalut oppilaiden käytössä
- liikutettavat tuolit ja pöydät luokahuoneessa
- liikunta/juhlasali
- vessat
- ruokala
- muuta _____

7. Mikä näissä valinnoissa tekee koulusta koulun?

8. Vastaako koulunne fyysinen ympäristö opetuksesi tarpeet? *

kyllä

ei

9. Miksi?

10. Mieti koulun fyysistä ulottuvuutta luokkia, käytäviä yms. Tuovatko ne mieleen arvoja joita koulu pitää sisällään? Luettele.

11. Mikä on koulun tehtävä?

Seuraavaksi pohditaan liikehdintää koulussa. Liikehdinnällä tarkoitetaan eri käyttäjäryhmän liikkumista niin koulun fyysisissä tiloissa kuin suhteessa aikaan. Eli milloin ja missä liikkuminen on sallittua/rajoitettua.

12. Kuvaile oppilaiden liikehdintää koulussa *

13. Kuvaile opettajien/ohjaajien liikehdintää koulussa

14. Kuvaile siivoojien liikehdintää koulussa

15. Kuvaile iltaikäyttäjien liikehdintää koulussa

16. Tuleeko sinulle muuta mieleen liittyen koulun eri käyttäjäryhmien liikehdintään koulussa?

Viimeisessä osiossa tarkastellaan representationaalista koulua eli asioita, jotka eivät välttämättä näy aina ulospäin, mutta ovat kiinteä osa koulun arkea.

17. Koulussa tapahtuu paljon muutakin kuin opettamista ja oppimista. Mitä muuta koulussa tapahtuu tai mitä tehtäviä sillä on? ('koulupäivän' aikana, ennen, jälkeen, viikonloppuisin) *

18. Tunnetko jotain seuraavista asioista koulussa työskennellessäsi?

- iloisuus
- työn merkityksellisyys
- stressi
- suru
- aikaansaataavuus
- oppilaille tuen tarjoaminen
- kuormittavuus
- fyysinen pahoinvointi
- muu
