

# "Differing Everyday" Practices of Planning and Coordinating Daily Life

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# **“Differing everyday”**

Practices of planning and coordinating daily life

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## **Abstract**

### **Background**

The purpose of this research was to study how daily life is planned and coordinated. I concentrated on researching the daily life of 22-27 year old young single adults living somewhat hectic lives in the Helsinki city center. The theoretical background of this study leans on practice theory while the study will be conducted using ethnographic methods, more specifically videography.

### **Results**

This research has produced three core findings. Firstly, routines form an immense part of our daily life. Furthermore the order of these routines can change, meaning that the content of our everyday life is often the same, but routines are executed in different orders. Secondly, the traditional split between work and non-work seems to be non-existent in modern time as we are constantly taking work home and bringing the non-work to work. Thirdly, and most importantly, I have discovered that much of our daily planning has to do with the efficient coordination of our routines and the fine tuning of our time tables. I have thus conceptualized 'emergent coordination' and 'purposive planning'. Purposive planning sees us taking the time to plan, where as emergent coordination is the steering of daily life and the making of quick decisions.

### **Conclusions**

Even though we find ourselves planning ahead, much is the outcome of emergent coordination and routines. Purposive plans can change in the spur of the moment when emergent coordination enters the equation. It seems like our daily life is often a chaotic outcome of what happens on the liminal of purposive planning and emergent coordination. As routines give our lives balance and structure, purposive planning gives us the feeling that we are in control of our lives.

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## 1. Introduction

The aim of this research is to study how daily life is planned and coordinated in contemporary society. In the discourse of consumer culture theory, mundane daily life has received little attention (Holt 2004; see Giesler 2008 for a notable exception). Also, from the perspective of practice theory (Reckwitz 2002, Warde 2005, Schatzki 1996), daily life or its planning of has remained virtually uninvestigated (see Schatzki 2001 for a notable exception).

In our daily lives, practices consisting of routinized behaviour and material arrangements interconnect to one another (Reckwitz, 2002), and while doing so form a big part of our daily activities. Yet, we are constantly planning ahead whether it be five minutes or five months. Previous research has shown that practices form a large part of daily life (e.g. Kozinets et. al. 2004; Shove and Pantzar 2005), but the meaning of a practice, per se, is not a given, as almost even the most conscious acts can become practices and, on the other hand, practices are about doing nothing in a routinized way. We, as people, tend to think of ourselves as cognitive decision makers, even though much of what we do suggests exactly the opposite. In extent marketing literature, very little has been said about the imminent and emergent nature of human behavior. I thus also, in addition to researching what daily planning is like, wish to find the fine line between practices and planning, given that there is one. I suspect to find a thin line between what is conscious and unconscious and thus further expect to see that routines and planning can cross each other at any given point.

Planning is obviously seen very differently by all of us as individuals, especially so by people in different parts of the life cycle. In this research I will be concentrating on a very specific target group of men and women between the age of 22 and 27 living in the Helsinki city- center who are financially in a relatively solid situation and could be described to lead somewhat hectic lifestyles. I find my target group to be interesting as they seem to have very little constraints and boundaries in their lives, apart from their jobs. Their timetable's can differ on a daily basis and most excess money can be spent on personal

pleasure and comfort. Moreover the target group is very open to ad hoc decisions as they are the sole decision makers. Put in a simplified way, they have much the freedom, a solid financial surrounding and very little responsibility.

In this study of the phenomena of mundane planning I will combine practice theory with the discussion of routines and conceptualization of time for my theoretical background. This study will be carried out as interpretivistic research using ethnographic methods, more specifically, videography. Videography as a method will be carried out through interviews, naturalistic observations and autovideography (Belk, 2005). As Snow and Anderson (1987) state that qualitative research can concentrate on “perspectives of action” and “perspectives in action”, this videography will set to emphasize on the latter and thus concentrate on making observations and seeing the planning instances occur. I will be immersively observing the daily life of three informants and making numerous interviews. In the following section I will cover the theoretical background of the study, after which I will discuss videography as a research method. I will then discuss my research findings and possible managerial implications.

## 2. Time

In the following chapter I will be looking at time as a concept, put another way, how time is traditionally found and what impact it has on our everyday life. I will further look at different time styles through the dimensionalization of time. Even though time is a constant, it is seen very differently by all of us as individuals. I thus find it important to discuss time and understand how it is conceptualized in order to try and understand how daily life is planned.

### 2.1 The concept of time

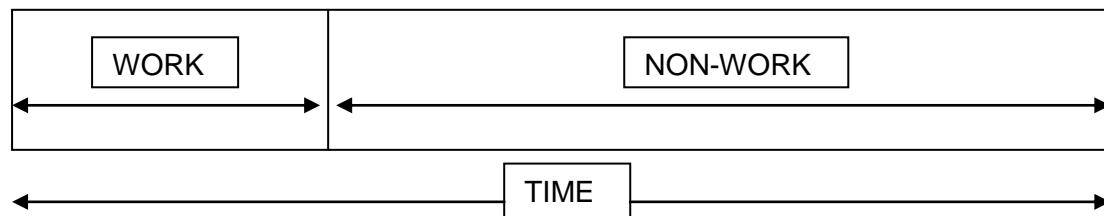


Figure 1: Feldman and Hornik, 1981

Every human activity uses three resources – time, money, and space – but to varying degrees (Feldman and Hornik, 1981). Our time allocation decisions are constrained by the availability of all these resources. People have very different resource availabilities due to, for example, employment, age, interests or the stage of the life cycle they are in. People in different stages of the life cycle also see time very differently and thus, for example, being in a hurry is a very subjective issue.

Traditionally time has been found to have a dichotomous structure, combined from work and leisure or put another way, non work. As time is a constant, we have been able to calculate the amount of non work we have by subtracting work from time (Feldman and Hornik, 1981). As '**work**' accounts for the time we get paid for, **non-work** consists of everything else in the equation - the basic **necessities** of for example eating and sleeping, **homework** and **leisure**. The

above mentioned are, however, not defined by location, but through the meaning that is given to the activity. The consumer perceives the activity as *"obligatory or discretionary, pleasant or unpleasant, active or passive, or free or constrained"* (Feldman and Hornik, 1981).

Leisure is one of the most difficult and controversial terms in the time structure as it is very hard to define. One simplified definition of the term is *"time at one's command that is free of engagements or responsibility"* (Feldman and Hornik, 1981). Leisure is also seen as the time that is left over after existence and subsistence (Parker 1978) as consumption (instead of production e.g. work and homework) (Becker 1965; Pollack and Wachter 1975) and as freely chosen meaningful activities (Neulinger and Crandall 1976; Williams 1977). The amount of leisure we have is an outcome of several factors, but ultimately we are often faced by the decision of more money and less time for leisure or oppositely less money and more time for leisure. Naturally, as already stated, our stage in the life cycle also has much impact since consumers' perceptions of time are influenced by their stage in the life cycle (Havinghurst 1975, Landon and Locander 1978; Rapoport and Rapoport 1975).

Technology has also naturally had a huge impact on the notion of time. Technology makes it possible for us to be present even though we are physically elsewhere. As we are able to do more in less time, the way the technology driven generation sees time obviously differs from previous generations. Southerton (2009) finds that the more work we do, the less time we use on domestic matters as we prioritize emotional and inter-personal relationships. Southerton (2009) further explains that the logic of global capitalism is that people work more in order to consume more. The problem is, however, that as we spend more time at work, we actually have less time to consume more. The biggest change that has occurred is that institutionally timed events are no longer as fixed with temporal rhythms of daily life. Thus, what was before common coordination of practices is now personal, which has a big impact on, for example, the management of inter-personal relationships.



Time is also a rather subjective matter as the meaning of time relates to the value an individual assigns to different activities. The consumption decisions we make alter our practices and our daily time consumption (Feldman and Hornik, 1981). For example purchasing a dvd player affects the total time spent with movies and the total time spent watching television. What is further interesting is that the boundaries between home and work are more blurred than commonly acknowledged (Tietze and Musson, 2002). Our morning routines, for example, ease our daily shifts between home and work and have pieces of both (Nippert-Eng, 1996). Several routines are, in fact, building a bridge between the work and home (O'Dell, 2009). It is exactly this what is interesting – what happens on the liminal of non-work and work. How do non-work and work blend together? Where is the fine line between the two or is there one at all? The meanings of both 'home' and 'work' are constantly fluctuating as we are able to orientate ourselves into both through modern technology (O' Dell, 2009), of which a good example is the cell phone (Caron and Caronia, 2007). We will have a closer look at routines in the following chapter.

## **2.2 Dimensions of time**

Cotte, Ratneshwar and Mick (2004) research time styles by looking at the four different dimensions of time, and then building five metaphors around them. Although these four dimensions as such have been discussed much before the work of Cotte et. al (2004), these different dimensions have often been kept isolated from each other instead of looking at them as a whole. I, however, believe that these four dimensions are in very close connection with each other, as also found by Cotte et. al, (2004). Time is a very individual matter seen uniquely by us all.

**The social orientation dimension** finds that people categorize time into units. Time is either seen as 'time for me' or 'time with/for others'. The balance between the two is a matter of prioritization. This prioritization can further be either voluntary or obligatory (eg. I have to spend time with my children/I want

to spend time with my children). The social orientation dimension of time is clearly, however, very culture specific as some cultures do not make a clear difference between time spent alone and time spent with others.

**The temporal orientation dimension** looks at how people see the past, future and present and further which is seen most important. It quite simply splits people into three categories: the ones who live in the past, the ones who live in the present and the people who live for the future, although all people must be future oriented to some extent. It is an interesting paradox that people feel ever more time pressured, even though data consistently provides us with insight that people have longer durations of free time today than did the previous generations (Robinson and Godbey, 1997).

**The planning orientation dimension** analyzes time management. People can be split into those who are analytic and others that are spontaneous. Analytic people plan their days ahead in a very precise manner, where as spontaneous people only have a very vague structure to their days.

**The polychromic orientation dimension** finally sees that people vary from a monochromic time style where one thing is done at a time, to a polychromic multitasking time style.

### 3. Routines and practices

In this chapter I will discuss routines and practice theory. As much of our daily life is based on highly automated routines – practices that we execute without much thinking, I find that practice theory and understanding how routines work should be at the core of my theoretical background. I will first look at routines after which I will discuss practice theory.

#### 3.1 Routines

*“Daily routines have long been characterized as the epitome of that which is grey, bland and stifling. These are the black holes of joy, spontaneity and inspiration from which scholars have all too often presumed we need to escape.”*

Cohen and Taylor, 1992, (p. 47)

Even with the lack of extent research, daily activities have been approached from various perspectives (e.g. Bateson, 1973; Bourdieu, 1977; De Certeau, 1984; Elias, 1978; and more recently Kaufmann, 1997; Shove, 2003 and Highmore, 2004). In this study I will focus on daily life firstly from the perspective of routines and the ways they can be constructed to structure daily life while acknowledging its inherent complexity. For example,

*“...most routines, particularly those which are serially linked, involve polyrhythmic fluctuations of activity and non-activity which, while subtle, can be complexly organized and highly meaningful aspects of people’s daily lives.”*

Seigworth and Gardiner, 2004 (p. 145)

It can be seen that routines cannot be understood by conceptualizing them as simple or linear constructs. Thus, and as we will see in the following sections, the study of routines calls for immersed and in-depth approaches into the phenomenon. To understand routines we must be able to collect data

naturalistically by focusing on the actual doings and as they occur in connected temporal sequences.

The word routine originates from the word 'route' and refers to the making of small paths in everyday lives (Ehn and Löfgren, 2009). Routines are in a way seen as doing nothing (Ehn and Löfgren, 2009) since whether negative or positive, the routines we engage in have almost integrated into our entire being and sense of self (O'Dell, 2009). Routines almost become invisible as we are executing them in such an automated manner (O'Dell, 2009). Routines have a clear importance as a life built out of constant short-term action and impulses with zero habits would be mindless existence (Sennett, 1998). Routines are indeed linked to order, predictability and control, put another way routines can be seen as manuals for what has to be done in our daily lives.

Ehn and Löfgren (2009) split routines into three categories.

1. Shared vs. Personal

Routines can be described as sets of shared practices that, in fact, make society possible. Routines as such are thus a given – something we are forced to do and participate in, in order for society to properly function. On the other hand routines can be seen as very personal and even secret matters we create on our own in order to define ourselves as people.

2. Supporting vs. Constraining

Routines can be inflexible prisons, which constrain us from changing our lives and living in the way we would actually want to. What is interesting is that this 'prison' is, however, self-made. On the other hand routines can help us, offer us comfort and support, and offer an overall structure to our lives. Even though people have very different personalities and life-styles, we all need some sort of structure to our lives, no matter how vague. This is exactly what routines offer us and why they are an important part of

our lives. The advantage of routines is that they offer us the possibility of more efficient multi-tasking. It is exactly us as the executors of these routines that impact whether they support us or imprison us.

### 3. Reflex-like or Conscious

In regard to consumer research, I find the third category most interesting. It is found that routines can on the one hand be mindless reflexes that we simply perform, or on the other hand very conscious acts we decide to make. A reflex-like routine is interesting as such: for example when we are in a bar, we are used to buying a drink and putting it on the table. Once we get the drink, we do not consciously place it on the table, but the placing is rather a reflex. If there was no table, it would confuse us, as we wouldn't know where to place the drink. This has much to do with spatiality – the perception of our surroundings is key to our everyday survival. Material arrangements around us have a huge impact.

### **3.2 Practice theory**

Practice theory leans on the overall interest on peoples' everyday life. Even though practice theory has only recently become a broader topic of interest, the basis of the theory as such leans much on the late Wittgenstein and, albeit to a lesser degree, early Heidegger. Practice theory belongs to a selection of cultural theories that are founded upon explaining and understanding action. This selection of theories can be further divided into culturalist mentalism, culturalist textualism, culturalist intersubjectivism and practice theory. Although the above mentioned four theories have very different views, they all share the different way of grasping the conditions of human action and social order. (Reckwitz, 2002).

Warde (2005) opens practice as a term through two questions:

1. Why do people do what they do?
2. How do they do those things in the way that they do?

I find that these two questions contain the essence of practice theory and are interesting regarding my research. Why do we choose the choices that we choose? Are we working on autopilot or are we making conscious decisions? Going deeper into our actions – how do we do what we do? Are we thinking or working like robots? Are routines so integrated into our being that we do not have to think about what we are doing? Does all this depend on the routine or, perhaps, the executor of the routine? These questions will be extremely interesting once the findings of this research are discussed.

Schatzki (2009) states that practices are formed of doings and sayings which can be further categorized into four types:

1. *Action understandings, which are abilities to carry out, recognize and respond to particular actions*
2. *Rules, which are formulated instructions, directives, admonishments, and the like*
3. *Teleoaffective structures, which contain enjoined and acceptable ends, enjoined and acceptable projects and actions to carry out for those ends and enjoined and acceptable emotions*
4. *General understandings – of matters germane to the practice*

I, however, find that Reckwitz (2002) gives the best definition on the term ***practice***:

*“A **practice** (praktik) is a routinised type of behaviour which consists of several elements interconnected to one another: forms of bodily activities, forms of mental*

*activities, 'things' and their use, a background knowledge in the form of understanding, know-how, states of emotion and motivational knowledge."*

*"...A practice is thus a routinized way in which bodies are moved, objects are handled, subjects are treated, things are described and the world is understood. A practice is social as it is a 'type' of behaving and understanding that appears at different locales and at different points of time and is carried out by different bodies / minds"*

This definition can also be linked to the way things are done explained by Warde (2005). This definition supports the earlier thought presented – how conscious are our actions? Reckwitz also presents the important aspect of material. Most of our actions are somehow linked to material whether it be a table, door, mobile phone or car. Our practices are tightly linked to this material and the relationship should be taken into consideration in order to understand the daily life of people as material has such a profound role in our everyday life.

Reckwitz (2002) separates practice theory into the aspects of **body, mind, things, knowledge, discourse, structure / process** and **the agent**.

**The agent** refers to the individual in the practice. What is interesting is that practice theory sees the agent only as a part of the practice: The society we live in is formed out of numerous social practices which are only executed by the agents. The agent is neither autonomous nor controlled by norms in the practice itself. The agent is rather someone who understands the surrounding world and is able to put together the pieces needed for a particular practice.

The core of practice theory lies in the way we see the **body**, as already stated above. Thus a social practice is, in fact, a product of training the body to work in a certain way.

Reckwitz (2002) defines it well:

*“The body is thus not a mere ‘instrument’ which ‘the agent’ must ‘use’ in order to ‘act’, but the routinized actions are themselves bodily performances...”*

When driving a car, we are used to mobilizing our body to steer, shift gears, honk the horn, or even demonstrate aggravation towards other drivers.

Even though practices can be said to be *“routinized bodily performances”*, **mental activities** have a large impact also. In order for a practice to exist, the world has to be understood in a certain way. Even though, for example, driving a car is formed out of several bodily performances, we also have to understand how the car works, understand and be able to interpret the traffic around us and we often also have an aim in the driving we do (eg. getting from place A to B). Emotional levels even play a role in driving due to, for example, the amount of traffic, the driving weather or the route condition. A practice thus combines both the inside and outside of mind and body (Reckwitz, 2002).

However important the mind and body are in practices, objects or **things** are just as indispensable. Performing a practice often requires the use of particular things, further used in particular ways. Albeit claiming that in order to drive a car one must have a car is somewhat trivial, the car as an object is clearly indispensable in the course of executing the practice (Reckwitz, 2002).

