

Tiina Takala

ARCTIC PURITY

**Phenomenological study on Chinese millennial tourists' sensory experiences of
cleanliness and dirt**

Pro gradu -thesis

Tourism Research

2020

University of Lapland, Faculty of Social Sciences

Title: Arctic purity – Phenomenological study on Chinese millennial tourists' sensory experiences of cleanliness and dirt

Author: Tiina Takala

Degree programme/Field of study: Tourism Research

The type of the work: Pro gradu thesis X laudatur thesis

Number of pages: 95

Year: 2020

Summary:

The number of Chinese tourists visiting Lapland has tripled over the past few years and the Chinese millennials are seen as the key driver of Chinese outbound tourism in the future. Due to the growing urbanisation and industrialisation, clean environment is believed to be a big attraction among Chinese tourists.

Earlier studies on cleanliness of the environment in tourism have shown that dirtiness of the environment negatively affects destination competitiveness and willingness to return. At present, little research attention has been given to investigate how purity and dirt are perceived and sensed by tourists.

The *general aim* of this study is to increase insight into how purity and dirt are sensed. The *research subject* is sensory experiences of environmental cleanliness and dirtiness of Lapland of Chinese millennial tourists. This study draws on the theoretical discussions of purity and dirt, using mainly the work of Olli Lagerspetz and Mary Douglas. The *main research question* of this study is: How are the experiences of cleanliness and dirtiness of environment composed through sensory experiences of Chinese millennial tourists? The *sub-questions* are: How is cleanliness of the environment sensed? How Arctic region embodies purity for Chinese millennials? What is the role of different senses in the experience of the air quality?

The *empirical material* consists of nine semi-structured interviews, collected from 16 Chinese millennial tourists in Rovaniemi, Finnish Lapland. The interviews were conducted in English and collected outdoors in winter 2017 by using the method of sensewalking, introduced in the 1960's by Southworth. The empirical material was analysed using the process of hermeneutic circle. The study was conducted following the ethical principles and guidelines of the Finnish Advisory Board on Research Integrity.

The *results* of this study suggest that dirt is viewed to be related to urban environments and caused mainly by humans and crowding. Though the presence of wild animals was seen as a sign of cleanliness, except for their secretions. Cleanliness of the environment was seen to manifest itself through silence, smells of nature and difficulty to access. Also white snow was considered clean, while all the other colours of snow were perceived as dirty. Both polar regions of the world were seen as clean places. The importance of clean environment as a reason for travelling was believed to increase in the future. The results of this study can be utilized in *further research* of the topic and be applied to tourism marketing and development of tourism destinations.

Keywords: tourism research, sensory experiences, phenomenology, Chinese millennials, environmental quality, Arctic purity

I give permission for the pro gradu thesis to be read in the Library X

Lapin yliopisto, yhteiskuntatieteiden tiedekunta

Työn nimi: Arctic purity – Phenomenological study on Chinese millennial tourists' sensory experiences of cleanliness and dirt

Tekijä: Tiina Takala

Koulutusohjelma/oppiaine: Matkailututkimus

Työn laji: Pro gradu -työ X Sivulaudaturtyö ___ Lisensiaatintyö ___

Sivumäärä: 95

Vuosi: 2020

Tiivistelmä:

Kiinalaisten matkailijoiden määrä Lapissa on kolmenkertaistunut viime vuosien aikana. Kasvavan kaupungistumisen ja teollisuuden vuoksi puhtaan ympäristön uskotaan olevan suuri vetovoimatekijä kiinalaisten matkailijoiden keskuudessa. Kiinalaiset millenniaalit nähdään tärkeänä osana Kiinan ulkomaan matkailun kasvua.

Aikaisemmat tutkimukset ympäristön puhtauteen liittyen ovat osoittaneet, että ympäristön likaisuus vaikuttaa kielteisesti matkakohteen kilpailukykyyn ja matkailijoiden halukkuuteen palata. Matkailijoiden aistihavaintoja puhtaudesta ja liasta on toistaiseksi tutkittu vähän.

Tämän tutkimuksen *yleisenä tavoitteena* on lisätä tietoa siitä, miten puhtaus ja likaisuus aistitaan. *Tutkimuskohteena* on kiinalaisten millenniaalimatkailijoiden aistikokemukset Lapin ympäristön puhtaudesta ja likaisuudesta. Tutkimuksen teoreettinen viitekehys rakentuu pääosin Olli Lagerspetzin ja Mary Douglasin puhtauden ja likaisuuden kokemisen teorioista. Työn päätutkimuskysymys on: Miten ympäristön puhtauden ja likaisuuden kokemukset rakentuvat kiinalaisten millenniaalimatkailijoiden aistihavaintojen kautta? Tutkimukseni päätutkimuskysymystä tarkastelen seuraavien osakysymysten avulla: Miten ympäristön puhtaus aistitaan? Miten arktinen alue ilmentää puhtautta? Millainen on eri aistien rooli ilman puhtauden kokemisessa?

Tutkimuksen aineisto koostuu yhdeksästä puolistrukturoidusta haastatteluista. Aineisto kerättiin Rovaniemellä vierailevilta kuudeltatoista kiinalaiselta matkailijalta talvella 2017. Haastattelut toteutettiin englanniksi, ja siinä hyödynnettiin aistikävely-metodia, jonka Southworth esitteli 1960-luvulla. Tutkimuksen aineisto analysoitiin fenomenologishermeneuttisen analyysin avulla. Tutkimus toteutettiin noudattaen Suomen tutkimuseettisen neuvottelukunnan eettisiä periaatteita ja ohjeita.

Tutkimuksen *tulokset* osoittavat, että liian katsotaan liittyvän kaupunkiympäristöön ja johtuvan pääasiassa ihmisistä ja tungoksesta. Vaikka villieläinten läsnäoloa pidettiin puhtauden merkinä, niiden ulosteet nähtiin likana. Ympäristön puhtautta ilmensivät hiljaisuus, luonnon tuoksut ja heikko saavutettavuus. Myös valkoinen lumi koettiin puhtaana, mutta muu kuin valkoinen lumi nähtiin likaisena. Molempia maapallon napa-alueita pidettiin puhtaina. Lisäksi puhtaan ympäristön uskottiin olevan yhä tärkeämpi matkustusmotiivini tulevaisuudessa. Tutkimuksen tuloksia voidaan hyödyntää jatkotutkimuksissa ja niitä voidaan soveltaa matkailumarkkinoissa ja matkailukohteiden kehittämisessä.

Avainsanat: matkailututkimus, aistikokemukset, fenomenologia, kiinalaiset millenniaalit, ympäristön laatu, arktinen puhtaus

Suostun tutkielman luovuttamiseen kirjastossa käytettäväksi: X

Contents

1. INTRODUCTION	6
1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY	6
1.2 CHINESE OUTBOUND TOURISM	10
1.3 CHINESE MILLENNIALS THROUGH GENERATIONAL COHORT THEORY	12
1.4 PREVIOUS STUDIES ON CLEANLINESS OF ENVIRONMENT AND AIR QUALITY	16
1.5 GENERAL AIM AND SCIENTIFIC OBJECTIVE	17
1.6 METHODOLOGY AND DATA	18
1.7 STRUCTURE OF THE STUDY	19
2. EXPERIENCING CLEANLINESS AND DIRT	21
2.1 DEFINING CLEANLINESS, PURITY AND DIRT	21
2.2 SENSORY PERCEPTIONS	28
2.3 SENSING PURITY AND DIRT.....	34
2.4 SENSORY EXPERIENCES IN TOURISM RESEARCH	38
3. METHODOLOGY AND DATA	41
3.1 PHENOMENOLOGICAL APPROACHES	41
3.2 SEMI-STRUCTURED SENSEWALKING INTERVIEW	46
3.3 ANALYSING THE DATA	51
3.4 ETHICAL ISSUES AND CHALLENGES OF THE RESEARCH.....	55
4. DIRT AS A HUMAN RELATED ISSUE.....	57
4.1 DIRTINESS OF URBANITY	57
4.2 POLLUTION AND CROWDING	59
5. SIGNS OF CLEANLINESS IN THE ARCTIC.....	62
5.1 “YOU HAVE SNOW, AND IT’S ALL WHITE. THAT GIVES YOU A FEELING THAT IT’S ALL CLEAN.” WHITE SNOW AS A SIGN OF CLEANLINESS	62
5.2 “SILENT. SILENCE COULD BE ONE OF THE MAJOR FACTORS TO PLACE IS CLEAN.” SILENCE AS A SIGN OF CLEANLINESS.....	63
5.3 THE PRESENCE OF WILD ANIMALS AS A SIGN OF CLEANLINESS	65
5.4 “THERE IS THE SMELL OF GRASS THAT I ALWAYS THINK IT’S CLEAN.” SMELL OF NATURE AS A SIGN OF CLEANLINESS	66
5.5 DIFFICULTY TO ACCESS AS A SIGN OF CLEANLINESS.....	67
6. ARCTIC PURITY AS A SELLING POINT.....	69
6.1 THE SENSORY PERCEPTIONS OF AIR.....	69
6.2 CLEAN AIR TOURISM	71
6.3 ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY AS A REASON FOR TRAVELLING.....	73
7. CONCLUSIONS.....	75
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....	79
REFERENCES	80
APPENDIX 1. THE SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW SCHEDULE	93
APPENDIX 2. THE LETTER OF CONSENT.....	95

List of Tables

Table 1. Codes and details of interviewees	49
Table 2. Example of the analysis.....	54

1. INTRODUCTION

Our world is filled by waste. Due to the global human population growth, urbanisation and industrialisation, both waste generation and the rate of environmental degradation are increasing in some tourism destinations (Eusébio et al., 2020). Increasing consciousness of the environmental issues also increases tourist demand for better environmental quality (Mihalič, 2000). Environmental quality affects not only the competitiveness of tourism destination but also the choice of a travel destination (Deng, Li, & Ma, 2017; Tang, Yuan, Ramos, & Sriboonchitta, 2019).

The concept of dirt, and its counterpart purity, sparked my interest when I was living in Rio de Janeiro and learnt about the Jardim Gramacho, which once was one of the world's largest open-air landfills, and about people living there. The dichotomy continued to haunt me and after returning to Finland I decided to research the subject in my Bachelor thesis. In 2016 I finished my Bachelor thesis, in which I studied what kind of meanings Chinese tourists give to the clean air of Lapland. While analysing the data I noticed how the respondents described their sensory perceptions when speaking about clean or dirty air. This caught my attention and I decided to continue to study how clean and dirty are sensed by Chinese tourists.

1.1 Background to the study

Over the past years environmental quality has been receiving growing attention (Mihalič, 2000). According to Mihalič, (2000, p. 66) the natural features, that form the environmental quality, include scenery, species, water and air, and when deteriorating not only the features but also the destination itself can lose attractiveness. According to the European Environment Agency (2015) over the past century environmental pollution has become a global transboundary problem. Environmental pollution is linked to human health by affecting air, water, soil and ecosystems (European Environment Agency, 2015). Environmental pollutants are a result of human activities and the exposure to pollutants can occur by ingestion, inhalation or direct contact through skin (Finnish institute for health and welfare). The rapid population growth together with uneven economic development that have led to drastic increase of mobility and both production and consumption of food, energy and material goods (European Environment Agency, 2015).

While the pollution levels are expected to decrease in Europe, a strong increase is predicted in Asia (European Environment Agency, 2015). The 2018 Environmental Performance Index (EPI) made by Yale University (2018) scores 180 countries by their environmental health and ecosystem vitality. The categories, such as air quality, water and sanitation, heavy metals, forests, biodiversity and habitat, form environmental health and ecosystem vitality and together these two policy objectives form the overall EPI (Yale University, 2018). According to the 2018 EPI results, Finland was ranked number 10 while China was ranked 120th of 180 countries (Yale University, 2018).

Air quality is one of the natural features of environmental quality and according to the 2018 EPI report it is the leading environmental threat (Mihalič, 2000; Yale University, 2018). Urban air pollution continues to rise and according to the World Health Organization ([WHO], 2016b) 9 out of 10 people worldwide breathe polluted air. WHO (2016a; 2016b) also states, that ambient air pollution “is the greatest environmental risk to health, causing more than 3 million premature deaths worldwide every year”. In 2015 all the measured cities in China failed to meet the WHO's air quality standards (Eloranta, 2016). While many major Chinese cities are battling with air pollution, the air in Sweden, Canada and Finland has been proven to be the cleanest in the world (Finnish Meteorological Institute, 2016). The Finnish Meteorological Institute's measurement station in Pallas, Lapland is one of the locations where the air is the cleanest in the world (Finnish Meteorological Institute, 2016).

The air quality in Lapland has been monitored since the 1970s, and it has been found to be very good and concentrations of air pollutants low (Anttila, 2012, p. 11). Air quality can be affected by a wide range of pollutants, but the mass concentration of respirable particulate matters (PMs) is often used as a proxy indicator for air pollution (Anttila, 2012, p. 23). The major components of particulate matters include sulphate, nitrates, ammonia, sodium chloride, black carbon, mineral dust and water (WHO, 2016b, p. 19). Particulate matters are harmful to health because they can pass almost unhindered into our lungs and carry heavy metals and toxic hydrocarbons into bloodstream (Anttila, 2012, p. 22). The health effects of air pollution from particulate matter range from mild symptoms to severe illness and death (Salonen & Pennanen, 2006, p. 7). Prolonged exposure to fine particles causes lung and heart disease, as well as cancer, and they are often called invisible killers (Salonen & Pennanen, 2006, p. 7). Air pollution and especially persistent organic pollutants (POPs) do not however

only harm human but also environmental health (Anttila, 2012, p. 18). Arctic region is considered especially fragile to these toxic compounds since the cold climate in the Arctic region slows the decomposition process (Anttila, 2012, p. 18). Though the environmental quality in Lapland is still considered among the best in the world (see Yale University, 2018), its location in the Arctic region makes it vulnerable to environmental pollution.

Because of the various definitions of the term Arctic, it is important to explain which definition is being used in this study. As Maher et al. (2014, p. 1) write, Arctic tourism starts at the North Pole, however there is no consensus where the Arctic ends. Some of the common scientific definitions of the Arctic region are based on natural features, such as tree line, climate (+10 degrees Celsius July isotherm) and permafrost (Müller, 2013, p. 11; Johnston, 2011, p. 17). Also, latitude, such as Arctic Circle at 66°33'N, can also be seen as defining feature (Johnston, 2011, p. 18). The latitude can also be seen extending to further south (Johnston, 2011, p. 18).

In addition to the biophysical definitions, it is also important to think about the social and cultural dimensions when defining tourism in the Polar regions, including both Arctic and Antarctic regions. As Grenier (2007, p. 58) writes, according to sociological approach polar can be understand as an abstract concept. He (2007, p. 60) argues that "polar tourism is more than the mere experience of extreme physical geography". Instead being a place in a map "it is also and perhaps foremost about the collective imaginary", a destination that "is not found on a map, but rather in the travellers mind" (Grenier, 2007, p. 60). Arctic can be seen as an imaginary place that can mean one thing to one person and different thing to another.

According to Viken (2010, p. 112) "there is no doubt of the otherness of the Arctic" and both otherness and difference are closely related to the term Arctic. The term 'Arctic' represents an extreme of many dimensions, e.g. cold-warm, periphery-central, remote-close and wilderness-civilisation (Viken, 2010, p. 113). Grenier (2007, p. 58) writes, that polar tourism is a constructed term to differentiate it from mainstream tourism and it aims to provide a different travel experience to travellers. 'Difference' is experienced in opposition to normality and everyday experiences and the difference can manifest itself by the means of travel or through the environment and climate (Grenier, 2007, pp. 58–59). One could also claim that the difference can also be found from culture, both local and indigenous cultures of the Arctic region. According to Grenier (2007, p. 58; see also Müller, 2014) "the main characteristic of

polar tourism is the possibility to experience the unusual through the social and cultural conditions provided by the geographical remoteness of the Polar Regions/destinations". The term remoteness or periphery is always defined in relation to centre and it is often viewed as a burden and closely related to marginality (Viken, 2010, p. 113). In the same way, many terms are loaded with connotations and meanings, and therefore not neutral (Viken, 2010, p. 113).

Arctic tourism destinations are commonly described as fragile natural and cultural environments that have human capital issues and are remote and difficult to access (see Maher et al., 2014, p. 2). Due to the distinctly different climatic seasons, Arctic tourism is also characterized by strong seasonality (Maher et al., 2014, p. 2). In the Arctic region tourism can cause negative impacts on communities and on the environment and pollute them, both in form of garbage and as Maher et al. (2014, p. 5) puts it, people pollution.

In addition to increasing interest towards the region also tourism in the Arctic region has grown significantly over the past years. With some exceptions such as Northern Russia and Northern Canada, most of the Arctic region is, in some way or another, involved with tourism (Grenier, 2007, p. 55). For years the Arctic region was quite unknown destination but the media attention to climate change has made it known for many as one of the 'last chance tourism' destinations (Maher, 2017, pp. 213–214). Because of the climate warming many destinations are expected to either vanish completely, or to change radically. The Arctic region is warming twice as fast as the rest of the world, so many tourists venture to north to witness the last polar bears and snowy landscapes before they disappear entirely. Both trips to the Arctic region of the world as well as to Antarctica are becoming increasingly popular among Chinese travellers as they seek to find the pristine wilderness, the "world's last pure land" (Arlt, 2017). In future Chinese tourists may be an important new market for Lapland. According to Passoja (2016) clean fresh air is believed to be a big attraction among Chinese tourists travelling to Lapland and clean air tourism might be a future travel trend transforming the tourism in Lapland.

1.2 Chinese outbound tourism

Tourism has become one of the world's largest industries and despite some shocks, tourism has been growing significantly over the past decades (World Tourism Organization [UNWTO], 2017a, p. 2). Both new destinations and new source markets have emerged (UNWTO, 2017a, p. 2). Due the global economic growth a growing number of people from emerging economies are able to travel and their arrivals are expected to exceed the arrivals from advanced economies (Harju-Myllyaho & Jutila, 2016, p. 38; UNWTO, 2017a, p. 14). According to the World Tourism Organization and Global Tourism Economy Research Centre ([UNWTO/GTERC], 2019, p. 6) China has become the world's second largest economy and the largest one in Asia. Over the recent decades China has experienced not only demographic, but also economic and technological changes which have led to rising incomes and significant expansion of the middle class (UNWTO/GTERC, 2016, p. 11). Due to travel facilitation measures and higher incomes a growing number of Chinese are able to travel abroad and currently China leads global outbound tourism (UNWTO/GTERC, 2016, p. 11; UNWTO/GTERC, 2019, p. 9).

Between 2000 and 2018 the number of Chinese outbound trips rose an average by 16% each year and more than 150 million international departures (including same-day trips) were counted in China (UNWTO/GTERC, 2019, pp. 2, 8). Also, the tourism expenditure from China is already far exceeding for example the tourism expenditure from the USA thus in 2018 Chinese travellers' overseas spending increased by 5 per cent to reach US\$ 277 billion compared to US\$ 144 billion from the USA (UNWTO, 2019, p. 15). China now generates almost one-fifth of the world's international tourism receipts (UNWTO/GTERC, 2019, pp. 7–8). Despite the fact that both Europe and China are long-haul destinations for each other, travel between the two has increased rapidly over the past decades (UNWTO/GTERC, 2018, p. 9).

In 2015 only 4 per cent of Chinese population owned a passport, but the number of Chinese passport holders has been increasing rapidly since and now around 10 per cent of China's 1.4 billion people hold passports (Kawano, Lu, Tsang, & Liu, 2015, p. 8; UNWTO, 2019, p. 15). The number of Chinese passport holders is expected to reach 20% of the population viz. 300 million by 2027 and this growth will mainly be driven by a rapidly growing middle class and Chinese millennials (UNWTO, 2019, p. 15; Kawano et al., 2015, p. 6). According to Kawano

et al. (2015, p. 21) both the Chinese middle-class population and their incomes are expected to increase and thus more people will be able to afford to travel overseas. Chinese tourists and especially the Chinese millennials are expected to expand their horizons by travelling first within the country, then to other Asian destinations, and later to long-haul destinations such as the Europe and the US (UNWTO/GTERC, 2018, p. 2). Therefore, after visiting some of the neighbouring countries and the big cities of Europe, many of the Chinese venture to smaller, less known destinations, such as the countries in the Arctic region.

Chinese travellers are becoming increasingly important for the tourism industry in Finland. Since 2016, Finland has recorded a rapid increase in overnight stays by Chinese tourists. In December 2016 the overnight stays by Chinese visitors grew by staggering 76.8 per cent when compared with December 2015 and again by 19 per cent more in December 2017 than in the corresponding period in 2016 (Statistics Finland, 2017a; Statistics Finland, 2018a). In 2016, in 2017 and in 2019 the biggest growth percentages in overnight stays have come from China (Statistics Finland, 2017b; Statistics Finland, 2018b). In December 2019, among all the nationalities, overnight stays by Chinese tourists increased the most, by 24.9 per cent more than in the corresponding period in 2018 (Statistics Finland, 2020a). In 2019 overnight stays by Chinese tourists increased by 15.6 per cent (Statistics Finland, 2020c).

Not that long ago, Chinese tourists were a rare sight in Lapland, but their amount has tripled over the past years and if the growth continues the same way in the future, China will become one of the biggest markets in Lapland (House of Lapland, *Kestävää kasvua...*). Between January and December 2019, the amount of Chinese tourists' overnight stays in Rovaniemi increased by 16,8%, adding up to 44,400 nights and making them the largest group of foreign tourists (Rovaniemi accommodation and travel stats). Fliggy, the Chinese online travel platform formerly known as Alitrip, has also shown interest in Lapland. In October 2016 Alitrip announced that it aims to bring 50 000 Chinese tourists to visit Rovaniemi in 2017 (Alitrip to bring..., 2017). Even though not that many tourists came, Fliggy operates with enormous volume and the company is betting its future in travel and concentrating its marketing on the growing number of Chinese millennials that go travelling every year (House of Lapland, *Kestävää kasvua...*).

Many tourism destinations, including Lapland, welcome hundreds of thousands of Chinese millennials every year. As the number of Chinese millennials is expected to rise, it is vital for all the companies of travel industry, from different tourism service providers to Destination Marketing Organizations (DMO's) to acquire understanding of this segment. As significant drivers of the Chinese outbound tourism, they will not only reshape Chinese society, but also tourism services and products around the globe (Gardiner & Kwek, 2017, p. 498). Millennials have an important role in the outbound travel and understanding the Chinese millennials is required as many destinations, like Lapland, that welcome thousands of them every year (UNWTO/GTERC, 2018, p. 9; Cheng & Foley, 2018, p. 1313).

In the spring 2020 the novel coronavirus (2019-nCoV) and the disease caused by it, COVID-19, was spreading rapidly across the world and affecting the life of people in many ways. Due to the travel restrictions and bans caused by the COVID-19 pandemic in February 2020 the overnight stays in Finland by Chinese tourists decreased by 69 per cent compared to the corresponding period in 2019 (Statistics Finland, 2020b). It remains to be seen how the outbreak will influence Chinese outbound tourism in the future. According to Visit Finland (2020) the post COVID-19 period is difficult to forecast but the amount of Chinese fully independent travellers (FITs), mainly composed of millennials, is expected increase in Finnish Lapland. The generational cohort of Chinese millennials, the target group of the interviews conducted for this research, is discussed in more detail in the next sub-chapter.

1.3 Chinese millennials through generational cohort theory

The concept of generational cohorts has been used in for example sociology (Mannheim, 1952), psychology (Rogler, 2002) and also in tourism research (Gardiner & Kwek, 2017). According to Rogler (2002, p. 1015) instead of thinking generations as “repetitive occurrences separated by an equal number of years”, for example changing every 30 years, generations can be seen forming of cataclysmic historical events such as wars, revolutions, disasters, reformations and changes of geopolitical systems. Sharing the experience of such a dramatic event shakes especially young adults, who are transitioning from childhood to adulthood and acquiring a sense of self (Rogler, 2002, p. 1016). According to Egri and Ralston (2004, p. 211) “generational cohorts are societal subcultures whose value orientations reflect the significant cultural, political, and economic developments that occurred during a

generation's preadult years". According to the generational cohort theory experiences during the formative years shape cohort's view's and values and differentiates one generational cohort from another (Rogler, 2002; Gardiner & Kwek, 2017, p. 497). These formative experiences, that each cohort had growing up, shape and mould their attitudes, beliefs, values and sensibilities (Paul, 2001, p. 44). These will have a lasting impact on the individuals and on the whole generation. According to the generational cohort theory the more significant the change in the society is, the more distinctive will the generation be (Cheng and Foley, 2018, p. 1315). Society's age segregation helps members to interact with age peers and develop common memories, to strengthen to unity among the generational cohort (Rogler, 2002, p. 1017).

There is no single one timeframe to define the millennials, Echo Boomers or generation Y, as they are also referred. Instead researchers have presented different timeframes for this generational cohort, some defining millennials as individuals born as early as 1977 and some as late as 2002 (Gardiner & Kwek, 2017, p. 497; Veiga et al., 2017, p. 605). Typically, millennials are defined being born between the early 1980s and 2000s. In this research, the interviewees, referred as Chinese millennials, were born between 1978 and 1997. Though Chinese millennials share many characteristics with their Western counterparts, they also have many distinctive features, due to changes that occurred in China during their formative years (Cheng & Foley, 2018, p. 1312).

As there are different timeframes to define the generations there is also a few different names for them. In the English-speaking countries of the Western world, generations have been usually been categorized into Silent Generation (also called as Veterans), Baby Boomers, Generation X, Generation Y, and Generation Z (Cheng and Foley, 2018, p. 1314). According to Egri and Ralston (2004) the Chinese generations, since the end of the Qing Dynasty, are Republican, Consolidation, Cultural Revolution and Social Reform generations. Due to the different cultural background and changes in the society, the Chinese generations differ from the Western ones.

Since the end of the Qing Dynasty in 1911 China has gone through many major changes (Egri & Ralston, 2004, p. 211). Each Chinese generation have experienced different political, economic, social, and cultural events and developments. According to Egri and Ralston (2004, pp. 211–212) the Republican generation (born 1911–1949) grew up in the middle of

poverty and political instability culminating in the Civil War in 1945–1949. The generation of Consolidation Era (1950–1965), which as the name implicates, brought political and economic stability through political consolidation launched by the Chinese Communist Party, though China suffered from extreme famine between 1959 and 1961 (Egri & Ralston, 2004, p. 212; Manning & Wemheuer, 2011, p. 1). The Cultural Revolution generation (1966–1976) was influenced by the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the era ended with Mao Zedong's death in 1976 (Egri & Ralston, 2004, p. 212). What Egri and Ralston (2004) call the Social Reform generation, is also referred as Post-80's generation or in Mandarin baling hou/ 八零后 (Cheng & Foley, 2018), but also as Chinese millennials. According to Cheng and Foley (2018) the Post-80's generation is in terms of the age close equivalent to the Western Generation Y.

According to Egri and Ralston (2004, p. 212) individuals born after 1978 are referred as the Social Reform generation, and the generation is named after the era of many massive social, political, cultural and economic reforms. One of these social reforms is the one-child policy, introduced in 1979 and widely implemented starting from 1980 (Cheng & Foley, 2018, p. 1317). The policy lasted for almost 40 years and left a huge mark in Chinese society. The purpose of the policy was to curb rapid population growth (Cheng & Foley, 2018, p. 1317). Due to the one-child policy, most of the Chinese millennials do not have siblings. The policy restructured the traditional Chinese family to “4-2-1” structure, which stand for four grandparents, two parents and one child (Cheng & Foley, 2018, p. 1317). The Chinese millennials have been called as “little emperors”, for receiving a lot attention and material goods from their parents and grandparents (Cheng & Foley, 2018, p. 1318).

After opening to international trade in the end of 1970's China has gone through economic reforms and institutional changes. Through the reforms of Deng Xiaoping's government, the country has opened to the world in many ways and exporting goods has increased economic prosperity. Approved Destination Status (ADS) agreements between China and foreign destinations made it possible for many Chinese people to travel overseas (Gardiner & Kwek, 2017, p. 498). Since the “open-door” policy Western culture and technologies have been influencing Chinese society (Egri & Ralston, 2004, p. 212). All these changes have not only increased interest to travel and study abroad but also made it possible for many Chinese millennials to study in Western countries (Gardiner & Kwek, 2017, p. 496, 498; King & Gardiner, 2015, p. 130).

The Chinese millennials have grown up during the third era of globalisation, in a digitally connected world, where in addition to goods, also people and ideas can move fast and easily across the borders. During the formative years of Chinese millennials many digital and technological advances, such as Internet, mobile phones and social media, took place (Gardiner & Kwek, 2017, p. 498). Chinese millennials use Internet and social media applications, such as Sina Weibo, WeChat and Tencent QQ (Chinese equivalents of Twitter, Facebook and WhatsApp) on a daily basis and these applications are considered influential in tourism decision making (Fung Business Intelligence, 2017, p. 9; UNWTO/GTERC, 2019, p. 9; UNWTO, 2017b, p. 44).

Millennials all over the world are reshaping the economy and consumption patterns, and just like their Western counterparts, Chinese millennials are quickly embracing new ways to communicate and shop, which has led the rapid growth of e-commerce, O2O commerce and sharing economy services (Allen, 2016; Fung Business Intelligence, 2017, p. 5). They are also used to sharing their travel experiences over social media and their travel decisions are often inspired by their friends and peers (UNWTO, 2017b, p. 44). Given that many Chinese millennials have studied or travelled abroad, they prefer to arrange their own trips and make more last-minute bookings than the older generations (UNWTO, 2017b, pp. 44–45). A growing number of Chinese millennials are also moving from Chinese websites to international travel websites (UNWTO, 2017b, p. 45). They demand the products and services to be personalized, mobile and efficient and that has also made them the forerunners of new payment methods and cashless payment (UNWTO, 2017b, pp. 44–45).

According to the Gardiner and Kwek, (2017, p. 497) though the literature on Chinese tourism has been increasing, the amount of studies regarding to tourism by Chinese youths is still limited. While generational cohort theory has been used to study Western travellers, only recently it has been applied to Eastern travellers (Gardiner & Kwek, 2017, pp. 497–498). This study draws from generational cohort theory, suggesting that the views of the Chinese millennials are influenced and shaped by the particular historical period during which the Chinese millennials have grown up. According to Chung, Chen, and Lin (2016, p. 824) knowledge about generational cohorts and their values can help creating and marketing products and services that correspond to cohort's needs and desires.

1.4 Previous studies on cleanliness of environment and air quality

In tourism research cleanliness of the environment has been studied in relation to customer satisfaction and willingness to return. For example, Schuhmann (2011) researched tourist perceptions of beach cleanliness in Barbados and according to his survey the amount of perceived litter is associated with beach quality and with willingness and probability of return. Other studies have also concluded that both litter and marine debris can influence on tourism negatively (see Williams, Rangel-Buitrago, Anfuso, Cervantes & Botero, 2016; Krelling, Williams & Turra, 2017). According to the research conducted by Mihalič (2000) environmental quality of a destination is an important factor of the destination competitiveness.

Sociocultural research on public perceptions of air quality started in the late 1950s and the 1960s (Day, 2004, p. 76). Most of the early studies were carried out in the US, but some were made in other countries as well (Day, 2004, p. 76). In Europe Wall (1973) was one of the first researchers who studied public response to air pollution. The more recent work has focused on perceptions related to industrial air pollution. The work of Bickerstaff and Walker (2001) studied the perceptions of air pollution in Birmingham, UK. According to the Bickerstaff and Walker (2001, p. 143) it is essentially important to seek knowledge of people's perceptions to be able to secure significant improvement in national and even in global air quality. They (2001) also stress the fundamental importance of social and contextual dimensions in understanding air quality perception. According to Bickerstaff and Walker (2001) people's perceptions are formed largely through sensory perceptions.

Recently more and more research attention has been given the air pollution and its impact on tourism, especially in China. Inbound tourists' perceptions of haze and environmental risks has been studied by Cheng, Zhou, Wei, and Wu (2015). The work of Cheng, Zhang, and Fu (2015) has focused on the influence of haze-fog weather on urban residents' tourism destination choice. Li, Pearce, Wu, and Morrison (2015) have studied the perceptions on smog and the effects of smog on tourists' risk perceptions, travelling satisfaction and loyalty to Beijing as a travelling destination by interviewing both international and domestic tourists. Law and Cheung (2007) have been studying international travellers' perceptions of air quality in Hong Kong. In Finland for example Rotko (2004) has studied in her academic dissertation perceived annoyance and concern about air pollution among the residents of Helsinki.

As Xu and Reed (2017) write, earlier studies on environmental pollution have often focused on the negative and polluting impact of the tourism industry on the environment, instead of studying how pollution affects the inbound tourism and willingness to travel. However, recently more research of the impact of environmental pollution and especially air pollution on tourism demand has been published. The research approaches have varied from online panel survey research done by Becken, Jin, Zhang, and Gao (2017), a VAR model of Xu's and Reed's (2017) study, a spatial econometric approach of Deng, Li, and Ma (2017), a standard tourism function approach of Tang, Yuan, Ramos, and Sriboonchitta (2019) to a gravity model approach used by Xu and Dong (2020). Zhou, Qu, Du, Yang, and Liu (2018) also studied the impact of air pollution on China's inbound tourism using panel data and the technique of corrected least square dummy variable. All these researches have concluded that air pollution has a negative impact on inbound tourism and on the image of China as a travel destination. However, Tang, Yuan, Ramos, and Sriboonchitta (2019) found out that though air pollution has a negative impact on inbound tourism in the long-run, it does not affect the inbound tourism in the short-run. Eusébio, et al. (2020) conducted a systematic literature review of the impact of air quality on tourism and concluded that as air quality of the tourism destination decreases so do tourism flows.

1.5 General aim and scientific objective

In this research, I study how do the Chinese millennial tourists visiting Lapland experience purity and dirtiness through their sensory experiences. The aim of this study is to produce knowledge about the interviewed Chinese millennial tourists' views on the concepts of purity and dirt. The primary goal of this study is to find out how purity and dirt are sensed by Chinese millennial tourists.

My main research question of my Master's thesis is: How are the experiences of cleanliness and dirtiness of environment composed through sensory experiences of Chinese millennial tourists?

The sub-questions are: 1. How is the cleanliness of the environment sensed? 2. How Arctic region embodies purity for Chinese millennials? 3. What is the role of different senses in the experience of the air quality? The theoretical framework is based on the theoretical discussions of cleanliness, purity and dirt. I will be using mainly the work of Olli Lagerspetz and Mary Douglas, but also Virginia Smith, William A. Cohen, and Valerie Curtis. Also the theoretical discussions of the characteristics and roles of different sensory modalities are included. The discussions are based on the of previous studies and work of researchers such as Hans Jonas, Constance Classen and David Howes. Through the semi-structured sensewalking interviews this study seeks to uncover also the sensory perceptions of environmental quality and especially one of its natural features, air quality, of Lapland.

1.6 Methodology and data

The empirical material consists of nine semi-structured interviews, collected from 16 Chinese tourists while they were visiting Rovaniemi, Finnish Lapland. The interviews were collected outdoors, in the proximity of the Santa Claus Village on the Arctic Circle, in winter 2017. The interview questions dealt with respondents' sensory perceptions related to the topics of purity and dirt but also regarding to Lapland. To be able to explore the sensescapes of Lapland, the method of sensewalk was included. Santa Claus Village was chosen as the location for the interviews because it provided both peaceful walking routes and a possibility of finding potential interviewees. Instead of conducting the interviews in a static position in a closed space, walking interviews offered privacy to speak freely and movement to both body and mind (O'Neill & Roberts, 2020).

The target group for the interviews were Chinese millennials visiting Lapland. Before starting the interviews, I checked if the persons I had approached fitted to the target group by asking where they were from and how old they were. Some of the people I approached did not meet the criteria and thus were not asked to participate. There were also a few refusals due to the lack of time. Chinese tourists were chosen to be the target group due to the fact that when conducting the interviews in 2017 the air quality in China's big cities was among the worst ones in the world (WHO, 2016b). Though some progress has happened, the air pollution is still a huge problem in China (WHO, 2016b; IQAirVisual). They were also chosen because of the fact that instead of being residents who have been habituated to sensory perceptions of

Lapland, they could offer a fresh view. The generational cohort of Chinese millennials was selected to better understand the views of the cohort that seen as the key driver of Chinese outbound tourism in the future (Kawano et al., 2015, p. 6).

All the interviews were conducted in English, which was neither mine nor the interviewees' native language. However, using semi-structured face-to-face interviews enabled both me and the interviewees to ask and provide clarifications. Interviewees were also able to express their thoughts while the interview schedule (Appendix 1. The semi-structured interview schedule) helped me to ensure that I covered all the topics and obtained the same information from all the interviewees. All the interviews were recorded electrically and all the respondents signed the letter of consent. Interviews lasted between 10 and 30 minutes.

The interviews were analysed with hermeneutic phenomenological approach. Because the hermeneutic phenomenological approach stresses the importance of understanding one's own preunderstanding, I started the analysing process by reflecting and writing down my own presuppositions of the research subject. To better grasp my own preunderstanding, I used the semi-structured interview schedule to ask myself the same questions. When analysing the transcribed data, I used the process of hermeneutic circle, moving from the parts of the texts to the whole and from the whole back to the parts.

1.7 Structure of the study

This thesis has seven main chapters. Following the introduction, the *second chapter* of this study introduces the main theoretical discussions of cleanliness, purity, dirt and sensory perceptions. I begin the chapter by examining how the concepts of purity and dirt are defined and constructed. I also examine different cleanliness practices. The second part of the chapter explores the characteristics of the five traditionally recognized senses. I also study the changes and developments in the Western societies that have led to the dominance of the visualist paradigm. I continue by combining the concepts of purity, dirt and sensory perceptions by examining how purity and dirt are sensed. The last sub-chapter focuses on describing the sensory experiences in tourism research. It questions whether the vision is the most salient sense in tourism experiences and how senses are used in place branding and marketing.

The *third chapter* provides a comprehensive description of the methodology and data of this research. The chapter begins with the description of the methodology of the study, firstly explaining different phenomenological approaches before moving into the chosen approach, hermeneutical phenomenology. It also presents the method of data collection, the semi-structured sensewalking interviews in detail. The third section explains the process of the data analysis in detail. The chapter ends with discussion of the ethical issues related to this study.

The next three chapters are dedicated to present the analysis of the empirical research data. The *fourth* chapter describes the two central features of a dirty environment that were identified and constructs an image of a dirty place. Interview extracts are used in all of these chapters. The *fifth* chapter discusses the signs of cleanliness that were identified by analysing the sensory experiences associated with cleanliness and purity of the environment. In the *sixth* chapter I examine the sensory perceptions of the air of Lapland and the concept of clean air tourism. The chapter also discusses environmental quality as a reason for travelling. The seventh chapter summarizes the findings of this research as well as addresses the limitations and practical implications. I also present recommendations for future research.

2. EXPERIENCING CLEANLINESS AND DIRT

In the first section of this chapter I will be analysing and critically reviewing the concepts of purity, cleanliness and dirt from different perspectives. The topic has caught attention of many anthropologists, sociologists and philosophers. I will be using mainly the work of Olli Lagerspetz and Mary Douglas, but also Virginia Smith, William A. Cohen, and Valerie Curtis. The second section is dedicated to sensory experiences of five traditionally recognised senses. The section starts with a philosophical discussion of the different features of the sensory modalities, based on the work of Hans Jonas. It then examines the developments and changes in the practices that have affected the use of sensory modalities and led to the emphasis given to the visual sense both in academic discussions and in our everyday lives, using mainly the work of Constance Classen and David Howes. The third section of the chapter concentrates on reviewing how senses are used to perceive cleanliness and dirt. It also describes the emotion of disgust that works as a marker between clean and dirty. The fourth section explores the role of senses in tourism research and also, how senses are being used in place branding and marketing.

2.1 Defining cleanliness, purity and dirt

What is purity and how is it experienced? Since English has two words for describing something that is not dirty, it is important to try to define and capture the meaning of both of those words; *pure* and *clean*. According to Lagerspetz (2018, p. 57), pure sometimes “contrast with ‘dirty’ and ‘polluted’ and sometimes with ‘mixed’”. Pure can also be understood as homogeneity, for example in the case with ‘pure alcohol’ (Lagerspetz, 2018, pp. 57–58). “‘Pure’ may also stand for an undisturbed, virginal, ideal or original state, as when undisturbed nature is described as pure” (Lagerspetz, 2018, pp. 57–58). According to Lagerspetz (2018, p. 58, emphasis in original), contrary to pure, clean typically refers to a “state [of an object] *brought about by* someone through cleaning” and “the *activity* of cleaning is the starting point of the logic of cleanliness”. In other words, Lagerspetz (2018, p. 58) sees that an object can be *pure* or *undisturbed* when it is unmixed or in its original state, or *clean* when it is cleaned. The result of *purification*, according Lagerspetz (2018, pp. 58–59), is like a new beginning and it requires more extreme measures to be taken than in a mere cleaning process. Though describing floor clean may indicate that the floor has been cleaned

in order to achieve the state of cleanliness, not everything need to be cleaned to count as clean. Water, for example, can be considered clean, even without any purification or cleaning. According to Lagerspetz (2018, p. 58) cleanliness is achieved by human efforts, but one could argue that somethings can clean themselves or be cleaned without contact with humans. Rain can clean the grass and air can turn to clean when weather changes.

According to Douglas (1966/2002, p. 44) our notions of dirt have been greatly influenced and transformed by the discovery of bacteriology and pathogenic organisms in the 19th century. After these medical discoveries, dirt has been thought of from the perspective of pathogenicity, although as Douglas (1966/2002, p. 44) states in her book, our notions of dirt have come into being much earlier. Nowadays cleanliness can be seen as germ- and bacteria-free while dirty substances are filled by bacteria.

Curtis (2007, pp. 660–661) defines hygiene as the set of behaviours that animals and humans use to avoid infection and the risk of being invaded by parasites, whether “microscopic, such as viruses and bacteria, or macroscopic, such as helminths and scabies mites”. Hygienic behaviour can include removing parasites that live externally, or avoiding contact with potentially parasitized or infected subjects and objects (Curtis, 2007, p. 661). According to Curtis (2007, pp. 660–661) “genes that favoured hygienic behaviour tended to outperform those that did not” hence genes of animals that failed to defend themselves against disease were eliminated while those animals that had behavioural tendencies to avoid the risk of contamination survived.

To Smith (2007, p. 2) both cleanliness and purity are historical dimensions that, though overlapping, are piled on top of one another. To her (2007, p. 3) cleanliness lies “at the bottom of everything”, and represents both animal and human side, while purity is man-made. In this research both clean and pure are considered to be two sides of the same coin. Both cleanliness and purity are socially, morally and culturally connoted and describing something as pure or clean is a relative and subjective assessment.

Since the word clean is often defined as “free from dirt” and the word dirty is used as antonym for both words clean and pure, it is vital to understand what constitutes as dirt. Both purity and dirt, are inseparable like light and shadow; it is impossible to think one without another. Dirt can take various forms and be called by multiple names, such as waste,

pollution, rubbish, etc. Theoretical discourses of dirt are closely related to discussions of filth, waste, disgust, pollution, abjection, garbage, rubbish, etc. (see Cohen, 2005, p. ix).

In his book *A Philosophy of Dirt* Olli Lagerspetz (2018) examines the definition of dirt and according to him, an object is dirty or unclean when it has had contact with unwanted substance, disturbing the ideal state. Dirt consists of matter, though deeper chemical analysis would reveal it consisting multiple substances instead of dirt, but it only exists in a relation to another substance (Lagerspetz, 2018, p. 46). According to him (2018, pp. 47, 54), dirt can be seen an additive that sticks to a master object which means that granular substances are generally excluded from the notion of dirt. In order be counted as dirt, according to Lagerspetz (2018, p. 47), “the additive must not be completely absorbed or dissolved into the master object” which means that though liquids may be dirty, they cannot be dirt. According to him (2018, p. 48), the master object is something that is valued in its own while the additive is a worthless and disturbing element. Roles of the master object and the additive may change quickly and as an example Lagerspetz uses food falling to a carpet; “it [food] may ruin the carpet, but at other times we say *food* is ruined when it falls on the carpet” (Lagerspetz, 2018, p. 49, emphasis in original). The master objects can be divided into primary and secondary master objects (Lagerspetz, 2018, p. 54). The secondary master objects are cleaned if they risk contaminating or polluting the primary master objects, which are cleaned for their own sake (Lagerspetz, 2018, p. 54). Dirt that cannot be removed ceases to be dirt and instead becomes quality of the master object, for example as discolouration or defect (Lagerspetz, 2018, p. 47).

Purity and danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo, first published in 1966 by British anthropologist Mary Douglas, has been the starting point for many theories of dirt and it has become one of the classics of research on purity and dirt. According to Douglas (1966/2002, pp. xvii, 44) dirt is never an isolated occurrence; “There is no such thing as dirt; no single item is dirty apart from a particular system of classification in which it does not fit”. And what counts as dirt depends on the classifications on use. Lagerspetz (2018, p. 177) agrees with Douglas that dirt is not an isolated event, but instead “dirt exists because certain attitudes and patterns of behaviour exist. Secondly, those attitudes and patterns of behaviour exist because dirt exists.” In other words, defining something as dirt means that certain measures need to be taken and by examining those measures, our patterns of behaviour, one can perceive what is considered as dirt.

I cite Douglas (1966/2002, p. 44) again: “Where there is dirt there is system. Dirt is the by-product of a systematic ordering and classification of matter”. By naming something as clean or dirty, we classify our surroundings and establish structure and order. To keep everything in order, we clean, wash and organize our environment. Without the classifications the world would appear as a total chaos. When defining something as dirty, we let others know that the object is unwanted or even prohibited. Classifications of purity give things, like for example trashes, their proper places. And, as Lagerspetz (2018, p. 84) notes, classifications also give also people their assigned places, the dead and the living are kept apart, just like the healthy and the ill.

Douglas (1966/2002, p. 44) writes that “if we can abstract pathogenicity and hygiene from our notion of dirt, we are left with the old definition of dirt as matter out of place”. Douglas (1966/2002, pp. 44–45) uses shoes as an example, i.e. they are not dirty when placed in their rightful place in the hallway but by placing them on the dining room table they become dirty. Lagerspetz (2018, p. 88) however remarks that instead of thinking a new pair of shoes “straight out of the box” we tend to think of old and used shoes, and though the used shoes can be viewed as *dirty*, they rarely are seen as *dirt*. Inspired by Douglas’ ideas, for years I had a pair of shoes placed on a shelf above my dining table. It was interesting to see that whenever someone came to visit me, after spotting the shoes the first question was “Have you ever worn those shoes?” and I got an impression that my answer determined whether they thought the shoes as a piece of art or as a disturbing element.

Is all the matter that is out place dirty? I am inclined to agree with Lagerspetz (2018, p. 88) that messy does not mean dirty. Though one’s room can be messy and things can be out of their places, it does not mean that the room is necessary dirty nor are the things automatically dirt. Also, though certainly out of place, water in the tank is not dirt (Lagerspetz, 2018, p. 89). Lagerspetz (2018, p. 89) also claims that there are right, legitimate places for dirty items such as dustbins. Dishwashers, washing machines and laundry baskets can also be seen as right places for dirty clothes and dishes. However, if there are right places for dirt, does an item placed in a dustbin cease to be dirt, being in its rightful place? Though dirt placed in a dustbin is not out of place, it is still considered as dirt. It can however gain a new label through recycling.

According to Cohen (2005, pp. ix–x), *filth* is a term of condemnation and labelling something filthy is a way of establishing distinction and excluding it. Dirt, or filth, of which Cohen (2005, p. x) talks, can move from being labelled as polluting to being called as reusable. Once something called filthy is renamed as trash it can be recycled and reused (Cohen, 2005, p. x). Cohen (2005, p. xv) draws from Michael Thompson's *Rubbish Theory: The Creation and Destruction of Value*, according to which "in order for an object to shift from transient (of decreasing value) to durable (of increasing value), it must first reside in the rubbish zone, where it has no value at all" (Thompson, 1979, as cited in Cohen, 2005, p. xv). Even faeces can be reused as agricultural fertilizers (see Cohen, 2005, p. x, xii).

As Lagerspetz (2018, p. 192) observes, the rhythm of work and rest is a typical feature of the employment of functional items. Objects are cleaned for storage and the using, cleaning, and storing is a continuous circle (Lagerspetz, 2018, p. 192). Such functional objects are for example, cutleries and clothes, but also human hands and mouth can be included in (Lagerspetz, 2018, p. 192). This is however, as Lagerspetz (2018, p. 192) points out, not the case with "objects for which soiling is not part of their functionality" such as books or windows. According to Lagerspetz (2018, p. 193) work and rest modes also can be seen in the case of cleaning or organizing our household when receiving guests and tidying-up the house for a visitor can mean a break from the everyday life. As Veijola, Germann Molz, Pyyhtinen, Höckert, and Grit (2014, p. 2) write, hospitality and cleanliness are tied together: we clean and clear up the spaces to welcome others. Lagerspetz (2018, p. 192) adds that "the relation between functionality and dirt also shows in our attitudes to personal hygiene", as we for example clean ourselves for a certain situation, like when going to an important meeting. Cleaning oneself does not however always succeed resting, like it does when one takes a bath before going to sleep, instead it can be the opposite: one may be cleaned for active use, such as going to work.

According to Miller (1997, p. 9) polluting powers are usually stronger than the purifying powers. There is an asymmetry between polluting and purifying that is well illustrated by a quote of a mechanic: "A teaspoon of sewage will spoil a barrel of wine, but a teaspoon of wine will do nothing for a barrel of sewage." (Rozin & Fallon, 1987, p. 32; see also Miller, 1997, p. 9). This can also be seen to indicate that waste can pollute the area around it. Litter on the street might make, if not the whole street, at least part of it to look dirty.

Lagerspetz (2018, p. 184) makes an interesting notion, that in many cases, objects that are called as dirty, are owned by someone. Owning something in this case does not mean a legal ownership, but a regard for the objects, meaning that someone, not always a person but for example an institution, protects and cares about the object (Lagerspetz, 2018, pp. 184–185). Objects that do not belong to anyone are, as Lagerspetz (2018, p. 184) writes, “typically described as dirty only when they risk sully something that does have an owner”. One would call for example sand dirty when worrying that it would soil or smutch someone’s floor. Lagerspetz (2018, p. 184) uses flies as an example, though for example houseflies are often considered pests and dirty even when they are seen in a place where there is no fear of them contaminating food, like for example in nature. Of course, if one’s body is seen as a possession, we can see flies as potential danger of harming us.

Though it is, as Lagerspetz (2018, p. 150) points out, tempting to think that we have become more rational and also cleaner than our ancestors, it could only be our interpretation of the past. It is also important to question who are ‘we’ (Lagerspetz, 2018, p. 125). The realities of the inhabitants of Chinese countryside and the members of Spanish royal family three hundred years ago, were different and still are today. However, as Lagerspetz (2018, p. 125) writes, in the past on average people in Western societies have been forced to tolerate more dirt and dirty surroundings than today. Changes in living conditions and hygiene behaviour have made our surroundings less filthy and foul-smelling. Cleanliness can also be seen as a sign of development while dirt and dirtiness as a sign of degradation, meaning that dirt can be used to as a tool of domination and to make a distinction between one and the other. Smith (2007, p. 348), on the other hand, argues, that we might have become too clean for our own good. So-called ‘hygiene hypothesis’ means that the high standards of hygiene might be causing allergies and auto-immune diseases (Smith, 2007, p. 348).

As Edensor (2007b, p. 229) writes, human body is porous and hence open to the effects of matter. Consequently, human bodies are in a never-ending mostly unconscious state of battle against dirt, and our bodies constantly discharge poisonous dirt or unnecessary waste out of our bodies (Smith, 2007, p. 9). As Smith (2007, p. 9) states, we cannot stop evacuating just like we cannot stop breathing – which is also “an expulsion of waste matter”. We try to protect our bodies from internal poisoning and premature decay not only by using our limbs but also through senses and different “filters and waste-disposal system” (Smith, 2007, p. 9).

Anything in close contact with the body had to be cleansed and kept whole (Smith, 2007, p. 25). This meant objects as well as places. Cleansing can be seen as a way to order one's surroundings; expel everything that is dirty and keep and organize everything that is clean. The cleaning method depends on the dirt. Regarding to products, cleanliness enables them to last longer and to work and look better (Smith, 2001, p. 346). According to Smith (2007, p. 13) the effects of cleansing and cleanliness are one of life's true pleasures, and cleaning of our environment delights all the senses. By adulthood people have learned to practise some of the basic cleansing habits, such as teeth-cleaning, hand-washing and hair-combing (Smith, 2007, p. 16). According to Smith (2007, p. 25) human cleansing habits have for long been ruled by different rules and disciplines. Behind all our habits and practices is a built-in understanding of clean and dirty.

In his book Lagerspetz (2018, p. 141) explains that cleanliness practices can be divided to order-based and water-based practices. Order-based cleanliness is still being used in places where water is a scarcity or instead of cleaning, it is thought to contaminate (Lagerspetz, 2018, pp. 141, 143). I cite Lagerspetz (2018, p. 141) once more: "the general principle of hygiene based on order is aimed at minimizing the points of contact between clean and dirty items". Instead of washing cups after every use they are often left to certain places where they can be found later. As mentioned before, dirt can be also used as a tool of domination, to make a distinction between me and the other, my cup and someone else's cup (Lagerspetz, 2018, pp. 209–210).

Water-based hygiene, on the other hand, is as the name refers, hygiene that is achieved through the use of water: washing, bathing, rinsing and soaking dirty items until they become clean. Though being based on different principles, these forms of cleanliness are not mutually exclusive. Water-based cleanliness is often also based on order: we wash things in certain order, usually from less dirty objects and surfaces to dirtier ones (Lagerspetz, 2018, p. 145). For example, my Brazilian family was particularly strict about the order of washing clothes: outer clothing and underwear needed to be washed separately as well as the underwear of each family member. Though water-based hygiene may be considered more modern than order-based hygiene, instead of thinking them as different stages of development, "it is more realistic to speak of competing cleanliness cultures", as Lagerspetz (2018, p. 144) writes.

According to Lagerspetz (2018, p. 12) clean and dirty are like yes and no; they constitute an organizing principle that can be found from every society in some form. There are however different methods of cleaning and degrees of tolerance of dirt in different cultures, as Lagerspetz (2018, p. 13) writes. What is dirty not only in one culture, but also in one situation and context, may be counted as clean in another. Change of situational context can also make object turn from clean to dirty. Tableware like butter knives may be considered clean when lying on the dining table but dirty by the kitchen sink. Same goes for trash; yogurt cup may be considered clean at the store or in the fridge, but trash when placed in a trash can. Rozin and Fallon (1987, pp. 24–25) see bodily substances as a good example of dirt as a boundary marker; as long as the substances are inside one's body they are not disgusting, but as soon as they leave the body, they become disgusting. As Lagerspetz (2018, p. 53, emphasis in original) puts it, “the situation determines what is expected of the object, while the identity of the object determines what kinds of situation it *may* be involved in”. In other words, dirt, like cleanliness and purity, are contextual and culturally constructed.

2.2 Sensory perceptions

Our knowledge of the world relies on perceptions we gather through our senses. There are five traditionally recognized senses, viz. sight, hearing, touch, taste and smell, though variations in the enumerations can be found. As David Howes (2003, p. xi), a Canadian anthropologist, writes “sensory experience is often presented as physical sensation shaped by personal history”. According to Howes (2003, p. xi), sensory experience is however more than that; “It is the most fundamental domain of cultural expression, the medium through which all the values and practices of society are enacted.” Instead of being precultural, “windows on the world”, the senses are regulated by society and have a “role in framing perceptual experience in accordance with socially prescribed norms”, as Constance Classen (1997, p. 402), a Canadian cultural historian, states. Sensory perceptions are shaped not only by personal meanings but also by culture and its social and cultural values (Howes & Classen, 2014, p. 1). Though certain sensory perception might evoke memories from the past, the construction of sensory meanings is a continuing development (Howes, 2003, p. 44). As we learn more about the world around us through our senses, we also develop and modify the sensory meanings throughout our lives.

Sometimes the sensations we perceive through the eyes might be quite different, and even contradicting than the ones we receive through the ears. As Howes (2003, p. xxii) writes, the senses do not always agree with each other and when receiving conflicting messages through different sensory channels certain sensory experiences are suppressed in favour of others. He (2003, p. 9) observes that “cultures differ in the intensity with which they attend to a given field of sense at a given moment in their history”. While one culture may appreciate the olfactory domain over the tactile domain, another may be giving priority to the auditory sensations. For example, in an environment such as a dense rainforest, where things are visible only at close range, priority is given to other sensory modalities than visual (Ingold, 2000, p. 251). The sensory phenomena or even sense can also mean one thing in one society and different in another, e.g. what is considered a foul odour in one culture might not be it in another.

Out of the five traditionally recognized senses, one has been at the centre of attention. In the hierarchy of the senses sight has been given the highest position and it has been considered as the most rational and the most important of the senses. According to Howes (2003, p. xii), sight is also the dominating sense of academic research. In science the term *ocularcentrism* is used to describe a paradigm or epistemology that gives priority to vision over all the other senses. The dominance of the visualist view in Western cultures can be traced to ancient philosophy. Aristotle, for example, considered vision as the sense that provided the most knowledge (Jonas, 2001, p. 135). However, the “tyranny of a visualist paradigm” as Grimshaw (2001, p. 6) calls it, came to grow significantly in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when vision became associated with science (Classen, 1997, p. 402).

What makes the sight such a special and unique sense, as Hans Jonas, a German philosopher, calls it in his book called *The Phenomenon of Life: Toward a Philosophical Biology*? According to Jonas (2001, p. 136) three characteristics distinguish sight from the other sensory modalities: simultaneity, neutralisation and distance. The first characteristic, simultaneity, means that through sight the content is present as a whole instantly (Jonas, 2001, p. 136). The other sensory modalities can only present partial contents and construct the content through temporal sequence of sensations (Jonas, 2001, p. 136). However, the world is not static and views can be temporal as well. When comparing sight to smelling, olfactory landscapes, i.e. *smellscapes*, term coined by geographer J. Douglas Porteous (1985, p. 359), are discontinuous, sporadic and episodic. Gustatory perception is also momentary.

Sounds are also dynamic and temporal, thus duration of the sound and duration of hearing it are the same (Jonas, 2001, p. 137). Also, whereas one can see objects, one can only hear action that generates the sound. Sound discloses the state of an object is in rather than the object itself, i.e. sounds indicate the actions producing the sounds (Jonas, 2001, p. 137). Though we can say we hear a car, what we truly hear is the sound of the car's engine running or noise of rolling tires driving on pavement. One could argue that not everything, especially in nature, is static. Some things are in constant movement and therefore emit sound all the time, for example a rapid. Without the movement over water there is no rapid and the movement generates sound. According to Jonas (2001, p. 137) sound also does not reveal anything beyond them, "and that there is an agent preceding and outlasting the acoustic act I know from information other than the acoustic one". Jonas (2001, p. 138) claims that for example in hearing music, with the help of memory, it is possible to combine succeeding notes to sequence and through synthesis achieve unity of experience. One could argue that also the absence of sound reveals something. For example, after hearing shooting, the absence of gunfire would reveal the shooting to be over.

By touching one can gather information of the content and eventually even construct the unity of a manifold (Jonas, 2001, p. 141). This however requires time, especially with big objects like buildings and mountains. It does not happen in the blink of an eye, like it does with sight. Also, according to Jonas (2001, p. 140), even simple tactile qualities, such as soft or smooth, require movement and use of pressure and friction and therefore they "are not really an instantaneous experience". Sometimes one single touch-sensation can however disclose, if not the entire picture, at least something important of the object. Touching something sharp such as a tip of a needle, would immediately reveal the sharpness.

Neutralisation, the second characteristic, refers to the complete neutralisation of the dynamic content (Jonas, 2001, p. 145). According to Jonas (2001, p. 145) vision is neutralizing, since there is no engagement between the perceiver and the object. The object simply lies there, it does not affect the perceiver, nor is it affected by being look at. Touching like tasting both usually require action from the perceiver (Jonas, 2001, p. 146). The object can of course also enter into intercourse with the perceiver, e.g. an apple that falls from the tree and touches the subject. Either way, both "touch subject and object are already doing something to each other" as Jonas (2001, p. 146) states. While touching requires active movement, the hearing a

sound on the other hand, does not require action from the perceiver's part, but it does require it from the object.

According to Jonas (2001, p. 146) by nature things are not audible as they are visible, i.e. they do not emit sound when merely existing. As stated before, instead of hearing the object itself, one can hear the action producing the sound. Also, unless I am emitting or producing the sound by myself, I cannot choose to hear something. As Porteous (1985, pp. 359–360) writes smells are immersive; they penetrate the body through inhaling. Borthwick (2000, p. 128), following Derrida, writes that

In Western thought the division of the senses into categories of objectivity and subjectivity allowed a dialectical process to lift and preserve the objective aspects of the senses to found conceptual knowledge and to devalue what is cancelled, since an immersion in subjectivity cannot be found categories or conceptual knowledge. This is especially relevant to taste and smell.

Taste and smell are considered immersive; sensory sensations enter the body, and objectivity cannot be achieved through immersion of object and subject.

For Jonas (2001, p. 139) perhaps the most important feature of hearing in comparison with seeing, is that hearing happens outside of percipient's control. When it comes to seeing, our perception can be selective and detached. Unlike with seeing, with auditory perception we do not have normally have the freedom of selective attention (Jonas, 2001, p. 139). While we can choose to look at something, we do not choose what we hear. We can close our eyes, but not ears. Due to the fact that sounds reveal the changes in the environment ears need to open always and having them closed could be fatal (Jonas, 2001, p. 139). The loudest sounds might not be the ones we would like to hear or the most important ones in a certain situation but they grab our attention regardless. The same goes for smelling as well, since we cannot choose not to smell something. With tasting, like with touching, we do have the freedom of choice.

According to Jonas (2001, p. 149), neither one of the first two characteristic would be possible without the third characteristic, distance. Unlike to all the other senses, to sight distance is an advantage (Jonas, 2001, p. 149). Jonas (2001, pp. 149–150) writes, that by taking distance we can see the whole view better, unlike with hearing and smell, which both usually gain more information by approaching the source emitting smells or sounds. With

hearing, there is however an exception, as Jonas (2001, p. 150) points out. Taking distance can sometimes help to better perceive sounds that are coming from very close proximity (Jonas, 2001, p. 150). Jonas (2001, p. 150) claims that “smell never gains, always loses by distance”. It is true, as Jonas (2001, p. 149) writes, that distance may cause distortion of smells and sounds. Some smells can however be smelled at distance, i.e. the proximity depends on the object. Also, though proximity may help to distinct one flower from a bouquet but taking distance will offer different kind of smell. Drobnick (2002, p. 33), on the other hand, claims that smell like vision is a “distance” sense since the perception of a smell may be miles away from its origin. Both touching and tasting require close proximity.

Jonas (2001, p. 147) claims that these three characteristics, viz. simultaneity, neutralization and distance, make the sight the most objective of the senses. The objectivity, however, is at the same time, the biggest advantage and the biggest disadvantage of sight, or as Jonas (2001, p. 136) calls it, its highest virtue and its essential insufficiency. Without any causal connection and contact with the reality, how can sight reveal the truth? Eyes might be deceived, and not everything is what it seems. Something may also be blocking the view. Smell, taste and touch however can be seen as the senses that are “least easily deceived” (Classen, 2001, p. 355). For Jonas (2001, p. 148), touch is “the true test of reality”, it encounters reality as it is and does not let the subject be passive. The sense of touch covers our body and it is especially important in the early childhood helping us to make sense of the world. Classen (2012, p. 141) also claims, that touch can reveal truths and correct the misconceptions of sight, i.e. though something might look heavy, when lifted it might reveal to be light. As the saying goes, to grasp the true identity of the objects, somethings are better felt than seen.

Over time various different developments and practices have contributed to the emphasis given to visual modality. In her book *The deepest sense: a cultural history of touch* Classen (2012) explores the changes of tactile practices but also describes developments that have been contributing to the rise of visual dominance. According to Classen (2012, p. 148), starting from the later Middle Ages practices of visual contemplation have increased, preparing the way for the new culture of sight. Paraphrasing Classen (2012, pp. 153–154, 157, 183), increase in literacy and the development of movable printing press that enabled mass production of books, opened a new way to gain knowledge of the world. Instead of just listening of stories, people were able to read and write them. Optical and technological

inventions such as modern silvered-glass mirrors and improved lightning together with the growing use of eyeglasses enhanced visual perception of the self and others. All these developments made the body more visible and enabled a greater practice of visual activities. Domestic portraiture and later photographs served as visual reminders. The development of microscopes and telescopes opened new visual worlds by augmenting visual capabilities. Later on, televisions and computers have offered even more information through the senses of sight and hearing (Howes & Classen, 2014, p. 3).

Technological developments and changes in our practices have had profound effects on all the senses, some enhancing the sensory sensations but also some that have been deadening them. Though televisions, for example, have heightened the importance of visual and auditory domains, they provide sensorially limited experience (Howes & Classen, 2014, p. 3). According to Howes and Classen (2014, p. 3), the pairing of auditory and visual senses, and audio-visual experiences appear common to us, unlike for example, audio-olfactory pairing. Like sight, hearing has also been associated with knowledge and the intellect due to the importance of hearing and speaking as ways of communication (Howes & Classen, 2014, p. 2). Telephones and radios provided new ways of hearing and communicating. Along with sight, hearing has received a lot more attention in scientific research than so-called lower senses of touch, taste and smell. (Howes & Classen, 2014, p. 3.)

The advances in technology also increased comfort of life, and in the eighteenth century, bodily comfort was increasingly appreciated. More efficient chimneys and windows provided more comfortable housing and by the late eighteenth century many comforts were seen as necessities. The new culture of comfort may have contributed to neutralization of touch which may have strengthened visual culture. Living in a comfortable environment, without harsh tactile sensations, such as suffering from rapid changes of temperature or hard and uncomfortable furnishings, made it possible to focus more on visual sensations. This decrease of tactile sensations may have created a desire for visual stimuli. (Classen, 2012, pp. 162–164.) As Classen (2012, p. 11) observes, “affordable plate-glass windows and better means of illumination brought more light into the home, reducing the practical importance of touch and opening up new possibilities for the eyes”. According to Edensor (2007b, p. 230) in modern urban environments sensual experiences are minimized by space planning and removal of excess matter.

In the evolutionary theory of nineteenth century attending to sights over other sensory sensations was regarded as a distinguishing feature of human species and a sign of human superiority over animals. Humans had shifted from four legs to two and started walking upright, freeing hands for carrying and being able to look around. Cultures that valued olfactory or tactile sensations over visual ones, were regarded as primitive. (Classen, 2012, p. 182.) This has however changed, and the fact that certain cultures have extensive vocabulary for other than visual sensory experience or value for example olfactory domain over visual domain, no longer means that those cultures are less sophisticated than the visually oriented cultures. Instead, as Classen (1997, p. 405) writes, it signals their “sophisticated cultural elaboration of a particular sensory domain”. Though one might claim that different preferences of sensory experiences have become more accepted and valued than before, it is hard to say for sure that they have not been valued and appreciated in the past as well.

Though the dominance of vision has been challenged and multisensory approach has been gaining more attention, according to Howes (2003, p. 51), perhaps the most common and widespread notion in recent decades is that the sight will always be dominant across cultures. Though the senses of touch, taste and smell have received less attention in academic research, I find it important to include them along with hearing and sight to this research. As Howes and Classen (2014, pp. 3–4) state, culturally meaningful textures, tastes and smells exist, as well as culturally organized ways of touching, tasting and smelling exist. We sense the world with all of senses and therefore it is important to include them all. Though this research focuses on the roles of different senses in the experience of purity, senses reinforce each other and are often experienced together.

2.3 Sensing purity and dirt

We continuously sense the world around us by seeing, smelling, hearing, tasting and touching. Practices of sensory experiences, looking, tasting, listening, touching and smelling are also shaped by the culture and time period among which one grows (Howes & Classen, 2014, p. 2). Over time senses have been used to perceive dirt and pollution. Our dislike of dirt develops by growing up and by adulthood that dislike has become so strong that we tend to reject dirt in any form and avoid touching, tasting, smelling, looking at or even speaking about dirt and dirty things (Smith, 2007, p. 16).

During the Renaissance period the senses were seen as entrances to the body, and just like illnesses also treatments could penetrate the body through different sensory channels (Classen, 2001, p. 360). In addition to poisonous foods, also some smells were thought to be poisonous. According to Stoller (1989, p. 8; see also Classen, Howes, & Synnott, 1994/1997), before the development of clinical medicine, physicians thought that in addition of indicating illnesses, poisonous odours could also cause and spread diseases. Later the view of odours as causes or cures for diseases was rejected hence diminishing the role of smell in present-day medicine (Classen, 2001, p. 362). According to Smith (2007, p. 14) the sense of smell has always been an important indicator of cleanliness. The Greek word “miasma” has become to mean the foul airs, vapours and atmospheres that were believed to cause disease (Curtis, 2007, p. 662). According to Porteous (1985, p. 360; see also Medway, 2015, p. 193) the words that are used to describe smells are often negatively connoted (stench, whiff, reek, foul, etc.) rather than being neutral (odour, scent) or positive (fragrant, perfumed). Dominic Medway (2015, p. 193) argues, that similarly often a smell of certain place is only mentioned when it is bad.

Disgust is said to be universal emotion and reaction that serves as a marker between clean and dirty. Curtis (2007, p. 661) calls the motivation to behave hygienically as disgust and according to him (2007, p. 661) the feeling of disgust makes people to avoid filthy matter and when perceiving a disgusting cue, people produce a hygienic reaction almost automatically. Curtis (2007, p. 660) claims that disgust of dirt is a part of human nature and the reason disgust is “part of our psyche is neither primarily cultural nor historical, but biological”. Feeling of disgust is strongly linked to sensing, it evokes our senses, or as Miller (1997, p. 9) puts it, it is “what it feels like to be too close to it, to have to smell it, see it, or touch it”. According to him (1997, p. 15), it is not nature, but instead culture, that draws the line between clean and dirty and disgust serves as marker on the boundary between them.

Though there are variations between and inside cultures and individuals, there are some things and behaviours that are thought as disgusting nearly across cultures (Miller, 1997, pp. 15–16). According to Smith (2007, pp. 15, 28), “close physical contact with other people’s bodily wastes is generally and universally thought to be rather repulsive” and placing bodily secretions outside one’s dwelling is universal behaviour. Rozin and Fallon (1987, pp. 24–25) also state that faeces are thought of as universally disgusting objects. Lagerspetz (2018, p. 80)

however claims that disgust is not “the only or even dominant human reaction to dirt”. Many things that can be thought of as dirty do not evoke feelings of disgust, e.g. though the floor of one’s apartment is dirty it does not necessarily disgust the person living there. Also, as Lagerspetz (2018, p. 80) points out, some things may be disgusting without being dirty. For example, some animals, like squid, or plants, like seaweed, can be found disgusting independent of their dirtiness. Both squid and seaweed are slimy objects, and that way they serve as good examples of Douglas’ anomalies, elements which are not part of one set nor the other, in the case of squid and seaweed, neither solid nor liquid. Douglas (1966/2002, p. 47), drawing from Sartre’s essay, sees viscous objects, like treacle, assaulting the boundary between the object and the perceiver.

Disgust has intrigued and inspired studies since the writings of Darwin (1897). In his book *The expression of the emotions in man and animals* Charles Darwin (1897, pp. 256–257) writes about his notions of disgust:

The term “disgust”, in its simplest sense, means something offensive to the taste. It is curious how readily this feeling is excited by anything unusual in the appearance, odour, or nature of our food. . . . A smear of soup on a man’s beard looks disgusting, though there is of course nothing disgusting in the soup itself. I presume that this follows from the strong association in our minds between the sight of food, however circumstanced, and the idea of eating it.

Miller (1997, p. 4) criticizes the latter part of Darwin’s view, believing that before one could make the association between the soup on the beard and eating it, one would find the mere sight of the man with a dirty beard disgusting. Lagerspetz (2018, p. 89) also claims that:

...While a stain of gravy on my shirt certainly might have a disturbing effect on my conversation with guests, that is not why it counts as dirt. On the contrary, it disturbs me because I already know what it is: dirt. (Lagerspetz, 2018, p. 89)

Though one may see gravy as dirt, it is still matter of out of place. Soup, like gravy, is certainly out of place, but depending on the view either one can be considered as the master object. So, which of them, the soup or the beard, is dirty? Is it the soup that has facial hair in it? Or the beard, that has an additive in it?

According to Miller (1997, p. 16), animals and animal substances are thought as more disgusting than plants and non-living objects. Lagerspetz (2018, p. 22, emphasis in original) however notes that “practically *everything* in our environment will be ‘animal’ in the extremely wide sense...either having animal origin, having ‘had contact with animals or

animal products', or somehow *reminding* us of animals". In their paper Curtis and Biran (2001, pp. 20, 22) argue that visual, olfactory and tactile cues, such as stained clothes and stinky and slimy objects, can evoke disgust. Though they do not include gustatory and auditory cues, they also can elicit disgust. Disgusting objects may also have ability to contaminate other objects. As Curtis and Biran (2001, p. 20) note, insects like flies can elicit disgust to food.

As mentioned before, Darwin (1897, p. 256) saw disgust being "something offensive to the taste". Following Darwin's view Rozin and Fallon (1987, p. 24) see disgust strongly linked to oral incorporation and food rejection. Rather than the actual sensory properties of the object, the subject's interpretation of the object define what is considered disgusting, i.e. one does not need to taste the object to be sure that it would taste bad (Rozin & Fallon, 1987, p. 24). According to Smith (2007, p. 347) when it comes to eating, food needs to be clean and pure. Foodborne diseases, such as foot and mouth disease, and BSE, commonly known as mad cow disease, have shaken European public and their trust to food safety. Food plays an important role in Chinese society and in China foodborne diseases are a major public health concern, especially since 2008 when adulterated milk and infant formula sickened thousands of children (Alcorn & Ouyang, 2012, p. 789).

Smell and taste are strongly linked to each other and some flavours require both senses to be recognized (Henshaw, 2014, p. 9). Food is not consumed if it looks good but smells bad. Eating could be seen as the ultimate test for purity; one could look, smell, listen and even touch dirty objects, but putting something dirty into one's mouth would most like cause hesitation. Sutton (2010, pp. 217–218) argues, that the use of all the senses, called synaesthesia, is particularly obvious with food. Food is more than just different tastes and smells, it is also colours, textures and temperatures (Sutton, 2010, p. 219). We do not taste only with the sense of taste, but instead with all of our senses; we anticipate the taste through sounds, smells, feelings and looks of certain substance.

2.4 Sensory experiences in tourism research

Though, the sociocultural research of the senses was for long limited to anthropology and history (Howes & Classen, 2014, p. 13), it has now spread to other sciences, i.e. sociology (Synnott, 1991), geography (Porteous, 1985), marketing (Medway, 2015) and art history (Drobnick, 2002). And also, to tourism research (Edensor, 2006, 2007a, 2007b; Urry & Larsen, 2011). In tourism research vision has also been the dominant sense of academic discussions about sensory experiences. In *Tourist Gaze*, one the most notable books of tourism over the past few decades, sociologist John Urry emphasises the visual nature of tourism experiences. According to Urry and Larsen (2011, p. 14) our eyes are socio-culturally framed and by gazing one orders, shapes and classifies the world. The tourist gaze means the multiple learnt ways of seeing that vary by society, by social group and by historical period and differ from the mundane everyday life (Urry & Larsen, 2011, p. 14). Though in the latest version, *Tourist Gaze 3.0*, Urry and Larsen (2011, pp. 24, 26) acknowledges that vision has its limits, they still see that "the organising sense in tourism is visual". According to Tim Edensor (2006, p. 27) both within tourism production and in tourist practice visual techniques are common. Edensor (2006, p. 27) however argues that vision is not the dominant sense in all the forms of tourist experiences. He sees beach tourism as the most obvious example, where tactile, olfactory and auditory sensations of sun, sea and sand dominate the visual sensations. In Lapland for example sauna experiences emphasize nonvisual sensations. The heat and humidity of steam and the smell of birch and tar are among the few examples of the tactile and olfactory sensations sensed in sauna.

According to Classen (2001, p. 362) individual boundaries became important in the modern age and the saying "look but don't touch" became a guideline for using senses, especially in urban centres. It was acceptable to look others, but unfavourable sensory sensations, i.e. touches, noises and odours were not supposed to enter to space of others. According to Edensor (2006, pp. 33–34; 2007a) in tourist enclaves, or in touristscapes, as he calls them, sensory sensations are controlled and harsh sensations are avoided. Tactile sensations are regulated by producing smooth surfaces, and a system of different kinds of lanes, routes, bridges, etc. is making moving from one place to another seamless and linear (Edensor, 2007b, pp. 219–220). Soft furnishings indoors minimize hard tactile sensations. Sounds are toned down to create pleasant atmosphere. Malodorous and strong smells are eliminated to create freshly scented or even scentless spaces. By controlling these place-related sensory

perceptions, i.e. sensescapes (including for example smellscapes, soundscapes, touchscapes, tastescapes), one can plan and create a space of desired sensory experiences. Medway (2015, p. 192) compares the dominance of visual stimuli to a blanket of snow; it covers all the non-visual sensory information; it muffles the sounds, smoothens the surfaces, dampens the smells and dulls the taste buds like a blanket of snow. Porteous (1985, p. 375) claims that if the rich and complex multisensory experiences and especially the smells are being removed, our sensescapes will turn into blandscapes. According to Edensor (2007a) by controlling the sensualities the touristscapes turn homogeneous places that could “be anywhere in the world”. Unwanted smells, sounds, sights, tastes and textures might however appear and produce different kind of sensory experience.

The first ones to question the dominance of vision and the gaze were Soile Veijola and Eeva Jokinen. In their article *The body in tourism* Veijola and Jokinen (1994) highlight the “absence of body” in the sociological studies on tourism. The recent literature on tourism sensory experiences has continued to stress the importance of body and all bodily senses (see Agapito, Mendes, & Valle, 2013; Jensen, Scarles, & Cohen, 2015).

How are sensory experiences used in place marketing? In the same way as landscapes are consisted of landmarks and soundscapes of sound events and soundmarks, smellscapes “involve smell events and smellmarks” (Porteous, 1985, p. 360). Victoria Henshaw (2014, p. 144; see also Henshaw, Medway, Warnaby, & Perkins, 2015, p. 159) has identified four different processes of controlling smellscapes in cities. Those processes are *separation* of odours; removal of odours i.e. *deodorisation*, *masking*, meaning hiding the present odours by other ones and *scenting*, which means introducing new odours into the environment.

Smells can be very memorable; they can keep a certain place in visitor’s consciousness (Medway, 2015, p. 196). Noises, like smells, might also produce association with a place. However, noises rarely are specific to a certain place, but instead remind of us of many places (Medway, 2015, p. 198). As Medway (2015, p. 198) writes: “a factory whistle might convey the essence of an urban industrial area”. However, some specific sound, like for example a song or sound of a certain bird, might have long-lasting engram and remind of us of one certain place. According Medway (2015, p. 201) in some places natural sounds are used in place branding, but there is still room for development.

Taste can be associated with a specific location, and the words we use to describe food can also remind us of certain places or countries, such as “an Indian food” or “a spaghetti Bolognese” (Medway, 2015, pp. 201–202). The use of gustatory sensations is common in tourism place branding where places are often marketed with photos and descriptions of different local dishes and drinks. Taste and culinary tourism can, as Medway (2015, p. 202) claims, be the central pillar of place branding. While taste and sight are often used in place branding and advertising, smell and hearing only occasionally. Touch, on the other hand, is largely ignored (Medway, 2015, p. 204). Visual sense does suit well to usual marketing channels compared to other senses, though images and descriptions can both convey them. Smells, textures and tastes can be used not only in events of place marketing but also, they can be transmitted through marketing material, such as local sweets. And in the future, as Medway (2015, p. 205) argues, augmented and virtual realities may open new ways to include all the senses in the place marketing.

Just like in other fields of study also in tourism research the dominance of the visualist view has been questioned in and multisensory approach has been gaining attention. Though the interest towards the different sensory modalities is increasing, more research is needed to understand how different sensory modalities are used in the place branding and how tourist sense the environments they visit. The perceived quality of the physical environment and its natural features is, as Mihalič (2000) writes, an important competitiveness factor and therefore insights of tourists’ views on the quality of natural features is needed. Our sensory perceptions and our views on cleanliness are culturally shaped subjective assessments, and to be able to explain these personal views, face-to-face conversation, i.e. interviews were chosen as a data collection method. Phenomenology and specifically the hermeneutic phenomenological approach is focused on the subjective experiences and therefore was considered as a suitable data analysis method (Porter & Cohen, 2013, p. 184). In the next chapter these methods will be discussed in more detail.

3. METHODOLOGY AND DATA

In this chapter I will present the chosen methodology, the methods of data collection and analysis as well as describe the interviews' target group. The chapter starts with an introduction to phenomenological approaches and especially the hermeneutic phenomenology which was chosen to be used in this research. The second section describes the method of data collection, the semi-structured sensewalking interviews and the process of conducting the interviews. The third section represents the process of analysing the data. Before moving to the results of this study I conclude the chapter by addressing the ethical issues related to this study.

3.1 Phenomenological approaches

The word *phenomenology* means the study or science of phenomena and it is concerned with the ways in which things manifest to us (Cerbone, 2006/2014, pp. 1, 7). According to Moran (2000, p. 4) phenomenology claims to be a practice, not a system, meaning that though there are themes that characterise it, it does not have a set of principles. As its name implies, phenomenology attempts to describe and understand phenomena and while doing it, phenomenology attempts to steer away of presumptions and making interpretations beforehand (Moran, 2000, p. 4).

The phenomenology begins with a German philosopher Edmund Husserl (1859–1938), who is the founder of phenomenological philosophy (Cerbone, 2006/2014, p. 5). Other significant philosophers in the phenomenological movement include Martin Heidegger, Emmanuel Levinas, Jean-Paul Sartre, Maurice Merleau-Ponty and Alfred Schütz to name a few (Moran, 2000, p. 4). Though Husserl is considered to have started the phenomenological movement, the term 'phenomenology' had started to appear during the eighteenth century in philosophical texts of Johann Heinrich Lambert, Immanuel Kant and Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, etc. (Moran, 2000, p. 6). Lambert, who viewed phenomenology as a science of appearance, inspired Kant, who, in turn, according to Moran (2000, pp. 6–7), described phenomenology as a "branch of science which deals with things in their manner of appearing to us". Hegel used the term 'phenomenology' already in 1807 but only in the 1920's Hegel was seen as a forerunner of phenomenology.

Husserl's thoughts were greatly influenced by his teacher, Franz Brentano, and especially by his conception of intentionality (Cerbone, 2006/2014, p. 12). To Brentano an intentional act requires an intentional object, meaning that for example touching requires something to be touched (Moran, 2000, p. 8). As Moran (2000, p. 8) explains, while having an intentional act, such as touching, we cannot observe the act, but we are able to be conscious of it. That means that while touching a surface we are aware that we are touching or having tactile experience, but our intentional act, touching, is primarily directed to the object, the surface. Brentano speaks of primary and secondary objects, terms also used by Lagerspetz (2018) but their meaning for Brentano is different. Lagerspetz's definition of the terms primary and secondary objects are mentioned in the second chapter regarding purity and dirt. For Brentano (Moran, 2000, p. 54) the primary object is the observed object, such as the surface, while the act of itself, for example touching, is the secondary object.

Both intentionality and time consciousness are important concepts of phenomenology and Husserl's thoughts on them were greatly influenced by Brentano. Intentionality can be seen as a defining feature of experience in the phenomenological tradition (Cerbone, 2006/2014, p. 4). According to Husserl, intentionality is also one of the central features of consciousness: consciousness is always consciousness *of* something, meaning that thoughts and experiences are "of" or "about" objects (Heiskala, 2000, p. 86; Cerbone, 2006/2014, p. 4). Or as Moran (2000, p. 16) puts it: "All conscious experiences (Erlebnisse) are characterised by 'aboutness'". After Husserl the concept of intentionality has been interpreted by various phenomenologists, such as Heidegger, Levinas and Sartre.

Moran (2000, p. 60) writes that for Husserl "consciousness is the basis of all experience" but no experience is possible without the consciousness of time. In our stream of consciousness experiences are occurring in temporal moments, one after the another. In the book *The Phenomenology of Internal Time-Consciousness* Husserl (1964, pp. 42–43) uses melody as an example of how the duration and succession of objects is constituted. When we hear we only hear the one tone that is present, but because of what Husserl calls retention, we are able to be conscious of immediate experience, in this case the previous notes, and thus hearing a melody instead of experiencing one note, then another and then yet another (Husserl, 1964, pp. 43–45; Cerbone, 2006/2014, pp. 25–26). Also, protentions, which are expectations of immediate future, or in the case of hearing a melody, the anticipation of the succeeding notes, are part of

the stream of consciousness (Cerbone, 2006/2014, p. 26). Though our perceptions are temporal, they do entail retentions of past and protentions of future. And as Cerbone (2006/2014, p. 27) puts it, through synthesis these moments of experience are united to be of or about something. Hans Jonas, who I cited in the second chapter regarding to sensory perceptions, was also influenced by Husserl (Moran, 2000, p. 132). This can be seen in the way he writes about the experience of hearing, and especially when he describes the temporal process of hearing music.

Phenomenology's most fundamental practice and method is the phenomenological reduction that enables the shift from natural reflection to phenomenological reflection (Moran, 2000, pp. 12, 97). What Husserl calls "the natural attitude" is our normal approach and awareness of ourselves and of the world (Cerbone, 2006/2014, p. 9). When using the natural attitude, we do accept things without questioning their factuality or existence (Heiskala, 2000, p. 85). According to Husserl's method of transcendental reduction means suspending our natural attitude and bracketing all our assumptions towards the objects and acts (Moran, 2000, p. 136). By a suspension of the natural attitude and our naturalistic assumptions and by the constant use of the reduction we are able to grasp the transcendental domain of experience (Moran, 2000, p. 107). Phenomenology is, as Moran (2000, p. 145) writes, "a science of the essences of consciousness". Though Husserl uses multiple words to describe the practice of epoché, the idea remains the same; to get to the essences we need to move away from the naturalistic viewpoint and make a conscious effort of not letting the natural attitude creep back into our consciousness.

Heidegger continued to develop phenomenology but instead of following Husserl's transcendental phenomenology shifted the focus to hermeneutic and existential perspective. While Husserl was interested in understanding consciousness, Heidegger focused on addressing questions of being, understanding and experiencing (Pernecky & Jamal, 2010). In his book *Being and Time* Heidegger introduced the concept of *Da-sein*, the structure of human existence that is temporal, situated and historical (Moran, 2000, p. 222; Pernecky & Jamal, 2010). According to Pernecky and Jamal (2010), Heidegger's hermeneutic phenomenology saw understanding occurring "through our culturally and historically mediated interpretations and relationships with objects and things, and through the social meanings contained in language". Heidegger rejected the notion of presuppositionless and instead claimed that our interpretation is based on the knowledge we have gathered before,

and our pre-understandings shape our experience (Pernecky and Jamal, 2010). Researcher who uses hermeneutic phenomenological approach needs to consider these pre-understandings both his/her owns and also of the participants' (Pernecky and Jamal, 2010).

There are three major approaches of phenomenology that are called descriptive, interpretive and hermeneutic phenomenology (Porter & Cohen, 2013). The descriptive approach is based on Husserl's philosophy and its aim is to explore the essential structure of an experience (Porter & Cohen, 2013, p. 182). According to Porter and Cohen (2013, p. 184) interpretive phenomenology, or Heideggerian hermeneutics, as it also has been called, intends to reveal shared meanings and practices. The third approach, hermeneutic phenomenology, uses the reflective awareness and the process of hermeneutic circle, which means the circular movement of examining the parts of data and the whole repeatedly (Porter & Cohen, 2013). This research follows the approach of hermeneutic phenomenology.

Since phenomenology studies the structure of consciousness, experience and meaning, it is easy to see why the interest towards phenomenology has been growing in tourism research. According to Pernecky and Jamal (2010) phenomenology has been gaining popularity in humanistic and social science disciplines, and especially when studying experiences. Instead of focusing on things we see, it is interested in the experiences and the meanings of those experiences (Pernecky & Jamal, 2010). Phenomenology provides tools to comprehend tourism phenomena and experiences, but as Pernecky and Jamal (2010) outline, it is time-consuming research that requires both knowledge of the philosophical approach and active involvement from the researcher. Phenomenological tourism research has been done by for example Erik Cohen (1979), who in his article *A Phenomenology of Tourist Experiences* developed phenomenologically distinct modes of touristic experiences.

As mentioned before phenomenological study is based on the idea of intentionality. According to Laine (2015) this means that all our experiences mean something to us. That means that reality is not something neutral material, but instead we experience everything through our values, beliefs and interests (Laine, 2015). According to the phenomenological theory of meaning, meanings are intersubjective, i.e. my lived experience is not only mine, but instead meanings are shared between the subjects (Laine, 2015). However, as Laine (2015) continues, there are also individual and unique elements in our experiences. Culture among which one grows affects the way we experience the world (Laine, 2015).

Douglas (1966/2002, p. 48) writes that culture can be understood as standardized values of a community and that it “mediates the experience of individuals”. It provides some basic categories in which ideas and values can be ordered (Douglas, 1966/2002, p. 48). Douglas (1966/2002, p. xvii) argues “rational behaviour involves classification, and that the activity of classifying is a human universal”. According to Douglas (1966/2002, p. 45) “perceiving is not a matter of passively allowing an organ – say of sight or hearing – to receive ready-made impression from without”. As perceivers, we only perceive the stimuli that interest us and I cite Douglas (1966/2002, p. 45) again: “our interests are governed by a pattern-making tendency, sometimes called schema”. In a world that is filled with shifting impressions, we construct a stable world by categorizing perceptions. Douglas (1966/2002, p. 45) argues that perceiving is like building, we accept and take those cues that fit to the structure and reject the ones that do not. Usually when we come across with discordant cues they tend to be rejected, but if they are accepted, then the structure of our assumptions as well as our classifications have to be altered (Douglas, 1966/2002, p. 45).

In my research I must understand that both the previous knowledge that we have got from books, commercials and other sources of information and the cultural background we have influence our classifications of purity, what we think is clean and what is not. Secondly also through our senses and experiences we make perceptions of the air quality. The perceptions and the classifications of purity are in constant interaction with each other and when we perceive something that does not fit into our classifications, we have two choices: we will either reject the perception or we change our classifications. For example, if a tourist arriving to Lapland for a holiday thinks that the air in Lapland is clean, but when getting of the airplane smells the gasoline and sees the mist in the air the tourist will either have to change his original view of the air quality or decide not to care about the perceptions that question the purity of the air. Even though meanings are often thought to depend on the culture among which we have grown but by using the sensory perceptions and experiences can we achieve knowledge of individual's personal meanings that are given to the air.

Though knowledge that is achieved through phenomenological and hermeneutic approaches concerns individuals and thus it cannot be generalized in a same way as in natural sciences, some conclusions can be drawn (Tökkäri, 2018, p. 66). According to Tökkäri (2018, p. 66) this is possible for example when the situations of the people taking part of the study are

sufficiently similar. Though in this research the interviewees are all Chinese and all part of the same generational cohort, they are all individuals and their experiences are all unique so the results cannot be generalized to all Chinese millennials. Instead of trying to find universal generalisations hermeneutic phenomenological research aims to understand the meanings of a certain group or an individual (Laine, 2015).

3.2 Semi-structured sensewalking interview

A qualitative research approach using interviews was chosen because interviews provide insights into individual experience, enabling participants tell their views and opinions by using their own words. Face-to-face interviews also provided certain flexibility: it was possible to explain and clarify both the questions and answers during the interviews (Hirsjärvi & Hurme, 2015, p. 36). The possibility to provide clarifications seemed especially important in the planning phase of the data collection, since English was neither mine nor the interviewees' native language.

The empirical material was collected by using semi-structured interviews. Semi-structured interviews were chosen as the method of data collection because they provided both structure and freedom. While doing my Bachelor thesis I learned that I need some kind of structure to feel more comfortable and at ease while doing interviews. As Hirsjärvi and Hurme (2015, p. 47) write, though there are no universal definition of semi-structured interviews, some aspect of the interview has been decided beforehand. According to Jennings (2005, p. 104) semi-structured interviews have a list of themes or an agenda, but the order of the questions varies between the interviews. In this research the questions were preestablished but I was able to change the order of the questions or the wording during the interviews. My aim was to let the interviewees to lead the conversation and only directed the conversation when it was needed. The semi-structured interview schedule (see Appendix 1. The semi-structured interview schedule) ensured that the same information was collected from the interviewees. In the beginning of each interview I asked all the participants to complete a short background information form (see Appendix 1. The semi-structured interview schedule).

The interviews began with a general discussion and questions about the participants' personal information, followed by questions about their opinions and perceptions regarding to Lapland. The interviews continued with more in-depth questions about air. The latter part of the interview focused on the sensory perceptions and features of both clean and dirty places. To describe sensory perceptions of these places I asked the interviewees to close their eyes and to think about a place that they considered clean or dirty. These places did not need to be real, existing ones, instead, also imaginary places were accepted. Interviewees were encouraged to share their views and perceptions by emphasizing the confidentiality of responses.

The interview questions also dealt with respondents' sensory perceptions of Lapland and thus I felt it was important that the interviewees were able to sense to environment during the interviews. Also, since the research is focusing on perceptions of the environment, I chose to collect the empirical materials, the interviews, outdoors. Instead of doing the interviews in certain location, I wanted to use the methodology of sensewalking, which is a walk with the focus on sensing the environment. In addition to what Porteous (1985, p. 360) calls, smellwalks and soundwalks, the sensewalk also includes visual, gustatory and tactile sensations. As a methodology sensewalking dates back to the 1960s and it has been used by different disciplines (Henshaw, 2014, p. 42; Henshaw et al., 2015, p. 162). Southworth's (1969) field study of sonic environment of Boston is one of the earliest examples of studies using the method of sensewalking. The goal of using sensewalking was to better map the different sensescapes of Lapland. By walking outdoors, the interviewees were able to use their senses instead of just talking about their sensory perceptions of Lapland. As Henshaw (2014, p. 56) writes, sensewalking "is a varied method that can be used to identify local perceptions". According to Evans and Jones (2011, p. 250), conducting an interview outdoors and by walking exposes both researcher and participants to the multisensory stimulation, instead of isolating them in a 'blandscape'. Being able to access people's opinions of the surrounding environment is considered as the greatest benefit of walking interviews (Evans & Jones, 2011, p. 850). As O'Neill and Roberts (2020) put it, "through temporal, multi-sensory, and rhythmical nature of walking, we are able to use our sense bodies to encounter 'the features of the environment'". I hoped that the walking interviews provided movement not only to interviewees' bodies but also to their minds by allowing their thoughts to flow.

All the interviews were conducted in the proximity of the Santa Claus Village on the Arctic Circle in Finnish Lapland. The interviews were chosen to be conducted there because of the amount of tourists visiting the area thus making easier to locate possible participants but also because of the good and peaceful walking routes it provided. Instead of sitting in a café, walking around gave the participants more privacy to speak freely. As Ellingson (2017, p. 120), following Hall, Lashua, and Coffey (2008, p. 1035), writes, the background noise of the walking interviews can help the interviewees not to feel pressured as there is no uncomfortable silence to break or create. The participants were asked if there was a place where they wanted to walk to and though some named a sight (i.e. reindeer), most of the participants just wanted to walk around the village and the streets and paths surrounding it. Instead of walking along a predetermined route I wanted the situation to be more natural and informal, a 'go-along', and thus let the participants to choose the route. There are several buildings in the Santa Claus Village and Christmas carols are playing in the main square of the village all year-round. Though the main square of the Santa Claus Village can be quite noisy and crowded during the high season, the areas surrounding the village are much more peaceful and less noisy. Since the interviews were conducted during the winter there was a lot of snow on the ground. The deep snow limited access to the nearby forests so the walking interviews were conducted on the roads that had been cleared of snow.

All the interviews were conducted in February and March 2017. The target group for the interviews was Chinese millennials so after approaching Chinese speaking tourists I asked where they were from and if they were from mainland China and age wise suitable, I asked if they wished to participate in an interview. Some of the tourists I met did not fit to the target group, though speaking Chinese they were for example from Malaysia or not part of the generational cohort of Chinese millennials. I introduced myself as a researcher at the beginning of each interview and I told all the interviewees that I was conducting research on sensory experiences of purity. Almost all the people asked to participate happily agreed, and there were only a few refusals, due to lack of time.

Altogether, nine semi-structured interviews were conducted, lasting from 10 to 30 minutes depending on the interviewees' willingness to share information. The approximate duration of each interview was 15 minutes. The first interview was supposed to be a practice interview and therefore not to be included to the research. Its primary goal was to test the semi-structured interview schedule. However, after the interview I felt the structure worked well

and since it did not need any modification, I decided to include the first interview to the data. All the interviewees allowed recording of the interviews and signed the letter of consent (see Appendix 2. The letter of consent). No interview was conducted without going through the letter of consent and the purpose of the interview. After the interview each participant received an empty bottle so that they could collect some air of Lapland and take it home as a souvenir.

All the interviews were recorded electronically, using a mobile phone and the data was transcribed to a Word-file for further studying. The collected data was analysed via hermeneutic phenomenological approach, to find shared themes and linkages between the responses. When quoting or referring to a certain interviewee, instead of using their names, each participant has been labelled by a code (see Table 1). The codes, such as I1a, are used when quoting or referring to the interviewee.

Table 1. Codes and details of interviewees

I1a female from Shanghai	I6a female from Beijing
I1b male from Shanghai	I6b female from Beijing
I2a female from Zhenjiang, Jiangsu	I7a female from Hong Kong
I2b female from Suzhou, Jiangsu	I7b male from Hong Kong
I3a female from Hong Kong	I8a female from Nanning, Guangxi
I3b female from Macao	I8b male from Nanning, Guangxi
I4 male from Hong Kong	I9a female from Hohhot, Inner Mongolia
I5 female from Guangzhou, Guangdong	I9b male from Tianjin

All interviewees were originally from China, but not all of them were living in China during the spring 2017. Like many Chinese millennials (see Veiga, Custódio Santos, Águas, & Santos, 2017, p. 605), some of the interviewees were also studying abroad. All of the interviewees spoke English very well and almost never asked for clarifications so conducting the interviews in English did not appear to pose a problem. Interviews were chosen to be conducted in English due to my lack of proficiency in Mandarin and in other languages spoken in China. I am aware that both the choice of language as well as location may have affected the answers.

Five of the interviewees were from direct controlled municipalities (Beijing, Tianjin and Shanghai) and five from special administrative regions (Hong Kong and Macao), while three were from autonomous regions of Inner Mongolia and Guangxi and three from provinces of Jiangsu and Guangdong. All the interviewees were in Lapland only for a few days. Their reasons for coming to Lapland included seeing Santa Claus, Northern lights and snowy activities.

I chose to interview Chinese millennials not only because they are seen as the key driver of Chinese outbound tourism but also because they could offer a different perspective to sensory perceptions of Lapland. As Porteous (1985, p. 360) writes “insiders may not be the best witnesses because of habituation”. What Porteous (1985, p. 358) calls “the habituation effect”, can be especially well seen with olfactory perceptions. When entering a new place, the smell may seem very strong but after a while it seems to have disappeared. Smells however rarely disappear, but instead their intensity declines after being exposed to them (Porteous, 1985, p. 358). Non-residents, like visitors, can then offer insights that insiders cannot due to the fact they have been habituated. According to Henshaw (2014, p. 43) after a prolonged exposure to odours, smells are only noticed if they present a threat or pleasure. When I started planning the research, both China and India were struggling with air pollution. According to database published in 2016 by the WHO, the worst air quality in the world was measured in Riyadh in Saudi Arabia, Delhi in India, Bamenda in Cameroon, Peshawar in Pakistan and Baoding in China (Finnish Meteorological Institute, 2016). Instead of interviewing Indians, Chinese tourists were chosen because of their amount in Lapland was increasing rapidly thus locating them was easier. Also, the fact in China clean air tourism is a term, used both in media as well as in academic texts (see Chen, Lu, & Ng, 2015), affected the decision.

According to the statistics, the annual average concentration of PM_{2.5} in 2018 among the respondents' hometowns in China, was the highest in the cities of Zhenjiang, Tianjin and Beijing (National Bureau of Statistics China, 2019). The lowest average concentrations were found from Shanghai, Guangzhou and Nanning, of which the latter is known as the “Green City” (National Bureau of Statistics China, 2019). The subscripts after the abbreviation PM indicate the size of particles, i.e. particles less than 10 micrometres (μm) are called coarse particles (PM₁₀), while particles with a diameter of 2,5 μm or less are called fine particles (PM_{2.5}) and the fine particles which are smaller than 0,1 μm are referred to as ultrafine

particles (Salonen & Pennanen, 2006, pp. 5, 11). Some monitoring stations only measure PM₁₀, though measuring also PM_{2.5} has become more common (Salonen & Pennanen, 2006, p. 11; WHO, 2016b, p. 21). Both PM_{2.5} and PM₁₀ are often reported in terms of annual or daily mean concentrations of particles per cubic meter of air volume, and expressed in terms of micrograms per cubic meter ($\mu\text{g}/\text{m}^3$) and for example the National Bureau of Statistics of China reports ambient air quality by annual average concentration of both PM_{2.5} and PM₁₀ ($\mu\text{g}/\text{m}^3$) (National Bureau of Statistics China, 2019; Salonen & Pennanen, 2006, p. 11). Current WHO air quality guideline (AQG) annual mean levels of PMs are 10 $\mu\text{g}/\text{m}^3$ for PM_{2.5} and 20 $\mu\text{g}/\text{m}^3$ for PM₁₀ (WHO, 2016b, p. 21). In all the 10 cities where the respondents were from, both PM_{2.5} and PM₁₀ levels were above the annual AQG levels (see National Bureau of Statistics China, 2019).

The empirical materials were collected during interaction between participants and researcher so my role is important to the research. As Jennings (2010, p. 42) points out I need to be aware that my research findings will not represent the whole population. They will be specific to those who participated and offer one explanation of the tourism phenomena. As Slevitch (2011, p. 77) writes qualitative research is based on the epistemological premise that the researcher can only offer his or her interpretation of the interpretations of others. Even though Slevitch (2011, p. 78) claims that the sample size is irrelevant in qualitative methodology, there are a few ways to know when to stop collecting empirical materials, like using the principle of qualitative informational isomorph.

3.3 Analysing the data

After the conducting the interviewees, I transcribed the recorded interviewees. Transcribing the interviews was quite slow and time-consuming process because it required listening to interviews multiple times to make sure that the transcription was accurate. Since most of the interviews had two participants, I also needed to be sure that I had identified each different voice and coded each phrase to right participant. The interviews were firstly transcribed roughly without any utterances. After making the rough transcription I listened each interview carefully for multiple times to capture not only what the interviewee was saying but also to describe utterances, false-starts, non-verbal sounds, background noises and filler words (such as “yeah”, “oh”, “mm”). Non-verbal sounds included sighs, laughter and pauses. My goal was

to produce verbatim transcription which captures all the sounds accurately. Transcription generated 33 pages of transcribed data, when font being Times New Roman, point size 12, margins 2 cm and line spacing 1.5. When quoting the transcribed interviews disfluencies and filler-words that did not appear to be relevant have been removed to make reading easier. However, I did not correct the grammatical errors, but instead left the grammatical errors in the quotations.

I analysed the empirical materials by using hermeneutic phenomenological approach. As Pernecky and Jamal (2010, p. 1068) write, compared to Husserlian phenomenology, hermeneutic phenomenological approach considers the whole process of interpreting as well as the role of the interpreter. I started the process by reflecting and writing down my own presuppositions regarding to the research subject. I did this before conducting any interviews. I also interviewed myself by using the semi-structured interview schedule. According to Tökkäri (2018, p. 65) the previous experiences and presuppositions influence the work of the researcher. The presuppositions should be acknowledged and then used in the research (Tökkäri, 2018, p. 65). My preunderstanding of the subject is based on my personal experiences, all the texts I have read and of course on my Bachelor thesis. According to my preunderstanding Chinese tourists view Lapland as a clean place and cleanliness is manifested by the natural elements of environment: water, earth and air. To my understand to Chinese youth clean air is not a reason for travelling itself, but it can be seen as a bonus factor.

Instead of being question and answer sessions, phenomenological interviews can be described as conversations that encourage to open and natural dialogue through descriptive questions (Laine, 2015; Pollio, Henley, & Thompson, 1997, p. 35). The choice of using interviews as the method of data collection and hermeneutic phenomenological approach as the analysing method complimented each other. Hermeneutic phenomenological approach requires critical reflection and using the process of interpretation called hermeneutic circle (Laine, 2015; Porter & Cohen, 2013, p. 185).

The hermeneutic circle guides the researcher through the analysing process and it can be described as continuous dialogue with the data (Laine, 2015). The aim of the dialogue, according to Laine (2015), is to achieve an open attitude towards the other through critical reflection. Hermeneutic circle requires reflexive awareness and drawing from Porter and Cohen's (2013, p. 181) text, it can be described as following. By understanding parts of the

text and integrating them together, the researcher can start to understand and form a bigger picture of the whole. And by understanding the whole, the researcher can understand the parts better and more deeply. Understanding happens in circular motion from understanding the parts to understanding the whole, and from there to understanding the parts again. Hence the name, hermeneutic circle.

In this study the process of hermeneutic circle followed the one described by Porter and Cohen (2013, pp. 181, 184–185). It started by listening each transcript several times to produce verbatim transcription and also to obtain a sense of the whole, both each interview as well as the whole data generated by all the interviews. By reading the interviews word by word, themes are identified, and words, phrases and parts highlighted. After beginning to have a vague understanding of the whole I returned to the parts of the interviews to examine them in a deeper level and in relation to the whole. This revealed something new of the new whole and as the understanding of the whole changed, I needed to have a look at the parts. By continuing the circular motion of examining the interviews I was able to identify reoccurring and shared themes.

I wrote the themes down and grouped them together on separate word-files for further analysing. After having listened the interviews for multiple times I had some preliminary thoughts about the whole data and the themes that seemed to reoccur. However, before writing down any themes I went back to reading the transcriptions of each interview. I highlighted the words and phrases that seemed to reveal themes and meanings beyond the actual words. I wrote these preliminary themes down before continuing the circular movement by examining the whole data in the light of these preliminary themes. I continued the circular movement by reading, highlighting and writing down the themes that reoccurred in the text until I started to find broader shared themes in the texts. I did also highlight the contradicting views and wrote down what was not said, for example as seen in the Table 2. Example of the analysis, where the respondent did not mention the natural features of physical environment.

When analysing the transcriptions two shared themes were identified to describe the dirtiness of the environment and these two themes compose the chapter 4. *Dirt as a human related issue*. The chapter 5. *Signs of cleanliness in the Arctic*, describes, as the name implies, the different signs of cleanliness that were identified through the data analysis. The chapter 6.

Arctic purity as a selling point concentrates on the sensory perceptions that were identified to describe the air of Lapland but also on the features that were seen as nature attractions of the Arctic region and of Lapland, the air quality and environmental quality.

Table 2. Example of the analysis

Original transcription	Preliminary themes	Broader themes
Researcher: So if you think about a dirty place do you hear some kind of sounds? I3b: Engines. I3a: Yeah, engines. I3b: Factories. I3a: Kind of bum bum bum, sounds like this. I3b: Motors. Road.	Industrial noises Manufacturing noises Traffic noise	Olfactory perceptions related to industrial, urban environments No sounds of natural features of physical environment mentioned

Interpretivist paradigm, also known as the constructivist paradigm, guides this research. As The interpretive paradigm or also known as the constructivist paradigm acknowledges that the world is composed of multiple realities, thus assuming a relativist ontology (Jennings, 2010, p. 40; Kivunja & Kuyini, 2017, p. 33). The research is also grounded in subjectivist epistemology, meaning that the researcher is a vital part of the interpretation, and the subjectivity cannot be “bracketed” or suspended (Kivunja & Kuyini, 2017, p. 33). According to Tribe (2001, p. 445) the interpretive approach seeks understanding and meaning, and the methods deployed under the paradigm range from the more structured qualitative techniques to the more artistic methods, such as hermeneutics. As Jennings (2005, p. 104; 2010, pp. 40–41) writes, the use of semi-structured interviews is consistent with the constructivist/interpretivist paradigm since the empirical materials should be collected in the real world.

3.4 Ethical issues and challenges of the research

Ethical issues are part of this research as of any research. The ethical principles and guidelines of the Finnish Advisory Board on Research Integrity (see for example TENK, 2019) have been guiding this research. The ethical principles include respecting the dignity and autonomy of the participants, the material and immaterial cultural heritage and biodiversity and conducting the research in a way that it does not cause damage or harm the participants (TENK, 2019, p. 50). In research related humans and human behaviour, consent, confidentiality, consequences and privacy are generally viewed as the most important ethical principles (Hirsjärvi & Hurme, 2015). The participation to this research was voluntary. People who were asked to participate were able to refuse, which some of them did. Each of the interviewees signed the letter of consent and they all received a copy of it (See Appendix 2). The letter included my contact information in case they wish to withdraw their permission after signing the document, they could do it simply by informing me. Should they have chosen or choose to withdraw from the study there are no consequences to them, as the ethical principles state (TENK, 2019, p. 51). Also as mentioned in the ethical principles (TENK, 2019), all the participants have right to receive information about the research and the processing of personal data and how the research is conducted. In the beginning of each interview I explained the purpose of the study and told them where the data generated by the interviews will be used, as well as gave my supervisor's contact information, in case they wished to obtain more information regarding to the study.

The processing of personal data, meaning the data that can be used to identify a person, must be planned, responsible and processed lawfully (TENK, 2019, p. 54). As mentioned in the ethical principles, the data collected from the interviewees', such as the audiotaped interviews and the signed letters of consent, are stored separately and protected from outsiders' access. Though the interviewees do not mention their names in the audiotaped recordings, as Kuula (2011, p. 81) mentions, each person has a unique voice that is a biometric identifier and can be viewed as personal data.

Privacy of people participating in the research needs to be protected (TENK, 2019, p. 56). To ensure the anonymity of the participants I am not mentioning the names of the participants. Instead of using the names of the interviewees, each participant has been labelled by a code

(see Table 1). I also decided only to include the gender and hometown of each participant when describing the interviewees.

As Rastas (2005) writes, it is impossible to think any interview in which there would be no differences, either cultural or other, between the interviewer and the interviewee. However, the interviewer needs to be aware that both the interviewee's and his or her own way of interpreting and understanding things, affect the interview and the data generated by it. As Moilanen and Rähkä (2015, p. 52) writes, in cross-cultural communication misunderstanding can occur easily. I do not claim to know all the meanings related to Chinese culture, so the results of this study are my interpretations. Though I am part of the same generational cohort as the interviewees, I know that we have grown among different cultures and our views have been affected by different events. I am also aware that the fact that the interviews were conducted in English, which was not my mother tongue nor the respondents, may have affected the responses. In my Bachelor thesis I was studying the unfamiliar and studying Chinese tourists' perceptions is still quite unfamiliar to me because I have never been to China. I have however experience on doing research about air quality and interviewing Chinese tourists.

The data generated by interviews is always verbal material produced in interaction, meaning that both the researcher and language play an important role in an interview research (Ruusuvuori & Tiittula, 2005; Hirsjärvi & Hurme, 2015, p. 49). According to Ruusuvuori and Tiittula (2005), during the interviewing process the interviewer should minimize his or her own impact on the answers and use neutral responses. In practice this might sometimes be difficult (Ruusuvuori & Tiittula, 2005). When conducting the interviews, I tried not to influence the responses by using either positive or negative verbal or non-verbal responses to interviewees' comments.

4. DIRT AS A HUMAN RELATED ISSUE

This chapter constructs an image of a dirty place. It focuses on describing the two central features of a dirty environment, identified by analysing the interview data. The chapter starts with presenting urbanity and urban places as perceived dirty environments. The second sub-chapter focused on illustrating how humans and especially crowding are seen to indicate and also increase dirtiness.

4.1 Dirtiness of urbanity

Imaginary dirty place was described to a place, where visibility is really bad, air is filled with dust and ashes, water is not clear, and ground is covered with garbage and rubbish. Some respondents were also mentioning existing countries, like India and China or particular places in China, such as Delta area and Beijing. Sources of smells that were considered dirty included rubbish, waste, gasoline, ethanol, smoke and interestingly also cooking. It is notable that the sources were all related to humans and urban smellscapes. This is consistent with Porteous (1985, p. 359) notion, that

Generalized dislikes, in contrast, include many chemical and synthetic smells, especially those emitted by chemical factories, food-processing plants, refineries, garbage dumps, and most of all, engines, especially diesel engines.

As Henshaw et al. (2015, p. 158) also notes, smells from urban environments are often described as unpleasant. According to Dan and Jacobsen (2003) in travel writing rural smellscapes are also portrayed more positively than urban smellscapes. It is then unfortunate, as Porteous (1985, p. 359) writes “the majority of people in industrial societies is confined to urban areas dominated by machinekind.” As Henshaw (2014, p. 15) notes, by locating some of the odour-producing sources such as factories or highways way from the urban centres has resulted that now the remaining odours are coming from restaurants, pubs, shops and residential buildings. However, by adding natural elements, such as trees and plants to the urban environments, olfactory experiences can be altered.

According to Henshaw (2014, p. 14) “odour is considered to have both the ability to cause direct harm to people, such as would be the case if a person was to breathe in and smell a toxic substance such as ammonia or smoke, and also to cause indirect harm by stimulating

annoyance". This is consistent with views of the interviewed Chinese millennials, since both direct and indirect harm were mentioned when describing the feelings of breathing and smelling unpleasant odours. Sensations caused by the dirty smells were described as irritating, terrible and disgusting, but also as dangerous, not feeling good, getting ill and feeling sore.

Sounds that respondents associated with dirtiness, included cars, engines and traffic in general, factories and construction noises. As the male respondent from Hong Kong states:

If it is all industrialised with noise from the machines, I would expect to be a lot of pollution, mostly air pollution and also sound pollution or even the light pollution. It is pretty common in urban cities, in most of these big cities around the world, yes. (I4)

Interestingly one of the respondents (I9b) also stated the sound of fire, that according to him, made him "think of smoke and to feel it is dirty". Also, people's voices, especially if the sounds were loud, were associated with dirt. This is consistent with Harris' (2008) findings, that suggest Chinese people often ranking noise among the most important environmental concerns.

Visual perceptions included mud and dirt on the roads, rubbish and waste and also both animal and human secretions (blood, urine, faeces, etc.). Though animals were mainly seen as a sign of cleanliness, their secretions and especially excrements were an example of the opposite. Though none of the respondents mentioned an open-air landfill, especially the descriptions of visual perceptions such as "too many rubbish are over round" (I1a) and "rubbish field" (I3a) could refer to landfill.

According to one of the respondents (I9b), tactile sensations were felt "in my mouth, in my nose, in my stomach, and in my throat, almost everywhere in my body". Being in a dirty place made all the respondents wanting to get out from there as soon as possible and worried about the health effects being there might cause to their bodies. According to the respondent from Zhenjiang (I2a) dirty place made herself feel dirty.

According to the respondents, taste was by far the most difficult sense to describe when thinking of a dirty place. All of the respondents said that it was a terrible taste and they preferred not to taste it but appointing a certain taste as dirty was considered hard. However, a few the respondents did mention a chemical taste and cigarette taste. Just like tastes that were associated with dirtiness, respondents struggled to describe any tastes that reminded them of

cleanliness. The fact that not a single taste was considered to demonstrate cleanliness, tells about the subjectivity of taste. As Borthwick (2000, p. 128) writes, taste along with smell is a subjective sense and taste has been used as the sense of judgement. Interestingly one of the respondents (I9b) stated that food did not need to taste good to be clean and safe to eat. Tasteless and even bad tasting food could according to the interviewee still be clean and pure. This could be seen questioning the earlier claim that eating could be seen as the ultimate test for purity, since how can someone willingly eat something that tastes bad?

4.2 Pollution and crowding

For a long time, many of the tourism destinations around the world have sought to increase the amount of tourists, as Oklevik et al. (2019) write. Recently the rapid growth of tourism and the problems it brings along, such as crowding and localised inflation, has created tension and dissonance in the destinations (Oklevik et al., 2019). Destinations, such as Reykjavik and Barcelona, have realised that it is possible to have too many tourists, and how the large influx affects the environment and society (Clampet, 2017; Oklevik et al., 2019). To solve the problem, destinations have followed different strategies (Clampet, 2017). While some destinations have started to limit the number of arrivals, others have applied taxes or fees or are trying to direct tourists to other areas (Clampet, 2017; Oklevik et al., 2019). The growth of tourism has resulted in increasing pressure on infrastructure, mobility, natural resources, congestion management and caused socio-cultural impacts (UNWTO, 2018, p. 4)

According to UNWTO (2018, p. 4) the negative impact of having too many tourists, also called as overtourism, can be defined as “the impact of tourism on a destination, or parts thereof, that excessively influences perceived quality of life of citizens and/or quality of visitors experiences in a negative way”. The excess amount of people were seen to cause pollution as one of the respondents (I7b) explains: “the pollution is one of the big problems in Hong Kong. Because we have too many vehicles, too many cars, and we have too many peoples actually.” As the number increases, the environmental quality deteriorates, as the respondent from Nanning (I8b) explains: “Well, Lapland is clean because there is so less inhabitants, yes. If there is more tourists or more population I am pretty much sure it will get worse.” Thus, the tourism carrying capacity of a destination should be taken in to

consideration in tourism development to ensure that the environmental quality will not deteriorate.

Dirty places were considered, as described before, to be urban places filled with sensory perceptions caused by human behaviour. All of the interviewees associated humans with dirt. People and all the sensory perceptions caused by them were seen as signs of dirtiness, as a male respondent from Hong Kong notes:

I think some construction noise, some people talking loudly, and some loud music and car noises. Because when the place is not silent or is very crowded, I think the area should not be clean. Because there is too many peoples there. (I7b)

Humans were seen to “make problems” (I9a) as a female respondent from Hohhot stated. Lagerspetz (2018, p. 180) calls the polluting effect of human presence as a “negative Midas touch”. He refers to the Greek myth of King Midas, who turned everything he touched to gold. Human touch, on the contrary to Midas’, turns everything it touches to waste and dirt.

Stokols, (1972, p. 75) writes, that crowding is experienced “when the individual’s demand for space exceeds the available supply”. According to crowding can be divided to nonsocial and social crowding. While the former is related to physical factors of the space, the latter is related to “the presence of other persons, as well as to his relationship to them” (Stokols, 1972, p. 75). Meaning that one can feel crowded among strangers, but the same number of friends might not evoke the feeling of crowding. Though people were seen causing pollution and making a place dirty, for some respondents, clean place did not necessarily need to be completely uninhabited. Of course, having “fewer people living there” (I4), “place with few people” (I2b) or “where a few people have arrived” (I9a) is a matter of perspective, since “fewer” can mean different amount for a person coming from a city of 7,5 million inhabitants than it does to a person coming from a much smaller city. This however, raises a question of how many people do make a place dirty? And does this apply to oneself and does one’s relationship with the other persons affect the experience: do only the strangers pollute the environment?

Finding completely pure, uninhabited environment where there is no evidence of human presence or its actions might be impossible. Different types of waste generated by humans can be found even from the most remote places of the world, such as the findings of microplastic pollution from deep-sea sediments (Van Cauwenberghe, Vanreusel, Mees, & Janssen, 2013).

As Lagerspetz (2018, p. 181, emphasis in original) notes, “naturalness must not be understood as absolute isolation from everything human” but instead “it is an aspect of *human* environment”. Lagerspetz (2018, p. 58, emphasis in original) claims that “once the *untouched* state is disturbed it is lost for ever, and its restoration is humanly impossible”, meaning that after the nature has been controlled and modified by humans it can no longer be called pure. If this is the case, can a dirty or polluted nature be cleaned? And if the clean nature is result of human effort, does the nature that has been cleaned cease to be nature and turn into part of human environment or culture? To what extend can humans control or affect to nature before it ceases to be nature? Or can nature clean itself through forces of nature such as rains and even epochs like Ice Age? Maybe both cleanliness and purity of environment are in the eye of beholder: what we consider pure and untouched now, might not have been it two hundred years ago nor may it be in the future or in the eyes of a different person. Over time, objects and even environments can become both pure and clean again.

5. SIGNS OF CLEANLINESS IN THE ARCTIC

As noted in the previous chapter, humans, urban development and transportation were considered to indicate dirtiness of the environment. The lack of sensory perceptions of urban environments and crowding were seen as signs of cleanliness. However, other signs were also identified. In this chapter those signs are discussed in detail. The discussion starts with the visual perception of snow, continuing to auditory perceptions or the lack of them, in form of silence. Also the role of wild animals, both seen and heard, is discussed. Olfactory perceptions of cleanliness are reflected in the sub-chapter regarding smells of forest. The last sub-chapter suggest that remoteness and difficulty to access were also seen to indicate the cleanliness of the environment.

5.1 “You have snow, and it’s all white. That gives you a feeling that it’s all clean.” White snow as a sign of cleanliness

At the time when interviews were made, Rovaniemi had plenty of snow, which may have caused that snow and its different colours were mentioned multiple times when speaking of the cleanliness of the environment. Snow was seen a sign of cleanliness which is consisted with the findings of an earlier study (see Takala, 2016). White snow was considered pure and clean, while all the other colours of snow were perceived as dirty. White colour is generally associated with cleanliness, while black is seen as a potential dirt, that can pollute the whiteness (Sherman & Clore, 2009). Sand, when mixing with the snow, pollutes the clean snow and turns it to brown, grey or black. Sand in this case can be seen as a matter of place as Douglas (1966/2002) would argue, or as an additive as Lagerspetz (2018) writes. According to Lagerspetz (2018, p. 47) granular substances such as grains of sand are ruled out of being dirt by the fact that they do stick to master object. However, when it comes to snow, grains of sand do seem to stick to snow and thus can be seen as dirt. If snow is valued in its own sake, it can be considered as primary master object. However, it can also be viewed as secondary master object if it is feared to stain other primary master objects, for example one’s clothing.

Miller (1997, p. 16) questions whether “snow is polluting anywhere” and according to the interviewed Chinese millennials, snow can be polluting. According to the respondents snow was considered dirty when it was no longer white but instead discoloured or mixed with mud,

sand or other substances, as a female respondent (I5) from Guangzhou states “if in the snow you see mud, that looks dirty”. In Lapland dirtiness was seen to manifest through smoke caused by burning of the wood, animal secretions, roads and snow. Roads were considered dirty because of the mixture of sand and snow. If the tourists only consider white snow as clean, they might not find Lapland clean during their visit, especially when the snow is partly melted or mixed with sand or other substances. Since Lapland is marketed as clean place this can affect their experience negatively. And if the polluting powers are, as Miller (1997, p. 9) claims, stronger than the purifying powers a small amount of sand can pollute a vast area of snow and thus make the surroundings look dirty.

The male respondent from Tianjin (I9b) also stated that even though he thought of forests as clean places, he considered them even cleaner when being covered with white snow. Snow could then enhance the cleanliness of the environment. A deep blanket of snow might also disguise otherwise dirty place such as landfill to look clean. The amount however, could be crucial and further studies could provide better understanding and insight into whether the amount plays an important role. Only a small amount of snow might not enhance the perception of cleanliness but instead the thin cover of snow could be seen as indicating the opposite.

Climate is changing and in the Arctic region the rapid warming of the average annual temperature may result decrease of snow cover (Johnston, 2011, p. 24). As Johnston (2011, p. 24) writes, we need to think the importance of the image of an ice- and snow-covered environment to tourists’ expectations and satisfaction. However, as the climate changes, attractions will change and as Johnston (2011, p. 24) points out, also tourist perceptions might change. Because of the great amount of importance that was given to the condition of snow the future research opportunities include researching how purity is sensed and experienced when there is no snow on the ground.

5.2 “Silent. Silence could be one of the major factors to place is clean.” Silence as a sign of cleanliness

Silence is often viewed as the absence of sound (Sardello, 2008, p. 7; see also Silvennoinen & Veijola, 2012, p. 24). As Silvennoinen and Veijola (2012, pp. 24–25) write, instead of being complete absence of sounds, silence can be understood in broader way and through its

different dimensions, as follows. In the acoustic dimension, silence manifests itself in sounds either through the act of hearing or through signs referring to sounds. The physical dimension of silence is related to its multisensory nature. Silence can be perceived not only through hearing but also through other sensory perceptions. The social dimension of silence means that silence can be constructed either alone or in the presence of others. In addition to acoustic, physical and social dimensions of silence Silvennoinen and Veijola (2012, p. 25) also mention the dimension of place and temporal dimension. The dimension of place not only provides a space for the silence but also affects what how silence is constructed in other dimensions. The temporal dimension of silence emphasizes the importance of time perception in the experience of silence. Silence requires the flexibility of time perception or even its absence.

Just as noted in the previous chapter, cleanliness does not require complete absence of others. And as Silvennoinen and Veijola (2012, p. 25) write, neither does silence. Instead, the presence of others can actually strengthen both, the experience of silence and the experience of cleanliness of the environment. Silence does not also need complete absence of sounds. Auditory perceptions of cleanliness often included silence but also sounds of nature and animals were mentioned by the respondents. When picturing herself in a clean place female respondent from Hong Kong (I3a) said “maybe I can hear the birds, but it’s so quiet”. To Veijola (2007, as cited in Silvennoinen and Veijola, 2012, p. 24) silence is not a synonym to absence of sounds, but at the same time it cannot contain unpleasant sounds, noises. To the respondent the clean place was not completely silent but despite the birds and their singing the place was still quiet.

As Raymond Murray Schafer (1994) notes, likes and dislikes of certain sounds and soundscapes are influenced by climate and geography. Living in urban environments Chinese millennials seem to long for sounds they could not hear in their everyday life. This is consistent with Schafer’s (1994) findings that “reactions to nature are affected by the degree of proximity” meaning that “technological sounds are strongly disliked in technologically advanced countries” and as humans move away from the nature, the soundscapes of nature seen in more positive way. For example, for an inland inhabitant the sound of a distant element, such as waves crashing on the shore, is not something to be afraid for example in form of tsunami. Instead because peculiarity of the sounds related to sea they may be viewed as pleasant and reminding of holidays by the beach. Sounds of nature and animals, such as

birds singing and wind blowing through trees, might not part of urban soundscapes and could thus be associated with cleanliness.

5.3 The presence of wild animals as a sign of cleanliness

As noted in the previous chapter, though animal secretions were considered dirty, animals were considered clean, as the male respondent from Hong Kong explained:

Because you know the animals will choose the place to be clean when they go, when they choose the place to live. I think clean place is one of the fundamental conditions for the animals. Just like in Hong Kong you cannot find the animals in a city because it is too polluted. (I7b)

The notion of animals as signs of cleanliness might contradict the Miller's (1997, p. 16) view of animals as more disgusting than non-living objects. It is however important to remember that interviews were conducted outdoors which may have affected to answers in a way that non-living objects were not thought of.

Though animals may seek to live in places away from humans, cities and surrounding areas are also nesting places for many species. Urban animal species in many cities include rats, mice, and bird species such as pigeons. The animal species respondents mentioned were not domesticated animals, such as pets or farm animals, but instead wild animals. One respondent (I9b) stated that animals, such as birds and moose, were smart and thus would seek a clean place to live in. The visual and auditory perceptions of animals such as seeing animals or hearing birds singing were associated with the cleanliness of the environment. Just like with silence, also the positive reaction to animals could be the result of their absence in the Chinese millennials everyday life.

In her research Müller (2014, p. 116) found out that Arctic animals, such as polar bears, were connected to the concept of "Arctic". Due to the climate change, polar bears, the iconic animals of the Arctic, as Johnston (2011, p. 24), calls them, face the threat of extinction. In addition to polar bears also other animal species of the Arctic region may become more endangered or even extinct due the rapid warming. How will it affect the tourists' experience and satisfaction if the tourists are expecting to see and hear animal species that they associate with the Arctic and also with cleanliness of the environment, but fail to see them or any sign

or presence of animals during their visit? Thus, different bird species could be used in the marketing campaign since many of them are relatively easy to spot from the nature.

According to Bohn, García-Rosell, and Äijälä (2018, pp. 3, 12), animals have become an important part of tourism experiences and “animal-based tourism services have a considerable direct and indirect impact on Lapland’s economy”. Animal-based tourism services include the use of animals in tourism activities, such as husky safaris, but also the human-animal encounters in the nature (Bohn, García-Rosell, & Äijälä, 2018). According to Bohn, García-Rosell, and Äijälä (2018, p. 3), along with reindeer and huskies, which have become important attractions and symbols of Lapland, also wild animals are used to in the marketing campaigns of Finland. As Äijälä, García-Rosell, and Haanpää (2016) state, there is a growing concern of animal welfare and their role in tourism that will also affect consumption preferences. Therefore, tourism development should take into consideration not only the welfare of the animals used in tourism activities but also the living conditions of the wild animals.

5.4 “There is the smell of grass that I always think it’s clean.” Smell of nature as a sign of cleanliness

Societies are becoming increasingly scentless, antiseptic and homogenised (Henshaw, 2014, p. 20). The deodorisation of public spaces creates sterile and strictly controlled smellscape that, as Drobnick (2002, p. 34; see also Henshaw, 2014, p. 20) writes, “lead to an alienating sense of placelessness”. By eliminating all smells, both unpleasant and pleasant ones, the scenscapes turn into blandscapes (Porteous, 1985, p. 375). Though some respondents associated scentless environments with cleanliness, others expressed contradicting views. Instead of the total absence of smells, particular smells of nature and especially of forests, were seen to indicate cleanliness. When being asked to describe smells of a clean place one of the respondents noted: “I think we can smell the greenery smell. Greenery from the planting, from landscape.” (I7a) When describing a smell of a certain place, instead of depicting odour qualities people usually describe the source of the smell (see Rindisbacher, 1992, p. 330; Dann & Jacobsen, 2003, p. 4; Henshaw, 2014, p. 16). According to Rindisbacher (1992, p. 330, emphasis in original) “there *are* no other ways of referencing smells than those indicating origin, and the evaluative categories of good and bad”. Sources of smells that respondents considered clean and pure included grass, trees, sea, flowers, and other scents

related to plants. Trees, forests and all kinds of plants were considered to be clean and making a place cleaner. Especially trees were seen as a sign of clean environment, due to the fact that they “absorb carbon dioxide” and “produce oxygen” as a female from Beijing (I6a) and male from Tianjin (I9b) both noted.

Henshaw (2014, p. 9) rightfully questions, “whether smell truly is of less meaning and use in society today, or whether this lack of appreciation is instead the product, a side-effect, of the prolonged development of built environments that fail to delight our nostrils”. If the public spaces were to “delight our nostrils” would we appreciate smells more? Often unpleasant smells are being removed through deodorisation, but rarely are places scented by introducing new odours. As Henshaw (2014, p. 15) claims, most of the policies regarding to urban smellscapes are focused on diminishing the negative odours instead of accentuating positive smells. Since smells can be very memorable, pleasant smells could be more present in public spaces and used in the tourism destinations. Instead of creating blandscapes, or letting unpleasant smells to appear in sterile environments, pleasant smells could be used to differentiate one place or company from other. Further research would however be required to the inhabitants or the travellers of Rovaniemi would prefer to have odours introduced to public spaces. And in case if they would, what could be the signature smell of Rovaniemi?

5.5 Difficulty to access as a sign of cleanliness

As mentioned in the previous chapter overtourism and the excess amount of presence of other humans were seen to make the place dirty. When the respondents were asked to describe a clean place, some countries, such as New Zealand, Japan, Switzerland, Iceland, Finland and Norway, were mentioned. However, the regions that were mentioned the most, were the world’s two polar regions, as one of the respondents (I4) states: “Antarctic. Or Arctic. Because these places are not over explored by humanity so there are fewer pollution sources.” This view of the polar regions as places without “anything that is polluting” (I5) was shared by most of the respondents. Male from Hong Kong (I7b) noted that though he considered North Pole clean, because the “lack of commercial activities”, the overall condition of environment had been deteriorated and it is no longer as clean as it used to be.

Both remoteness and difficulty to access were seen as indicating cleanliness. As a male respondent from Hong Kong (I7b) stated:

I think the clean area should be far away from the highway. Because when I think of clean places, they should be far distance, difficult to access. And you need to take a long of travel time to go there because it's far away from the city, I think the places is much cleaner.

As Nilsson (2016) writes, bad experiences can be turned into a good story. This is especially true with travelling, since sometimes the most unforgettable experiences and best stories are based on challenging and difficult experiences. As Saarinen (2017, p. 45) writes, for some tourism destinations poor accessibility is the asset and the core of their attractiveness. The island of Tristan da Cunha, can be seen as a good example of this. According to the Tristan da Cunha Tourism website “Tristan is not an easy place to get to, but is an unforgettable experience for people fortunate enough to make it”. The island claims to be “the most isolated community in the world” and claims not to have hotels, restaurants nor even an airport (Tristan da Cunha Tourism). As in the case with Tristan da Cunha, sometimes being less accessible and off the beaten path, can make the destination stand apart from the others. Some of the tourism destinations in Lapland have also understood that being relatively remote and hard to reach, can be a positive thing, differentiating them from the others. For example, Salla is marketed and described as being “in the middle of nowhere”, Inari-Saariselkä as “far in the north” and in Sodankylä and Sompio you can experience the “call of the living backwoods” (House of Lapland, Where, what and...). As Grenier (2007, p. 58) mentions, polar tourism aims to provide a different experience. People experiencing crowding in their everyday life may seek for change and visit the uncrowded places. The remoteness often seen as a burden, as Viken (2010, p. 113) claims, can however be an advantage and attractive selling point.

6. ARCTIC PURITY AS A SELLING POINT

This chapter with its three sub-chapters studies the Arctic air and the environmental quality of the region as natural attractions among the Chinese millennials. The first sub-chapter focuses on the sensory perception related to air quality, describing how both clean and dirty air are perceived through sensory modalities as well as how the respondents sensed the air in Lapland. The second sub-chapter examines clean air tourism and whether the air pollution affected the interviewees actions and decisions on daily basis. The third sub-chapter discusses of the environmental quality as a reason for travelling. The chapter also presents some practical implications for tourism development in Lapland.

6.1 The sensory perceptions of air

“The air is quite different. So that’s why I take more breaths here. We are just enjoying here, but we cannot bring anything back to Hong Kong.” (I7a)

The difference of air quality between Lapland and the respondents’ hometowns in China was noted by most of the respondents, as the quote above illustrates. Air of Lapland was described by various words, but most by words fresh, clean, and clear. Other descriptive words included beautiful, comfortable, sweet and dry. All the respondents viewed the air quality in Lapland as good and better than in their hometowns. The results indicate that among the interviewed Chinese millennials the air quality of Lapland is viewed positively, and thus Lapland could reinforce its the image as a clean air tourism destination, especially among the Chinese travellers. The air in China was described to be more humid, and more polluted. Only two respondents, a female and a male from Nanning, said that the air quality in their hometown did not differ greatly from the air quality in Lapland.

While dirty air can easily be noticed and felt, as the quote “in China I can always feel smoke when breathing, like something is burning you” (I2a) illustrates. One respondent (I6b) described that breathing dirty air felt like having dust in the nose and in the mouth. Dirty air was also visible “you can see dust or some black particles in air” (I7b), audible “it’s noisy” (I8b), odorous “smell of petrol and smoke” (I6a) and even gustable “it’s terrible really, I try not to taste it” (I6b). When thinking the sensory perceptions related to clean air, the results

reinforce the image of unperceivable air that could not be felt nor seen (see Takala, 2016). Olfactory perceptions divided respondents, as mentioned in the previous chapter, some respondents associated cleanliness with smells of nature, “smells of snow, trees and all the natural things” (I1a) while others described a scentless environment. In addition to the olfactory, tactile and visual modalities, also gustatory and auditory modalities and perceptions were included. According to respondents, clean air did not have a taste, it was clean precisely “because it has no taste” (I1a). Auditory perceptions were twofold, either clean air was seen to be soundless and silent or the cleanliness was constructed through natural sounds, such as wind, running water and birds voices. Urban noises were however associated with air pollution and with dirt in overall. Despite the diversified opinions on auditory and olfactory perceptions, all the respondents considered clean air to be tasteless air that could not be felt nor seen.

In the earlier study (Takala, 2016) most of the respondents considered vision as the most important sense when assessing air quality. Unlike the results of the earlier study, most of the respondents considered tactile and olfactory sensory perceptions to be even more important than visual perceptions of air quality. Some respondents highlighted the importance of olfactory perceptions, as the male respondent (I7b) explains “I think this [smell] is one of my major factors when I consider whether the air is clean or not.” Another respondent (I9b) claimed that instead of visual or olfactory annoyance and harm air pollution causes, “the feeling is the worst”. When describing sensory perceptions related to air pollution, the respondents mostly depicted olfactory and tactile sensations. Visual sensations were also mentioned but not as frequently as olfactory and tactile sensations. The diversified opinions illustrate that sensory perceptions are not only shaped by culture but also by personal meanings.

None of the respondents were aware of the air quality in Lapland neither before coming to Lapland nor during their stay, but all assumed it was good and much cleaner than in China. The image of Lapland as a clean air tourism destination could be reinforced by publishing the results of air quality measurements to tourists. The air quality information could be integrated for example to applications predicting the Northern lights or published in the webpages of regional tourism marketing organisations.

6.2 Clean air tourism

The results of Harris' (2008) study indicate that majority of Chinese are more concerned with environmental qualities and problems that directly affect their daily lives, such as air pollution. Thus, it is no wonder that all the interviewed Chinese millennials were familiar with the term 'clean air tourism'. As mentioned before, the clean air tourism is used in academic texts, for example by Chen, Lu, and Ng (2015, p. 75). According to them (2015, p. 75) "clean air is an important natural tourism resource". There is no well-known definition for clean air tourism, but it could be described as tourism based on clean air of an area. Clean air tourism is also referred as 'lung washing tours', 'smog-escaping tourism' and 'haze-avoidance tourism' (see Arlt, 2017; More Chinese..., 2014; Waldmeir, 2014).

When asked to describe clean air tourism, one respondent (I4) described it as "The big cities are getting more polluted and people living there, they just want to, you know, take a breath and take a rest and going around the world with clean air." According to male interviewee from Hong Kong (I7b), Chinese travel to clean air tourism destinations "because in the urban city in China the air is extremely polluted so that's why doing vacation they want to travel to somewhere where they can find the fresh air". Tourists travelling to clean air destinations were thought be coming from densely populated urban and industrialised areas.

According to the respondents the clean air tourism destinations were either seen as being sparsely populated destinations, such as Arctic or Antarctic regions, or countries where environmental awareness was higher. One respondent (I7a) claimed that Netherlands could be a clean air tourism destination "because they have very strict regulation in the environmental issues. They promote their citizens to pick their bicycle instead of driving a car." So not only the amount of people, but also their behaviour as well as environmental regulations and restrictions, were seen as defining features of clean air tourism destinations.

Air pollution, given it's often easily perceived and visible nature, has a high impact on tourism (Eusébio, et al., 2020). According to the earlier studies, air pollution influences destination image negatively and reduces the number of tourists (see Deng, Li, & Ma, 2017; Xu & Dong, 2020). According to Xu and Dong (2020, p. 2) air quality influences the tourism destination choice for two reasons. Firstly, as Xu and Dong (2020, p. 5) write, air pollution causes physical but also mental health risks, such as depression which can cause inability to

feel joy and pleasure. Secondly, it also reduces the visibility thus affecting the enjoyment of scenic spots and the willingness to travel at all (Xu & Dong, 2020, p. 2). Zhou et al. (2018) also add that air pollution limits the chances to participate and engage in outdoor activities. Air pollution was mentioned by the interviewees to limit or even cancel activities and playing sports.

All the interviewees were familiar with applications used for checking the air quality, though the use of the applications varied. Some checked the air quality forecast daily or even hourly, some only during the winter season, when the air quality in China often deteriorates. The air quality forecasts did not affect the respondents actions or movements if the activity was necessary such as going to work. It did however, help them to determine whether to wear a mask when going outside or to even cancel their plans when those plans were not necessary, mostly during the evenings and weekends.

As Deng, Li, and Ma (2017) write, “air pollution is not a localized problem”, instead air pollution can spread and travel hundreds or thousands of kilometres, crossing national borders and thus affecting people far from the emission sources. This point was also stated by one of the respondents, as he stated the following

Because also Hong Kong is quite near to the mainland China. I think you should know that the air pollution in mainland China is quite serious. So the polluted air will blow from the China to Hong Kong that makes the situation get worse in Hong Kong. (I7b)

As Anttila (2012, p. 11) writes, not even sparsely populated Lapland is safe from air pollution. In their study Deng, Li, and Ma (2017) found out that air pollution of the neighbouring provinces affected negatively to the willingness of international tourists to travel to the local province and this spillover effect should be taken into consideration in tourism development and in inter-governmental environmental management. However, worsening air quality in tourism source country, could increase the tourism in the clean air tourism destinations. According to the study by Xu and Dong (2020) if the air quality worsened in the home countries of potential tourists they would be less willing to travel to China, but instead look for travel destinations with better air quality. This is consistent with the findings of Zhou et al. (2018) who claim that destinations with good air quality can attract tourists and serve as alternative destinations to those destinations with moderate or heavy level of air pollution. Good air quality can thus serve as a motivation when choosing a travel destination. According to Xu and Dong (2020) recent studies of air pollution and public

perception of air quality have shown that people's perception increases if the air quality in their home country worsens. Increasing air pollution in China will increase the concern about the problem among the Chinese and thus making them a potential market for clean air tourism. Therefore practical implications of this study include marketing Lapland as a clean air tourism destination, especially to source markets that have been proven to tackle with air pollution.

6.3 Environmental quality as a reason for travelling

According to earlier studies (see Becken et al., 2017; Eusébio et al., 2020; Mihalič, 2000) environmental quality can affect the tourism destination image and its competitiveness. According to the results of an earlier study (Takala, 2016) the young Chinese tourists did not see the air quality itself as a reason for travelling, though most of them believed that the cleanliness of the environment would become more important motive for travelling as they get older. The results of this study indicate that the interviewed Chinese millennials think that in the future the clean air and clean environment will become more important reasons for travelling. As the female respondent from Macao explains:

It [clean environment] is quite important. Because we are from the cities and you know it's like more pollution and rubbish around in the cities so I personally quite like the nature world, so I will go to a small, rural places. (I3b)

However, when being asked if the clean environment has been a reason for travelling in the past, unlike the results of an earlier study (see Takala, 2016), almost all the respondents claimed it had been a reason for them. The female respondent from Guangzhou (I5) however argued that though she saw it as a reason for travelling not everyone shared this view; "Yes and no, depends why you are travelling. Some people just want to see, they don't care too much about the environment, I think." The significance of the clean environment as a motive for travelling varied. One respondent (I2a) claimed that though it had been a part of the reason, it was never the main reason. A few other respondents however found it to be "a big, significant part of the reason" (I4) or "that's why we are also planning to travel to Switzerland" (I7a). For health tourists, such as asthma patients, clean air itself could be the main reason for travelling to certain destination. However, according to the interviewees, the importance of the environmental quality of tourism destinations will increase in the future and thus also air quality may become the main reason for other travellers as well.

Harris (2008) studied the environmental attitudes in China and according to him (Harris, 2008, p. 164; see also Packer, Ballantyne, & Hughes, 2014, p. 102) in addition to personal experiences, educational background, and access to information, also age, place of residence, and standard of living affect Chinese environmental attitudes. Younger generations of Chinese living in urban environments with higher standards of living tend to be more environmentally aware and have greater expectations of environmental quality than older generations living in rural environments with lower standards of living (Harris, 2008). The interviewed Chinese millennials all fitted the Harris' description and thus could have higher expectation of environmental quality than the older generations. This highlights the importance of further research among the different age groups.

The clean air tourism, as well as other forms of tourism based on the cleanliness of the environment, is related to the tourism paradox, "where tourism industry destroys natural and cultural environment that is necessary for tourism activities", as Arikan, Ünsever, and Halioui (2016) put it. So, by travelling to Lapland or other clean air tourism destination, the tourists cause the air quality to deteriorate. And as tourism in Lapland is expected to grow in the future both infrastructure and environment will be under increasing pressure. As a consequence, deterioration of the environment and pollution caused by tourism development are also expected to increase.

As Packer, Ballantyne, and Hughes (2014, p. 106) write, to increase the understanding of the importance environmental qualities of Chinese tourists' experiences should call attention to how humans depend on the natural environments and offer suggestions for environmentally friendly behavior. Environmental quality, including air quality, also needs to be considered when planning sustainable tourism. If cleanliness of the environment is not taken into considerations from early on, by the time we notice the changes, the environment might be severely polluted. Since clean air is described as imperceptible and air quality is only noticed when the air is polluted, actions to protect and improve the environmental qualities might be taken too late.

7. CONCLUSIONS

Travelling is an important part of the Chinese culture, which can be seen in the Chinese proverbs and sayings (Tse & Hobson, 2008). “One learns more by traveling ten thousand miles than reading ten thousand books” (读万卷书不如行万里路), is one of the common sayings that highlights its importance (Tse & Hobson, 2008). Currently China leads the global outbound tourism. As the Chinese outbound tourism is still expected to continue its growth, also Lapland is expecting to receive more and more Chinese tourists, searching for the northern lights and enjoying extraordinary and transformative experiences while breathing the fresh air of Lapland. While tourists are attracted to Lapland by its nature, pristine landscape and clean environment at the same time growing tourism can destroy all the natural assets.

Chinese millennials are becoming the dominant driver and influential consumer segment in the future. Travelling is considered more as a form to gain life experience and to increase their knowledge than just as purchasing a product. The results of this study provide insights about how individual Chinese millennials experience the purity and dirt through their sensory perceptions. Studies regarding to Chinese millennials' views and perceptions are still limited, and therefore this study is timely. Also, since the Chinese outbound tourism is expected to grow and Chinese millennials are seen as the key driver, further research of their experiences and views is needed. As this study focused on Chinese millennials, studies of the views of different generational cohorts are needed to gain a broader understanding of the subject. Given that this research was conducted in Lapland, the research subject should be investigated in other regions. Using quantitative research methods would also provide more generalized information about the research subject.

The use of sensewalk and other methodological choices supported the aim of understand sensory perceptions of the Chinese tourists visiting Lapland. Sensewalking provided a natural and informal setting for the semi-structured interviews. By using sensory perceptions such as tasting the air together not only helped to understanding of the subject also often broke the ice and helped the respondents to express their thoughts. Though the use of hermeneutic circle was time-consuming it helped to understand not only my own preunderstanding of the subject but also shared themes and to identify common signs.

According to the results of this study the interviewed Chinese millennials viewed dirt to be related to urban environments and caused by humans and especially by crowding. Cleanliness on the other hand, was seen to manifest itself through signs of snow, silence, animals, smells of nature and difficulty to access. According to the results, the Arctic was seen to embody purity through all these features. White snow was considered clean, while all the other colours of snow were perceived as dirty. Since white is considered to be the colour of purity, white snow, ice and even animals such as polar bears, