

Place Consumption: The Sauna, the Finns and Their Practices

Marketing
Master's thesis
Nina Harjulin
2012



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School of Economics

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Purpose of the study

The purpose of this research is to introduce the study of place consumption in terms of consumer behavior in a cultural context. By reviewing literature on Finnish history, places and spaces, consumer behavior (intergenerational learning), rituals, routines and practices as well as practice theory, the study aims to reveal what meaning the sauna has in the everyday life of Finns. By reviewing the historical value and development of the sauna, this research's objective is to understand how the sauna's background has shaped current practices. Additionally, through data collection this study shows how Finns have learned sauna practices during childhood, how the sauna practices have evolved in relation to other practices, as well as how people's current and future aspirations are in terms of having a family life in association to the sauna.

Methodology

The study combines studies of consumer behavior, place studies, and practice theory. The literature largely leans on Edelsward (1993) for Finnish culture and sauna, Epp & Price (2008) for intergenerational learning, Tuan (1977) and Relph (2008) for place and space. Through the cultural framework of social theory of practice, this study aims to discuss the concrete 'doings' related to the consumption of the sauna. This particular framework of theory is appropriate for this study as it interprets everyday life through human behaviour, which can be explained by cultural context. The study context is the Finnish home, thus, 17 Finns within an age-range of 18-26 were interviewed.

Findings

The sauna consumption practices are learned and developed in the Finnish home. From a practice theory perspective the understandings and rules, as well as doings and sayings of sauna practices are commonly understood in the Finnish society. Based on Schatzki's practice theory framework, the main practices related to sauna consumption are: cleansing and physical well-being, psychological healing and well-being, gathering and bonding, and Finnish nesting. It is clear that the practices deemed important in relation to the consumption of the sauna depend on a person's life situation. Additionally, this means that a person's other practices play a part in supporting the sauna consumption practices. Although it has been argued that the cultural value of the traditional sauna has suffered a decrease, it can be debated that the electrically heated sauna's existence in Finns everyday lives, as well as festivities, is in a modern context prominent. The data collected also prove how important the sauna consumption routines are in relation to identity construction and maintenance in a Finnish home.

Keywords: place consumption, intergenerational learning, routines, rituals, practices

Tutkimuksen tavoitteet

Tämän pro-gradu tutkielman tavoite on esitellä paikkakuluttamista (*place consumption*) kulttuurisidonnaisessa kuluttajakäyttäytymisen kontekstissa. Tutkimus tarkastelee saunan roolia ja arvoa suomalaisen ihmisen arjessa ammentaen tutkimusta Suomen historiankirjoista, paikka- ja kuluttajakäyttäytymisen kirjallisuudesta, rituaali, rutiini ja käytänne -jaottelusta, sekä käytänneteoriasta (*practice theory*). Ymmärtämällä saunan historiallisen kehityksen ja arvon, tutkimus selvittää, mistä nykyiset saunakäytänteet (*sauna practices*) ovat peräisin, ja kuinka nämä käytänteet ovat muokkautuneet soveltuakseen moderniin yhteiskuntaan. Haastattelujen avulla tutkimus selvittää, kuinka suomalaiset käytännössä oppivat saunakäytänteet kotona, ja miten ne muokkautuvat niin iän kuin myös eri elämäntilanteiden myötä.

Metodologia

Tutkielmassa on uudella tavalla sovellettu paikkatutkimuksen oppeja kuluttajakäyttäytymiseen. Tämän jälkeen tätä uutta termiä, paikkakuluttamista, tarkastellaan käytänneteorian näkökulmasta. Kirjallisuuskatsauksen päälähteinä ovat Edelswardin (1993) suomalaisen sauna ja kulttuurin tutkimus, Epp ja Pricen (2008) sukupolvien välinen oppiminen (*intergenerational learning*), sekä Tuanin (1977) että Relphin (2008) paikkatutkimukset (*place and space*). Käytänneteorian viitekehysten avulla tutkimuksessa löydetään saunan kuluttamiseen liittyvät konkreettiset ”tekemiset” (*doings*). Kyseinen viitekehys on tähän tutkimukseen soveltuvin, sillä se tulkitsee arkea tutkimalla nimenomaan ihmisten käyttäytymistä, jota pyritään selittämään kulttuurisen kontekstin kautta. Tutkimuskonteksti on suomalaiset kotikäytänteet. Tutkimusta varten on haastateltu 17 suomalaista miestä ja naista ikäkategoriasta 18–62 vuotta.

Tulokset

Tutkimuksessa havaittiin, että saunakulutuksen käytänteet ovat opittuja, ja kehittyvät lapsuudenkodissa. Saunakäytänteisiin liittyvät, käytänneteoriassa eritellyt yleiset ymmärrykset ja säännöt, kuin myös tekemiset ja sanonnat ovat yleisesti hyväksytyjä suomalaisessa yhteiskunnassa. Schatzkin käytänneteorian viitekehystä soveltaen havaittiin, että yleisimmät saunakäytänteet ovat puhdistautuminen ja fyysisen hyvän olon luominen (*cleansing and physical well being*), psyykinen rentoutuminen ja hyvän olon luominen (*psychological healing and well being*), kokoontuminen ja suhteiden vahvistaminen (*gathering and bonding*), sekä suomalainen pesänrakentaminen (*Finnish nesting*). Riippuen ihmisen elämäntilanteesta, eri käytänteiden tärkeys painottuu riippuen niiden sopivuudesta muita elämän käytänteiden kanssa. Muut suomalaiset käytänteet siis usein tukevat saunakuluttamiseen liittyviä käytänteitä. Huolimatta siitä että saunan kulttuurinen ja historiallinen arvo on suomalaisessa yhteiskunnassa kyseenalaistettu, tämä tutkimus osoittaa modernin saunan olevan edelleen tärkeä osa suomalaisen päivittäistä arkea ja juhlaa. Lisäksi tulokset todistavat, että saunakäytänteet ovat tärkeitä suomalaisen identiteetin rakentamisessa ja kehittämisessä.

Avainsanat: paikka kuluttaminen, sukupolvien välinen oppiminen, rutiinit, rituaalit, käytänteet

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1 Introduction

The sauna is an intriguing hub of Finnish culture, which functions as a place of togetherness, cleansing, therapy and rituals relating to establishing maturity and re-establishing a sense of Finnishness. Finns have been born, healed from illnesses and passed on to the next life in the sauna, which goes to explain the cultural history of the place and its continuation from generation to generation. The place has been modified to suit current needs, and current contexts have moulded the practices related to bathing. Connecting three areas of consumer behaviour research with practice theory, this study provides new insight on the importance of environment in relation to daily ritualistic practices.

Firstly, previous consumer behaviour research has been conducted in terms of rituals and self-transformation (Schouten, 1993), rituals of self-identity renewal upon death (Bonsu and Belk, 2003) and rituals of familial, celebratory events (Wallendorf and Arnould, 1991), however, they all lack an explicit focus on the environment in which these rituals take place. Additionally, these studies have not analysed how ritualistic practices might extend and evolve over time.

Secondly, previous research on consumer behaviour and place as well as their connection to how consumers construct meanings through consumption activities in a certain space do exist (Kozinets et al. 2004, Wallendorf and Arnould, 1991, Visconti et al., 2010). They give evidence to how consumption environments together with consumer practices mediate consumer created meanings. However, they lack a ritualistic point of view. What's more, the existing research has concentrated on marketer-designed environments where monetary exchange occurs, leaving the more informal and private environments under-researched. The private sphere of home linked with family practices conducted in relation to material objects have been analysed (Coupland, 2005, Epp and Price, 2008), but have lacked attention concerning the actual household practices, their development and how the material surroundings support or restrict them.

Thirdly, consumer socialization (1974) and intergenerational learning (Moore et al., 2000) within the context of family has been given attention. The concepts broadly refer to the process of transmitting and acquiring information, beliefs and resources from a social network, or specifically from one's family. However, where Moore et al.'s (2000) article focuses on the topic from an individualistic perspective with managerial and marketer implications, the area is still open for deeper and closer analysis.

Unlike any other study within the area of consumer research, this study examines a site (Finnish home) whose meaning and usefulness is constructed of multiple factors (consumer goals,

commercial meanings, interactional events and activities, as well as belonging and maintenance of self and wellbeing) and how they are implemented through everyday practices (Schatzki, 2002). This study aims to see how the material space of sauna is integrated into the daily rituals and behaviour of Finns in their home environment.

Thus, this thesis aims to broaden the understanding of meanings attached to places, consumption through places and their role in relationships, through a practice theory point of view. Particularly, the sauna is an exceptional place, as it is a phenomena and a place that has survived decades of turbulence, and despite its previous decline has turned to rise in popularity today. Here the history of the sauna and its cultural background is examined, as well as place and spaces in terms of an anti-individualistic practice theory framework, in order to understand how it is all culminated in a hot, four-wall room. Through people's personal insights and stories, logic is found as to how the sauna has developed as a place of practice through practice theory.

1.1 Background

Space and place have received a significant amount of attention in areas of geographical philosophy, anthropology, topology, history of geography etc. however, within the study of consumer behaviour there is lack of research. The little research that exists within the area of consumption of place and practices associated to places, are concentrated on consumer products in an American context and although valuable in a certain context, it has left a gap open for further research.

The Finnish sauna is an internationally known phenomenon, and despite its mass mediated existence around the world, still possesses its cultural significance amongst Finns. This cultural significance, which may be at the risk of slowly decreasing in value, derives from practices that originate from the history of Finns and their sauna traditions.

1.1.1. Researcher Background

Having lived in three different countries already at the age of 5, and moving from one place to another but always returning to Finland, I have a personal interest in Finnish culture and what makes it so unique in both a positive and negative aspect. Additionally, the concepts of places, how we give meaning to them, returning to certain places, emotional attachment to places and particular places which evoke practices which then in turn strengthen relationships is fascinating. The modern person settles roots much quicker than before, but still carries certain material objects which are of emotional value and important to the sense of self. Thoughts on place,

people and consumption have evoked questions such as: Why do I associate shopping on Sunday's in Frankfurt with my mother? Why is eating Korean on a weekend afternoon associated with my best friend? Or why do I always remember my grandmother when attending the sauna, even if we rarely went together? Additionally, why has my mother sought out to have a sauna in each place that we've lived? We all do certain things with certain people in certain places which bring social structure, sense of belonging and add to our personality and who we are. The interesting question is how are these practices maintained? Is it due to the given context that we do what we do, do we search for contexts to be able to do what we do or does the once-had practice die out when the given context needed for it is removed?

1.2 Research Problem

As mentioned, the consumption of place is under researched, thus this study seeks to find the link as well as fill the research gap between places and practices. It has been asked whether a place can function or be called just a medium or prop for practice, as well as whether practices are what maintain the meaningfulness, in terms of culture, personal and social value. Additionally, it can be noted that no place consumption research has been conducted in a Finnish context, and more specifically in a Finnish Home context. Here the study attempts to address the links of the Finnish home sauna and how its consumption provides means for specific practices through intergenerational learning.

1.3 Research Questions and Objectives

One of the main objectives of this research is to produce links between the domains of place and consumer behaviour under the term *consumption of place*. In addition to the study of psychology and marketing research, the two are presented in an anthropological light, using Finnish culture as the context. By identifying the specific sauna consumption practices learned at a young age (by almost all Finns) i.e. the doings and sayings, which are determined by the understandings and rules of the sauna consuming practice, the study aims to reflect insight on how practices related to consumption of sauna are created, maintained and changed over the course of time of a Finns life. By finding out why, where and with whom Finns consume the sauna, a better grasp of consumption of place and motivations for it will be achieved.

The research question

Through practice theory, what routines, rituals and practices provide value and meaning to the consumption of sauna in a Finnish context?

Sub-questions

How has the history of sauna and sauna practices formed the practice of consuming sauna in a Finnish context today?

Which practices are dominant in importance in the preservation and/or continuity of the sauna consumption?

What role has *intergenerational learning* as well as *place*, played in the continuation and reshaping of home sauna practices?

1.4 Definitions

Place- Is a *space* that has the physical presence of a person and is thus made into a *place*, which is given *value* and *meaning* making it 'authentic' (Relph, 2008).

Consumption - Although consumption is most commonly associated with purchasing and using up of commodities it "cannot be restricted to, nor defined by, market exchange" (Warde, 2005:137). In this thesis consuming is defined more symbolically, in terms of how a place can be used and thus consumed. According to Warde, consumption is seen "*as a process whereby agents engage in appropriation and appreciation, whether for utilitarian, expressive or contemplative purposes, of goods, services, performances, information or ambience, whether purchased or not, over which the agent has some degree of discretion*" (2005:137). In this study, I will refer to consumption in terms of Warde's understanding of attaining commodities, where practices create wants.

Practice - practices are 'doings' related to everyday life, which have been collectively created and own a sense of temporal depth (Warde, 2005). Furthermore it is a "routinized type of behaviour which consists of several elements, interconnected to one other: 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" (Reckwitz, 2002:249).

Intergenerational Learning- Is when learning of information, beliefs, and resources move from one generation to another, which is a fundamental mechanism by which culture is sustained over time (Moore et al., 2002).

Socialization- The process through which people develop specific patterns of social behaviour that is deemed correct in a specific group (Moore et al., 2002). We also accept Young's (1991) framework of socially acceptable behaviour where 'scripts' act as guidelines (implicit and explicit rules), 'audiences' are the people within the framework, which one adjusts one behaviour to accordingly, and props are the material things used to make the 'play' happen.

1.5 Limitations

The study at hand explores new areas of consumer research. This functions as a limitation as well as a strength. The limitation is that there is restricted retrievable information on this particular field of study. However, for this research it is a strength as it then provides new insight into the particular research area.

People are usually not conscious, or have difficulty expressing the experiences they have with places (Tuan, 1977). In a culture like Finland, where expressing feelings is limited, retrieving rich, culture-filled information is challenging. Without belittling other works on sauna and practices related to it, with the notion of Tuan's quote: "A native citizen knows his (her) country in a way that cannot be duplicated by a naturalized citizen who has grown up elsewhere" (1977:185). Thus, it is assumed that this study will reveal more integrated and culturally embedded knowledge on intimate practices, compared to some of the foreign researchers.

The data collection happened only in an urban environment. This study does, thus, not give complete representative findings in terms of all of Finland, where some practices may be more common due to natural environment.

1.6 Outline of Thesis

Introducing the research in section 1, section 2 provides a broad literature review of consumption of sauna, consumer behaviour and socialization, space and place as well as routines, rituals and practices. Due to the topic being relatively uncovered, the literature provides an elaborate background for the topic. The literature on sauna, its history, traditions, cultural integration in Finnish society, and its purpose, is explained in order to understand sauna consuming practices

today. Leading to the next topic: consumer behaviour and socialization, presenting literature on how and why people learn to do certain things, where these practices are spawned and how they develop, explaining why people do the things they do. Furthermore, the literature on place, how it is perceived, experienced and attached value to, concentrates on the psychological view of Tuan (1977) and Relph (2008), as their perspective seems most appropriate for this particular study. To further understand practices and their roots; routines, rituals, and practices and how they are related, are explained.

In section 3, the research design is presented as following: the research context (Finnish Home), the methodological framework (Practice Theory) and method of research (Interviews). The more theoretical aspect of practice theory and its suitability for this study is explained first here.

Leading to section 4: Findings. Through a temporal aspect to practice theory the study shows: how adult Finns have come to the same general understandings and rules of sauna consumption, how they have evolved, and how the development of them has led to the current understandings and rules. Through the combination of literature review and data collected, a practice theory framework of sauna consumption practices is presented.

Section 5 provides analysis and discussion, where the practices obtained from the practice theory framework are further discussed and elaborated, as well as analysed from the consumer behaviour and place literature perspective.

Finally, section 6 concludes the research, by providing research implications as well as suggestions for further research of place consumption in consumer behaviour.

2 Literature Review

2.1 Consumption of Sauna

The topic at hand has been studied from an anthropological perspective, analysing the history and integration of sauna into Finnish history and culture, I however hope to present more of a consumer perspective. The consumption of sauna is deeply integrated into Finnish culture proven by the dedication of the Finnish Sauna Society, who are living proof of how seriously Finns take sauna and the tradition of it. At the International Sauna Congress, Urho Kekkonen (former president of Finland) adequately summarized the purpose and functions of a sauna within the Finnish culture:

Finland has a rugged climate and soil, a people of dour like temperament. They long for variety and warmth in their life...Many Finns (..) were born in a sauna, bonds of friendship have been cemented and conflicts settled in the sauna. It is a great leveler: there are no ministers, VIPs, labourers or lumberjacks on the sauna platform, only sauna mates....In its heat I forget the workaday stress and can meet my friends and acquaintances. August 15, 1974, International Sauna Congress

The sauna has functioned as: place of birth, washing/bathing, mean for relaxation physically and psychologically, and household chores were conducted there as well (Sauna Studies 1976, Arstila 1983). The sauna provides a safe space for relaxing in peace and allows even the hard-surfaced Finnish male (Trux, 2010) to open conversations, which in daylight might seem too painful or difficult to discuss (Berghäll & Hotakainen 2009, Arstila 1983). The sauna builds an atmosphere of empathy, confidence and trust among bathers, thus making it easy for relationships to evolve naturally into valuable, enduring friendships (Arstila, 1983). The sauna is “key to meaning” of being for Finns, and is a relevant part of living a Finnish lifestyle (Edelsward, 1993:197). The sauna defines “the relationships between many diverse areas of life, including an individual’s relationship to nature, to him/herself, and to others” (Edelsward, 1993:197). For Finns the “sauna summarizes the values which makes life worthwhile and then tells the way to achieve this meaningful life, by being Finnish” (Edelsward, 1993:199) proving that the significance of the sauna and its meaning as part of being Finnish is a given.

Based on the sauna-literature by non-Finns, it is evident how some sauna-practices are more noticeable when being observed by a non-Fin. The literature by Konya (1987) and Edelsward (1993) approach the sauna practices from a more scientific perspective, where sauna going is explained as if it were a recipe that needs to be followed. Edelsward, however, correctly explains that “from a Finnish perspective, “sauna” refers not merely to the steamy atmosphere which causes one to sweat, but to the design, technology, behaviour, and values inherent in the concept – to the Finnish traditions” (1993:21).

The qualitative study of culture is almost always contextual and thus demands appropriate subjectivity (Mikkonen, 2012) and personal knowledge of the culture being studied. Thus, it may indeed take a Finn to really understand the meaning of the sauna bathing and its practices within a Finnish context. The sauna is something Finns carry with pride, which is why one can find much literature on the sauna and how it is supposed to be.

2.1.1 History of Sauna

The literature on how far the sauna dates back in time seems to differ, but the furthest mentioned is that it dates back to 700 BC and has played a vital role in hygiene and social events ever since (Karjanoja & Peltonen, 1997). The earliest documentaries on the Finnish sauna are from the year 1113, written by a Russian historian Nestori (Edelsward, 1993). The sauna is “pervasive in Finland, a part of family life, community life and spiritual life, of business, politics, entertainment and sports” (Edelsward, 1993), in other words, it is deeply integrated into our culture and practices of our daily lives. Thinking back 2000 years, the physical labour and the availability of timber as raw material and fuel “may explain the development of the sauna as a means to cleanliness and renewal of strength” (Konya, 1987:6).

Though the common notion is that the sauna was invented in Finland (Taskinen, 2011), the sauna dates further back in Greece, Rome (Vuorenjuuri, 1967, Karjanoja et al., 1997) and made its rise in Russia and Sweden before Finland (Vuorenjuuri, 1967). The Arab countries imitated the Greeks and Roman bathing habits, and created their own version of a sweatbath, known as Hammam (Karjanoja et al., 1997). The first debate on the origins of the sauna, a conflict between Finland and Russia, took place in 1889. But even then it was left unsettled. As a reaction to this Finns then attempted to create a more unique and Finnish sauna compared to the other countries’ sweatbaths (Vuorenjuuri, 1967). The thought of the Swedes being as talented sauna bathers as the Finns was (and is) a disgusting notion that the Finns refused to accept (Vuorenjuuri, 1967).

Despite this, it is due to the Finns that the Sauna tradition has remained, and is constantly becoming more, popular (Karjanoja et al., 1997). Perhaps this, and that the word ‘sauna’ derives from the Finnish language (Edelsward, 1993), is why there is an international illusion that the Finns have invented the Sauna. Vuorenjuuri adequately puts the matter to rest by stating that: if we (Finns) could deal with the sauna as the French do with wine, we would be a step ahead. No one in France claims that the wine is a French invention, it has come from elsewhere, and the French have simply embraced it and through that cared as well as pushed it further (1967).

The eastern part of Finland never took the habit of using the sauna for anything else but bathing, and this tradition is assumed to be inherited from the Russian Banya (Vuorenjuuri, 1967), whereas the southwest Finnish sauna was used for several other practical purposes.

Saunas have not correlated with wealth, meaning that people in all ranges of status have had access to a sauna (Edelsward, 1993). In 1937 it was recorded that 80% of farms have saunas, and the 20% that did not have their own, had access to one (Edelsward, 1993). To date, about 90% of Finns go to the sauna regularly (Karjanoja et al., 1997), and there are approximately 3 million saunas in Finland (Taskinen, 2011). Hence it is unarguably a cultural phenomenon in Finland.

The first saunas built in Finland were, similar to housing back then, earth pits, which were merely covered with some sort of blanket or animal skins (Taskinen, 2011, Karjanoja et. al, 1997). Today, the sauna has not become to represent “status symbol or luxury item but a basic necessity which is accessible to all” (Edelsward, 1993:17), it is simply a place that Finns are so accustomed to having, that not having access would feel strange and empty.

The sauna has managed to survive the Finnish histories turmoil: where the conversion of Christianity did not doom the sauna as opposed to integrating it into traditions, where later the great agricultural revolution (1870’s) wiped out many of the sauna traditions, leading to the eventual “recreation of the meaning of the sauna for each new era, the infusion of new meanings for new world views” (Edelsward, 1993: 180-181) and thus maintaining the tradition as part of culture despite all its adversities.

According to Taskinen “human beings enjoy warmth” (2011:15), which goes to explain why the sweat bathing tradition goes so far back. He provides an Eight Generations of Sauna- list, which shows the development of the sauna over time:

- 1st generation: Sauna pits in ground, covered with animal skins (10,000 years ago)
- 2nd generation: Ground sauna: earthen floor, three walls dug into the ground, fourth wooden door wall, and a turf roof piled on a few tree trunks
- 3rd generation: Sauna as an aboveground building: smoke sauna, used mainly until 1930 (take a lot of firewood, and heating time)
- 4th generation: Saunas equipped with chimneys: spread in 18th and 19th century city saunas
- 5th generation: built to consider poverty followed by war: small and continuously heated stove with a light sheet metal shell (fire kept burning DURING sauna-bathing) took only 30min to heat
- 6th generation: In home electric stove sauna: due to no fire or wood, sauna is part of home again. Ready in no time
- 7th generation: intelligent sauna with mechanical ventilation and computer controlled electric stove.
- 8th generation: Mobile sauna (buss, pontoons, skis) etc.

The “traditional” sauna is the 5th generation sauna, which is a wood burning sauna, with a firebox and chimney that allows smoke to escape (Edelsward, 1993). The most common sauna in an urban environment is, however, the electric sauna, as it does not require wood, chimney, and can be built in any type of building (Edelsward, 1993). Despite the development, the smoke sauna is something that true sauna enthusiasts still consider the “real” sauna and in recent years it has yet again become more popular (Taskinen, 2011). The smoke sauna tends to have a more delicate heat and it provides a “delightfully soft atmosphere created especially by its mysterious dimness and the dark patina on the inner surfaces caused by soot...which absorbs other odors and the smoke which acts as a disinfectant gives the air a pleasant clean tang” (Konya, 1987:20). Edelsward’s research concurs, that sauna enthusiasts find an electrically heated stove’s steam lifeless and does not provide a genuine sauna feeling or satisfaction of a ‘traditional’ or smoke sauna (1993). However, the “urbanization of the sauna is not a threat” to the ‘traditional’ sauna as much as it is part of the preservation of the sauna ritual and traditional sauna (Edelsward, 1993:102).

As the urbanization process of the sauna began, the first modified forms of the saunas were the common or public saunas. The public as well as common saunas have assured that all people have access to a sauna, particularly those that do not have one at home. Public swimming halls and spas are almost without exception equipped with saunas (Taskinen, 2011), allowing people to combine several free-time practices such as going to the gym and sauna consumption. In addition to this the public and common saunas in urban buildings provide a place for gathering and socialization, which is an essential part of the bathing experience (Salomaa in Edelsward, 1993).

The main difference experienced in the quality of home, cottage, public and common saunas come from the stove (**kiuas**). It is constructed of stones that maintain heat and are essential for the warmth as well as the steam, which comes from throwing water on the stones (Edelsward, 1993). The steam that comes from throwing water on the hot stove is called **Löyly**, which is one of the most essential parts of the sauna experience (Edelsward, 1993). According to Edelsward’s findings (1993:25), the word löyly has an etymological background relating to the Finno-Ugric language:

Finnish – Löyly – Sauna steam

Estonian – Leil – breath, life

Livonian – läul – steam, vapour, breath, spirit

Votyak – lul – breath, spirit, soul, life

Ziryene – lol – spirit, soul, life

Vogul – lili – breath

Ostyak – lil (tit) – breath spirit

Hungarian – lélek lélké – soul

These go to suggest that in the “ancient sauna (the löyly) probably had a spiritual or mystical significance” (Edelsward, 1993:25). These developments of the sauna construction and understandings of a ‘proper’ sauna have brought on new as well as changed already existing sauna practices.

2.1.2 Consumption of Sauna: Finnish Culture and the Finns

Finland is a country that has suffered hardships of all kinds, ranging from climate, location and war. As Kallio (1994) puts it: the harsh winters, the ever-present forest, and the unforgiving natural environment have made the Finns a race of determined and stubborn survivors, a people used to expecting and contending with the worst. The Finns most respected quality in a person is being independent and being capable of taking care of oneself (Edelsward, 1993). However, this does not exclude the “need for social involvement” (Edelsward, 1993:50), which is where differing social events and places step in.

A semantic network is “a set of words experiences, and feelings which typically ‘run together’ for the members of the society...a set of experiences associated through networks of meaning and social interaction in a society” (Edelsward, 1993:38; quoting Good 1977:27). Edelsward uses Geertz text quoting that people’s world view is “the picture they have of the way things in sheer actuality are, their most comprehensive ideas of order” (1973:89), and with this in mind, the sauna is indeed a part of the “real Finnish life” (Edelsward, 1993:49). Additionally, Edelsward emphasizes the findings on how Finns and the forest are inseparable, and that nature is part of a Finns identity, meaning that a “real Finn” shows respect for forest and nature in general (1993).

The sauna is a significant part of (Finnish) national identity and everyday culture (Karjanoja et al., 1997). Meaning, that although it is an essential part of national identity and pride, it is integrated into a very regular and daily life in Finland. Literature on the matter states that the “Finns are very conscious of the sauna as an emblem of Finnishness” and “the recreation of it symbolizes Finnishness to the emerging nation” (Edelsward, 1993:179). Concerning the daily role of the sauna

and its belonging to a home: “the relationship between the home and the sauna is so important that, metaphorically, the sauna is home” (Edelsward, 1993:158).

2.1.2.1 The Most Sauna Consuming Population: The Finns

Studying sauna as a place requires background knowledge on the most common consumer: The Finns and their personality related to sauna consumption. As revealed in the introduction, the Finns are known for being withdrawn, careful, in some cases hard to approach and in plain English: shy (Trux, 2010:112, Edelsward, 1993:132). The Finnish shyness can be observed in the form of “acute embarrassment about speaking out or loudly in public putting oneself forward around others, by reticence about telling about oneself, and by self-monitoring of speech and behaviour” (Edelsward, 1993:132) which results to an impression of cold characters who seem impolite towards outsiders. The typical Finnish characteristics go to explain why Finns’ consumption habits evolve around things that they are familiar with.

The Finnish understanding of ‘behaving according to social standards’, may often to a foreigner come off as cold and impolite (Trux, 2010). This behaviour follows “the social imperative of non-interference and modesty” (Trux, 2010:112), which can logically be hard for foreigners, especially expatriates, to understand. Edelsward concurs that the Finnish shyness comes in the form of non-interference and is a manner of self-representation that is based on non-revelation and self-control (Edelsward, 1993). Additionally, literature mentions Finns as: stiff, independent, formal, non-intrusive (to the point of being inconsiderate), ruthlessly good at controlling emotions, reluctant to reveal private-self, and stubbornly determined to keep all life’s difficulties for oneself by even excluding spouse, family and friends (Edelsward, 1993), which is obviously not a very heart-warming description of the nation.

According to Trux’s study, foreigners perceive the winter-personality of Finns as closed due to their style of walking with their heads down and rarely smiling (probably due to snowflakes flying into their eyes if they look up), but come summer and the weather is warmer “people seem transformed too” (2010:111). This supports the notion that the Finnish behaviour has been expressed as “a result of climate and geography” which is “immutable and inescapable” (Edelsward, 1993:137) especially during winters as well as contrastingly open and happy during the light-filled, warm summers.

The following anecdote proves the former:

“Yesterday morning at 08.00 am at Narinkkatori (a local marketsquare) I was instructing “Frost-Zumba” which was a cooperation of Fressi (local gym) and Laurea (business school). I was jumping around like a lunatic to the Zumba-music which was playing loudly in the background. The girls from Fressi were handing out flyers while dressed like carrots and dancing with me at the same time on this cold frosty morning. Looking from the stage, it was interesting to observe how many people could walk by this big set up without lifting their glance from the ground for even a second. With their shoulders up to their ears, gazing down and not a hint of a smile on their faces. Somewhat sad. I want to believe that the reason for carelessness and lack of empathy was due to the freezing temperature and morning?” Tiina Ranin, Fitness Instructor, Helsinki 2011

Finns, like other nationalities, possess two realms of personas. Firstly, the “private, domain of one’s intimate thoughts, beliefs and confidences which are shared only with a few special people (or with no one) and never in open or public situations” (Edelsward, 1993:138). Secondly, a public persona “which is the mask or role with which the individual confronts the world” (Edelsward, 1993:137-138) avoiding getting hurt or emotionally involved with anything ‘unnecessary’.

The “reliance on one’s inner strength is also the weakness of the sisu culture. In social terms, sisu translates all too often as loneliness – and worse, as a loneliness which can neither be admitted nor addressed” (Edelsward, 1993:140) and to the concept of sisu we will return later. These stories of losses, leading to loneliness came forth in the document Steam of Life, where most of the men revealed some personal and painful memory or experience, which they did not feel comfortable telling outside of the sauna context (Berghäll et al., 2009). Most of the men broke into tears when opening about their various losses and troubles, which clearly had been weighing on their shoulders. For Finns the consumption of sauna in a social context, thus, clearly assists in dealing with emotions in a safe and familiar environment of equality.

Edelsward, correctly, emphasizes the domestic equality that is present amongst men and women. It has its traditions all the way back to mid-19th century where women were equally in charge of the farm and hard labour compared to men. This concept still prevails and is evidenced by the fact that both men and women get paid parental leave, most women work full-time (even when having children), and bigger decisions concerning the family and household are made by both parties (Edelsward, 1993).

2.1.2.2 Consumption of Sauna as Part of Finnish Culture

“The Sauna, sisu and Sibelius: the triple ace combination of Finnish image” Valtakari, 1984

Finns are born and raised in a culture where sauna plays a significant role (Taskinen, 2011), thus the consumption of sauna comes very natural to almost all Finns. For Finns the sauna is “a complex bundle of meanings, a place where the physical, spiritual and social become metaphorically bound together, a symbol closely tied up with the Finns’ own cultural self-image” but “is to the rest of the world usually little more than an interesting and novel addition to sport and health programs” (Edelsward, 1993:13). The sauna is integrated into a wide range of Finnish practices and is thus an important part of the culture, and although analyses, such as the medical and psychoanalytical in the section 2.1.3, are interesting research, they tend to be insufficient as they either assume or ignore the cultural dimension (Edelsward, 1993).

The sauna consumption and its practices have significant historical and cultural value. Dating back to as early as 1544, Michael Agricola, the Bishop of Turku recommended in his first Finnish Prayer Book the using of sauna all year round (Konya, 1987). Furthermore in the middle ages the sauna also “became incorporated into **Christian rituals** of purification” (Edelsward, 1993:105) and was part of the tradition of going clean to church on Sunday’s. This practice explains why even today people mostly consume the sauna on weekends, in connection to family evenings.

The sauna has also been given praise in the Kalevala (Finnish national epic). It is a collection of ancient ballads ranging from between AD 600 and 1200, and compiled in the middle of nineteenth century, there are “several passages which record what ardent (sauna) bathers its heroes where (Konya, 1987:6) and from about 50 poems in the Kalevala, 13 refer to the sauna (Edelsward, 1993). Additionally, 1809 the nationalist movement also then caused the sauna to become something that was not Russian, not Swedish, but something symbolic of Finnishness. Through art and appraisal the sauna was integrated even further into Finnish culture (Edelsward, 1993). Although most Finns are no longer aware of these culturally significant referrals, they still emphasise the Finnish national values, meanings and history associated with the consumption of sauna. One of the reasons for maintaining the practice of sauna consumption is that it is vital for experiencing Finnish national pride in the tradition and only by maintaining the practice alive can it be ‘owned’ as ‘truly Finnish’. Through the historical practice and heroic narratives the sauna is given meaning and value to Finnish national as well as self-identity.

In earlier times, the sauna was used for various practices such as household chores such as drying ham, washing laundry, and making malt beer. Due to these tasks usually being done by the

younger girls of the household, the sauna became a place of social gathering where “the village youth gathered to keep company with the girls taking care of the malts drying” (Edelsward, 1993:26 quoting: Sarmela, M, 1969). Thus mundane tasks conducted in the sauna were made more pleasant and thus the sauna not only provided for tasks to be done but for youth to gather and socialize.

Today, the consumption of sauna takes place in **various contexts**: “a traditional Saturday- night family sauna, a sauna evening for participants of an international conference, or the victory sauna of sports team” (Taskinen, 2011:37) supporting other types of practices. As it functions as a supporting practice for social and individual practices, it is no wonder that due to constant opportunities and association of activities to the sauna that the Finns then also bathe frequently.

Historically the sauna has been a place of physical and mental cleansing after a hard days physical labour, and is still today a practiced routine (Taskinen, 2011). As the former president Kekkonen said: In its heat I forget the workaday stress and can meet my friends and acquaintances (1974) and in respect of the sauna ‘code’ ”people don’t usually talk about work, but rather about life in general” (Taskinen, 2011:44) providing an environment of social relaxation. Although, the Finns have been internationally known to be reserved and hesitant about verbally expressing their emotions, somehow this “does not seem to apply to the sauna” (Taskinen, 2011:55). The sauna seems to create a safe **ambience for open-speech**. As Taskinen (2011) confirms, the film “Steam of Life” (Miesten vuoro), conveys how the sauna constructs a safe environment (in this case for men) to talk about even the most difficult, yet common, issues in life.

In the psychological well-being section it is discussed that there is a “regression in the service of the ego as a relaxation of psychological adaptive mechanisms; however, there is also a relaxation of social mechanisms to adaptation” (Edelsward, 1993:36) which are part of social roles that are culture specific. Tähkä et al. in Edelsward (1993) confirm this ‘letting ones guard down’: identification in the sauna temporarily increases the bathers’ willingness and ability to understand one another and the views of another” (p.36) creating a sauna-culture of openness in speech and attitude. The suspected reason of the saunas rise as a cultural symbol for Finns is the “way that the physiological and psychological experiences feed into and intensify the symbolic impact of sauna bathing on the bather” (Edelsward, 1993:37) in a social or personal environment.

As already briefly introduced, the sauna is strongly linked to the Finnish concept of **sisu**, which is difficult to translate but refers to: guts, stubborn courage, true grit, and is linked to the Finnish determined independence to cope as well as suffer alone (Edelsward, 1993). The term also has an association with maturation and ridding oneself of childhood weakness, particularly amongst young men. Standing the heat in a lengthy period of time proves that you are a man (Edelsward, 1993) and can suffer some pain.

The **internationalization** of sauna has been much due to Finns, and their spreading the message of the sauna and Finnish hospitality as – “a sauna is often the first thing expatriate Finns build for themselves and their friends to enjoy” (Taskinen, 2011:56) when going abroad. This just partially proves how strongly Finns feel about the sauna, and how it adds to the sense of home and Finnishness associated with the sauna.

The consumption of sauna is deeply integrated into the Finnish cycle of **time**: weekly, yearly and through seasons and special occasions, and is thus a “significant way of marking time” (Edelsward, 1993:113). Not only does the sauna mark the passage of time, but the consumption of sauna separates work-time and free time.

The predictability of the **weekly** ritual creates a sense of stability and safety that the Finns enjoy (Edelsward, 1993), and that people generally associate with familiar and emotionally valuable places (Tuan, 1977). In addition to this, although the sauna is attached to almost any **festivity** in the Finnish culture: midsummer and Christmas are most linked to the practice (Taskinen 2011, Konya, 1987). Some common beliefs associated to the sauna consumption (Taskinen, 2011, Konya, 1987, Edelsward, 1993):

- *Midsummer: A whisk tossed in the air while exiting midsummer night sauna shows singles which direction their future spouse will come from*
- *New Year's Eve: sauna is a place for washing away the past years grime and the ale thrown on stoves during Christmas ensures an abundant harvest*
- *Christmas: to rise earlier than regularly, to get all daily chores done in time, as things done and left undone reflect on the coming year*
- *Going to sauna early for luck and to avoid misfortune was necessary to go early to the sauna for good luck and to avoid misfortune*

Although the superstitions and beliefs held in association to going to the sauna during festivities were more eminent in earlier times and were the main reason why the sauna was consumed, the Finns still always bathe in relation to Finnish festivities.

2.1.3 Sauna and Health

“The Sauna is the Finnish National Medicine” Taskinen, 2011

One of the explanations for the popularity of “sweatbathing” in a sauna, are its undeniable health benefits (Karjanoja et al., 1997, Arstila, 1983, Sauna Research Studies 1976, Taskinen, 2011), due to the heat, smoke and large amounts of water related to the practice. These characteristics combined provide a hygienic space for cleansing and relaxing. To current knowledge however, the sauna does not cure or prevent any disease or illness, but it relieves several kinds of feelings of discomfort (Karjanoja et al., 1997). However, the “medical research about sauna bathing in Finland is a reflection of deeply felt cultural beliefs and...status of the sauna in Finland” (Edelsward, 1993:32) and the medical literature and psychoanalytic theories “are very important in cultural terms as a source of legitimating support for folk beliefs and practices regarding the sauna” (Edelsward, 1993:35). An old proverb, mentioned in every piece of literature on sauna, goes: if sauna, booze and tar don’t help, your disease is to your death.

In the 1700’s, the first thesis on the curative effects of the sauna was published in Finland (Arstila, 1983) and research has actively continued to prove the physiological benefits since. However, the first (out of eight) **doctoral** thesis on the sauna, was first written in 1832 by Lönnrot (Edelsward, 1993:31). Rarely does one find research that would prove that the sauna has harmful physiological effects. Rather, the research conducted is aimed to find scientific results for long existing beliefs in the remedial effects of the sauna (Edelsward, 1993).

In the compilation of research provided at the International Sauna Congress (1974), some of the studies concerning *physiological* effects are: physical changes caused by taking a sauna bath (Zegveld, C., 1974), haemodynamics in the sauna (Eisalo, A., 1974), biochemical changes caused by the sauna (Hilvers, A.G. & Eilermann, L.J.M., 1974), the behaviour of selected parameters of the heart-circulatory and respiratory systems of patients accustomed to the sauna in the course of nine sauna baths at weekly intervals (Conradi, E., 1974) and *psychological* effects: sauna and the physiological sleep: increased slow-wave sleep after heat exposure (Putkonen, P.T.S. & Elomaa, E., 1974), experimental research on psychic factors of the sauna (Ihalainen, O., 1974) and many more.

Additionally, the sauna was used to treat fever, cough, arthritis, as well as, wounds, sprains, broken bones (Karjanoja et al., 1997). Although the physiological and psychological are interconnected and both influence each other, below they are separated mainly for the purpose of clarification.

2.1.3.1 *Physiological*

According to Taskinen's (2011) literature, the most important physiological changes caused by sauna bathing, take place in the bloodstream, which in broad terms influences everything. The physiological changes are an increased temperature of the skin as well as insides of the body, sweating, expansion of the capillary arteries, reddening of the skin and increased heart rate (Karjanoja et al., 1997). The body is exposed to cardiovascular changes in increased pulse rate and cardiac output, as the body works to maintain a balance of temperature of the insides of the body against the heat of the sauna (Arstila, 1983). This results to the physiological effect of sweating. Additionally, when given the opportunity Finns tend to use either sea, lake or snow to cool off. Thus, the body must also adjust to sudden cold temperatures, giving all the systems used to balance temperature of the body a kick-start (Karjanoja et al., 1997:68). As the pulse rate then decreases after the sauna and shockingly cold cooling off temperatures, one tends to feel a sensation of relaxation of body and mind.

There are physiological studies that have proven that one sleeps longer and that the pattern of sleep is deeper, post-sauna (Arstila, 1983). Putkonen and Elomaa's literature (1976), as well as Taskinen's (2011) states that as the neurotransmitter essential for sleep (serotonin) is increased during a sauna bath, one enjoys a better quality of sleep.

Several studies have been conducted in order to prove the *release of endorphins* related to consuming the sauna (Karjanoja et al., 1997), which would explain the general good feeling induced by experience. However, only some results show that there may be some release of endorphins, but only at high temperature altitudes.

People have attempted weight loss through the sauna (Karjanoja et al., 1997). However, actual fat is not lost opposed to merely fluids being drained. Although not recommended, it is possible to lose 3kg of fluids by being in a sauna for 90 minutes (Karjanoja et al., 1997), and for some sports this is beneficial. The losses of salt and fluids (Karjanoja et al., 1997, Konya, 1987) result in a sense

of thirst and hunger and due to this, there is usually a “customary sauna supper, which consists of salty snacks and lots of liquid refreshments” (Konya, 1987:20).

Studies have also proven that moderate sauna bathing is as healthy for the old, young, heart-diseased as well as pregnant, meaning that sauna is healthy for everyone (Taskinen, 2011). Most importantly though it is a generally held belief, that the sauna is a crucial element of a healthy life style (Edelsward, 1993).

Perspiring through **sweating** has been proven to be healthy “since by this means, excess waste products are eliminated from the body and skin” (Arstila, 1983:73) and as mentioned above sweating is the body’s way of attempting to balance the body’s inner and outer temperature. The skin being largest organ and disposer of waste product “it is no wonder that sweating treatments have been given for thousands of years” (Taskinen, 2011:64). According to current medical studies, sweating and washing is a more effective way of cleansing than showering, as the sweating cleanses the skin of microbes, bacteria from stratum corneum and sweat conducts, as well as removes dead skin cells which clog pores and fresh healthy skin underneath and the bacteria out of the stratum corneum and sweat conducts (Karjanoja et al., 1997). Furthermore, 99% of sweat consists of water and should be clear and odourless (Karjanoja et al., 1997), any negative smell is associated with bacteria on the skin mixed with sweat. Edelsward concurs that sweating in a sauna is a crucial part of truly cleansing oneself in a Finnish context, as “there is a sense among Finns that ‘real’ cleanliness is possible only from the sauna” (1993:104).

Relating to **hygiene in clothing**, historically, underwear were turned inside out and placed on the stove (Karjanoja et al., 1997) to ‘burn’ off bacteria. The sauna was also attempted to heat to such a degree that it was uncomfortable for people as well as parasites (Karjanoja et al., 1997).

Traditional health increasing practices associated with the consumption of sauna are/were **cupping** and beating of the arteries (Karjanoja et al., 1997). Along with sweating they were thought to cleanse the body of waste. Cupping spread to Finland around 1400’s, however, its roots are over 5000 year old. Although the treatment has been less prevalent since then, its popularity has recently begun to rise again (Taskinen, 2011). It is thought to alleviate: skin diseases, cardiovascular problems, migraine, and muscle pains (Taskinen, 2011).

Additionally, the tradition of **whisking and whisks** made out of birch branches are an integral part of the sauna bathing experience (Karjanoja et al. 1997, Taskinen 2011, Berghäll et al, 2009). The whisk goes by the name “vihta” in western parts of Finland, and “vasta” in the eastern parts of Finland (Karjanoja et al., 1997, Taskinen, 2011, Edelsward, 1993). Its physiological effects on the skin are due to its natural essences (Karjanoja et al., 1997) and the beating further increases blood circulation and perspiration (Konya, 1987, Edelsward, 1993) giving “a pleasant tingling sensation” (Edelsward, 1993). The birch leaves contain aromatic essences which have beneficial effects of general wellbeing: they remove dirt, gently irritate the skin pleasantly, form a protective layer on wounds, make the skin more flexible as well as disinfect (Karjanoja et al., 1997). Additionally, as mentioned earlier, the whisk provides through the sense of touching, but also to the nose buds through the release of sweet and fresh fragrances of birch (Konya, 1987). It is said that the best time for making of the whisks is best during mid summer (not the festivity) and more specifically on June 29, when the “leaves are still young, soft and full of moisture” (Edelsward, 1993:27).

2.1.3.2 Psychological Aspect of Sauna Consumption

The psychological effects are also part of the general well-being experienced in relation to the sauna (Edelsward, 1993). Some historical studies show, that the sauna has even been thought to treat some mental disorders (Karjanoja et al., 1997). Some of the treatments were performed at night in order to make the happening more festive in nature (Karjanoja et al., 1997). The warm space provides a relaxation of the body and soul in the familiar, safe and social atmosphere (Arstila, 1983). Practices learned from childhood, which have been deemed to work, tend to be repeated at an adult age (Saarela, 2009) as they provide a sense of security through nostalgia. These may be the reasons to a Finns general sense of relief from anxiety, depression and/or stress when consuming the sauna (Edelsward, 1993).

According to psychoanalysts, the sauna offers the opportunity “to discharge the instinctual tensions deriving from the early stages of personality development, for which no proper outlets exist in other social contexts” (Edelsward, 1993:34 quoting Tähkä et al., 1971:65). The feeling of well-being due to the consumption of sauna is related to contentment, rest and recreation, as well as “regression in the service of the ego” (certain functions of the ego are temporarily given up or replaced by earlier modes of experiencing and action in a controlled way). Meaning, that in the sauna we indulge in regressive activities (similar to dreams, games, playing, enjoyment of the arts and creative activities) that help deal with adult realities (Edelsward, 1993). Furthermore an

association of motherly warmth and the heat of the sauna have been connected to why the sauna is experienced as a safe and secure place (Edelsward, 1993).

2.1.4 Location and Construction of Sauna

Practical reasons have historically determined the location and construction of the sauna. Furthermore, the distance *between* the sauna and other buildings is important for practical, emotional and spiritual reasons (Edelsward, 1993). The cottage or rural sauna tends to be: close to water, far from other housing, and preferably in the middle of nature (Edelsward, 1993). For the rural saunas which are within nature, the preparation is part of the sauna consuming ritual. This type of environment demands more physical work: chopping wood, carrying water, setting the fire etc. However, given the modernization and urbanization of the sauna practicality has yet again played a part in the saunas formation. The sauna has been modified to suit current demands and contexts. In this research on urban home sauna practices, we consider the modern sauna (electric stove) as the customary model. These tend to be either in larger buildings in the basement, or in separate houses linked with the shower/bathroom.

2.1.4.1 Close by River, Lake or Sea

There are several reasons for why the sauna has historically been located close to a river, lake or sea, which is where the practice of associating it with swimming has come. Historically the sauna was built close to water, as people tended to move by seas, and thus could stop there to use the sauna and bathe (Karjanoja et al., 1997). Laws dating back to medieval times “required building saunas a safe distance away from other buildings” (Taskinen, 2011:13) due to burning hazards. In the old days (and at cottages today) water needed to be carried in order to be able to wash laundry and conduct other household chores (Taskinen, 2011). Nowadays, and most importantly, being close to a riverbank or lakeside means easy access to go swimming and bathing (Konya, 1987, Edelsward, 1993, Taskinen, 2011). For urban sauna bathers today, mainly public sauna places (sauna seura) or swimming halls are the only possibilities for swimming when consuming sauna.

2.1.4.2 The Outdoor Surroundings

Having access to sitting outside, preferably in nature, to take breaks from the sauna bathing or to cool off after the sauna, is for many an equally important part of the practice as the actual sauna consumption (Konya, 1987) no matter what time of year. For this reason, almost all saunas (city,

cottage, public, common) have been built, so that if at all possible, close to exits and porches where people can sit and relax during or after the sauna (Edelsward, 1993). Not only do the outdoors provide a place for cooling off, but also for enjoying the visual scenery and the silence that comes along with it. The importance of contrast of inside and outside, will be explained in more detail later (see space and place), and it is very relevant to why most Finns demand the possibility of an outside space when sauna bathing.

Even though the “real” saunas are still maintained in the rural areas, the urbanization of the sauna has caused distress for reasons such as: lack of nature, poor quality of bath, lack of togetherness, lack of outside, trouble scheduling turns etc. However, there is some protest concerning the ‘community feeling’ of going to the sauna together in the rural area:

“The new wave, fine saunas in individual apartments, is probably not a good idea.. You go to the sauna alone, in the dry steam from the electric stove you try to sweat as quickly as possible and then get out. The whole idea behind the traditional sauna, the week’s event, is being turned upside-down.” (Edelsward quoting (Salomaa 1984:5) p.167)

Despite the concern of the “new wave” of sauna consumption and related practices, there is reason to believe that the tradition is not being turned upside down. The practices are evolving to better suit the needs of an urban Finn, and so far he/she has not shown a disinterest towards sauna bathing, culture or togetherness. The concern for gathering, community and togetherness, leads us to discuss the social aspects of the sauna.

2.1.5 Consumption of Sauna in a Social Context

The social aspect of sauna has its roots, yet again, in practicality. This meant that once the sauna was heated for the evening, everyone had to use it while it was still hot (Karjanoja et al., 1997). On farms the large saunas retained heat poorly, especially during winters and heating the sauna demanded a fair amount of wood (Konya, 1987). Thus, traditionally, men and women, as well as servants, and all family members went to the sauna together (Karjanoja et al., 1997, Aho & Hongisto, 2008). In the end of 1800’s, the saunas shared among several households, did not have separate wash rooms for men and women, which was then another reason for why they bathed and washed together (Aho et al., 2008). From this arose the tradition and habit of bathing with complete strangers as well as family and friends, despite gender. However, in the late 19th century there was a change in the social structure in the agricultural rural parts of Finland, where the

failure of harvest led to a social status rankings of wealthy landowning minorities and landless majority, which reflected on sauna practice traditions making the landowning the decision makers of who got to bathe with them and who did not. In addition to this, segregation of sauna bathers, usually split by gender, began to take rise in the 1870's and 1880's as the rural population increased, in order to avoid crowding (Edelsward, 1993). In response to these social changes the cultural elements were modified to new and changed conditions (Edelsward, 1993) meaning that the everyday practices changed as a result of the social change which also changed the place and its construction.

Only as saunas became more industrial, and public saunas were constructed, did it become common to build separate departments for men and women (Aho et al., 2008). According to Konya, "in modern Finland (...) men and women only bathe together if they are members of the same family and even then (...) teenage boys and girls bathe separately" (1987:7), however, this is a rather negotiable notion and varies from company to company.

The sauna consumption as an event, is an important way for people to come together in a social and shared place where they can share the feeling of physical and psychological well-being with each other, in an environment of kinship and lack of rankings (Edelsward, 1993). The space creates "a relationship of complete equality and (...) comradeship" (Edelsward, 1993:147) where entering a sauna-bathing situation, it is experienced as very symbolic for a Finn as he/she is not only baring his/her body, but also a very personal form of self (Edelsward, 1993).

2.1.5.1 A Practice From Childhood On

In the beginning of 1900, in Turku, the city organized school-bathing for children attending communal school in order to enhance cleanliness and hygiene, as well as maintenance of clothing of children (Aho et al., 2008). The ones who did not care to attend school organized bathing were to bathe with their parents in the public saunas. Nowadays, although school children consume sauna in association to school swimming trips, they mainly associate it more strongly with being at summer-cottages by riverbeds and lakesides. Children's summers can pass by through swimming and sauna bathing for days on end (Taskinen, 2011). This is how most Finnish adults remember spending their time at summer cottages in the childhood. Even today, as mentioned in the socialization and sauna, children are taught to bathe with the family from an early age on (Edelsward, 1993), thus the practice of going to the sauna is learned from an early age in a safe environment with the school as well as family.

2.1.5.2 *Gender Roles and Socializing Sexes*

The sauna is a part of learning gender roles and in socializing the sexes, as in most families all children are required to and voluntarily participate in the family sauna (Edelsward, 1993). Due to this, children deal with nudity, image of self, belonging in the family, and where they stand to the opposite sex at an early age in a familiar environment. The “family sauna remains an expression of family solidarity and unity” (Edelsward, 1993:152) where the “sauna is part of the home and of home life” (Edelsward, 1993:152). This strong and reoccurring practice of consuming the sauna together is the reason for why it is a part and linked to childhood memories and home (Edelsward, 1993).

2.1.5.3 *Consuming Sauna with Friends and Guests*

It is emphasized, however, that sauna bathing is not only for family members, but for friends and guests as well, and is an essential part of Finnish hospitality. Revealing a family’s ‘private life’ through the sauna is a way of making guests feel at home (Edelsward, 1993). In addition to friends and guests, as mentioned earlier, it is common to bathe with work teams, clubs, student groups etc. in the form of a “sauna evening” (Edelsward, 1993). These are useful, due to the sauna functioning as a tension reliever by “reaffirming the solidarity of the group and the fundamental equality of its members” (Edelsward, 1993:163) strengthening existing relationships within the group.

The **sauna attending order** varies, on yet again, what is practical. Men may go first when the sauna is the hottest, after which women and children then enjoy a milder sauna, or women may go first due to then being able to prepare post-sauna dinner while men or other guests are still bathing (Konya, 1987).

2.1.6 *Sauna Consumption Practices and Rituals*

To clarify the significance of the sauna ritual, opposed to just the cleansing, Edelsward states that: the sauna is a ritual, in which a person may participate in various social transformations, cleansing being just one aspect of its total meaning (1993:83). Although the basic sauna consumption is similar to that a millennia ago, some sauna customs have changed during time (Taskinen, 2011). This may be due to the dynamic formation of the usages of the sauna as a space over time, where some practices have died out and/or been created. Additionally, the practices related to the consumption of sauna have been given more value due to external factors such as cell-phones, internet and other constant distractions. There are general guidelines to what constitute a good

sauna experience, even though there are about as many opinions to the specific characteristics to the sauna practice, as there are goers (Taskinen, 2011, Konya, 1987).

2.1.6.1 *Sauna Consumption Practices*

The sauna consumption affects all the senses, thus the sauna should only possess elements that tranquilize, opposed to irritate, all of the senses (Konya, 1987).

ABC's of the Sauna: A Good Finnish Sauna (Taskinen, 2011):

1. Has been heated to a suitable warmth (around +80c). Sauna temperature is a matter of taste, but it should never be lukewarm
2. Smells good. The most enjoyable scents come from wood, sauna whisks, sauna aromas, or a soft touch of smoke.
3. Is properly ventilated.
4. Is made of steam. Every bather is allowed to throw as much water on the stove as he or she is comfortable with.
5. Can be either old or new, but it must be clean.
6. Is in a pleasant location. For Finns, the possibility to cool down is important, even in urban saunas.
7. Is, above all, a source of pleasure for the bather.

Preparations for the sauna consumption are deemed of crucial importance for the entire sauna experience (Edelsward, 1993):

“Any person who rushes into the ready –heated sauna directly after coming from work will leave it only half as relaxed as the person who has correctly lit the oven in the wood-fired sauna, collected the fresh birch twigs for the birch whisk and in those ways inhaled a little smoke and forest air”
(Badermann 1976:264 in Edelsward, 1993)

Although preparing for an urban city sauna experience does not involve heating the sauna with wood or making whisks, the time before the sauna should still be taken as a period of preparation. The practice of preparing for the sauna is significant and it should enhance the entire ritual. The process of “heating the sauna, undressing, sweating, cooling, repeating the sweating and cooling, relaxing afterwards with the other bathers – it all should contribute to focusing ones attention on the ritual itself” (Edelsward, 1993:16).

Although Finns are known for being timely, a German style sauna scheduling focusing on punctuality and precision contradicts with the relaxing purpose of the sauna (Edelsward, 1993). It is generally against sauna understanding and rules, to hurry the consumption process when in company (Konya, 1987).

A Finnish proverb states that in the sauna one must conduct oneself as one would in church, and one of the main rules is against rowdy behaviour that might irritate other sauna goers (Edelsward, 1993). Thus, sitting peacefully and refraining from physical movement is encouraged for the sake of respecting others, as well as it being unhealthy (Edelsward, 1993). Along with the notion of peacefulness in the sauna, goes the rule of hate and irritation remaining outside of the sauna (Edelsward, 1993). While the sauna is a place for reconciliation, it should be done in a calm and constrained manner (Edelsward, 1993).

The “löyly”, introduced earlier, and throwing of it, is also a matter of etiquette. The amount of steam thrown obviously affects everyone’s sauna consuming experience, and can cause discomfort if thrown too much or too little. Similarly, whisking is an optional practices which also divides opinions.

A more social issue related to the sauna going is how **nudity** is an important part of the sauna practice and ritual. Bathing suits and other types of clothing are frowned upon in the Finnish sauna bathing culture (Edelsward, 1993). One of the main practical reasons for keeping the skin bare is to avoid discomfort when sweating during the sauna consumption (Konya, 1987, Edelsward, 1993). The acceptance and norm of nudity has however varied through the course of time. As mentioned in the section of segregation of the social sauna, the changes that occurred between the mid-nineteenth century to mid-twentieth century influenced the *morale of nudity* and were exchanged to a “moral conceptions of the higher estates” (Edelsward, 1993:94). From a social perspective, already in 1799, the Italian explorer Giuseppe Acerbi, noted in his findings that it was confusing how men and women showed little interest in each other when sauna bathing together (Taskinen, 2011).

Until this day, the sauna is and remains a “chaste” place (Taskinen, 2011). A certain type of harmony is constructed in the sauna as the lack of clothes, the warm environment create a title-free environment (Taskinen, 2011). This lack of labels and masks (and clothes), merely builds a natural democracy. Agreeing that greatest sauna taboo is sex, some of the literature reveals “the sauna is used...as a hiding place (for sex), but cold, not during bath!” (Edelsward, 1993:26-27). This, however, appears to refer to sometime long before the present.

Removing clothes, not only removes people of titles, but also of social hierarchies that involve time and work. The removal of clothes is an important part in removing oneself from the ‘ordinary

world' which involves stress, dirt, time etc. (Edelsward, 1993) creating a clear difference between the private and public self.

2.1.6.2 *Sauna Consumption Rituals*

At this point it is evident that the sauna consumption is more of a ritual than a simple cleansing routine. The sauna functions as an expressive, symbolic activity conducted in episodic string of events (Rook, D., 1985). However, to this we shall return later.

According to Turner (1970, quoted in Edelsward, 1993) the spatial separation divides the 'normal social sphere' from the space where "nudity, behavioural changes, reflection, sacredness and taboos, cleansing, egalitarianism and a sense of rebirth" (p.84) occur. The sauna then divides a person's social state to another, by time, from work and pleasure, as well as time standing still when in sauna, and space (Edelsward, 1993). It is usually constructed a part from other buildings for this reason. The sauna functions as the crossing path in the ritual from going between the "profane/public world" to the "sacred/private" world, and there is a concept of being reborn as a 'real' Finn, who is free to be whoever he/she really is (Edelsward, 1993).

The sauna has been related to *spirituality, holiness* and as a *place of peace*, where people have felt being nearer to god (Edelsward, 1993), hence a similar behavioural model as in church. Still today in the some northern parts of Finland, the sauna may be used as a rite of passage (Edelsward, 1993). According to history, there was the belief of the *sauna gnome* that was thought to protect the sauna (Taskinen, 2011). People were told not to anger the gnome through loud speaking, singing or cursing (Taskinen, 2011) and from this has the current rule of peaceful sauna bathing come into practice. Thus the sauna functions as place of silence where people can escape the cacophony of modern life (Konya, 1987).

The sauna has often been compared to a **ceremony**, highlighting the step-by-step procedure introduced in the practice section. The Finnish sauna ceremony, its timeliness and rules and understandings have been compared to the Japanese tea ceremony. When conducted in the right manner the "ceremony enhances the physical and spiritual well-being of a participant" (Edelsward, 1993:16). Like any ceremony or ritual time before as well as the time after are of crucial importance for following through. The **post-sauna time** is for relaxing and/or socializing, particularly when segregation in bathing companies (Edelsward, 1993).

Concerning **sauna consumption related rituals and rites**, throughout history the sauna has earned respect as a form of threshold via which people have come and gone (Taskinen, 2011). Some of the most known rites of passage (although slightly out-dated) have been: giving birth, bridal sauna, washing bodies of the deceased and seeing their souls off to the afterlife (Taskinen, 2011). The sauna was used as a place for **giving birth**, as the warmth of the sauna relaxes the muscles (Karjanoja et al., 1997) and provides a bacteria-free, hygienic environment. A more modern notion is how the sauna functions as a place of **rebirth** of a person when going to the sauna (Edelsward, 1993). As well as grieving and celebrating, the sauna is still seen as a safe environment for dealing with various life-changing matters (Taskinen, 2011).

A part of the rites of passage related to the sauna, as mentioned, is an experience of **rebirth** where **life begins and life departs**, a person enters sick and emerges healthy and the stages of life and time are crossed (Edelsward, 1993). The sauna is conceptualized as a model of pollution and cleanliness, where one enters the sauna filthy and impure, and comes out in a state of cleanliness and purity of the body and mind (Edelsward, 1993). However, Turner poses a different type of model of the sauna as a ritual process, which occurs in three stages. **Separation** happens in the form of undressing and entering the sauna, **Transition** is the sauna bathing itself and **Incorporation** is the post-sauna phase with relaxing and consuming snacks (Edelsward, 1993). This model concentrates more on the mental ritual a person goes through, opposed to physical like the cleanliness and purity.

Furthermore, consumption of sauna is a practice of maturation. For boys, the permission to attend the sauna with a group of men is a type of graduation into manhood and is a significant life-changing event (Edelsward, 1993). This rite is perhaps more evident for the male gender as “for boys the sauna is a test of *sisu*” (Edelsward, 1993:101), where the girls merely continue to bathe with their mothers in a manner that both boys and girls did before maturation.

In terms of rites of transition, the sauna is even integrated into the rite of **marriage** and is part of local custom to be integrated into the celebrations (Edelsward, 1993, Konya, 1987), it was said to be integrated into three parts: 1) bride goes with her friends into the sauna for a departure celebration before wedding, 2) the bride and groom bathe together using whisks and 3) the couple bathe sauna after getting married (Edelsward, 1993). Although these three steps may be old-

fashioned, still today men demand some type of sauna consuming possibilities in relation to their wedding celebration.

2.1.7 Sauna Then and Now

To sum it up, the sauna used to be a place of cleansing which was conducted with other people due to practical reasons, and the ritual was mostly for practical and hygienic reasons. Nowadays however, it is a daily cultural practice associated with Scandinavian countries. Although “the objects we see every day tend to change slowly and imperceptibly” (Belk, 1990:670), which may be the case with the urbanization of the sauna, the sauna consuming practice itself has not changed. Despite Konya’s speculation of the sauna consumption practice internationally changing form into some modernized, technologized and expensive luxury ritual, this is not the case in Finland (1987). The fact that currently, young as well as old people, use public saunas for example at the gym, has not removed their need for the home sauna.

Although Finns have aimed to have sauna’s in their own apartments/buildings, a modern interest in saving energy, as well as encouraging bonding, has lead to construction complexes putting more effort into building more appealing, ecological and shared saunas within the Helsinki area (Rämö, 2012).

The old sauna superstitions and beliefs of the Finnish culture have influenced the timings and routines of our sauna consuming habits. It is evident that nowadays Finns rarely reflect on them, even though they are still participating in them. The cultural continuity of the sauna and its tradition lives within the “continual fusion of old and new” and “the ever-present cultural dialectic between tradition and innovation” (Smith, 1982:135, in Edelsward, 1993:182). The main changes have been the outcomes of technical development that have mainly influenced the outer beings of the sauna.

Furthermore, although the construction and some sauna related practices may change, the climate of Finland remains cold and harsh. As Tuan points out; the winter season is a reminder of how vulnerable people are, and how home is a shelter, which is even more important during winter than summer (1977). Thus the Finnish climate in itself partially supports the continuity of the sauna consuming practice.

2.2 Consumer Behaviour and Socialization

Everyone belongs to a social group through various connections (Evans et al., 2006). *Socialization* is the process through which people develop specific patterns of social behaviour (Moore et al, 2002) that is deemed correct in that specific group. An essential notion to the study of: socialization, belonging, self as well as social identity is the study of *communities*, which are tied by people and their relationships (McAlexander et al. 2002). They are “identified on the basis of commonality or identification among their members” (McAlexander et al. 2002:1) through things such as hobbies, occupation, common neighbourhood etc., and are a vital source of well-being.

Intergenerational learning in terms of consumer practices, traditions and rules is interesting as it taps into the roots of (consumer) behaviour and potential continuation of them. Reference groups like family, are part of the creation of attitudes, values, beliefs and behaviour (Evans et al, 2006). They provide a setting where information, beliefs and resources move from one generation to the next and are a fundamental mechanism by which culture is sustained over time (Moore et al., 2002). In terms of *communities* “people share essential resources that may be cognitive, emotional, or material in nature” (McAlexander 2002:1). In these terms families and their purpose are the same. The frequent interaction with family as well as friends provides fertile conditions for adolescent growth, counterbalancing each other in positive and socially healthy ways (Larson 1983 in Epp & Price, 2008) and through this creates a sense of belonging (Wenger, 1998).

2.2.1 Finns and Socialization

Finns typically have more restricted social networks (outside of work or other ascribed relations), compared to southern Europeans (Edelsward, 1993). It is within the Finnish culture not to intrude on other people (Trux, 2010) as well as not to let anyone too close at the fear of getting hurt (Edelsward, 1993). Additionally, the typical sense of independence in almost all Finns results to that they do not enter friendships lightly (Edelsward, 1993). A Finn will enter a friendship or relationship of any sort on fairly defined terms:

Friendship is only possible where there exists a very high level of, and heavy burden, of trust and loyalty and interdependence between individuals (Edelsward, 1993:143)

Such relationships are usually built with family members or childhood friends. For men this may also be colleagues from the army, which is a typical way for men to construct a social network in Finland. According to study: only a fewer than half of Finns have three really close friends, and out of those three, 28% are kin or are potential kin (Edelsward, 1993:145). An exception to the rule of

Finnish shyness happens within the sauna, where most Finns might easily strike a conversation, in a manner that they wouldn't even consider doing on the street (Edelsward, 1993).

2.2.2 Cognition of Behaviour in a Social System

Young (1991) refers to 'scripts' which function as interactional guidelines, created, monitored and altered by participants depending on reactions of certain 'audiences'. This means that there are specific ways of behaving in specific social situations and we alter and monitor our behaviour according to how the people we are with react to our behaviour.

2.2.2.1 Intergenerationalism

Social sciences have already long proved family to be crucial to reproducing social systems (Folkman-Curasi et al., 2004). The construction and maintenance of family identity occurs through intergenerationalism, where family identity is the "family's sense of its own continuity over time, its present situation, and its character" (Epp & Price, 2008). The feeling of having "an extensive or rich sense of past implies that we are able to clearly define ourselves and ground our identity in previous personal or group history" (Belk, 1990:669) and place ourselves in society as something not only as individual identities but also through "aggregate levels such as family, work organization, city and nation" (Belk 1990:672) i.e. something larger than just 'self'.

Concurring with Goulding et al., Epp & Price (2008) note that the practices, i.e. the 'doings' of the family are not individualistic or part of only one person of the family and not in any particular individuals, but are part of the groups being and forming of family identity. The preservation of the family identity occurs through things such as: photographs, narratives, performance of family rituals, everyday interactions, intergenerational transfers, as well as social dramas (Epp et al., 2008). These traditions are given to take place within some context, such as time and place, and how certain practices are brought about by a created place.

Similar to heirlooms that are passed on from one generation to another, literature on intergenerationalism state that places where families gather, such as the kitchen and sauna, function as places of cognition of practices and preservation of tradition (Folkman-Curasi et al.2004, Arstila 1983, Epp et al. 2008). Family objects and possessions are proven to be described as 'sacred, material anchors of self-identity, indexical symbols of relationships with deceased kinfolk, and vehicles for creating, shaping, and sustaining memories' (Folkman-Curasi, 2004:612). The "intergenerational transfers of various objects, possessions, and practices signal the nature of

certain family relationships and shape family and identity” (Epp et al., 2008) which relate to being a child, growing up (rites of transition) and the relationship with other members of the family symbolized through these transfers. When incorporating a sense of identity into objects and/or our physical environment, we extend our sense of ‘self’ into a spatially larger area making us feel like ‘bigger’ people (Belk, 1990).

The involvements in family rituals, daily as well as special occasions, provide an environment for learning practices from one generation to another (Goulding et al., 2008). As the next generation continue their lives as independent beings away from childhood home, it is wondered how much of the practices learned at home through ritual enactment, narratives, social drama and everyday interaction (Epp et al., 2008) go with them and are passed on generations yet to come.

As mentioned, the chronotopic (time-space relation) interactions and narratives of the family happen frequently in a room commonly used by all members (Epp et al., 2008). These places allow sharing of narratives, which is crucial for their preservation. To this we turn to in the next section on space and place.

2.3 Space and Place in Terms of Consumer Behaviour

Considering how interconnected and correlated space and place are to how we experience our daily lives, moods, decisions, relationships, practices etc., it is one of the most taken for granted objects (Casey, 1993) and has been given little attention from a consumer behaviour perspective. According to Relph (2008), the study of places has been thoroughly executed in areas such as geography, topography and other environmental studies, however, the relationships between space and place, as well as experience, identity, sense making, and attachment haven't until now, been given attention from a philosophical environmental research point of view. Relph especially points out how the "subtlety and significance of everyday experiences" (Relph, 2008:preface) are related to places. To state that changing places is merely changing a geographical site, without any notion to psychology, philosophy and physics, is ignorant (Casey, 1993) and means leaving a large gap of blind sightedness. In its simplicity, Casey (1993) highlights the importance of places in our lives by describing for example the anxiety we feel when we do not have a place (homelessness), or we have lost our place (burning of home) or we feel out of place in our own home. Specifically, 'Home' as a 'place' is an area of research in terms of consumer behaviour that hasn't received sufficient amount of attention (Bardhi et al., 2006) despite its significant role in our daily lives.

In the next section, the study will examine the construction and purposes of space and place. Despite the differences in aspect, almost all studies agree that places, opposed to spaces, are developed by man and are known as places as soon as there is a physical presence of a person (Tuan, 1977, Stenros, 1997, Karjalainen, 1997), it is however the value and meaning added that makes a place authentic (Relph, 2008).

*Spaces provide **physiopleasure***: body sensory experience, as well as ***sociopleasures***: pleasures that people get from being together (Goulding et al., 2008). The constructed environment in which these pleasures are experienced, play the largest role in the creation of the sensation. A more traditional thought concerning a constructed place, is that it functions as a place of learning and experience (Karjalainen, 1997), handing down of tradition, as the distinction between "inside" and "outside", and as a form of clarifying security versus freedom (Tuan, 1977). For people "places are topistic realities, the grounding settings for human beings to dwell, remember backwards in time and live forwards in time" (Karjalainen, 1997:9).

Goulding et al. (2008) suggest that spaces and places are used for escapism, empathetic bonding, anticipation of pleasure, and "switching off" the mind, as crucial aspects of pleasure provided by

space and people. A similar train of thought, however more drastic, is supported by Kozinets et al. (2004), where the environment provides an extreme form of escape through spectacle. People use places to construct their reality, as well as to escape their constructed reality by going to different spaces, where the environment is unknown and thus liberating.

To understand the *construction* of space and place we look into anthropological studies. Henri Lefebvre (1991) introduces the theory of the production of **social space**, arguing that space is mainly a social product produced through:

- 1) **Practices** such as walking, occupying, and meeting
- 2) **Planning**, in the form of architecture, regional and city planning, ergonomics, and office landscaping
- 3) **Imagining**, manifest in representations like literature, promotion, and art, or through interpretive studies of phenomenological experiences of space

Whereas Stenros (1997), takes a more architectural perspective, where the formation of something into a particular space creates a place with special meaning. Tuan's perspective is more psychological as well as philosophical, and is what this theoretical aspect will mainly be structured on.

2.3.1 Ground work: Space, Place and Non-place

2.3.1.1 Space and Place

To start describing place, an understanding of space, non-space and placelessness is required. According to Tuan "the meaning of space often emerges with that of place" (1977:6). Once an undifferentiated space becomes familiar and is endowed with meaning and value, it becomes a place. Although **space** is understood as something unknown and un-endowed with value, it provides a **framework for places** and through places derives its own meaning (Relph, 2008). Correspondingly, Tuan states that compared to space "place is a type of object" (1977:17), where the geometric personality of space is construed of places and objects confirming that space functions as a context for place. From an "inalienable wealth" point of view, where irreplaceable and precious objects are discussed, we find that places, like objects, function as possessions that "provide a physical (evidentiary) association with a time, place, or a person" (Curasi, Price & Arnould, 2004:609) that carries meaning, value and practice which goes beyond the possession of an object or place.

From a more philosophical perspective, a place can only be created when there is physical presence of people (Casey, 1993), in other words, “enclosed and humanized a space is place” (Tuan, 1977:54). Stenros (1997) similarly acknowledges importance of human presence, which is often reflected through architecture (man-made). Casey adds that “being is everywhere full, nonbeing is nowhere at all...Being (thus) guarantees Place” (Casey 1993: x).

Places are known and sensed through an interconnecting web of its; setting, landscape, ritual, routine, other people, personal experience, care and concern for the home, and in terms of other places (Relph, 2008:29). Where place tends to represent security and space stands for freedom, humans feel attached to one, yet yearn for the other (Tuan, 1977). Although we need the comfort gained through a sense of constraint and binding of a place, the longing for space in association to freedom and exposure is not excluded (Tuan, 1977). Place and space are, however, not so easily defined.

Some places that have been constructed and built by man are not filled with meaning nor meaningful experiences (Relph, 2008). These places go under the category of placelessness, or places that have experienced inauthenticity. Such places have suffered a cultural and geographical uniformity, which leads to demise of variety between cultures, people and places (Relph, 2008). Thus, the characteristics of place are not only that there is human physical presence, and not even construction, but also according to Relph, a space needs to provide meaningful experiences in order for it to be considered place. This will be discussed later.

When discussing consumption of space and place, in terms of a sauna for example, acknowledging the contrast of **openness to closed-ness** is necessary. The need for both space and place is a biological as well as a psychological necessity. Their existence provides both psychological and spiritual well-being (Tuan, 1977). Similar to the findings of Goulding et al. (2008), space provides an environment of escape, freedom and salvation (Tuan, 1977). Whereas place provides safety and shelter (Tuan, 1977). Two factors, however, confuse the relationship of *environment to feeling* (Tuan, 1977:55)

1. The feeling of spaciousness feeds on contrast (you need a house in order to understand open valley)
2. Culture and experience strongly influence the interpretation of environment (Western American associates a large plain with freedom and adventure, a Russian associates it with despair)

Thus space does not necessarily always present a positive image of the future, the symbol of freedom and invitation of action as commonly known in the Western world (Tuan, 1977). It may, in fact, represent the fear and anxiety of the unknown (Tuan, 1977). Although we may enjoy being in a timeless space, and being displaced does not necessarily cause discomfort, we need a specific place that we can always rely on and return to (Casey 1993: ix).

Particular open natural settings can cause a peak in attention when seeing something remarkable and these “experiences of topophilia” (Relph, 2008:123) can cause strong feelings such as joy, ecstasy, awe or despair, unity with the surroundings, as well as perfection. Such intimate experiences caused by place then alter the way one sees oneself as well as the way one judges future landscapes to be seen (Relph, 2008), which may explain why people who have once experienced a strong height in feeling might attempt to return to the same place for the same emotional experience.

2.3.1.2 Space becomes Place: Learning and Attaching Meanings

Through time, Architecture and Landscape, Intimate Experience, Senses, Educational Purpose, People and Social Relations to Place

According to Tuan “human beings not only discern geometric patterns in nature and create abstract spaces in the mind, they also try to embody their feelings, images, and thoughts in tangible material” (1977:17) giving value and meaning to the physical. People do not necessarily associate physical characteristics opposed to moods/feelings evoked and experienced in a place (Relph 2008). Casey (1993:xvii) looks at everyday phenomena’s that are seen as complementary with each other: imagination, memory and place. People attach thoughts about what might be in the future, what has been in the past and the place explains what *is*, using the body and place as means to memorize and imagine as well as to understand the present (Casey 1993:xvii). People make attachments with places and frequently do so by personalizing their surroundings (Stenros, 1997), as having possessions makes an environment familiar and creates a sense of support when the future appears undetermined (Belk, 1990). Constructed places, such as homes, then provide the means for practices i.e. doing things, moving our bodies, and to live (Casey, 1993). All of these ways of attaching meanings are valuable to understanding how and why people consume places.

2.3.1.2.1 Learning Space → Place

Since space becomes place through getting to know the space and attaching meanings to it (Karjalainen, 1997, Tuan, 1977), we will now look at how this learning occurs. One of the ways space gets known is *physical measurement*. In a literal sense, the human body is the measure of direction, location, and distance (Tuan, 1977). The most common measures of length have come from parts of the body, where i.e. breadth or length of thumb is used (Tuan, 1977). This knowledge of space once learned and remembered, like for example walking, riding a bike, etc. can be **taught** to another person by instructing through words, diagrams or by showing how to do it (Tuan, 1977). Furthermore, the quality of the place is then dependent on “**human context** shaped by memories and expectations, by stories of real and imagined events, that is, by the historical experience located there” (Karjalainen quoting Walter 1980-81:163).

People learn and construct reality through *experiencing*, through direct and passive senses of: smell, taste, touch, active visual perception and the indirect mode of symbolization (Tuan, 1977). To know a place and to experience it requires the “proof of senses” (Casey 1993:30). As already mentioned in the sauna literature, odours have a great impact on how a person feels in a certain environment as they provide character to places and objects “making them distinctive, easier to identify and remember” (Tuan 1977:11). In modern society we constantly seek to remove or neutralize scents and although modern architecture might be aesthetic, it sometimes remains without character or personality that various and pleasant odours provide (Tuan, 1977).

In addition to the sense of smell, we attach meanings to places through the sense of touch as well as sound. Although people can experience places through the touching of their skin, it is a fairly limited concept. The skin reports on its own state and at the same time that of the object pressing against it (Tuan, 1977). In terms of sound and place “we alter our tone of voice from soft to loud, from intimate to public, in accordance with the perceived physical and social distances between ourselves and others” (Tuan, 1977: 15) meaning that we adjust our behaviour and perception in terms of the appropriate context for the specific place.

Concerning the time it takes for people to get to know a place, in modern society attaching meanings happens faster. As seven hundred people cross borders daily, and eighty million do not live in their native country (Bardhi & Arnould, 2006) anchoring of roots as well as making ‘places’ happens quicker than before (Relph, 2008). It is also argued that nowadays places are experienced

as inauthentic as they are merely used in terms of their useful and practical features, creating experiences that are casual, superficial and partial (Relph, 2008).

2.3.1.2.2 Time and Place

Space can be defined by time, and time can be defined by space. On a very basic and simplified level “places are **points in a spatial system**” (Karjalainen 1997 quoting Tuan 1975) and space as well as place is linked with time (Tuan, 1977). Additionally, the physical environment one is in has a great influence on how one **experiences time** (Goulding et al., 2008). Due to this, people in today’s society, have sought out ways to fight the constraints and routines of time and space, as Tuan concurs that “timelessness is another quality of distant places. In Taoist lore, timeless paradises are located myriads of miles from any known human settlement. The European mind also envisions temporal Isles of the Blest, Eden’s, and Utopias in remote and inaccessible places” (Tuan 1977:122). People are predisposed to link spaces far away (distance-wise) with timelessness, which also explains why people who go on vacation.

Time experienced in relations to place also goes as far as to **anticipate** the pleasure related to the consumption of place, where being in the place then makes you lose track of time and after the positive feeling experienced the anticipation for recreating that feeling occurs (Goulding et al., 2008). However, going to a location far away is not the only solution to escaping time. In modern society there are more frequently easier accessed places, such as nightclubs, spas, saunas etc. that create an environment of escapism of time and schedules (Goulding et al., 2008). Such places of unfettered restorative pleasure are created for the sake of providing an alternative to the mundane life (Goulding et al., 2008).

Tuan divides time and place into three

1. Time as motion or flow and place as a pause in the temporal current
2. Attachment to place as a function of time, captured in the phrase “it takes time to know a place”
3. Place as time made visible, or place as memorial to times past

The cultural dimension of place provides a certain type of continuity (Casey, 1993), as culture is derived from history (past), traditions and people, which do not die out, even if the place changes.

According to Tuan, **children experience time** and thus place differently (1977). Where an adult feels that time rushes by, a child does not experience a similar type of “flow” in the understanding

of time. This usually changes around the teenage phase (Tuan 1977:186). Such reasoning proves how some experiences related to places and objects in one's childhood, are more important and influential to one's identity than those which have occurred in one's adult life (Tuan, 1977).

The longer people live in their "home area" (where they were born) the stronger their attachment to the specific place on return (Relph, 2008). Childhood homes function as 'objects that anchor time' which people **revisit and re-consume** to reconstruct and **recapture personal history**, and even contacting people they associate their childhood with in order to relive experiences that have constructed their identity (Tuan, 1977). Returning to such sentimental places remind people of how that particular place "has endured and will persist as a distinctive entity even though world around may change" (Relph, 2008:31) and is important as "a sense of past is essential to a sense of self" (Belk, 1990:674). However, commonly younger people tend to concentrate and live in the future (Tuan, 1977), and only when the pace of life is too fast for them they will try to construct a stable and idealized past. Nonetheless, when their fast pace of life is determined and controlled by them, they live in the actions of the moment and allow the present to support their identity (opposed to the past) (Tuan, 1977).

In the context of studying practice, Schatzki (2009) states that: common and shared *timespaces* arise from 1) the organizations and regularities of practices and 2) common and similar settings. This means that the regular doings done at a particular place construct common and shared timespace. To practice theory and its role in this study will be returned to in the section on method.

2.3.1.2.3 Intimate Experience

Meanings are particularly attached to places through intimate experiences. These experiences are pervasive but sometimes so elusive and integrated into our very being, that we may be *unaware* of them and/or incapable of expressing them in words (Casey, 1993, Tuan, 1977). The focus of experiences and awareness of them are more often than not *dictated by culture* (Tuan, 1977). Even people with similar cultural backgrounds experience places differently as they have their personal framework of attitudes, experiences, intentions and contexts through which they make sense of place (Relph 2008:36).

One of the most common 'places' people attach meaning and value to in the earliest stages in life are parents (Tuan, 1977) and they tend to exist at home. In western culture the home is where the

first and foremost intimate experiences are attached with family members and objects (Relph, 2008). This intimate place becomes a sacred place (Bardhi & Arnould, 2006), which not only children look to for comfort, but also adults go back to in moments of stress, work and anxiety, in order to find the same type of intimate warmth and comfort known from childhood (Tuan, 1977). However, as children and adults we construct implicit personal and intimate places or objects considered personal (chair), they signify a sense of belonging (Relph, 2008:36) and relaxation (Tuan, 1977) through knowing that it is ones 'own'. The concept of 'home' will be further expanded later.

2.3.1.2.4 Architecture, Nature and Educational Purpose of Consuming Place

Architecture provides the division of a sense of 'inside' and 'outside', 'intimacy' and 'exposure', 'private' and 'public' life (Tuan, 1977), which as mentioned earlier was of importance to sense of place and space. Although places may be destroyed, rebuilt on or modified, the places and their meaning are maintained through rituals and traditions related to the place (Relph, 2008). The repetition of traditions and rituals (which will be clearly defined later) re-establish the place and express its permanence as well as stability, even in times of change (Relph, 2008).

Architecture and designed environment in general can function as places of education and the form of forwarding heritage (Tuan, 1977). Through the study of the Navajo, Casey (1993) concurs that ancestral dwelling in a place is how the people learned their culture and practices, meaning that learning was in the land itself and the land provided the context for learning. However, the modern society has taken on a more literate model, depending less on "material objects and the physical environment to embody the value and meaning of a culture" (Tuan, 1977:117) and more on discourses and daily rituals.

In a **human built** environment (opposed to raw nature) **social roles** and relations, in terms of knowing who one is and how one ought to behave, are **clearer** (Tuan, 1977). Additionally, as "facts require context in order to have meaning" (Tuan, 1977:88) places provide context for 'facts' making them comprehensible. People's worldview is a "more or less systematic attempt to make sense of environment", and in order for the world to be liveable "**nature and society** must show order and display a harmonious relationship" (Tuan, 1977:88). People in large educated societies tend to seek answers to **questions concerning their place** in the world, through complex cosmologies, where "practical activities seem arbitrary and may offend the gods or spirits of

nature unless they are perceived to have their roles and place in a coherent world system” (Tuan, 1977:88).

2.3.1.2.5 Space, Place and People

At this point we can state that space, place and people are the main characters of the creation of a places with meaning, value, practices, culture and history. Lefebvre’s research on places suggests that our understanding of space and place is no longer mainly understanding space as something overcome physically or as “mental understanding of the world of objects” (1991:26) but more as space as a process of production of **social actors**.

Earlier we clarified that much of a place’s experienced value is indeed derived from the presence of people. On an extended note, people may experience interaction with, for example, their childhood home, however the interaction is *not felt due to the place*, but more *so due to the people* and relationships woven at that particular place (Relph, 2008). It is, however, an oversimplification to claim that place would not be part of providing **context** in which the relationships are built through consumption of the place (Relph 2008:33), and practices created in it. Place may impact the way one looks, employment, hobbies and other practices that form character and identity. In addition to this people are also the carriers (Träger) of places, as the presence of their bodies are what define ‘here’ and ‘there’ and what practices are conducted in ‘here’ and ‘there’(Casey, 1993).

2.3.1.2.5.1 Presence of People while Consuming Place

People are social beings in the sense that we appreciate the company of others, but in terms of place consumption how physically close, how long and under what conditions, is culture dependent (Tuan, 1977:62). Although, the human is a social being, “privacy and solitude are necessary for sustained reflection and a hard look at self, and through the understanding of self to the full appreciation of other personalities” (Tuan 1977:65) thus private consumption of place is important. While being in a place with someone else, ones thoughts are less prone to wonder and reflect, but are effected by the awareness of the other personalities and their thoughts within that same area and the presence of other people (opposed to objects) makes us aware of them observing us, restricting our freedom and depriving us of physical as well as mental space (Tuan, 1977). The physical presence of people, and number of them, isn’t always the reason for breaking of solitude in nature, but the “**sense of busy-ness** – including the busy-ness of the mind- and across purposes, actual and imagined” (Tuan, 1977:61).

People involved in a place create the ambience of it: people have homes and they consume them as places of recovery and shelter, where the sick and tired can rest and regain strength by eating and sleeping (Tuan 1977). Although humans cannot be defined as places (like an adult is a place of haven for a child), places quickly lose meaning in the loss of people (Tuan, 1977) or in the loss of means of consumption or practice.

The notion of intimacy between people does not necessitate knowing the details of their everyday life, but appears in shared moments where true awareness and exchange are shared (Tuan, 1977) and these moments happen in specific places. Note that these places cannot be planned and executed in order to evoke genuine human exchange (1977), it merely happens.

2.3.1.3 Non-place and Placelessness

According to Auge “if a place can be defined as relational, historical and concerned with identity” like for example a sauna, “then a space which cannot be defined as relational, or historical or concerned with identity will be a non-place” (1995:77-78). These non-places come in the form of high-ways, airport lounges, supermarket aisles etc. which are places that have little or no cultural value or purpose, yet they exist and are part of the construction of places, spaces with meaning. Auge also states, “as anthropological places create the organically social, so non-places create solitary contractuality” (1995:94) meaning that non-places, similar to openness and closed-ness of places according to Tuan (1977), are partially part in the construction of places through giving a contrast of “meaninglessness”.

An addition to non-place, as earlier introduced, is the concept of placelessness and **inauthenticity** of places (Relph, 2008). Briefly, in order to understand inauthenticity: opposed to inauthenticity, **authenticity** represents something: unique, the ‘real thing’, evokes epiphany, something capable of transforming the world, and something that may cause us to “suspend our perception of the everyday world” (Belk, 1990:672). Thus, inauthenticity, which suffers a strongly negative connotation, of places is something associated with post-industrial development and the homogenization of cultures (Relph, 2008). Inauthenticity is seen as prevalent mode of existence due to the industrialized and mass society, and it is thus no surprise that ‘mass values’ and ‘impersonal planning’ are manifested in social, economic and physical forms (Relph, 2008). Even “home” as a concept has suffered some association with inauthenticity as home has become something that can be changed within 3-4 years, and which was once home becomes easily replaced with another (Relph 2008). In a similar notion, the mass-communication, mass-culture,

mass-values etc. provide for homogeneity in culture internationally, by spreading what used to be unique for certain places across the world, making those things less authentic. This cultural frame as well as the notion of artificiality and shallowness, has provided an environment where authenticity is being demanded and looked for in Western Culture (Belk, 1990).

Manifestations of Placelessness (Relph, 2008)

A) *Other-directedness in Places*

- Landscape made for tourists
- Entertainment Districts
- Futurist Places
- Commercial Strips
- Disneyfied Places
- Museumised Places

B) *Uniformity and Standardisation in Places*

- Instant new towns and suburbs
- Industrial commercial developments
- New roads and airports
- International styles in design and architecture

There are also C) formlessness and lack of human scale and order in places, D) place destruction and E) impermanence and instability of places; however, they are less relevant in this study. Relph (2008) poses, however, criticism towards the old but simple notion of the inauthentic versus authentic image of places, related to the sentiment of how the authentic is connected to the past which is deemed as “better” (more authentic) and the present is “bad” (inauthentic). Understanding the present day context of landscape experiences is important.

Casey provides concepts such as implacement and displacement, where the feeling of being “displaced is...to incur both culture loss and memory loss resulting from the loss of the land itself, each being a symptom of the disorientation wrought by relocation” (Casey 1993:37) which could also be said to be a sense of displacement due to the loss of context one has known. The symptoms, other than nostalgia, of placelessness are: disorientation, memory loss, homelessness, depression and various modes of estrangement from self and others (Casey, 1993:38). However, some of these do seem rather extreme as they are considered in an extreme form of displacement. Our curiosity does none the less raise the question: how does the inauthenticification influence the way we consume places? Does the constant changing of place cause us to adopt our practices? Thus we turn to how we ‘use’ places and adopt practices in the setting of home next.

2.3.2 Consumption of Space in a Social Aspect: The Home

This research ultimately culminates to the most important places experienced by people: the home. It is important at this point to understand that we do not only live 'in' places, as much as we live 'through' places (Casey, 1993) where the way we live is determined by our environment and objects in them. The home functions as a sacred (Bhardi et al., 2006) place of comfort in times of distress (Tuan, 1977), something people return to in order to strengthen identity and a sense of belonging (Relph, 2008, Folkman-Curasi et al.2004). It is the place which completes the triangle (social, self, doings) of where we are with who and how, defining what we do in terms of others and where (Casey, 1993).

According to Bardhi et al.'s (2006) findings on Transnational Mobile Professionals, define home as (note that this is the MOBILE home which doesn't fill the criteria of a traditional home).

1. Home is found in places where certain spatial and temporal patterns exist or are created
2. In terms of salient relationships: family / kinship
3. In terms of cherished possessions: home functions as vault of precious memories represented and stored in cherished possessions

A more consumer product oriented perspective on place experience is provided by Coupland (2005), where he investigates the correlation of the **space and products used by family members**, and the influence on the next generation's thoughts, feelings and purchase decisions concerning them. As already established by Tuan (1977) and Relph (2008), Bardhi et al. concur that "home is a fundamental construct in social sciences that represents the emotional and meaningful relationship that consumers form with place" (Altman and Werner, 1985, in Bardhi & Arnould 2006:651) and is a crucial element for self-development and family life (Bardhi et al., 2006).

In an American context research shows that the kitchen is the most important room in the home linking; socialization, space and cognition of daily behaviour. It is a hub of food related activity and household discussion. Relph's (2008) study confirms the previous in an English working class family context where the kitchen is the most intimate place known to a family.

Schouten (1991) refers to Solomon (1983) where the importance of consumer goods in terms of learning and performance of social roles is recognized. These social roles linked with possessions happen, however, within realistic perceived attainability of the possible self (Schouten, 1991). Either due to the social role being unattainable or the possession required to attain such an idyllic self is unattainable. The true actualization (of the new self) may occur via the consumption of

instrumental goods and services as the individual goes about accumulating the appropriate symbols of the new self (Schouten, 1991, quoting Solomon 83) for example purchasing a house in a sub-urban area in association to becoming a father for the second time. Consumption objects and activities are claimed to be central **props** for engaging in family (social) interaction (Epp et al., 2008, Young, 1991). This thesis is however counter-argued by Lefebvre:

Is space indeed a medium? A milieu? An intermediary? It is doubtless all of these, but its role is less and less neutral, more and more active, both as instrument and as goal, as means and as end. Confirming it to so narrow a category as that of 'medium' is consequently woefully inadequate. Lefebvre 1991a:411

Nevertheless, the place does function as a *carrier of traditions* amongst people (Relph, 2008). Similar to Folkman-Curasi et al.'s research on irreplaceable family keepsakes, places such as the kitchen can "serve as a testament to important life events, of immediate descendant's relationships with their deceased kinsfolk, and provide vehicles for creating, shaping, and sustaining memories" (2004:610). In this research context the aim is to understand the value of place from an anti-individualistic perspective, proving the importance of the place for the group and their practices.

2.3.2.1 Nostalgia

Where Belk concentrates on objects that people are attached to due sentimental value (1990), it could be argued that also places create a feeling of 'homeyness' which evoke *nostalgia* (McCracken 1989, quoted by Belk, 1990). According to Casey, we experience nostalgia as a symptom of displacement: where nostalgia "is not merely a matter of regret for lost times; it is also a pinning for lost places" (1993:37). The feeling of nostalgia is described as "a bittersweet emotion in which the past is viewed with both sadness and longing" (Belk, 1993, quoting Davis 1979, Starobinski 1966, Stewart 1984).

In order for an attached memory to be nostalgic, it needs to be *emotional* (versus cognitive), *sacred* (mysterious, powerful, unexpected, mythical, evoking feelings of ecstasy), *imaginary* of the past (we create a memory how something happened), and *authentic* (unique, "real thing"). Casey (1993) argues that the rising notion of nostalgia, over for example childhood home, is due placelessness created by a mess of spatial and temporal pottage versus an actual meaningful place. Additionally, for a modern person places have, naturally, become homogenous and uniform where even our homes have become "defined by objective measures" (Casey, 1993:38), which is

an additional rise to nostalgia. Furthermore, the present with all its negative characteristics (global warming, terrorist attacks, weakening of the economy) has people remembering 'the days when everything was better' (Saarela, 2009).

The concept of nostalgic places and objects, however, allows the consumer to return to the past interpreting it in his/her own subjective way (Saarela, 2009). Usually these interpretations of the past are irrational, as time and individual perspectives blur them.

2.3.3 Place Consumption Purpose in Formation and Maintenance of Identity/Self

It has already been stated how intimate experiences and roots with a place, are important in the formation and sense of identity (Relph, 2008). We reflect ourselves and others through places, and tend to change place, come back to place or reform place to be who we want to be. In terms of escaping place and time, we may go on vacation, if we want to remind ourselves where we came from we may go to our childhood home etc. Although some consumer researchers have presented that there is a decline in heirlooms and sense of belonging to a group due to diversification families, there is evidence that even modern families want to belong to a group by actively contributing to it (Folkman-Curasi et al., 2004). Through rites of passage, reunions, rituals and such, people within families maintain kinship and a sense of belonging as well as identity (Folkman-Curasi et al. 2004) and these events usually occur at significant value loaded places.

In terms of childhood learning and parental relationships "the first environment an infant explores is his parent. The first permanent and independent object he recognizes is perhaps another person" (Tuan, 1977:22) and when learning to walk "will want to follow his mother and explore the environment within her ambience" (Tuan, 1977:24). From Tuan's research it becomes evident that space, place and development of a child's understanding of environment are deeply linked together. Through this, the child then creates a feeling of safety through knowing the environment and observing how it is being used (through practices).

Already introduced in cognition of behaviour section, Young uses theatre and dramaturgic role concepts to demonstrate the flow of life, and how people transition from one social role to another, through using contexts, scripts, roles, and props (1991). He contributes to the notion that social systems (contexts) are constructed on a day-to-day basis, opposed to large graduations of maturity, which are nevertheless equally important for understanding ones own position in the social system. People play certain roles and articulate themselves in certain ways in certain

contexts, which are deemed appropriate in that exact situation with that particular crowd (Young, 1991). Props/possessions function as important parts of social transition through acquiring, using and disposing, depending on how it fits our image of self (Young, 1991). The most common role transitions are initiated by birth, puberty, marriage and death, which are all linked to acquiring, using and disposing of possessions i.e. having to move to a larger house when becoming a parent, using the house differently than when one was single, disposing the house in case of a divorce and instead purchasing a sports car etc. All of the stages affect ones social, as well as self-identity.

This may be a slightly Americanized view over the subject and in different cultures the possessions and spaces and their importance's differ.

Thus; the consumption symbols, such as specific spaces, contain memories and feelings that link us to our **sense of past** (Belk, 1991, in Epp et al., 2008), verify and authenticate important moments of **personal history** (Grayson and Schulman in Epp & Price), and act as **transitional objects** (Belk 1992, Mehta and Belk 1991 in Epp & Price, 2008) and are thus a crucial part of **intergenerational learning**.

2.4 Understanding Routines, Rituals and Practices in Terms of Consumer Behaviour

The previous part summed that spaces are turned into places through valuable experience (Tuan 1977, Relph 2008 etc.), and that frequently places are experienced through or are the reason for the occurrence (Casey, 1993) of practices also known as 'doings'. From a practice theory view the place is created as part of the practice (Warde, 2005). In particular places; rituals, myths and traditions are what preserve the permanence of a place, even when physical attributes may change (Relph, 2008). Significant practices related to rituals, conducted by an intimate group of people for a long period of time, cause attachment and value to a place (Relph, 2008). Thus, the next section will shortly clarify the differences and similarities of routines, rituals and practices.

Routine rituals, such as dinner time, drinks with friends, engagement in sports with friends on a regular basis, are a crucial vehicle for the exchange of (family) narratives, a purposive commitment to the kinship network, and a routine ritual that creates and reinforces a family's (or any particular social groups) sense of who they are (Epp et al., 2008).

Rituals have been given attention in old-fashioned terms involving religion, large-scale procedures and something that has not been seen as something daily, in other words the "relative disinterest in the ritual phenomena of postindustrial cultures may be due to the persistent but erroneous notion that rituals are exclusively religious expressions or are primitive regressive behavior (Rook, 1985, quoting Moore and Myeroff, 1977). From such a perspective the term feels too distant from oneself, to arouse interest. However, the newly defined and researched 'ritual' is something that everyone can relate to.

Exploring practices of communities, Wenger (1998) points out that all practice happen in a social and historical context, and engagement in this social practice (rituals & traditions) is an essential learning process and the route to become who we are. Thus, attention will now be given to how routines, rituals and practices occur in a social and cultural context.

2.4.1 Routines

Compared to rituals "routines can be seen as manuals for what has to be done in our daily lives" (Viitala, 2011:11) meaning that routines function as maps for practices. Routines can be shared vs. personal, supporting vs. constraining and reflex-like vs. conscious (Ehn & Löfgren, 2009). Shared routines may be a conference meeting organized every Monday, whereas a personal routine may then refer to always going through ones e-mails before attending these shared meetings.

Supporting routines add to our sense of self, like putting make up on and deciding what to wear, however, sometimes they can feel constraining as it may feel like one is doing it for societal demands and not personal will. Lastly, reflex-like routines could be things like morning routines, where one is still half-asleep and showers, brushes teeth without giving it any deeper thought, whereas conscious routines require concentration and effort like making breakfast.

2.4.2 Rituals

Rituals, as earlier expressed, have been associated with religious or mythical characteristics (Rook, 1985), which is where the miscomprehension originates. These rituals are commonly thought to go hand in hand with traditions such as Thanksgiving, Christmas, Hanukkah, etc. A new notion is that 'rituals share common features with behavioural habits' and are integrated into our lives through everyday practices, such as grooming rituals and their significance to a person's sense of identity (Rook, 1985). There are, however, specific characteristics that differentiate a ritual from other types of behaviour (i.e. habitual behaviour) (Rook, 1985):

1. It is positive and meaningful
2. It happens in an episodic string of events (multiple behavioural events which comprise it)
3. Repetition of the event sequence over time (appropriate feelings are generated each time a ritual is dramatized). Variation in content or sequence may arise, but it tends to do so slowly and is often met with considerable resistance.

Even when complex, habits are of less meaning than rituals. Furthermore, rituals tend to have scripts with beginning, middles and ends (Rook, 1985, quoting Leach, 1958), which are acted by individuals that participate in the rituals with their 'scripted' social roles (Rook, 1985, Young 1991). Casual mundane rituals are for example: social introductions (etiquette rituals), retirement dinners (common rituals), where more major rites of passages as rituals are graduations and weddings (Rook, 1985). Both evoke psychological as well as physical (body language) responses to the interpersonal interactions (Rook, 1985).

Similar to Young's interpretation of social systems being constructed like scenography with scripts, scenes, actors and props, Rook's (1985): ritual experience relies on four tangible components: 1) ritual artifacts 2) ritual script 3) ritual performance role(s) and 4) ritual audience.

In terms of **family rituals**, rituals create, revise, reinforce and pass on family identity (Epp et al., 2008). This study will focus on how these rituals are related to places. Rituals, traditions, myths and practices related to places such as thanks giving at the parents (childhood home), getting

married in a church, graduation of maturation (in a sauna), meditation in a serene environment and so on. These types of rituals, and everyday practices, are what uphold the locations significance. Concern is expressed not only for the decline of tradition (Pleck, 2000, Relph, 2008:33) but also how these traditions that mark the importance of the place in history (time wise) die out. As the traditions are practiced in a place die out, the place becomes timeless (in the negative sense) and is then slowly at danger of losing experienced meaning and value (Relph, 2008). Additionally, research suggests that there is a decline in sense of kinship and belonging, due to decline in routine rituals such as a set mealtime (Pleck, 2000). However, counterarguments prove that where some rituals may have suffered a decrease in size, they continue to exist simultaneously as new rituals arise (Wallendorf & Arnould, 1991). Rituals and places are quintessential to strengthening enduring relationships between people (Relph, 2008) and the sense of identity and belonging are created through a web of the aforementioned.

2.4.3 Practices

This section explains practices in terms of rituals, traditions and routines, and the more theoretical aspect of it will be further developed as part of methodology. In the most simplified understanding, practices are 'doings' and there are two types of practices: dispersed and integrative (Schatzki, 1996, from Warde, 2005). Dispersed refers to knowing how to do something in a given context (examples describing, following rules, explaining, imagining). Whereas integrative practices are more complex and integrated into social life (i.e. cooking practices, farming practices, business practices). These are by no means ultimate truths, or the only descriptions of practices. However, they provide some form of framework from which one can categorize practices.

One crucial characteristic for practice is that it has a history or **path of development** (Warde, 2005), and it has been constructed **collectively**. However, for one single practice there can be "differences between groups of people with regard to their understandings of a practice, the procedures they adopt and the values which they aspire" (Warde, 2005:139).

Where time can be defined by place and place can be defined by time, practices can be defined by time (i.e. morning grooming practices) and time can be defined by practices (i.e. practices related to maturing), it is a given that practices demand **time** of our day. Time can be divided in to work time and non-work time, furthermore non-work time can then be used on **self-time** (time for me) or **social time** (time with/for others) (Viitala, 2011). Depending on culture, people balance them

differently giving themselves and their personal practices more time, or for others and practices conducted with them more time (family, friends etc.).

At this point it is evident that practices are 'doings' related to living our life the way we want to. A valid question is whether practice comes from the opportunity of being able to conduct practice (cooking in a big kitchen, playing football due to near-by soccer field, snowboarding due to living close to slopes) or whether the want to participate in the practice leads one to seek materials needed to conduct in practice (building a kitchen in order to suit ones wants, moving somewhere where there is a soccer field or slopes)? According to Casey (1993), the physical environment which creates practice, then in turn creates demand of objects to further enhance the doing of the practice (Warde, 2005).

2.4.4 Connecting Practices to Place

The connection of people to places is undeniable and elusive. As people carry practices and traditions, it is through them that places derive certain history, traditions and culture. A country's traditions are often linked with natural surroundings. Finland, for example, is known for forestry and its thousand lakes, which explains why nature and physical labour are integrated into the daily lives and very being of the Finns. Similar to Schatzki's (2009) timespace, Giddens presents the domain of social science as the study of "social practices ordered across space and time" (Quoted in Warde 2005:134-135), meaning things that people do at a certain time in a certain place.

According to Warde (2005), practices are the reason for wants and needs, thus determining commodities we need in order to conduct practices. Although commodities refer more often to objects, here we look at place as a commodity for conducting home-practices. What makes 'home' interesting is its implicit intimacy and privacy associated with it (Tuan, 1977). The intimacy of the home is due to the different components and ordinary objects that fill the home with memories that can be touched, smelled and looked at (Tuan, 1977). According to Stark, the value experienced by home is due to it being "a place where every day is multiplied by all the days before it" (Tuan 1977:144) making it a place where practices, traditions and rituals are repeated on a daily basis.

Furthermore, home is where 'real' life takes place. Opposed to places that are visited as a vacation destination, where we do not practice our daily life, home is real and where life happens and goes on, whereas on vacation "problems have been left behind" but so have "an important part of

ourselves” (Tuan 1977:145-146). The different rooms in a home provide for different social needs. For example, Tuan presents that within an English working class culture, the living-room/kitchen are the most private places and constitute the centre of both family and individual life (1977). They provide for mutual practices such as cooking, talking with friends and family, eating together, playing cards, solving difficult personal or professional issues etc. Thus, it is a hub of gathering and bonding through mutual as well as individual practices.

3 Research Design

3.1 Research Context: The Finnish Home

The purpose of this study is to identify practices developed through the consumption of a specific place and how they add value to a person's daily ritual they intertwine with other practices conducted. According to literature on place, in order for a place to be authentic it needs to have a historical as well as a cultural value of some kind. Similarly practices, more concretely known as 'doings', need to have a collectively established history, in order to be called social practices. The sauna as a place, as well as the practices related to the consumption of it, fill these criteria. Nowadays almost all Finns have an access to a sauna, if not in their own apartment then in the building where their apartment resides. Home is also the hub of family, which are part of the development of attitudes, values, beliefs and behaviour (Evans et al., 2006) taught by the older generation, in order for the younger generation to live by and perhaps teach to the next generation, thus sustaining not only national culture as well as the culture of the family.

For me, studying Finnish culture, more specifically Finnish culture within the context of 'home', seems only natural as I am a native Finn. The home is an excellent subject of study as it is filled with value, traditions, intergenerational learning of everyday lives, and is a highly important perspective to the study of consumer behaviour from which much deduction can be made.

3.2 Methodological Framework: Practice Theory

This study is constructed on a cultural framework of social theory of practice. This particular framework of theory seems most appropriate as it seeks to interpret everyday life and life-world in terms of culture, explaining and identifying human behaviour (Reckwitz, 2002). There are four identified cultural theories: culturalist mentalism, textualism, intersubjectivism and practice theory, where practice theory is the only 'non-intellectualist' concentrating more on the physical 'doing' (Reckwitz, 2002). The locus of the social action can thus be: in the mind, in discourse, in interaction, but more specifically in 'practice' and 'practices' (Reckwitz, 2002). Where:

Practice is a "routinized type of behaviour which consists of several elements, interconnected to one other: 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 (Reckwitz, 2002:249).

People (bodies) are 'carriers' of practices, not only one but multiple practice, which are not necessarily related to each other. People function as carriers of practices through bodily behaviours, routinized way of understanding, knowing how and desiring. We use our mind for the mental activity part of the practice, these mental routines and related knowledge are also the location of the social practice. More often than not we need 'things' (physical objects) to carry out practices, thus they function as 'resources' to the practice. Knowledge in terms of practice-theory is an "understanding of the world" which is culture and history specific and is a collective as well as shared way of knowing. As "practices have a trajectory or path of development, a history" (Warde, 2005:139) knowledge is context specific and only participating in the practice for a significant amount of time allows "inside" understanding. Language in terms of practice is more than 'communication' and that it "exists only in its (routinized) use" (Reckwitz, 2002:255). Social structure and processes are within the routine of the practice, where structure is determined by time and can be changed in 'new events' which are not according to the code norm. The agents/individuals, opposed to 'carriers' (body) which merely refers to the physical activity, are the combination of "body/minds who 'carry' or 'carry-out' social practices" and that function as the crossing-point of several different practices making each one unique (Reckwitz, 2002). According to Warde (2005), there are various types of agents' (träger) that differentiate the participation in a practice: longstanding participants and novitiates, theorists and technicians, generalists and specialists, conservatives and radicals, visionaries and followers, the highly knowledgeable and the relatively ignorant, and the professional and the amateur.

Opposed to Reckwitz (2002), Warde (2005) presents Schatzki's (1996) simplified nexus, which constructs practice as:

- 1) Understandings: of i.e. what to say and do
- 2) Procedures: explicit rules, principles, precepts and instructions
- 3) Engagements: 'teleoaffective' structures embracing ends, projects, tasks, purpose, beliefs, emotions and moods

Although there are several options of culture theories, practice theory provides one system of interpretation in order to make empirical statements (Reckwitz, 2002). The domain of social sciences allows us to observe human actions as "neither the experience of the individual actor, nor the existence of any form of social totality, but *social practices* ordered across *space* and *time*"

(Warde, 2005:134-135, quoting Giddens, 1984). By 'decentring' mind, texts and conversation, practice theory concentrates on the actual doings (Reckwitz, 2002).

Thus, the 'doings' are not created by people as individuals; people merely function as means of *continuity* for the practice. Furthermore, the *performing* of the practices regularly is vital for their continuity (Warde, 2005). People tend to perform familiar practices with routine and little reflection, meaning that they also rarely notice the development or *change* of the practice.

However, practices are dynamic in their very being and people's practice related behaviour then changes when the practice itself develops through reproduction and/or innovation (Warde, 2005). When conducting a practice as usual, but all of a sudden there is an interruption which forces the practiser to 'strategize' or rethink the normally physically learned and unaware activity, the practice tends to experience a change which may or may not be permanent. These types of changes then newly determine understandings, procedures and objectives of the practice (Warde, 2005). Although some may hold on to old conventions, others seek to improve or change conventions to better suit the new context of the practice or to improve existing practice (Warde, 2005). Contexts might refer to a change in audience that changes own behaviour normal to that practice, or a change in physical environment that might cause changes bodily movements related to practice, or change in purpose of the practice leading to that one conducts practice differently when there is a new goal.

It is from an anti-individualistic perspective that we observe people's actions and their meaning, and understand that all practices are social as they happen in a social framework (Reckwitz, 2002). According to Schatzki's interpretation, the result of practice is both social order as well as individuality (Warde, 2005 using Schatzki, 1996).

It is considered somewhat politically incorrect, but there is research conducted on what types of practices are more valuable than others in terms of inner as well as social fulfilment one feels when taking part of a practice (Warde, 2005). The internal awards of a practice are gained from how challenging it is, and the external awards are gained by the cultural prestige of the practice, accepted so by society. Meaning that when telling someone you went to see another Hollywood movie with 'main-stream' stars at the local movie theatre, people might not be as impressed as when telling them about an opera which hasn't been produced since 1965, and you got to enjoy in

New York the other week. Obviously the costs of the two are different, but the economic exchange is not the reason for people being impressed, it is the social cultural value.

While economics is overwhelmingly concerned with the terms of exchange (exchange market), other social sciences properly pay more attention to the symbolic significance and the use of items (Warde, 2005), which is what this study concentrates on. It is a common misunderstanding that consumption is a practice in itself; however, consumption is usually only a part of a practice (Warde, 2005) where for example in the practice of cooking we use gas for the stove, knife for cutting the vegetables and water for washing up. In the context of this study, we look at the place used for the practice of sauna consumption.

For this specific research the practice theory framework is the philosophical underpinning of explaining and understanding the routinized, everyday rituals and doings in a cultural context. It is argued that practices are the source of consumer wants and needs (Warde, 2005), which is why it is a significant framework for understanding consumers in the domain of consumer research in general. People attach meanings to places and objects through social practices, thus analysing practices provides insight on what people deem significant in their daily lives. This theoretical framework, as will be shown later, considers essential characteristics (i.e. understandings and rules, things, doings) of the sauna practice in order to explain the activity. Additionally, the practice theory framework reveals how the sauna practices are linked with other daily ritualistic practices of the Finns. Similar to the three consumer research domains examined here, also in practice theory, little focus have been given to practice in private spheres, such as the home. The compatibility of researching social practices within a private place through practice theory is strengthened by their shared characteristics of being collective as well as having a historical dimension.

Although the practice framework in itself may be highly theoretical, with little previous research conducted to give evidence of how it can be applied to everyday lives, it does unveil practices in a manner that explains and helps understand people's daily actions in relation to the historical development of their practices. Practice theory also provides a framework for understanding the, yet under researched, co-constructive relationship between consumer behaviour and consumption environments with a temporal dimension. No research within the field of consumer research has demonstrated the endurance of practices historically. Through collecting personal

memories, experiences and thoughts about sauna practices, this study will provide a temporal aspect to the understanding of how practices transform over time.

3.3 Method

Data Collection

The data for this qualitative study was collected through semi-structured interviews. This technique of data collection has been deemed appropriate to similar qualitative studies, as the structure provides control and guidance while at the same time remaining flexible for discussion. As will be elaborated in the sample section, the semi-structured interview combined with most of the interviewees being acquaintances, there was good level of social comfort and openness in speech. Thus, the interviews provided personal experiences, beliefs, values, customs and revealed peoples thoughts concerning various social relationships in relation to the sauna. Although the optimal time of a interview would have been somewhere between 40-60 minutes, most of the interviews lasted between 25-40 minutes.

Sample

The data collection sample were Finns who are of Finnish origin (born and raised Finnish). The 17 people interviewed were within the age categories of 18-29, 30-49 and 50+, with fairly equal representatives of both genders. Most of the interviewees were born within the capital region (with only some exceptions) and all currently live in a larger city (Helsinki and Turku). The people were chosen based on the criteria of being Finnish, actively sauna bathing, age category, gender to a certain point, as well as convenience in terms of people known to the researcher and their likelihood of having elaborate narratives on their personal sauna bathing experiences and customs. Children were not interviewed, as the research aims to find memories of childhood sauna practices and the development or maintenance of the practices until adulthood experienced now.

Data Analysis

By gathering information from Finns at different stages in their life, this research aims to understand the differences experienced when participating in the sauna practice at different stages in life. Additionally, the older the interviewees the more reflection was possible as to how the practice has changed and developed during their life. The challenge in data collection of practices or 'doings', is that people, particularly Finns, find it difficult or awkward to talk about things that are so 'obvious'. Most of the interviewees were worried about not giving interesting

enough information, or having anything worth writing about in a thesis. As practice theory evolves around the understanding of daily practices; mundane, barely noticeable and automatic bodily movements, they were exactly what were looked for in the interviews. Where asking interviewees about their practices (using that word) was too theoretical and complex for them to understand, asking interviewees about their 'doings' related to sauna practices was too simple and seemed for them to be something that they would not be able to answer in an 'interesting' manner. The interviews confirmed the notion of how Finns are known to be interested in facts, and that they do not like to waste people's time with obvious things which are not useful for development in research.

However, given that the research assumes the pre-knowledge of a native citizen, analysing data meant deriving certain conclusions from insinuated information. This means that although the interviewees revealed their sauna practice related rituals and routines, some needed to be understood within the context. The interviews were conducted with a certain anticipation of what information would be retrieved. Thus, the information confirmed some pre-understandings of sauna practices, as well as revealed some emerging points related to sauna practices.

4 Findings

Despite the fact that the consumption of 'original' (smoke/wood heated) saunas has declined, the electrically heated urban sauna prevails in the Finns everyday life. One reason for the commodification of the sauna may be, similarly noted by Belk that: the lack of historical and heritage awareness of it may have made it appear less interesting than it has before (1990) allowing people to take it for granted. However, through groups such as The Finnish Sauna Society, The International Sauna Society and Supsa, sauna consuming is maintained a prestigious Finnish practice and efforts are made to spread the "sauna message" forward. Casey wonders: "can we, in the postmodern period, recapture and relive some significant vestige of an original way of life, one that is attuned to place as the modern era has been to time?" (1993:39). In the context of this study, considering the motivations and feelings associated to sauna consuming we wonder whether the traditional practices are even remembered when practicing sauna consumption today, or whether the practices have been adjusted to suit current context more appropriately and the origins of the traditional sauna and its practices are forgotten?

From a practice theory point of view, we concentrate on how the 'doings' create the concept of sauna and its significant importance in current Finnish society. Specifically, how the materials around people are used in terms of the practice and how they add value.

Applying Schatzki's theory of practice, where practices have: 1) Understandings: of i.e. what to say and do, 2) Procedures: explicit rules, principles, precepts and instructions 3) Engagements: 'teleoaffective' structures embracing ends, projects, tasks, purpose, beliefs, emotions and moods, I attempt to make a clear framework of sauna consumption practices. Furthermore, for the sake of recalling the definition of practice it is a: 'routinized type of behaviour' that is interconnected by **bodily** and **mental** activities, where '**things**' are being used, and a certain amount of **background knowledge** is apparent through **understanding, know-how, states of emotion** and **motivational knowledge** (Reckwitz, 2002). The findings are presented in a graph of sayings and doings, which are explained by understandings and rules. The 'things' in this context refer to the sauna-related physical entities, but also to space, as "spatiality is the world around (an actor) in its pertinence to and involvement in human activity" (Schatzki, 2009:36) allowing people to do the things they do. From a theological perspective the existence of the place provides for human activity to occur (Schatzki, 2009). However, a place rarely provides only for one particular practice, but can be used

for several different types of practices. From the literature review it can already be agreed that the sauna has functioned as a place of multiple practices.

In this section on findings as well as the following, analysis and discussion, the themes and theories previously presented will be connected. Given that the combination of literature and theory is relatively new, the following order and logic behind it, requires some clarification. The findings present the consumption of sauna in a temporal aspect, explaining how the sauna consumption practice is socialized and developed through out the Finns life. Reaching adult age, people have an established understandings and rules concerning the practice that are collectively understood by Finns. From these, Schatzki's practice theory framework is used to identify the main practices related to the sauna consumption. The next section, analysis and discussion aims to further explain and understand each of the practices identified in the framework, by using empirical data from the interviews. The fourth practice presented concentrates on what the thesis has built up to present the practice of Finnish Nesting: The Finnish Home, the Sauna and the Finnish Family.

In order to understand how these practices are learned in the Finnish society, it is best to introduce how Finns are taught the practice at an early age. In more theoretical terms I have used what Schatzki calls 'existential temporality' which "is characterized ... by dimensionality ... by past, present and future of human existence" (2009:37). The presented temporal dimension shows how the practice is learned and entered at childhood, how maturation evolves the perception of practice, and eventually becomes a set understanding of practice at the adult age which is likely (in case of no significant trauma or life altering event) to pertain through out the Finnish person's life. As the sauna consuming practices have been similarly introduced to all Finns at a certain point in their childhood, a nation-wide understanding of conduct of behaviour in the social sauna context is established and maintained.

4.1 Consumption of Sauna through Temporal Extension of Practice Theory

Agreeing with Tuan's literature (1977) on how the first imprints of memory and attachment to place are related to parents, I have found that most people do not remember the 'first' time in a sauna, but merely an image of going to the sauna, with parents and potentially other family members, and associate it with a sense of togetherness. On a similar note Ward writes: It is a widely held belief in behavioral science that childhood experiences are of paramount importance

in shaping patterns of cognition and behavior in later life (1974:1), and from the data collected, this concept is confirmed. Thus, it seems logical to present the **beginning** of practice, how it is learned, experienced and remembered. I thus begin to present findings of how the practices are learned from early stages in life: childhood.

4.1.1 General Understandings and Rules Learned from Childhood

There is a *general understanding* that sauna bathing begins at an early age, and most Finns cannot recall when they first bathed. For some it is like asking them when they first spoke (Casper), confirming that the memory is so embedded that it is hard to remember or express (Casey, 1993). The process of starting the sauna practice happens with all family members and as early as one can remember, according to at least five respondents it usually took place once or twice a week, whereas for another set of five respondents it was an association to a cottage place or a less frequent occasion such as winter sports. As earlier mentioned, for most the sauna-conduct is so self-evident that it was almost impossible to try to find anything ‘interesting’ or ‘explicit’ to explain about the practice they have or how they conduct them. However, when a disruption of some kind was associated to the practice, respondents seemed to remember some differences to their routine opposed to other people’s sauna consuming routines.

In terms of procedures, although the sauna is proven to not be of any physical damage to children, frequently interviewees mentioned that they either sat one level lower than adults, or like me as a child, in a big tub of water. There are mainly implicit rules, or rules that have emerged due to participating in the practice. However, they seem to be nevertheless important. Interviewees remember certain rules taught to them by parents, siblings or teachers during childhood, which had been expressed so clearly back then that they could still be recalled today. Some of them:

- No screaming, menacing, fighting, playing as the sauna is a sacred place
- No farting
- No peeing on the stove
- No throwing soda on the stove
- No throwing water on the roof (as it drips as boiling hot water down)
- Not going to the sauna nor the shower room alone
- Staying far from the stove
- Not throwing more steam than one can handle and then leaving the sauna for others to suffer in
- No sauna-bathing in bathing suits

However, as found from the literature, most interviewees agreed that the main rule is that the sauna is a sacred place, and behaviour ought to be accordingly. People deemed talking normal, however, children's loud and rowdy behaviour was frowned upon. Some recalled throwing of a spoonful of beer on the stove for the scent or grilling of sausages in bags on top of the stove as normal. What makes it clear that the childhood rules were (are) implicit is that they are referred to as very "basic", "standard" or "no particular rules", meaning that for all interviewees it is a given that the sauna rules are commonly understood. However, if someone were to deviate from the 'basic rules' people would probably become more aware of their implicit existence.

The motives and purposes related to engaging in sauna bathing during childhood were according to three interviewees **cleansing**, according to nine being **together**, according to one **relaxing**, according to six **playing**, according to two **winter sports**, according to five **visiting** friends and relatives, according to two **camping** and according to five as part of the enjoyment of the **free time**, such as the weekend where food, TV and relaxing is involved or summer vacation. Thus, the practices of being together, playing, enjoying free-time and visiting friends, were clearly more important during childhood than motivations such as cleansing, relaxing or exercising.

The consumption of the sauna is associated with cleanliness of one's own body as well as the paraphernalia, 'things', related to the sauna. According to Terhi and Tarja, scents of cleanliness from certain traditional products, clean towels and perhaps bed sheets were significant in the consumption of sauna and its whole ritual. Furthermore, the hissing sound of the water on the stove as well as the crackling sound of wood burning, were part of the childhood memory of the idyllic practice, where the amount of hissing correlated with how dangerous and exciting the experience was. People remember the warmth as a source of comfort as well as discomfort, to which several types of solutions existed: sitting one level lower, water tubs, playing in shower, swimming in the lake or just sucking it up as a measure of ones *sisu*.

The sauna as a construction and related materials remembered by interviewees from childhood, were remembered as follows: a stool for climbing up, a lower level bench, higher level bench, dim lighting, perhaps one window, a stove (either electric or wood-heated) and water 'bucket' and scoop for throwing water in. Some of the respondents remembered the 'basement saunas' which were in their housing in the city, and recalled them being 'dungeony' and scary. However, the security of the family and warmth of the sauna made them forget the surroundings.

The consumption of sauna in several of the interviewees' childhood memories, clearly provided a sense of stability through the maintenance of the routine, feeling of social belonging, play and freedom sensed through the sauna consumption combined with free time, and cleanliness through the use of shampoos and water, as well as intergenerational learning through seeing how the practice is done with family members. These memories of the childhood practice associated with the family are symbolic of a happy Finnish childhood which people gladly memorize back to nostalgically. According to my findings, and personal experience, the consumption of the sauna and its regularity in everyday life, changes as physical and mental development occurs, causing the understandings and rules to change as well as the sayings and doings.

4.1.2 A Bump in Practice due to Time of Physical Change: Puberty

The time between childhood and adulthood, also known as puberty, tends to be the time when the sauna consuming and practices related to it change. The particular age at which the age of puberty is tends to differ, where some of the respondents acknowledged its presence already at the age of 10-11 and some experienced it at the age of 16. The sauna consuming practice changes as the general understandings, procedures and engagements change due to the formation of the bodily changes experienced by the bather/consumer. Referring to literature on place, we measure and experience places with our bodies, hence it is natural that the consumption and rules as well as understandings of consumption related to place changes with the awkward formation of growing from a child to an adult. We experience our surroundings differently as we experience ourselves differently, causing an interruption to practice of consumption. More importantly though the change is experienced psychologically, where one has to adjust to the way one has perceived oneself before to how it is now and perhaps how it will be in the future. This is obviously then reflected on how one perceives oneself against others and their physical presence. The harmony and safety felt in the sauna area are clearly interrupted by confusion of gender and its development. Without dwelling any deeper on the notion, it can be concluded that the psychology of the sauna and exposure of ones changing body understandably influences the sauna consuming practice, causing a slump in the consumption of sauna because of physical insecurities or because they don't have as easy access to the sauna as it used to be organized by parents before, and through becoming independent being required to heat the sauna on one's own. One of the interviewees also felt during her teenage that not going to the sauna was a form of gaining independence and through that maturity.

From teenage onward the major changes in consumption practices of sauna are evolved around the social aspect for boys, but more clearly with girls (audience):

- No bathing with opposite sex
- No bathing with the whole family (particularly father/mother depending on sex)
- More bathing with friends
- Need to cover self-up when bathing with opposite sex

Thus there is a clear, and natural, segregation between genders. Similar to the literature on the history of sauna, the reasons for this practice is manifold.

Between the ages 10-16, boys/girls then tend to separate themselves from the family-sauna tradition, by either boys only bathing with father, or daughters only bathing with mothers. Not only does this make the understandings and rules clearer, but it may also ease the time of maturation by teaching gender roles. Particularly interesting was to find that if there were only sons in the family, like in Lasse's and Tuomas case, they all continued to bathe together even after puberty. More commonly though, in the 1960's up until today, it appears to be more of a matter of separating the teenage girls from fathers. Tarja, Terhi and Leeni's families did it as they saw it as the "appropriate" and as the "old fashioned way to do it". Whereas, for some of the interviewees the teen-age was a phase of physical awkwardness, which is also why the segregation occurs and even attending the sauna with friends of similar sex involved keeping bathing suits on.

The phase of maturation, thus, causes a change in the practices from how they were understood before as the rules and understandings, sayings and doings changed. In practicality it has meant that the opposite sexes attend the sauna at different times, or when attending simultaneously they are covered with for example a towel or bathing suits. According to Anna-Kaisa, Pirkko and Meriam, after this point of development, the consumption of sauna usually becomes more of a social event, outside of the ramifications of the parents and their guidance.

4.1.3 Consuming Sauna as an Adult: Understandings and Generally Accepted Rules

Finnish adults are prone to part-take in various social activities such as dining, watching movies, golfing, and going to the sauna is one of the foremost and common group activities in Finland. Finns go to the sauna with friends to spend a Saturday evening together, firms frequently use the sauna as post-meeting or 'outside work' related activity, people even spend their free/self-time with strangers from the same building in the sauna. So how do adults know what to do and when to do it when with different 'audiences'? Through the collective practice of consuming a place, it is evident that there are conventions and ways of socially acceptable behaviour within the context of Finnish sauna bathing.

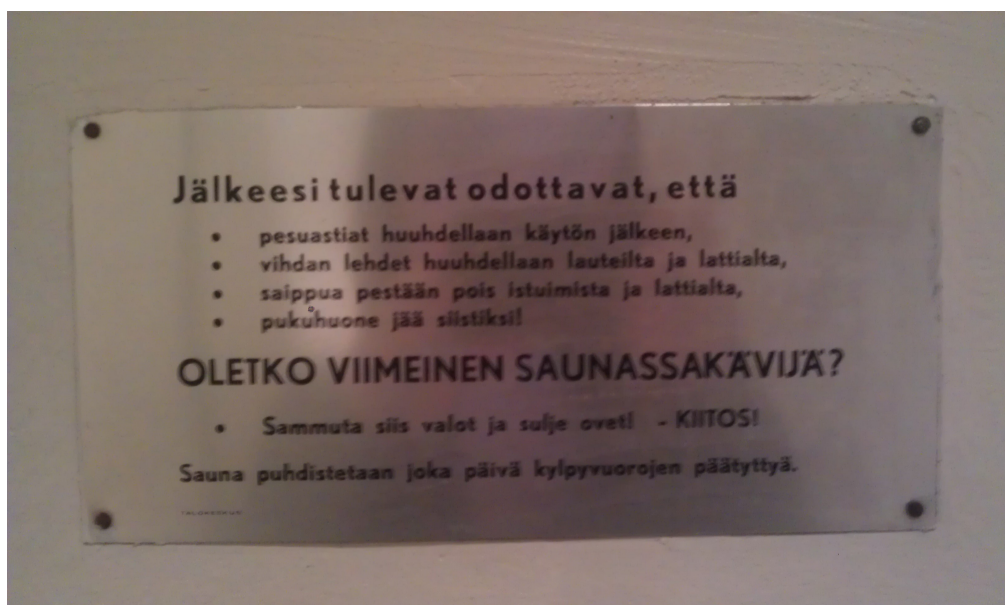


Figure 1 Explicit Common Sauna Rules: The Figure presents rules on cleaning after oneself as well as turning the lights off and closing the doors when being done.

There are implicit and explicit rules, where usually implicit rules vary between households (some love grilling sausage in a bag, whereas others prefer to keep food and drinks outside the sauna). The challenge with revealing these implicit rules that people hold common is due to the fact that they tend to be so implicit and socially integrated that Finns do not know how to point them out. Thankfully, nowadays even an outsider can find some golden rules (explicit rules) to sauna conduct.

Although they are not in the context of a home sauna, some prominent sauna groups like the Finnish Sauna Society have clarified explicit rules for their saunas and conduct of behaviour in the

saunas. Some of the rules are simplified and taken out of the Sauna Seura Societies-context accordingly:

- Mobile phone should be switched off
- Always use bench towel (inside and outside benches)
- Refrain from using heavily scented perfumes/after-shaves/ additives to steam water
- Ask others bathers when intending to throw steam
- Talking in sauna accepted, in a manner that others can join in. Religion, politics, problems and strife at work as well as other diverse opinions within the society are left outside the sauna bench discussions
- The sauna should be left in the same condition it was entered (leave nothing behind)
- Outdoor swimming (particularly opening in ice) recommended to be done in company
- Maintaining an even hydration as well as blood sugar level is important

The guidelines presented in section 2.1.6, by Taskinen (2011) present similar points, with some modifications. The main similarities are that the sauna is supposed to be of a suitable heat for the bather, natural (opposed to synthetic) scents are encouraged, one should only throw as much steam as one is comfortable with, a sauna must be clean, and the possibility for cooling down is important (even in urban environment). The reason why Taskinen's rules appear more flexible is as they are created for the purpose of personal consumption of sauna whereas Sauna Seura's are for the use of their facilities. Although each household has own twists on the sauna understandings and rules as well as habits related to sauna consumption, cleanliness is in each and every sauna without exception the golden rule. Additionally the cleanliness of facilities, to not attend sauna intoxicated or ill (disrespectful and dangerous) and that different people enjoy different heat levels and one should listen to one's body when consuming sauna are emphasised. The understandings and rules implicitly as well as explicitly emphasise the respect one should have for others as well as the sauna bathing tradition, by illuminating any distracting or stress factors. All of the rules and understanding culminate to the next quote by one of the interviewees:

As a place the sauna is a nest of calmness and equality... this Finnishness aspect is very strongly present. Emotions experienced there is this kind of warmth, and I don't mean the physical heat but that it (sauna) is somehow this warm spirited place, where one can't even be filled with hate and no one else can be hateful, rather all are friends. And it's a kind of mutual experience, which brings people closer. (Jon, 2011)

From these explicit and implicit sauna rules and understandings, a framework of sauna consumption practices in terms of Schatzki's Practice theory is presented. It gives an overview of the most important sauna practices: cleansing and physical well-being, psychological healing and well-being, gathering and bonding, and Finnish nesting. Furthermore in an essence it gives a

synopsis of the current understandings, rules and things required in order for the doings and sayings to occur.

Table 1 Schatzki's Practice Theory Based Framework of Sauna Consumption Practices

	Cleansing and Physical Well-Being	Psychological Healing and Well-Being	Gathering & Bonding	Finnish Nesting and Timing
Sayings	'If sauna, booze and tar don't help your disease is to your death' "real cleanliness is possible only from the sauna"	"An <i>open mind</i> and <i>attitude</i> brought on by the sauna relaxes body and soul" " <i>Timelessness</i> and <i>peace</i> are vital for the sauna going practice"	"A relationship of complete <i>equality</i> and ...comradeship" " <i>Titles</i> are stripped along with the clothes" " <i>Life changing matters</i> can be dealt with as one freely bare ones soul in the sauna"	"Home is where the everyday and the meaningful happens" "Sauna is part of the home and of home life" "If there isn't a sauna, it isn't a home"
Doings	-Sweating in a hygienic space -- Releasing of endorphins -Cupping (cleansing of blood) - Whisking (cleansing through scrubbing skin and use of natural oils)	-Relieving stress/depression -Relaxing psyche, and social psyche -Discharging instinctual tension from early stages of personality development -Forgetting everyday worries -Indulging in regressive activity (like arts, games, playing) - Escaping cacophony of real world	- Seeing, talking, and being with friends, family and others	- Cleansing - Teaching & Raising - Gathering - Drying clothes
Understandings	-After physical exertion: hard labour, gymnastics, household chores etc. - Water supply and preferably access to outdoors -When there is no sauna, there is less (or no) sauna bathing	- Mainly with close friends & family / alone - Serenity and a calm atmosphere is of utmost importance	- Everyone is welcome to take part - It is part of proper Finnish hospitality - All must have open attitude	- Safe and familiar environment associated with place of childhood
Rules	- No Clothing	-Peaceful and serene atmosphere	- No social ranks, titles - Although effective for tying professional bonds, work per s not to be discussed in sauna"	- No menacing, fighting, cursing, noise making
Things	whisks, water supply (lake, sea, shower), the actual sauna, water tubs, brushes -dressing rooms -space for relaxation	- A plain sauna with its traditional features: wood stove, water, nature - Candles -Meets childhood sauna standards	- Benches at various heights for various heat preferences - Beauty products: scrubs, moisturizer, conditioner - Beer/Cider/Soda	- Railing to protect from touching the hot stove

From practice theory it is known that the practice itself does not change according to the person, but the different stages/ages in a person's life influence the way the person experiences the practice depending on how it works with other practices in that person's life. The intercepting points in the practice may thus be perceived as if the practice has changed, which may also be true, but more commonly it is the practice carrier who has changed and sees the consumption of sauna differently and the importance of certain practices related to it depending on how he/she has otherwise created his/her life. For example, I might nowadays enjoy the cleansing and physical well-being practice as it fits with my health scheme of going to the gym, or in the future I might

experience a deeper sense of meaning of the sauna when teaching it to my future children and through that identifying with how my mother taught it to me and see it as a larger picture of belonging. Thus, the hot room, the throwing of water, the rules and understandings, the sayings and doings don't really change, but are deemed differing in importance as to in what life-situation one is in.

5 Analysis and Discussion

From the findings presented in the practice theory framework, here the strings are drawn together of the earlier presented topics: the sauna, consumer behaviour, space and place, routines, rituals and practice with the interviews and the data presented through them. Furthermore, the analysis presented here takes into consideration that age and life-situations related to age, are factors to how people experience sauna consumption. Furthermore, the practices listed (cleansing and physical-well being, psychological healing and well-being, gathering and bonding, Finnish nesting) vary in importance depending on what point in life one is in. This means that the sauna consuming practices do not disappear or change, but the person changes along with the various practices that he/she carries and deems important. The understandings and rules, sayings and doings, and things remain the same in the practice, with perhaps mild alterations over a longer period of time. However, the explicitness of the rules and understandings learned at a young age, become implicit as the Finn grows to become an adult. At this point it is evident that practices “are tied to other practices and also bound up with other bundles of practices and arrangements more less tightly or loosely” (Schatzki, 2009:41) and here the study presents how the practices established in the framework are tied together and how tightly. Through people’s personal experiences and perceptions the study presents their practices and partially the motivations for the practices.

5.1 Cleansing and Physical Well-Being: Entwined Practices

The practices of cleansing and physical well-being, psychological healing and well-being, gathering and bonding as well as nesting were shortly presented in the practice theory framework. Each of the practices enjoyed depended on what other practices one carries, influencing ones motives to consume the sauna i.e. if one is really athletic and health concentrated one may consume the sauna in order to gain the physical benefits, and all of the other practices related only strengthen the experience. In the next section I will further expand these practices, the saying, doings, rules and understandings as well as things associated with them, as well as identify how the practices connect and support each other. In order to expand the practices relevant to the study of consumption of place, I will refer to the earlier presented literature on consumer behaviour and place.

It is evident that people’s sauna consumption practices depend on what other practices they carry with them (being social, athletic, health aware, family oriented etc.), and what they deem

important at that point in their life. In this research context the aim is to look at the current practices of the respondents and how they suit with the consumption of sauna practices.

Where the cleansing and physical well-being of the sauna consumption provides for *physiopleasure*, the gathering and bonding provides for *sociopleasures* through empathetic bonding (Goulding et al., 2008). Most of the male respondents refer to the sauna being integrated with their routine of going to the gym, because it relaxes their muscles, cleanses the skin and through that then provides physiopleasure. As presented earlier, Leeni feels that she is at her cleanest after the sauna, thus experiencing a deeper satisfaction due to the physical cleansing aspect. Another essential part of the physiopleasure associated with the Finnish home sauna is for example how Pirkko enjoys the sauna after physical exertion outside, and feels that the sauna is highly enjoyable as a contrast to the cold and to relieving tension felt in body. It is almost without exception that Finns consume sauna after attending any outdoor activities in the winter. Casper mentioned that as a child he always went, as almost all other Finnish children, to the sauna after skiing or ice hockey practices. Most respondents also referred to swimming at the cottage or in the city and through that always going to the sauna to warm up in between. Although this is not within the home context, it supports the notion of sports and activities being associated with sauna consumption. Thus, no matter what age, a Finnish active lifestyle including sports and other activities function as supporting practices to the carriers of sauna bathing.

The cleansing and physical well-being practice is achieved through the simplest forms of consuming the sauna. Although whisking and cupping are mentioned, none of the interviewees felt that it was vital as much as just perk for the practice to take place. Heat, water and a beverage of own choice, are deemed to be of most importance. Alcoholic beverages are clearly a part of the physical relaxing, but more importantly is it deemed essential to the gathering and bonding practice to which we turn next.

5.2 Gathering and Bonding: Sauna Consuming Audience

In addition to the physiopleasure, as mentioned, the sociopleasures (Goulding et al., 2008) experienced through empathetic bonding are of equal importance when consuming the sauna. As already introduced the consumption of the private sauna tends to happen in two contexts: with or without other people, and in this context they are referred to 'audience' (Young, 1991). According to Ehn et al. (2009) the two are separated to self-time and social time, where for some the consumption of sauna alone is relaxing, removal of stress, contemplation about the past week,

and just time for oneself, whereas, the social sauna has an audience which may have some deviant understandings and rules that need to be taken into consideration in order for the practice to be as pleasant for everyone's needs. This requires taking steam throwing into consideration, using vs. not using towels to sit on, waiting for other people to want to take a break and go swim etc. However, two types of audiences have emerged from the study: close friends/family and strangers/semi-acquaintances. The way the sauna is experienced, as a place, is extremely different between the two. Despite the fact that Finns are aware of the practice's rules and understandings, which are accepted nationwide, everyone still has their personal preferences (due to other practices they deem important to them) when consuming the sauna which impact the practice. Although the practice of consuming a private home sauna may provide psychological healing and well-being through time-for-self, it more often than a public/common sauna, demands *time-for-others* i.e. family and friends. However, the sauna as a private place, as well as a place for self, like Daniela, most Finns motivations to consume the sauna, are to seek for calmness, relaxation and peace. When we consume the sauna by ourselves, we are given solitude necessary when reflecting and understanding self, through which we then understand other people better (Tuan, 1977) and thus feel a connection with our deepest and most inner thoughts in the place known to us all the way from childhood. When relaxing and taking self-time the motivations for bathing is that the "sauna is a place for silence it is (my) personal temple. I can access my thoughts ... or maybe not as much as just empty my thoughts, as I don't often think of anything when bathing. ..I often just sit and look at the moon from the window of my sauna. It is kind of like a prayer moment, well not quite, but not far from it" (Jaana). Agreeing on the religious comparison, Leeni refers to a sauna as a sacred place, where one can think or not think: just 'be'. People seem to have various preferences on whether to contemplate on deeper thoughts, or to really let all of them stay outside of the soothing and relaxed atmosphere. Meaning is found in both.

As mentioned, most respondents agreed that they rarely ever heat the sauna just for their own use, thus one can assume that they frequently bathe socially. The home sauna consumed with close family and friends is the essential form of everyday gathering and bonding ritual. As Finns have learned the practice at home, it is clear that when visiting childhood home Finns tend to go to the sauna without much reflection as to why, and this will be returned to in the Finnish nesting section. Due to the fact that the respondents had always bathed with their family during childhood, and friends during teenage, the practice of consuming the sauna in a social context

comes naturally and if people are not present (opposed to relaxing) Finns might feel like something is missing. Although the carriers of the practice become older, the routine and convention of going with other people has not changed. Jon finds the best sauna audience to be 2-3 friends. Perhaps it is a coincidence, but it is the same amount of members in his family. The gathering and bonding has a stemmed association with the sauna consumption due to: saving energy, danger of bathing alone, and family time.

As the private sauna is usually shared with family and friends, it is an appropriate place of conversing through voluntary gathering and bonding. When being physically and emotionally bared in a familiar environment with people of close relations, it is easier to discuss issues ranging from daily matters to larger dramas. Jon and Tuomas find the combination of dim lighting, warmth as well as familiar environment, a suitable place for any type of dialogue. Also Meriam consumes the sauna for the sake of gathering and bonding, as she enjoys the rare opportunity provided through the sauna consumption to truly converse with her family in the midst of everyone's hectic lifestyles, which may imply that she experiences that she does not see her family and friends enough and finds this mutual practice appropriate for catching up. Similarly Terhi concurs, as although she isn't a sauna-fanatic, she enjoys it particularly due to the people and the lack of distractions such as telephones, music or other noise. Through the sauna Terhi practices psychological healing and well-being through gathering and bonding in the sauna by withdrawing herself from the cacophony and irritations she seems otherwise surrounded by in her life. The sauna provides a place of escape of routine and everyday constraints. It is thus understandable that discussing the important and weighing matters adds to the sense of relief experienced after the sauna. The conversing affects Jaana's sauna experience by extending the breaks taken between the gathering and bonding. As Tuan (1977) explains in terms of how we experience place, the inside and constructed can however, be experienced as constraining or as a source of anxiety. For Daniela, discussing difficult matters in a hot sauna is more difficult than in a normal room, due to feeling constrained by the heat and small space, which then limits a natural flow of speech and opening up.

As mentioned, the physical existence of the sauna is required for all of the listed practices to take place. However, concerning gathering and bonding, the sauna functions also as a social medium through which people socialize like they would otherwise through other social activities and hobbies. The sauna then "might be part of the evening, like at this (some) point we go to sauna

and then the evening continues with something else” (Leeni). This type of sauna consumption is the medium of entertainment. A good example of how a special occasion sauna can be integrated in the program of a day is captured in the picture bellow Jani’s friends surprised him with a Birthday Sauna. First he was surprised by a group of his friends with presents, pie and beer, after which he got to enjoy one of his presents (new FIFA PlayStation game) while the sauna was heating, then the guys bathed for a significant amount of time, after which the shenanigans continued to the wee-hours of the night.



Figure 2 A Birthday Surprise Sauna

For Leeni “the bathing (with friends) has always been fun, a lot of talking has happened there, a lot of deep topics ... even though everyone’s naked, no one cares, there people are just people and one can talk there ... there’s a feeling of safety, no one judges or criticises or there aren’t any negative emotions”. From this quote a feeling of trust in and within the sauna, as well as a relaxation of ego is clearly depicted. Additionally, according to Tuomas, the practice itself “is different when bathing with others ... but the basic idea is the same. Everyone still behaves in the same way. Either quiet or talking, about something”. From this it is evident that the sauna bather behaves according to what is deemed appropriate in the context. Although the sauna bathing is same, one adjusts one’s behaviour to suit the feeling i.e. if someone is in a particularly talkative mood, one might join in in order to not be rude, or if people look too bothered by the amount of steam thrown one might limit the amount being thrown.

Although this study is more focused on the home sauna, the public sauna/common sauna needs to be acknowledged, as they fill the practical needs of the home sauna for people who do not have a sauna of their own. Jouko has for over 25 years bathed in the shared sauna with his neighbours, and specifically on Christmas he bathes with his son and other men from the building, where they all share stories of events that have happened during the past year. Thus, the common sauna also functions as a place of gathering (especially for elderly people) in order to socialize in a typically Finnish casual manner and place. Particularly interesting with the public (not common) saunas, as I have experienced it, is that although there is a larger likelihood of other people being there compared to in a home sauna, it tends to be less of a gathering and bonding event, as Finns apply the non-intervening code and do not force conversation. In case a conversation is started, according to Jaana, it tends to evolve around trivial and daily topics such as: hobbies, pets, children, physical strains related to daily life etc. It is understood as a general rule that talking can enhance the experience, but only if it occurs naturally. Tuomas, who enjoys all saunas, mentioned that the biggest difference between public and private saunas is that you never know who is going to come into the public sauna and babble on and on, when he would sometimes appreciate the silence. Thus, it depends on who is attending the sauna, and what the purposes of attending are. When Tuomas goes to the public sauna to relax after the gym, he may want to enjoy the cleansing and psychological healing and well-being, whereas other have come there for the gathering and bonding. Both are well understood and usually respected. The fact that one is in a common or public sauna already shows that one has similar practices with the other people, but all add to the sauna consuming practice in their own individual way due to the personal practices they carry.

The consumption of sauna with other people in private or public places do differ what type of sauna consumption practice is being done. The changes are felt, not particularly due to the material and physical aspect of the sauna (although that too), but mainly due to the fact that the cleansing and physical well-being practice becomes a gathering and bonding practice, or what was supposed to be the former became the latter. Almost all of the interviewees state that sauna practices in different groups do not differ per se, and that most have the same routine (shower, into sauna, shower, relaxing, into sauna, shower and then finish). The differences of the sauna consumption practice are related to the practical doings and personal preferences. According to Jaana and Tuomas, with steam throwing it is a general understanding that when bathing, steam ought to be thrown and both find it strange that one would have to ask for permission, however

accepting it as a rule nevertheless. Additionally, the sauna does provide a physical alternative for those who do not enjoy quite as hard of a steam, through a lower bench for them to sit on. However, when thinking rationally the physical doings must be different as one doesn't automatically react to the physical commands of one's body, which in a hot place can understandably make one uncomfortable, and one rather thinks and acts according to what the social environment opposed to the physical environment tells one to. So how does the presence affect the consumption practice and feeling of place? It depends who the respondents are bathing with. With close family and friends, one is free to do and be however feels natural, and at home this is how the sauna is consumed. However, if we are to bathe with people other than our family we might be less at ease.

Hence, the presence of an audience makes us aware of being observed and limits our capability of relaxing and/or reflecting (Tuan, 1977), particularly with people that are not of close relation to us. In Leeni's case, the types of people and how well she knows them, reflects on how place consumption is experienced (Tuan, 1977): "in really big groups, where you don't know people, I at least don't get the same amount out of the sauna experience". As a contrast to this, however, Leeni enjoys bathing with family and close friends, proving that the sauna provides context for relationships and practice (Relph, 2008). The right types of people create an ambience of safety and shelter (Tuan, 1977) in the sauna that can function as a place of relaxation similar to when being alone. Leeni finds that when sauna-bathing with others "one doesn't necessarily have to do anything. I find it really nice to just go to the sauna and sit quiet and everyone enjoys the warmth", meaning that they share the intimate experiences in a similar type of comfort experienced when bathing alone. From this one could conclude that Leeni's psychological healing and well-being tends to be compromised by somewhat forced practice of gathering and bonding with people she doesn't know. Even though the sauna is a safe and familiar environment, the personal exposure felt physically as well as psychologically affects how the practice is experienced.

In addition to the company and conversation in the gathering and bonding context, it was found that some women enjoy the extra sauna paraphernalia when bathing with others. These extra things are facial masks, sauna-honey, body scrub or extra hair-conditioner. In addition to other topics of conversation, the products being used arouse conversation and sharing of information. Women tend to participate in speculating about products and how well (if at all) they work. These

types of products are gender specific almost without exception. Men on the contrary make their feelings about extra sauna-things, with the exception of sauna-scents, very clear:

“it is important that the sauna is traditional, I don’t look for anything modern or any fancy qualities and it should preferably be ascetic rather than by pressing a button heating the stove, rather it is supposed to be the kind where you chop the wood and carry them, as well as carrying the water with buckets into the sauna, making it nostalgic, it doesn’t have to have any peculiar amenities, other than a bench to sit on and it should be dark. For me it’s enough that it has a wood heated stove and preferably not in the city. One goes there to calm down, and that’s exactly it...its exactly a place for unwinding. Not a partyplace or anything else” Jon, 2011

In order to enhance the relaxing ambience Jon, along with almost all respondents agree that having a sauna beer and sauna cider, during and/or after the sauna is part of the practice. It adds to the physical relaxing and removing of tension, feeling warm (opposed to the cold outside) and sharing a drink with close friends or family. Male respondents admitted that talking more openly and bonding was perhaps easier in the sauna as it provides an atmosphere of relaxation and having a beer or two eases conversation even to the more difficult areas in life. Respondents refer to it as a “social drink” that eases conversation or a “relaxing drink” which just releases tension and quenches thirst. As it induces a more free flow of conversation, many interviewees felt that with a beer or two the whole experience can be more fun and silly. One or two sauna related drinks are not directly linked with any sort of binge-drinking practice, which Finns normally might be known for. Although Tuomas mentions that they sometimes go out with friends after going in the sauna, the partying/drinking does not begin IN the sauna at home.

To further clarify the notion of whether to drink or not drink and with what company, Daniela says that when gathering and bonding in the sauna with friends there is almost without an exception alcoholic beverages being consumed. However, she does not usually drink any alcoholic beverages when consuming the sauna alone. Whereas, Tuomas enjoys his beer and pickles in the sauna, whether his friends accompany him or not. Despite some initial mockery of the pickles, Tuomas’ friends have lived up to the “open mind and attitude brought on by the sauna” and also started to eat pickles along with beer in the sauna.

Most respondents did not find that they learned their alcoholic beverage consumption habits associated to the sauna, from home or parents. However, although the habit of consuming a beer or cider was not taught by or within the nesting practice, it is something that our parents socialize

all of us to from an early age on. Although Lasse obviously did not drink beer with his parents as child, nowadays they all enjoy a particular seasonal beer in association with their traditional Christmas sauna. This does not mean that alcoholic beverages are forced upon Finnish children, but they are something that children become accustomed to and thus associate it with the practice.

As children, the interviewees frequently recalled drinking some specific sodas (Momin, smurf etc). Although most could not recall or remember what parents would be drinking, I would assume that in most cases, at least in my own, that the parents were enjoying a beer, cider or sparkling wine. To this we'll return in the nesting section. Most respondents agree that their own "social drink" associated with gathering and bonding as well as psychological healing and relaxing, is a practice learned from friends and not family. Even at an adult age, Terhi never takes a beer with her into the sauna when bathing with her parents, although she normally would with friends.

A sauna consuming experience shared with an audience always raises the matter of nudity. Based on the interviews it appears that the rules still tend vary, depending on 'audience'. From childhood on, Finnish people are taught to swim and bathe naked, which is where the practice is learned. Any clothing used during the sauna is usually found as uncomfortable, inconvenient and constricting, thus removing from the psychological relaxation as well as physical cleansing and well-being. According to Tuomas, if it is a large group sauna (male and female), people may well bathe in the nude "no one finds it particularly weird. It's *just* sauna bathing". This suggests that it is a socially accepted understanding and rule in a gathering and bonding context. However, at midsummer, when people take a lot of breaks and everyone is sitting on the porch, people might prefer to wear swim shorts and bikinis (Tuomas). My personal experience on the subject is similar to Tuomas', it completely depends on the crowd but it is rarely ever a *given* that people are naked unless bathing with spouse, mother/father or best friends. Leeni's statement on no one judging or criticizing also insinuates that she may feel more comfortable being so exposed to close friends, rather than big groups she doesn't know. In swimming pools one must attend the sauna naked due to hygiene, making it an explicit rule and through this a broadly accepted understanding and rule.

Finns can and do share intimate moments with strangers in the sauna. Intimacy of people in a place is not defined by knowing every detail or their everyday (Tuan, 1977) but merely of the knowledge that it is something the two strangers share culturally, despite their current employment, marital status, or other interests. The intimate experience of consuming the sauna as a place is so integrated, elusive and dictated by culture (Casey, 1993, Tuan, 1977) that most of the interviewees couldn't rationally explain their reasoning for what type of company they prefer. I personally sometimes enjoy bathing with complete strangers, as no conversation needs to be made, and I can come and go as I please. Generally though, a sauna shared with an unwanted audience, be it in a private or public sauna, deteriorates from the relaxing purpose of the sauna, as it does not: strengthen bonds with others, release ego, nor deepen ones sense of self.

The explicit difference in practice when consuming sauna with others is: conversation (emotional relief), steam-throwing, consumption of related products, clothing, time spent in sauna as well as time spent outside of sauna. Additionally, with common saunas it is normal for people (Jon, Meriam) to not appreciate the time restriction that reserving and attending a common sauna requires. Additionally, the sauna is also a place of security sensed through warmth and freedom (Tuan, 1977). For all respondents it is a place where through the subtle practice of relaxing in the hot room, one is free to talk about whatever or sit silently, think about things or just ignore any thoughts that may come to mind. It is evident that the other practices that the respondents, 'carriers', take part in, impact how and what type of practice angle they take to consuming the sauna.

5.3 Finnish Nesting: The Finnish Home, the Sauna and the Finnish Family

A brief recap on the definitions related to socialization and intergenerational learning seem appropriate here. Intergenerational learning is the process of sustaining culture by passing on of information, beliefs, and resources from one generation to another (Moore et al., 2002). Also: socialization is the process through which people develop specific patterns of social behaviour that is deemed correct in a specific group (Moore et al., 2002) using Young's (1991) framework of socially acceptable behaviour where there are 'scripts', 'audiences' and 'props'. The literature found on family places like the home state that "home is where everyday and the meaningful happen", which is why the sauna and family are inseparable when discussing a Finnish family and home. This section then shows the sauna practices involved in socialization and intergenerational

learning within a Finnish context. Furthermore this section unveils how the sauna consumption is important for the practice of nesting i.e. family making.

The sauna as a place of *intergenerational learning* (Karjalainen, 1997) is where Finns are taught at an early age primitive skills such as how to cut logs and make a fire, carry water as well as thanking the people who did the job (Terhi, Casper). The dealing with a hot stove is part of teaching concepts of danger and carefulness (Leeni, Jaakko). Although the chopping of logs is not a standard in the modern Finnish home, these things are frequently taught at family cottage places that almost all Finns have access to. Through learning skills, respect for others, conduct of behaviour (Tarja, Tuomas, A-K, Tero, Jon) in terms of a sauna, the average Finn learns how the social system works as well as where she/he stands.

Jon expresses his thoughts about sauna and home accordingly: for me a home which has a sauna, makes me think about traditions, Finnish lifestyle, bathing together, for me it is all linked to family... of sauna bathing I'm reminded of childhood. Tuomas says on a similar note that "one is reminded of one's childhood almost always when going to the sauna. Even if for just one second, but it definitely comes at some point. The gathering and bonding is a practice that is strongly associated with consumption of sauna as that is how the practice is originally learned. The practice is rooted with family and friends; hence it is no wonder that most Finns still prefer bathing with others. As given in the literature on intergenerationalism: places where families gather function as places of cognition of practices and preservation of tradition (Folkman-Curasi et al.2004, Arstila 1983, Epp et al. 2008), which in this case explains the sauna tradition. All of the information gathered from interviews point to this as well.

One of the most interesting points that emerged through the interviews was how owning a sauna is important when creating a family. Most of the interviewees in their 20's did not feel the need to have their own sauna right now, as they usually live in the city in small apartments that rarely come with saunas.

"At first one doesn't think it is that big of a deal, not having a sauna. One can get used to that (not having a sauna of one's own) I guess. But I definitely want that in my real home, which I'll eventually own, that there is a sauna... One always then remembers at the moment of entering the sauna, why it is so lovely" Leeni, 2011

Continuing on the notion of wanting a sauna in one's own home Lasse says that "a home is always more homey if it has a sauna. Definitely then when I move or start building a family of my own and

so on, one of the main criteria (of the house/home) is to have an own sauna". It is clear that for Lasse and his family, having a sauna has meant spending free time as well as special occasions together. They have created family traditions and rituals around it, making Finnish nesting one of the most important practices for the family in the consumption of sauna. The nesting practiced in Lasse's family reflects on his current sauna habits, as even two weeks seems like a long time to be without a sauna. As he doesn't have a sauna of his own, he returns on a regular basis to his childhood home to visit his parents and bathe, as well as uses his friends' saunas.

From the perspective of a young couple, Pirkko discusses the time she used to live with her ex-boyfriend and they had a common sauna in their building in which they had their own turn on Friday's. She comments on the sauna-turns "I at least associate sauna-turns with being middle aged, it created such a "now we are in a relationship" thing or "kind of like a family", meaning that having the sauna turn made her feel more like a family with her boyfriend, opposed to if they were not to have a sauna-turn. The routine of having a set sauna turn on Saturday evening does point to having a stable and rather family-like life. As many of the interviewees who had lived in an urban building pointed out, as children they bathed with their families in these common saunas on Saturday evenings. The sauna turns are part of an urban Finnish family's routine. What is more, one of the greatest reasons for the family reputation is that the sauna-turns tend to be in the evening on weekends i.e. the same time that 'young' and 'single' people are partying. Thus, Pirkko's notion of being even more settled down due to the sauna-turn was not groundless.

According to at least 6 respondents it is clearly still tradition to end a hard work week or physical exertion, by relaxing and cleansing in the sauna with the family, after which activities related to bathing occur: sausage grilling, TV-show watching, relaxing and enjoying the time free pastime of doing nothing. Leeni, Daniela as well as myself, when visiting parents and attending the sauna have the same routine of putting bath robe on, cooling off and eating something as well as watching TV, just like in childhood. Also Lasse mentions that his sauna consuming practices learned from childhood are still the same, where the whole family goes at the same time, beer might be consumed, and every Christmas they bathe the sauna in candlelight only. However, Daniela, like many others (Leeni, Pirkko, Tuomas, Tapani, Tarja) has *added* a new way of consuming sauna related to her friends. After bathing with friends, they drink wine and continue the evening.

The sauna can also function as a sanctuary within home as “it is a kind of escape in one’s own home, if one wants to be all by oneself, one can go to the sauna” (Leeni) and to this notion some mothers agree that the sauna is indeed a place where children either behave and are quiet or you don’t get to attend. Thus, the sauna as a sanctuary and idolized place of calmness teaches children to show respect and restrain themselves from rowdy behaviour. As a place of escape, Leeni has a younger brother and often recalls that the sauna was sometimes the only place where one found peace. In the home sauna families all bathe together, thus it is usual that brothers and sisters learn where they stand in rank to each other and their parents (Jon). In addition to this they learn the adjustments of gender maturation and thus social roles. As earlier mentioned, all recall when they no longer entered the sauna with the parent of opposite sex.

Concerning particular practices learned at home, Tuomas’ father used to throw beer onto the stove by either pouring some into the steam water or by splashing some of it straight onto the stove. This might explain why even today Tuomas enjoys the scent of beer in the sauna, as well as taking his drinking beer into the sauna while bathing. His habit of taking pickles into the sauna may derive from the fact that his family also ate their sauna sausages inside the sauna. For him drinking and eating within the sauna has been taught from childhood and explains why he still today wants to have snacks and drinks in order to enjoy the practice of psychological healing and well-being as well as simultaneously providing for the physical well-being learned from the nesting practice at home. Whereas most of the other respondents recalled that their parents did not take beverages into the sauna, but enjoyed them outside. This habit was clearly taught on as the same respondents are also more accustomed to enjoying their drink outside opposed to inside the sauna. Nevertheless, the special sauna beverage is seen as something important and special, and something that is learned from childhood on whether it is Momin or Smurf soda, juice, beer, cider or even champagne.

5.3.1 Sauna at Home and Outdoors

Nature and sauna are as undeniably linked as the sauna and home. Most Finns grow up by spending a large amount of time outdoors and thus associate the sauna bathing experience with the outdoors and nature. One of the main emerging practice related to the consumption of home sauna, is before attending the sauna, Finns enjoy being in the nature to work up a sweat, get fresh air and to really ‘earn’ the sauna. As Terhi puts it “for us the sauna has always been some type of reward. After one has worked hard on some construction, then after that one got to go to the

sauna and had the permission to relax and rest and quit the day's work there". Thus, most Finns truly anticipate the moment they get to attend the sauna after skiing with the family (Pirkko), doing outdoor work at parents place (Leeni) or any other type of outdoor activity in the middle of the winter (Tapani). I have personally rarely enjoyed a sauna as much as after a day of being outdoors in the cold and knowing that afterwards one gets to sweat the cold out. The contrast of the cold and hot is a sensation, which is hard to explain for someone who hasn't enjoyed it before.

Concerning nature/outdoors during the sauna consumption moment, more often than not, in an urban environment people rarely have access to outdoors/nature, for the full sensation of relaxing. Jaana has the window from which she can look at the stars, and Tuomas remembers his childhood sauna being close to an entrance from which one could run out and roll in the snow. Pirkko, emphasises how much she enjoys having the possibility of just going out even if it is a parking lot type of space. The urban sauna's that are constructed in basements tend to be stuffy and stale (Jaana) thus just getting into the contrastingly open space feels liberating after the hot and closed space. The Finnish cottage places obviously provide incredible natural surroundings, but here we aim to concentrate more on the typical Finnish home.

5.3.2 Consumption of Sauna in Relation to the Weekend Package and Special Occasions

In addition to the bond of nature, everyday routines and sauna bathing, the sauna is also an essential part of the Finnish family's sense of timing. As already mentioned, interviewees agreed that ending a workweek as well as celebrating any special occasion involves bathing the sauna. The fact that sauna bathing frequently occurs on Saturdays has been established to originate from the largely prevailing Christian tradition which has then remained as a suitable moment for sauna consumption ever since. Many mention that the Saturday sauna is the highlight of the week (Jaana, Tuomas, Tapani) and it may be due to the sauna, but it appears to relate to the whole Saturday package: being with the whole family, bathing, changing sheets, watching specific programs on TV, drinking and eating good food (that are normally forbidden in the middle of the week). Even when not having a family, Saturday seems to be the optimal day for bathing (Leeni). It reflects that the routine is carried on into adulthood, as it is still a functioning way of conducting the practice. It's of crucial significance to the sauna bathing experience, that no hurry or time constraint is experienced during or after the bathing (Leeni, Tapani, Jon) as the time before and after are of equal importance as the actual bathing situation.

Come any holiday where people retreat to be with families (Christmas, Easter) or friends (New Year 's Eve, mid-summer) it is an implicit part of the program that the sauna will be consumed. Concurring with the latter and literature review:

We always attended the sauna on Christmas, we always had a morning-sauna on Christmas eve, which might be outside of the norm (usually bathing in evening), but we woke up, decorated the tree, went to the sauna. After which we ate porridge. And then of course we attended the New Year's sauna. (Sauna bathing) kinda happens at all festivities. Leeni, 2011

Agreeing with the sauna literature review on traditional Christmas sauna's, Leeni's family got up early, went to the sauna relatively early and then enjoyed the rest of the day with other family activities related to the special occasion.

5.3.3 The Finnish Home Sauna Consumption Routine and Ritual

The home family sauna consumption practice fills the criteria or ritual, routine and practice. All of the criteria are filled not only by literature but also the information from the interviews. The Finnish family sauna ritual is indeed positive and meaningful, it happens in a string of events, and is repeated over time (Rook, 1985). Where routines can be something shared vs. personal, supporting vs. constraining and reflex-like vs. conscious (Ehn & Löfgren, 2009), also the sauna bathing practice fills of these requirements. In this context of study here pre-sauna, sauna-bathing and post-sauna bathing routines are presented.

As mentioned above the pre-sauna may be as important as the sauna consumption. For me personally it may not be quite as important, when bathing in an electrically heated sauna. The electrically heated saunas mean that a switch is flicked on after which one waits for the sauna to heat. During this one may watch TV or go out with the dog (Jaana, Pirkko). This is the general impression given by the interviews when discussing sauna in an urban context. Being outdoors and/or just relaxing on the sofa are the most common activities.

For most the sauna-bathing sequence is the same, with some debate evolving around whether to shower before the sauna or going in dry (Pirkko). When going into the sauna dry, one feels hot and relatively dry until one's own body starts to perspire. However, when showering before the sauna does not feel as hot and it is less uncomfortable as the hair isn't as hot and the skin is already moist. As mentioned in the section of private and social bathing the routine is to shower, bathe, shower and perhaps break outside, bathing and then showering with shampoo and soap, perhaps

sitting outside or just sitting inside with towel on and relaxing. Going outside in the cold afterwards prevents post-sauna sweating which is seen as uncomfortable.

While bathing, many emphasise that although they don't see it as a religious ritual, but the sauna provides positive meaning to their life and is "on a spiritual level somewhat sacred" (Terhi, Leeni, Jaana) and the consumption of sauna is like a moment of prayer and/or serenity. When attending the ritual it feels mundane but at the same time it provides a feeling of attachment to family, nationality and self. Thus it is no surprise that the post-sauna time is somewhat sacred too and is used for continuing the relaxation.

The post-sauna routines in the home-bathing context, there are various opinions as to what personal preferences are:

- Jaana won't go out with the dogs after sauna
- Terhi refuses to put on make-up or go into "filthy" bars, no work should be done after the sauna,
- Jon feels clean and tired and prefers just going to bed after the sauna.
- For Tuomas a 30 min relaxing period is enough and then he is up for anything

Although for some men the post-sauna time is up for different activities (Tuomas), for women it tends to be different. As discussed, the entering of the sauna, removing clothes, make-up, dirt and titles then somehow tends to relax the average Finnish woman, so much that the time post-sauna is left sacred for resting and a feeling of cleanliness. According to one of the female interviewees:

"Although we have many times tried the whole: come to our place, let's bathe in the sauna, and then hit the town. It never happens like this. After going to the sauna, the thought of applying make-up and then going out on the town to sweat and smell like cigarettes, it just somehow never happens. It always ends up just as a time of relaxation and definitely no application of make-up" Terhi, 2011

The consumption of sauna is then repeated, depending on how active the sauna bather is, the next day, weekend or festive holiday.

By now the characteristics of a routine have been filled as the sauna is shared with other people or conducted in solitude, it supports most of our sense of Finnishness, belonging, physical well-being as well as for some it is felt as a constraint when not wanting to attend as part of an evening

programme but not being able to fulfil the planned follow-up, and finally we have reflex like habits when throwing water on the stove without much contemplation but we then consciously conduct a body scrub or apply hair moisturiser.

6 Conclusion

The Finnish sauna and the Finns have an intimate as well as a public relationship. The practices evoked by the sauna as place are from a practice theory point of view: physical cleansing and well-being, psychological relaxing and well-being, gathering and nesting. Through routine Finns always return to the sauna, even those who do not particularly love the actual bathing, love the ritual aspect of the tradition and hence always participate. Such great value is found in the practice that it is part of who we are and where we belong in the Finnish culture. In a place filled with meaning through its history, memories, attachments and relationships of various kinds, it is no surprise that it is of culturally high value. Despite being somewhat ignorant concerning tradition and ancestry “the sauna provides a means of recapturing the enjoyment of bathing experienced by our forefathers (Konya and Burger 1973:9, in Edelsward p.183).

The home sauna allows us to remember backwards in time (Karjalainen, 1997) through narratives of life (Meriam), performance of family rituals (Jaakko, Tuomas, Leeni), everyday interactions (Anna-Kaisa), social dramas (Terhi) as well as intergenerational transfers (Terhi) (Epp et al., 2008). The sauna functions as physical evidentiary to events where there has been association with time, place and person (Curasi et al., 2004), provided by every single person interviewed when asked about their first sauna consumption experience. All remembered the sauna with their parents and family either at home or at their cottage place, and how they enjoyed it then and now.

Through routinizing and repeating the ritual we uphold the tradition, even in an urban environment. Although most imagine the cottage wood heated sauna being the perfect place for sauna consumption, it does not deter from their sauna consuming practices in an urban environment. The different places still provide the same practice, only in a different context. The “traditional” sauna demands time to drive to the cottage, having a few days off, chopping wood etc. whereas the urban home sauna is turned on as part of the comfortable daily routine. Finns have made the practice easier and accessible so that they can integrate into the routine of their everyday life.

Many traditional practices such as whisking and cupping are discussed theoretically, but according to my findings an urban Finn rarely conducts such practices. Did the lack of materials and nature related to those practices kill them? Or was it just the Finnish pragmatism that altered the place that then changed the practice? According to practice theory and consumer behaviour it is the

altering of the practice that changes the place, according to the study of place, the dying out of meaning of a place kills its valuable practices (cultural practices). The urbanized saunas rarely provide birch branches for whisks, clean snow to roll in or possibilities to be cupped. A person who has grown up in a place where the practice is not conducted, is most likely not going to conduct it in a place where it is possible, unless someone else initiates whisking for example. However, this does not mean that the cultural value of sauna has decreased; it merely means that the practice is not experienced any less valuable when the paraphernalia isn't present, as states: "It is the fact of engagement in the practice rather than any personal decision about a course of conduct, that explains the nature and process of consumption" (Warde 2005:138) and almost all respondents agreed that all that is needed is the sauna as it is and access to water with no extras or gadgets. According to Karjalainen (1993) it is the human context shaped by memories and expectations, which create and maintain our image of how the sauna ought to be according to the childhood memories. Meaning that the Finns not surprisingly, are content with a "basic" sauna that they were accustomed to through intergenerational learning.

From a "place-perspective" it may seem that the urbanization of the sauna, which is now the traditional sauna of an urban Finn, has caused some decay in traditional cultural practices. Relph states that "when the rituals and myths lose their significance and the people cease to participate fully in them the places themselves become changeable and ephemeral"(Relph 2008:33). This tends to lead to more dying out of rituals and practices from the past, as the place does not provide the material means for conducting such traditions (vihta, vasta, cupping). However, although they are not as evident in an urban environment, it does not mean that the Finnish home sauna has suffered any loss in meaning, societal nor cultural value. In reference to Wallendorf & Arnould's research, that although some rituals, traditions and practices may subside, new ones are formed and maintained. It is to be noted that in this context we are mainly observing the Finnish home sauna, and not the smoke and cottage saunas that provide for various different aspects in a rural context. Urban people still bathe with strangers, friends, family and those who do not have children now, sincerely hope to raise their children in an environment with a sauna.

Although the original sauna has experienced a spiral loss of culture, the home sauna is now and continues to be a place of cultural continuity as well as a mode for Finnish family to participate in

intergenerational learning of practices. Through the material site, the sauna, the transformation as well as reproduction of home practices are enabled.

6.1 Implications for Consumer Research

The given research provides preliminary steps into the area of consumer behaviour and place consumption from a practice theory point of view. The research showed how psychology and usage of place and consumption of objects are linked. We give meaning and value, attach people, memories and feelings to places in the same way we do with other material objects. Practices evoke wants and needs of places just as much as of objects. Additionally, as people are experiencing a post-modern phenomenon of wanting to rid ourselves of objects and attach meanings to less materialistic things, the study of place consumption will reveal new types of behaviour and consumer psychology as well as intergenerational learning. This being said, there is a wide area of research to be conducted within consumer behaviour.

6.2 Future Research Suggestions

Frequently articles on consumer behaviour in certain settings concern retail settings where some sort of market exchange takes place. Furthermore, if a private environment is taken into consideration, it tends to be kitchen product oriented (often in an American context) ignoring the actual material environment. Future consumer research should be directed at place consumption from both an exchange market as well as a non-exchange market perspective. This thesis is strongly focused on how a social environments culture guides consumer's behaviour in consuming their environment. Thus, focusing on consumer behaviour that is expected of a native person in a given cultural environment. Similar studies could be conducted in other cultural context i.e. what types of practices does surfing create in an Australian context?

Although, this study focused on the temporal aspect of practices and their development, much space is still left open for further research. Specifically, research concerning the intergenerational learning of practices and their development could be conducted in various settings. In addition to this, consumer behaviour and psychology should have a wider understanding of 'home' practices and their implications both economically as well as psychologically.

Finally, the understanding of rituals from a consumer behaviour perspective, and how they can be integrated into routines would be of great benefit for marketer's awareness of placing products where they are actually used as part of a practice.

7 Index

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7.2 Sauna Interview Structure

The individual

- What are your earliest memories of the sauna?
- Did you/do you enjoy the sauna? Why?
- Tell me about your sauna memories/experiences when growing up?
- What were the sauna practices in your home as a child?
- Were there any particular ways of doing things, rules, and traditions?
- Describe to me the sauna in your childhood home?
- Did you go to sauna elsewhere (at the summer cabin, grandparents, friends...)?
- Describe what it was like to sauna elsewhere. What were the noticeable differences in these sauna practices as compared to what you were used to?

- Do you sauna as an adult?

- Are your practices different to what you grew up with? If so, how and why?
- Please tell me about your homes since childhood and whether they had saunas or not.
- How do you experience a home with/ without a sauna?
- Do you miss sauna when abroad/when not available?
- What does the sauna mean to you as a place/space?
- When do you sauna and why?
- What meanings do you ascribe to sauna as an adult?
- When is a sauna session at its best? What is the ideal situation?

The social aspect

- Do you experience sauna differently in different social situations?
- What is it like with your family; friends; companion; alone?
- What do you do with these various parties?
- What do you speak about?
- Are their different rules/expectations of conduct with these different parties?
- How do you experience/ differentiate private saunas to public saunas?

Practices, routines and expectations,

- What practices do you have?
- Do you have particular ways/ orders of doing things?
- What do you do before sauna (when it is heating)?
- What do you do after sauna?
- Does 'post-sauna' time have a special meaning?