As already stated, mental activities are an important factor in practices. **Knowledge** takes this mental activity to a deeper level into ways of understanding, knowing how and further wanting and feeling which are linked in the practice. This knowledge is, in a certain way, the glue of the practice, as it puts together the single acts of behavior and forms it into a practice. Reckwitz (2002) gives the example of falling in love in explaining the role of knowledge in practices. Falling in love is, in fact, *“...a pattern of routinized behavior and...a certain way of understanding (oneself and another person)”*. What is thus interesting is that wants and emotions do not actually belong to the individuals but in the form of knowledge to the practices executed (Reckwitz, 2002).



**Discourse and language**, opposite to the other cultural theories, are not seen vital in practice theory, but rather as a part of practice among other things. Discursive practices look at languages and sign-systems as a way of communicating. Practice theory does not see language to be omnipotent as such, but actually that it only exists in its routinized use, in order to understand other objects and other people.

Practice theory finds **structure and process** to be in the practice itself. As social practices are routines, structure and process can be found in the routine of the action. The structure is, however, temporal as it is constantly subject to change in the sequence of time. The key observation to be made of the nature of structure and process in practice theory is that **social order is actually social reproduction**. (Reckwitz, 2002)

The amount of practices we actively take part in has increased during the past decades (Miller, 1987). Today, we are surrounded by hundreds of practices, and most of us engage in a considerable amount of them every day (Warde, 2005). Practices enable effective reproduction of everyday life, put another way, practices make time (Shove, 2009). Practices also shape the world we live in: for example we call the weekend just that since the routines we have during the week end differ from those we have on weekdays (Shove, 2009).

Schatzki (2009) states that practices can either be seen as coordinated entities or as a performance. As a coordinated entity, a practice is seen as a *"temporally unfolding and spatially dispersed nexus of doings and sayings"* where as when looking at a practice as a performance, the actual execution of the practice is paid attention to. For example, Warde (2005) depicts driving as a practice into pieces: the performance of driving will depend on past experience, technological knowledge, learning, opportunities, available resources and previous encouragement by others.

Schatzki (2009) further continues that practices are tied to other practices and arrangements. What is further interesting is that different practices are ever

more connected to each other through time to, in fact, create new practices (Bull, 2004). Driving a car is one practice. Culture consumption is another. As we add a radio / cd-player / mp3 player or whatever might be the current standard to the car, we are, in fact, combining two practices. Different practices also overlap each other continuously through same and orchestrated temporalities, and further by virtue of sayings and doings belonging to more than one practice (Schatzki, 2009).

There are many elements that impact each practice we have. The nexus of a practice is the link between what we say and what we do (Schatzki, 2009).

A nexus can be dealt into 1) understandings 2) procedures and 3) engagements (Schatzki, 2009). We all thus learn in different ways and use them in different ways (Warde, 2005). People have different kinds of skillsets. Practices are created, evolved and personalized through time. This makes our practices, however common, very individual.

## **4. Methodology**

The following chapter briefly discusses interpretivistic ethnography as a research method: what ethnographic research is, what the history of ethnography and what different kinds of ethnographic research there is. I will then take a closer look at videography as an ethnographic method and go through the advantages and challenges that videography presents. I will further look at the criterions of a good videography.

### **4.1 Ethnographic research**

Interpretivistic research operationalized as an ethnographic immersion to the empirical phenomena, “Rather than a method for the collection of data, ethnography is a process of creating and representing knowledge (about society, culture and individuals) that is based on ethnographers’ own experiences. It does not claim to produce an objective or truthful account of reality; instead, it

aims to offer versions of ethnographers' experiences of reality that are as loyal as possible to the context, negotiations, and intersubjectivities through which knowledge was produced" (Pink, 2007).

Ethnography is first and foremost a study of social phenomena (Moisander and Valtonen, 2006). The roots of ethnography go back in history to anthropologists who were interested in studying and understanding strange cultures which, at the time, meant non-western cultures. In the course of time, ethnographic research has moved from foreign cultures to the investigation of close cultures. Ethnography is not just a form of data collection as it aims on explaining how culture simultaneously constructs and on the other hand is influenced by people's behaviors and experiences (Arnould and Wallendorf, 1994). The fundamental characteristics of ethnography are in its dual nature. It can be divided into **fieldwork** and a **textual or visual presentation** (Moisander and Valtonen, 2006). Visual ethnography, in its broadest sense, pays particular attention to visual aspects of culture (Pink, 2007).

Arnould and Wallendorf (1994) explain four key characteristics of ethnography.

1. Ethnography gives primacy to systematic data collection and recording of human behavior in natural settings
2. Ethnographic research involves extended experiential participation by the researcher in a specific cultural context
3. Ethnography produces interpretations of behaviors
4. Ethnography involves incorporating multiple sources of data

In ethnographic research we are trying to understand how people make sense of their lives and quite simply, to rationalize why people do what they do. Ethnography is a research process in which the ethnographer closely observes, records and engages in the daily life of another culture – an experience labeled as the fieldwork method – and then writes accounts of this cultural, emphasizing descriptive detail (Marcus and Fischer, 1998). Moreover, ethnography is firmly

rooted in the first hand study of a particular social and cultural setting (Atkinson et al., 2001).

**Participation** and **observation** are at the core of ethnography. Participation means that we are taking part in the research in such a way that we ultimately become insiders over time. We want to understand how our informants think, and this can best be accomplished through participation. Observation further means that we are observing social phenomena take place instead of conducting interviews about happenings at a later date. Ethnography gives primacy to seeing things occur naturally (Arnould and Wallendorf, 1994). Through observation we are able to notice things that we could not otherwise, as people perform many things in such a way that they do not even notice it themselves. Thus if we would not observe the situation, these practices and routines would stay a mystery as informants are not able to describe or even discuss them through traditional interviews.

Observation can be further dealt into **participant** and **non-participant observation**. If we are performing participant observation during a dinner, for example, we are actually eating with the other people and participating in all that they are doing whilst doing observations. On the other hand if we are performing non-participant observation, we are simply doing natural observations of what the people are doing without taking part in what our informants are doing (Moisander and Valtonen, 2006).

All in all, ethnography relies on both watching things occur naturally and verbal interviews which provide a perspective of action (Arnould and Wallendorf, 1994). I have thus concentrated on using both methods in this research. I will discuss this in the following.

#### **4.2 Introduction to videography**

*When Robert J. Flaherty left to film the first videographic classic, "Nanook of the North" in June 1920, he and his team carried 75,000 feet of film, a Haulberg electric*

*light plant and projector, two Akeley cameras, and a printing machine on a journey that required six weeks of travel by rail, canoe, schooner and dog sled. Today's digital revolution in video technology would have significantly lightened Flaherty's load.* (Belk and Kozinets 2005, p. 128)

As Kozinets and Belk (2006) state, consumer culture is "*bright and noisy*". I find that this phenomena can be best portrayed using videographic methods. Images are easier to remember as they speak a universal language and further convey things that are hard to capture in words. It is thus important to learn a new language that enables us to discuss audiovisual text meaningfully (De Valck et. al, 2009).

This research will use a combination of naturalistic observations and verbal interviews with informants. A combination of is often found superior to simply choosing one of the videographic methods (Belk and Kozinets, 2005), as Kozinets (2001) showcased in his study on Star Trek fans. Even though videography has recently become a much discussed research method, it has been present for almost one hundred years, of which Robert J. Flaherty is an example. It is not that videography would not have been a possible, suitable or relevant research method throughout this period, but rather that the amount of equipment and work needed was so extensive that only few of us dared, bothered or quite simply could afford to attempt it. During the past decade, however, significant progress has accrued in video recording and editing technology, which has led to a situation where each and every one of us can produce reasonably good material independently (Belk and Kozinets 2005). Indeed, only recently videography as a method has gained attention among interpretive consumers researchers (De Valk et. al, 2009).

The depicted situation has effected everyone from the hobby videographer to professional movie makers and documentarists. The cost of quality video has simply plummeted while the possibilities current technology offers are continuously expanding (Kozinets and Belk, 2006). What is furthermore a noticeable change is that due to the progress in technology, videography has also

become more accepted as a method. For example Nissan recently conducted a research on the existing brand community among the owners of their vehicles and wanted the finished product to be in video only (Belk and Kozinets, 2005).

### 4.3 Videographical methods

Qualitative research methods can be split, if simply put, into "perspectives of action" and "perspectives in action" (Snow and Anderson, 1987). "Perspectives of action" lets the informant describe the phenomena as he sees it, put another way, it portrays people talking about behaviour (Belk and Kozinets, 2005). "Perspectives in action" on the other hand records the phenomena of interest while it is happening, or at least aims to. This split made by Snow and Anderson (1987) is valid also when looking at different videographic methods. Videographic methods make a good match with the research of practices as we are able to closely observe and record what happens in our daily lives. Moreover, we are able to take the interpretation of mundane daily life to the next level as we are leaving much of the conclusions to be made by the viewer himself. We all interpret what we see somewhat differently. The researcher can make his own conclusions, but the viewer does not have to settle with them, as is often the case with more traditional research methods. If we compare videography to taking field notes, the difference is immense. As we are taking field notes, we are interpreting what is happening in the moment and have to rely on this conclusion at later points of the research. Videography records what happens exactly as it happened and conclusions can be made at a later point.

Videographic methods can be dealt into six, but it should be understood that these six formats are neither mutually exclusive nor exhaustive (Kozinets and Belk, 2006). The simplest, and still most commonly used methods within videography are **individual and group interviews** (Belk and Kozinets, 2005). This method quite simply has the videographer directing and filming interviews with informants (Kozinets and Belk, 2006). These interviews, however, contain much more information than simply the informants story, in the form of body language, proxemics, kinesics and many other aspects of human behavior that

communicate meaning (Kozinets and Belk, 2006). We will take a closer at the many advantages of videographic methods later on.

Another common videographic method is the recording of **naturalistic observations** (Belk and Kozinets, 2005), resulting in an observational videography (Kozinets and Belk, 2006). In this form of videography, we are present when the research phenomenon is happening, instead of discussing it at a later point with the informant. Observations can be made in an obtrusive manner, so that the researcher participates in the practice, or in an unobtrusive manner in which the consumers are simply observed without the researcher participating (Moisander and Valtonen, 2006). Unobtrusive videography can be executed either so that the informants are aware that they are filmed or so that the informants, in fact, are secretly observed (Kozinets and Belk, 2006).

We also have a possibility of trying to understand the informants' viewpoint by literally capturing it on video (Belk and Kozinets, 2005). This can be achieved by using **autobiographical**, or **autovideographical** techniques, which are based on autoethnographic techniques. Autoethnography could be said to be at the crossing of interpretive social research and autobiography (Hackley, 2007). Put another way, autoethnography is an autobiographical method in which the informant analyzes how she herself conducts cultural practice (Moisander and Valtonen, 2006).

Simplified, it quite simply means that the informants themselves operate the camera without the researcher present. In autoethnography, it is also possible that the researcher is, in fact, also the informant. A good example of autovideography is that of Sunderland et. al, (2003) in which they gave students camcorders and had them record themselves when they were going out in order to be able to analyze their drinking behavior. Autovideography is found less intrusive, more active and less directed by researcher motives (Kozinets and Belk, 2006). All in all autoethnographic research has a unique potential in "mobilizing postmodern, critical and other interpretive themes in the pursuit of theoretically informed consumer insights" (Hackley, 2007).

Finally, **collaborative techniques** are also possible, in which the researcher and informant produce the piece together. Both the researcher and informant are filming, editing and making decisions about the final content. **Retrospective applications** take advantage of already existing material combined with verbal data acquired from informants and **impressionistic techniques** are a combination of all the above mentioned with the possibility of adding animations, screen shots or almost anything within reasonable creative boundaries. (Kozinets and Belk, 2006)

#### 4.4 The four criterions

I will first take a look at the videographic criterions explained by Kozinets and Belk (2006). An important factor to consider when looking at these four criterions is that not only do they all have to be taken into consideration, they should be in a healthy balance with each other.

**The topical criterion** mainly looks at the topic of the videography and whether it is of interest to consumer research. The topical criterion further looks at whether the filming site is of good choice and whether it has produced good data. Too much topicality can make the research very narrow resulting in it being interesting to few.

The planning of mundane everyday life has not been previously studied in depth, which makes the topic of this research very relevant. The topic could also be considered interesting to many as everyday life and the planning of it is something we all partake in.

**The theoretical criterion** ponders upon whether the videography contributes to the phenomenon under the magnifying glass. Put another way, the videographer must be able to produce a research instead of a documentary. This is often the biggest challenge for the videographer as it is of constant discussion how the world of theory can be portrayed through videographic methods and, on



the other hand, how much theory should be portrayed through videography in the first place. If the theoretical side of the videography is overdone, the end result can become obscure or inaccessible even, yet if it is too weak the result is simply reality TV.

It is clearly hard to state how much theory should be presented in videographic research. In this study, I have concentrated on looking at practice theory, routines and time. I feel that my findings can be linked to the theoretical background and thus that the theoretical criterion is fulfilled.

**The theatricality criterion** discusses if the videography is dramatic enough. The theatricality and theoreticality of the videography should be in good balance for it to deliver on both fields: have an impact on the viewer yet deliver a solid theoretical framework. Theatricality addresses matters opposite to theoreticality – even though we are talking about a research the end product should be cinematic and appealing. Then again, if the theatricality of the videography is taken too far, it may compromise the very point of the work: an academic research.

I find that the solid amount of natural observations presented in this research provide a necessary amount of drama and theatricality. The informants are living in the moment and this feeling can be sensed by the viewer. This combined with the theoretical framework produces a good balance.

**The technical criterion** looks at whether the production level of the videography is sufficient. Similar to an author of a good text, a videographer must master the art of moving picture, at least to a certain degree. Whether it be lighting, good quality audio, steady shooting, good editing or overall post production, it should all be in good order. Even though the technical side of videography is extremely important, it should not be over emphasized. The content of the videography should always come first – the viewer should not be too focused on technical elements of the work but rather the actual research findings.

The technical criterion has been given much thought in this research. The sound that is portrayed in the background does not attract too much attention from the listener and gives a chance to listen to the actual research content. The interviews are presented in color and the natural observations are presented in black and white. This should make it easier for the viewer to follow the flow of the video.

#### **4.5 Advantages**

As videographic means of presentation are often found to be resonant, emotional, vibrant and especially humanizing, it can offer clear advantages over traditional forms of interpretive research (Kozinets and Belk, 2006). Ethnographic research methods are found especially good in capturing and analyzing consumption behavior as they provide us with a broad selection of excellent tools (Penaloza and Cayla, 2006), one of which is clearly videography.

Videographic methods provide several advantages. Even though individual and group interviews, which are the least depictive forms of videography, fail to provide real-time observations, the data is far richer than the traditional audio recorded interview, as it captures body language, which is often considered a communications mean just as important as oral language (Belk and Kozinets, 2005).

Videography can deliver real, intuitive and empathic understanding of informants, as the researcher is actually living with the targets and is afterwards able to analyze 'real' data. Like Martin et. al (2001) stated, the deepest way of understanding customers is by bringing segments to life by, for example, finding the 'archetype' of the segment (Martin et. al, 2001). In this research I seek to find the archetype of a young city adult living a hectic city life.

Martin et. al (2001), further find that a documentary style video is one of the best ways of presenting a segment-to-life research. As videography closely follows the lives of people, it can be difficult and often unnecessary to have large amounts of informants. Ethnographic research does not necessarily require large

samples (Miles and Huberman, 1994) as a purposive and well selected sample is sufficient to present the differences that nuance the target group (Martin et. al, 2001).

#### **4.6 Challenges**

It is clear that videography delivers a huge amount of data that cannot be provided with other qualitative research methods. As Kozinets and Belk (2006) describe, there is much in our lives that we experience using our eyes and ears: audiovisually. Videography, however, as a method faces much critique. As a representational form it is often seen to be very data-oriented failing to adequately represent existing literature and portray theoretical extensions (Kozinets and Belk, 2006).

One of videography's biggest upsides is its accessibility, but even this has been turned into a weakness as it is claimed to be too comprehensible to be scientific (Kozinets and Belk, 2006). The problem often seems to be that videography is not seen to portray reality. Even though the video represents 'reality', the videographer has much effect on the outcome. What we film, who we film, how we film, where we film, how we edit, which music we add and how we narrate the video all effects the outcome and moulds the 'reality' presented. Just like in writing a text, we provide constructed representations.

A further challenge in videography is that it always partially depends on illusion (Belk and Kozinets, 2005), put another way, we are presenting the audience a story. It is exactly this that has to be paid special attention to when conducting a videographic research: as viewers are often less critical towards a video than written material, the viewer must be respected and thus the researcher shall not take any undue liberties with the audiovisual data (Belk and Kozinets, 2005). However, I would argue text to be just as much an illusion as videography. A story created by the author.

There are many ethical questions that have to be discussed when conducting observational videography. For example when conducting unobtrusive observations (with hidden cameras), a formal ethics review should take place (Kozinets and Belk, 2006). Overall we have to remember that when making natural observations, we are entering peoples' private lives and should respect this, even though the informants are willing to participate in the research. We should always remember that the people participating in the research cannot be treated similar to data in quantitative research – not everything should or can be reported. We should also remember that whatever findings or outcomes we come up with, should be presented in a truthful manner. Put another way, we have to present things in the exact way they were said and present them in the way the informants wanted.

This brings us to the important subject of editing. Once the videography is being put together and edited, the researcher has much affect on what the final outcome looks like. The researcher can make the findings look whichever way he wants with skillful editing. This can decrease the credibility of videography as a method. Then, on the other hand, every author creates his text the way he wants to. I thus do not find editing to be credibility issue or further a challenge of videography, but rather a challenge of qualitative research and, in fact, research over all. Data can be molded in many ways and thus the same data can provide several different results. It is always in the hands of the researcher to provide an ethical and truthful piece of work.

One of the biggest challenges of videography, however trivial it may sound, is the camera itself. Quite simply the presence of a camera does not feel very natural to people (Kozinets and Belk, 2006). Even though generation Y has grown up in a world filled with reality television programming, we are not prepared in constantly having a camera present in our lives, and even those of us who can handle the presence, need time to adjust to it. For example, during traditional videographic interviews having the camera present, right in front of the informants face, can be found very uncomfortable and unnatural (Kozinets and Belk, 2006), and thus the use of tri-pods and stands is highly advised. Not only is

the presence of a camera strange, but the presence of the researcher is equally odd. It is important to understand that the researcher has much affect on the outcome of interviews and even natural observations with his own behavior.

The researcher should concentrate on not being present even though he is present, to make the situation as natural as possible for the informants. It is, however, important to understand that similar to the way there are certain question that are asked during an interview, there are certain matters of interest when making natural observations. In order to gain data, the researcher may have to lead certain situations onwards. Not in the sense of re-creation or staging, but rather making things progress. This can be found to be a challenge of videography, but certainly the same challenge relates to every interview that is not intensely structured. It is often hard to keep the path desired and thus there is always constant steering going on.

## **5. Research progress**

Before presenting my findings, I would like to go through the progress of my research in the following chapter. I will discuss the birth of the topic, the creation of the theoretical framework and the field work conducted over four months, and finally, how the findings presented in this research came to be.

### **5.1 To start off with**

This research has been conducted between January and June, 2011. The subject was put together by me and my thesis instructors Joel Hietanen and Pekka Mattila. My research topic, the planning of daily life, as a concept, is rather hard to grasp at first as it seems rather obscure. Without quite even understanding the concept, I began the field work at a very early phase of the research, in mid-January. Looking back, it can be stated that for the first two months I could not

quite understand what I was investigating, even though I was conducting empirical research. Once my theoretical background was on a solid level by the end of February, I started to better understand how our mundane daily life actually works. Through this understanding I came truly interested with my subject as I realized that the data I had thus far acquired already contained extremely interesting information about how our daily planning functions.

## 5.2 The framework

Once I had formed my theoretical background, I felt I was ready to start working with my three core informants (Tomi, Otto and Paavo). I will now briefly my informants.

*Tomi Terho is a 27 year old banker who lives in Helsinki. He recently graduated from the Helsinki School of Economics and is currently working at a PE fund. Tomi lives together with his girlfriend.*

*Otto Yliperttula is a 24 year old student who lives in Helsinki. He is also working as a part time restaurant manager at Kampin Keilahalli. Thirdly, music production is very important for Otto and he spends most of his free time at his studio in Pitäjänmäki. Otto lives together with his girlfriend.*

*Paavo Raittinen is a 27 year old restaurant manager who lives in Helsinki. Paavo is looking into studying at the Aalto University of Science as he is striving to become a consultant. Paavo lives together with his girlfriend.*

Once I had finished my theoretical framework I had already conducted several interviews, but I hadn't yet conducted naturalistic observations. After I had spent a couple of days with Otto and Tomi I started noticing that their days are very similar, almost copies of each other. It is only that the similarities are not always happening in the same order. Once it came clear that routines form a massive part of our daily lives and thus that the traditional sense of planning is in a smaller role, I started concentrating on creating a suitable framework for

depicting the different forms of planning behavior we have. As routines form such a big part of our daily lives, the way we steer our selves through the ordinary day could not be called 'planning' as the term refers to something wider and larger. I thus decided to call this 'steering' coordination, in order to keep the traditional sense of planning clear. As a result I had thus formed the main framework of my study. At this point I also decided to call my work 'Differing Everyday's', hence, our days are similar, yet different. I now had an excellent key point to concentrate on as I continued my field work with the informants. There were many interesting aspects that I discovered during my research that I could not concentrate on in order to keep my study clear and concise. For example concentrating on purchase decisions becoming routines is something that future studies could concentrate on. Also, the immense use of social media and modern tools of communication was overwhelming in my study as most of the informants had incorporated them into their daily lives. This is something I left out as a whole as it is a very wide topic. It is, however, an extremely interesting one and has much potential for future studies.

### **5.3 Putting it together**

By the beginning of May, I had gathered my videographic material and started putting my work together. I advanced with my text and video simultaneously to keep them coherent and further to have a strong link between them two. The amount of video material I had was so extensive that I had to keep a clear concentration on key findings to keep the work clear and understandable. I thus decided to concentrate on routines, the order of routines and my frame work regarding emergent coordination and purposive planning in the videographic presentation of this research. After six weeks of intensive work, I handed in my final draft of the video in the middle of June. It is now 17:30 on the 11<sup>th</sup> of July and I am finishing the written part of my master's thesis. It has been an extensive six months, which I would not have gotten through without my supervisors. I would like to sincerely thank you both, Joel and Pekka.

## 6. Findings

I will discuss the three core findings of my work in the following chapter. I will uncover how routines affect the lives of my informants and what the time styles of my informants are like with regard to the traditional split into 'work' and 'non-work'. I will further discuss the main finding of my research where I have split the planning of daily life into the concepts of 'purposive planning' and 'emergent coordination'.

### 6.1 The similarity of our days

As my theoretical background implied, routines do form a major part of our daily life (Kozinets, 2004). All three of my key informants had very strong routines that filled their daily lives, to the extent that they were working on autopilot to a certain degree (O'Dell, 2009). The importance of material (Reckwitz, 2002) was also evident as it was present in almost every routine. What is further interesting is that even though my informants are all in the same age range, they have very different incomes and possibilities in using their free time, but their lives are very much alike, formed of very similar content and just as routinized. Indeed, our age certainly is one of the biggest factors effecting the way we see time (Feldman and Hornik, 1981) and therefore how we build our days.

Even though our days are not copies of each other, I have found that the days of my informants lives are filled with routine-like building blocks. Most of the building blocks are present almost every day and are thus the key elements that form our mundane daily life. I will depict the routines of all three informants Otto Yliperttula, Tomi Terho and Paavo Raittinen in the following.

**Tomi Terho** has a day that can be split into five different parts.

**1. Morning, 2. Work, 3. Lunch, 4. Sport, 5. Dinner and relax.**

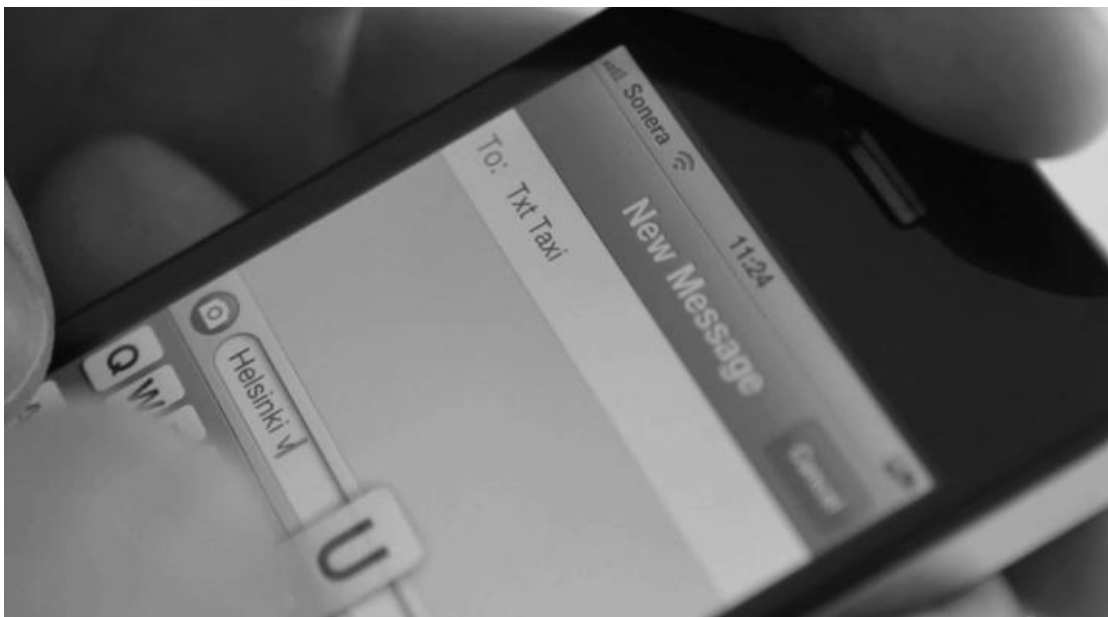


1. Each morning, when Tomi wakes up, he reads the morning news from the print version of Helsingin Sanomat (the biggest news paper in Finland) and from the mobile version whilst having a cup of coffee.



*Image 1: Helsingin Sanomat is an important part of the morning*

2. He then heads to the office by taxi or by foot and arrives between 8:30 and 9:00. The time he leaves work changes a lot but the range differed from 18:00 to 23:00 during this research.



*Image 2: Tomi either orders a taxi or walks to the office*

3. Tomi eats lunch every day between 12:00 and 12:30 with his friends or his colleagues. The decision of where to go to lunch and whom with, is often made via e-mail of Facebook.



*Image 3: Tomi is on the way to lunch with his friends*

4. Sport is an important part of Tomi's life and he does sports almost every day either before or after work, depending on his situation at work.



*Image 4: Sports is an important part of the day*

5. After work and sports Tomi cools down for a nice dinner either at home or at a nearby restaurant. Tomi often watches some TV or surfs on the internet before going to bed and waking up to perform his morning routines and starting a similar day.



*Image 5: Tomi is on the way home to eat some dinner and then go to sleep*

**Paavo Raittinen** has a day that can be split into five different parts.

**1. Morning, 2. Work, 3. Sport, 4. Dinner and relax.**

1. Paavo has a very distinct morning routines that is formed out of stretching, choosing clothes and eating an Activia -yoghurt.



*Images 6: Having a morning stretch and 7: Packing up the office*



2. As a restaurant manager Paavo works long days. He hardly ever leaves the restaurant during the day as he has lunch there (3). He thus arrives at around 9:00 and does not leave the site until around 18:00.



*Image 8: On the way to work*

3. Lunch at work
4. Sports are important for Paavo. He has a climbing routine on Tuesdays and Thursdays. On other days he concentrates on going to the gym, which is downstairs from his office. He thus usually goes to the gym straight after work, when not going climbing.
5. After sports, Paavo cools down and has some dinner, usually at home. This is where he feels that work does not follow him and he can be at ease. Prior to going to bed, Paavo usually listens to some classical music. Paavo also starts his days by listening to classical music.

**Otto Yliperttula** has a day that can be split into six different parts.

- 1. Morning, 2. Work, 3. School, 4. Studio, 5. Sport, 6. Leisure.**



*Image 9: Otto's morning always starts in the same way*

1. After waking up and brushing his teeth, Otto always makes his morning shake. It is clearly an important routine as he says that it's hard to wake up without it.



*Image 10: Otto wakes up, brushes his teeth and starts making his morning shake*

2. As Otto is still in school and does not work full time, he is not at work on a daily basis. However, when he is at work it starts either at 9:00 or 14:00.
3. Otto does not go to school on a daily basis, but when he does it is either at 9:00, 12:00 or 14:00.



*Image 11: Sports is something Otto does not want to leave out*

4. Music production is a serious hobby for Otto and he uses most of his spare time doing it at his studio. He doesn't usually go to the studio during days which include both school and work, but if one of them is out of the equation, studio comes in to fill the gap.
5. Sport is a big part of Otto's life. He does sports almost every day in some form, whether it be a morning run and gym or an evening spinning.
6. Leisure is Otto's final routine. Otto is still young. Doing something fun in the evening is important to him. Whether it be going to the movies, searching for new tracks and enjoying music or going ice skating with his girlfriend.

Indeed, as O'Dell (2009) stated, routines do almost become invisible. Tomi, Otto and Paavo all have very routinized lives which are almost going forwards on auto pilot to a certain extent. Let us look at the above discussed routines through Ehn and Löfgren's (2009) categorization.

I find that most of the routines presented contain all elements from Ehn and Löfgrens (2009) categorization and further that most routines are on the liminal of the three categories presented.

Firstly, while routines like having dinner or going to the gym are very personal, the routine of going to work or school is somewhere on the liminal. Society finds it important for us to go to school and to work, even though they might also be highly personal and important choices for us as individuals. It is thus hard to state whether, for example, school and work are personal or shared routines. They contain elements of both.

Whether the routines presented are supporting or constraining is also somewhat hard to say. If we have to go to work or school, they could be considered constraining, but on the other hand they give our lives clear structure. The fact that they give our lives structure would suggest them to be supporting routines. Overall it is clearly a very thin line between supporting and constraining routines.

Also, looking at routines as reflex-like or conscious actions, it is hard to state a clear answer. Going to work can be reflex-like until the point that the smallest matter slightly disrupts our routine, for example missing the bus we usually take to work. If this happens, we are forced to consciously complete our routine.

It seems that a simplified split cannot be made as most of our routines are happening on the liminal of the categorization Ehn and Löfgren (2009) presented.





*Image 12: Otto always chooses Vaasan Ruispalat*

A further research finding was that many of our routines have a commercial tip. Many of the purchases made by my informants were done without much thought – but rather the decision to use a certain service or choose a certain product was reflex-like. Otto buys a certain bread brand each time he goes



*Image 13: Paavo is not sure why he always purchases Activia –yoghurt*

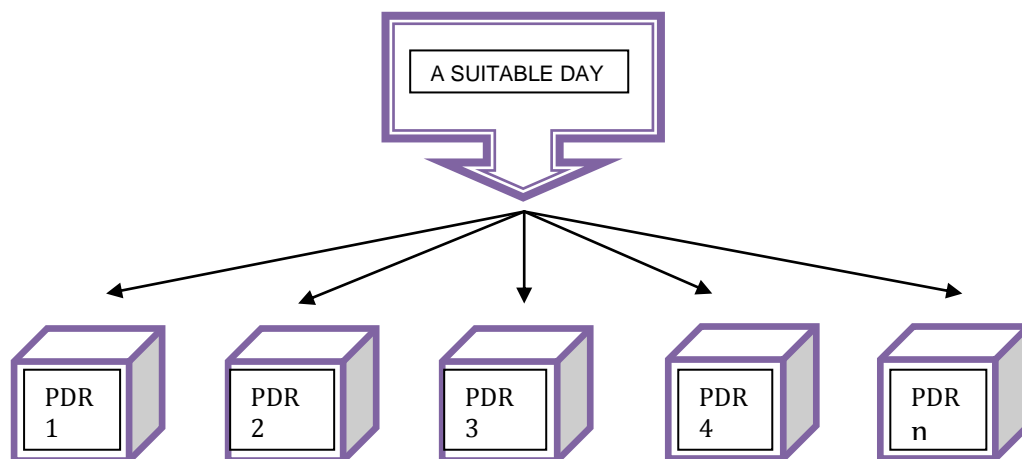
grocery shopping without even looking at the shelf. He simply takes the package. Tomi claims to shop at Stockmann herkku (a local delicacy store) because there

are so many options to choose from. Tomi, however, always chooses the same products and takes the same route through the store. Moreover, Paavo always eats Activia –yoghurt in the morning. He is not sure how he has ended up in this situation, but he purchases it every time he goes to the store. None of the boys are able to rationalize their decisions.

I dare to state that based on my research findings it seems that the ultimate form of brand loyalty is, in fact, turning the purchase decision into a routine. It seems that much of our loyalty towards brands, services and products might actually be based on a routine.

## 6.2 The order of our routines

As we can see illustrated in Figure 15, routines form a major part of the informants' lives. Very little happens in our mundane daily life that requires extensive planning as the structure of our day is already defined to a large extent. What is, however, interesting is that the routines that our day consists of can be placed in several different orders - i.e. the orders of the routines undergo emergent reorganization ("Planned daily routine" = PDR 1-n). Our days may thus seem different from each other but they are all actually somewhat alike to each other – it is simply the order in which we do our daily routines that mainly changes.



*Figure 2: Routines are the building blocks of our daily life*

The sport routine is a good example of this. We may have a block reserved for sport every day (for example PDR 3), but we may use it in the morning in the form of a jog or in the evening with a spinning session and the gym. It is clear that one reason for why we change the places is the will to have little change in our mundane daily life, scheduling is another and quite simply our mood and motivation a third. Whichever reason it may be, the only routine that is somewhat solid and cannot be moved within the day is the morning routine. Indeed, the morning routine is found to be one of the most profound and universal routines that we all have. The mind, the body and things (Reckwitz, 2002) also play a big role in why we change the places of our routines. As we have to understand the world in a certain way in order for practices to exist, our mindset plays an important role in the coordination of our routines.

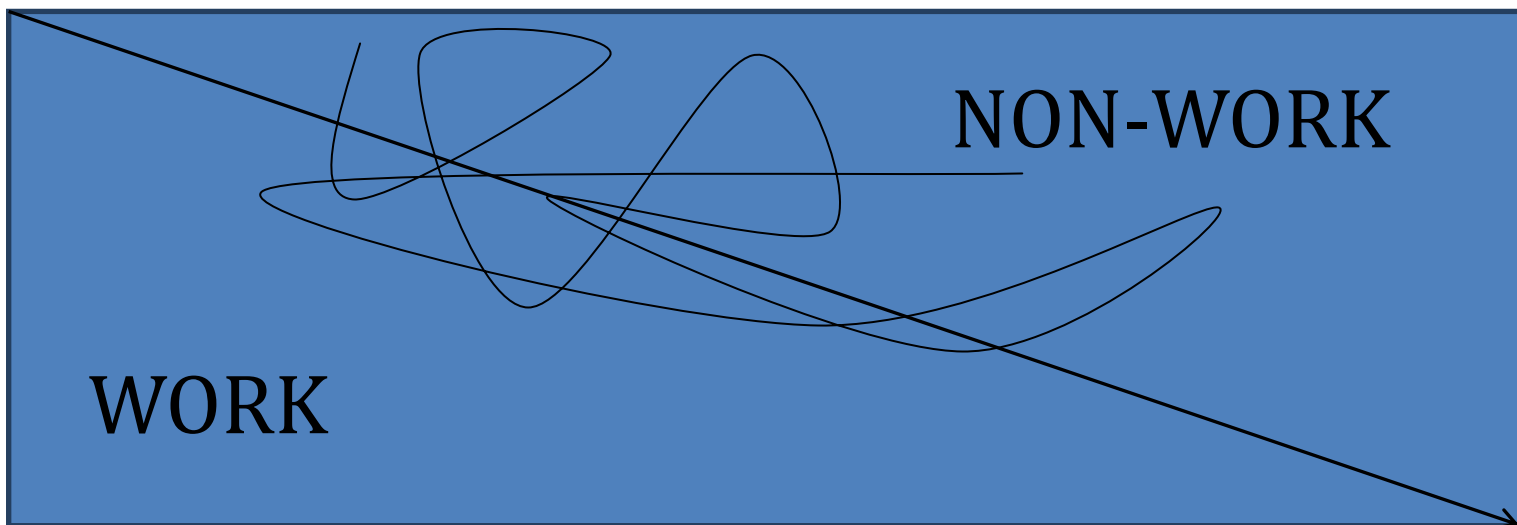
### **6.3 Work and non-work**



*Image 14: Tomi is booking his vacation trip in the cab on the way to a meeting*

As discussed, time has traditionally been looked at in a dichotomous manner where we have divided work and non-work into two separate entities (Feldman and Hornik, 1981). During my research I have, however, found that this split does not fit the participants of the research. I further argue that this split fits only

few of us in modern society. I have found that work and non-work are constantly clashing as we are taking our non-work to work and, on the other hand, taking our work home. This change has certainly been driven through technology. Since we are constantly online, it is very hard for us to separate work and non-work. I thus believe that instead of drawing a line between the two, we should rather split the time we have diagonally as work and non-work are both constantly present but to different degrees.



*Figure 3: Work and Non-work*

Even technology left aside, the lunch routine most of us have is a simple example that portrays the situation well. When we are eating lunch during our day, which is presumably work time, is it work or non-work? We wouldn't necessarily be having lunch at the location we end up at if we weren't at work during that day, but if we meet a friend for lunch and discuss non-work during work, it can hardly be said to be purely work either.

Moreover the fact that, for example, Facebook exists, albeit is forbidden at certain working places, brings work and non-work ever closer. We are taking care of non-work matters during our working day and on the other hand, thanks to 3G networks and intelligent mobile phones, we are receiving e-mails from work and school while watching the ten o' clock news.

Both Otto Yliperttula and Tomi Terho booked their holidays during work time. Tomi was in a taxi heading for the office and purchased tickets to central Europe for him and his girlfriend. Otto Yliperttula was having his lunch break and purchased tickets to London. Paavo Raittinen purchased two pairs of trousers online and had intensive discussions with his friends on Facebook, all during work. This shows that it is indeed a very thin line between work and non-work and making a drastic split between the two is simply not possible in light of the results of this research.

#### **6.4 Purposive planning and emergent coordination**

I set out to find how and if we plan our daily lives. During my research I noticed that planning as a term is rather broad and involves a large set of different kinds of behavior. Planning can mean a wide array of things, as one can plan to get a cup of coffee as much as one can plan to start a family. I have thus separated planning into two. In order to specify the meaning of planning, I investigate and conceptualize "*purposive planning*" and "*emergent coordination*" of social practices.

While *purposive planning* is intentional planning, where we are consciously taking the time to plan future actions eg. purchasing a dog, *emergent coordination* is happening in the spur of the moment in order to efficiently coordinate daily practices eg. changing the location of a dinner date at the last minute. It has, however, been argued that the practices of purposive planning are actually not primary, as the emergent nature of practices takes precedence (Warde 2005; Gherardi 2000; Thrift 2008). I have found that purposive planning and emergent coordination are often mixed together, even though they are conceptually very separable.

The split into purposive planning and emergent coordination can be compared to Feldmans and Pentlands (2003) definition of Latour's ostensive and performative natures of routines (Latour, 1986). As ostensive has to do with the

accounting and referring to specific actions performative, on the other hand, has to do with specific actions at specific times and places. (Feldman and Pentland, 2003). Purposive planning refers to behavior where we are planning matters on a longer time span, whether it be conscious or unconscious. For example, when we purchase a house we usually do our due diligence rather carefully. We think of areas we would want to move to and we further usually define our budget. Moreover, even before we start looking at houses and thinking about budgets, we have probably unconsciously thought of a future date when purchasing a house would be relevant. For example, many students plan to purchase a house once they have graduated.



*Image 15: Sina Westerberg had planned on getting a dog for three years*

**Sina Westerberg, a 23 year old student**, had been planning on getting a dog for several years. She wanted to have her own apartment and live near to school before purchasing the dog so that she wouldn't have to rely on other people on helping out with the dog and further to know that the dog is safe in her own apartment. Sina finally purchased her dog in March and is now the proud owner of a beagle.



*Image 16: Sina Westerberg is now the proud owner of 'Hugo'*

Emergent coordination, on the other hand, has to do with coordination of daily life and further the effective placement of our daily building blocks. Emergent coordination also includes ad hoc decisions made without actual planning. Good examples of emergent coordination are the decision of whether we take a morning run or go to the gym in the evening as our sport routine. Otto bought tickets to London a few days before leaving. He made the decision to go on the trip on the same day – this is emergent coordination.



*Image 17: Otto decides to go to London as he finds out he has the weekend off*

*Image 18: Decision, purchase of flights and booking of hotel all happen during the same day*



Tomi got an e-mail from his colleague suggesting a weekend trip to the alps. He then bought tickets for himself in the taxi on the way to work – this is emergent coordination. Paavo was hungry and decided to go to a Nepalese restaurant – this is emergent coordination.



*Image 19: Paavo sees a Nepalese restaurant and decides to go for dinner*

What is most interesting is what happens on the liminal, when purposive planning and emergent coordination collide.



**Satu Anttila, a 23 year old student**, had been planning on getting her own house for almost a year. She had already gotten an approval from the bank and had seen several potential homes. She, however, didn't end up buying her own house. A new acquaintance had a Facebook post that she needed a roommate for a rental apartment. Satu decided to contact her. They have now lived together for over a year. Satu had a plan, but it suddenly changed radically.

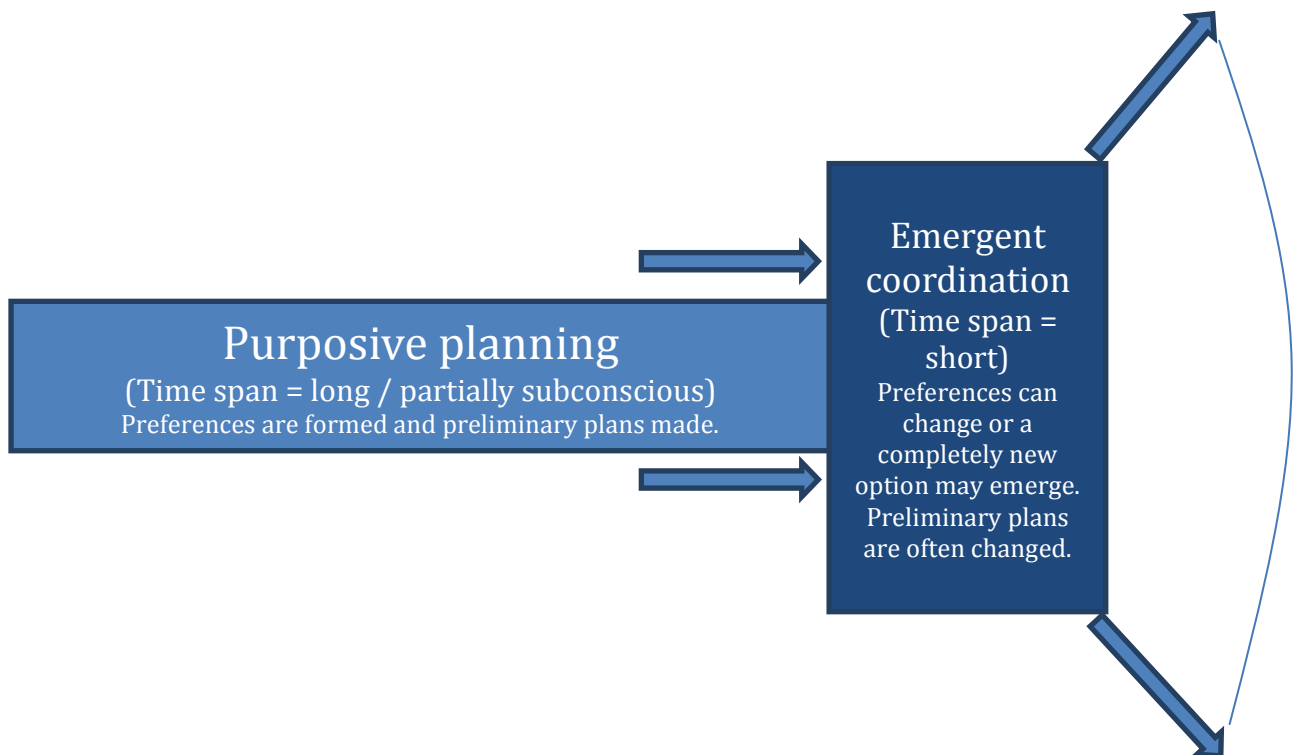
Sina had been thinking about which name to give her dog for several years. She had narrowed her options down to three options and was sure that she would give one of these three names to her dog. Suddenly one week before getting the dog, she became unsure about her name options and decided to get some reassuring from her friends on Facebook. Someone suggested Hugo on Facebook, and many other friends 'liked' the suggestion. The long planned name options didn't seem so interesting and appealing anymore and Sina decided to name her dog Hugo, in the spur of the moment.



*Image 20: Satu had planned on buying her own apartment but ended up renting with a Facebook-friend*



*Image 21: Hugo was not supposed to be Hugo in the original plan*



*Image 22: Purposive planning and emergent coordination*

Most of our daily life relies on routines and emergent coordination as we are coordinating how we allocate the building blocks of our daily life. Emergent coordination can, however, also enter the big decisions of our life. Our plans do not always carry all the way to the end, and in fact we often change them and make very emergent decisions.

We are often making a preliminary plan, or at least set of options, during purposive planning. Put another way, we are forming our preferences and planning different options of execution. When the time of making the final decision comes, emergent coordination can alter the preference or have us make a decision that hasn't been an option at any point before. What is further interesting is that purposive planning can be made unnecessary by the combination of routines and emergent coordination.

For example Tomi has gone to a certain location to ski for the past three years, every spring. The exact departing date is only planned to a harsh level as the situation at work dictates the possibility to leave. Going to Kitzbuhl is more of a routine than the result of purposive planning and the exact placement of this routine is a result of emergent coordination. So what is the role of purposive planning?

**Laura Salo, a 24 year old student** and Paavo both state that purposive planning is, in fact, something we do to be aware of what is happening and to break the pattern of routines. We need to be in control of what is happening, or at least believe that we are in control of what is happening. We need to rationalize the past in order to understand the present, and this is one of the reasons we conduct purposive planning. We need to form an understanding on why things have taken a certain path and ended up the way they are and on the other hand we want to believe that we can much effect what will happen in the future. It thus actually seems like routines give our lives balance and structure, which we steer through emergent coordination. Purposive planning makes us feel like we are in control and aware of what is happening, even though it is often predominant.

## **7. Conclusions**

### **7.1 Background**

This research set to understand what the planning and coordination of our daily life is like. As daily life or its planning of has remained virtually uninvestigated (see Schatzki, 2001, for a notable exception), I wanted to explore what the role of routines are in our mundane daily life and further what the function of planning is and how we execute it.

This study was conducted from an interpretivistic perspective as ethnographic research, more specifically as a videography. As the phenomena that is being investigated has to do with human behavior and mundane daily actions, ethnography proved to be a strong methodological approach to the field, as already implied by Moisander and Valtonen (2006). One of the key strengths of ethnography is seeing things occur naturally (Arnould and Wallendorf, 1994), which was showcased in this research also as key findings were made through natural observations and supported through interviews. Natural observations proved to be an excellent way of gathering information from the field as it was often unclear which questions were the ones that needed answering – active participation in the daily lives of informants proved to be the best way of starting to understand how mundane daily life works and further how it is planned and coordinated.

Mundane daily life is indeed something that is familiar to all of us. The role of ethnography is thus not necessarily the collection of data, but the representation and creation of knowledge (Pink, 2007). The role of ethnography was exactly this – to investigate, open and portray a phenomena that it very common, but very little discussed.

With regards to the theoretical background presented, this study supports the findings made regarding routines, e.g. Bateson (1973), Bourdieu (1977), De

Certeau (1984), Elias (1978), and more recently Kaufmann (1997), Shove (2003), Highmore (2004), Ehn and Löfgren (2009) and O'Dell (2009), to name a few. Indeed, routines do form an immense part of our everyday life – in fact one could argue that it consists of the very structure of 'daily being'.

Furthermore the importance of material arrangements within our practices (Reckwitz, 2002; Warde, 2005; Schatzki, 2009) was further clarified during this research. The dichotomous aspect of time as work and non-work (Feldman and Hornik, 1981), however, could not be seen through this research. It seems that time is hard to be split into separate entities as we are constantly on the liminal.

## **7.2 Findings**

The core findings of this research can be summed as follows:

1. Indeed, our daily life is filled with routines where behavior and material arrangements interconnect to one another (Reckwitz, 2002), whether it be a reflex-like routine which we are executing in a very automated manner (O'Dell, 2009) or a conscious routine which we decide to make (Ehn and Löfgren, 2009). Our days are very similar to each other, if we look at which components our days are built out of. Things do not always happen in the same order, but our days are often formed out of the same components, put another way, routines. We are optimizing our days by placing our different routines in the most suitable places.
2. Traditionally our sense of time has been looked at in a dichotomous manner, split into work and non-work (Feldman and Hornik, 1981). Work has consisted of things we do to create income for ourselves and non-work of necessities, homework and leisure. My research, however, indicates that this is not a relevant split as we are constantly on the liminal of work and non-work. Instead of splitting our time into two, we can think of every moment consisting of some parts of work and other parts of non-work.

3. Planning as a concept is very broad. My results indicate that one can conceptualize two types of planning that we conduct in our daily life. Conscious, time-taking, traditional planning can be called 'purposive planning', while quick steering of our daily routines and ad hoc decision making can be called 'emergent coordination'. Both of these are part of our mundane daily life, albeit the combination of emergent coordination and routines is dominant. 'Emergent coordination' and 'purposive planning' often collide, as our purposive plans take a new direction. It is thus important to understand what happens on the liminal of the two above mentioned. The outcome is, in fact, often a chaotic balance between routines and emergent coordination which we try to reason through purposive planning. It seems that while routines give our lives balance and structure, purposive planning gives us the feeling that we are in control of what is happening in our lives.

### **7.3 Managerial implications**

The core managerial implications can be summed as follows:

1. Even though we as consumers conduct purposive planning, many of our decisions are based on emergent decisions. It is thus important to be present at the moment the decision is being made. This can be compared to the purchase funnel where we are first narrowing down our options and then finally making a decision. Thus, what is important to understand is that the final decision might not be any of the options generated through the purchase funnel. Even close to the finish line, much can be done to affect the end result.
2. It is important to be continuously present in the consumer's life, as decisions are being made continuously. As time has no clear structure and we are constantly on the liminal of work and non-work, decisions can be made at any point. The consumer is constantly alert and ready to decide.

3. It seems that many of our purchase decisions are based on routines, instead of loyalty, feelings or rational cause. We should thus concentrate on making purchase decisions routines to consumers as this could, in fact, be the ultimate form of brand loyalty.

#### **7.4 Limitations and further research**

As the study of the planning and coordination of daily life was only just opened through this research, much is left to be uncovered. This research was conducted with a very narrow informant group and thus to have a wider understanding of the subject, further research could concentrate on finding out how the results of this research compare to other age- or demographic groups. The amount of time I spent with people researching this phenomenon, however, gives me confidence to state that the data represents the findings. This being said, it is clear that an in depth research with three informants cannot provide universal results. It should thus rather be considered as a case study.

The further understanding of what our time structure is like presents interesting possibilities. This research opened the discussion by stating that clear cuts cannot be made to work and non-work, but further study could be made on what happens on the liminal and whether a new time structure could, in fact, be found.

Comprehending our purchase decisions and setting to find out how routinized they are is also something that could be looked at in the future.

Finally the importance of material with regards to our daily routines was discussed in brief, but the actual role and meaning of material in our daily life could be further researched.

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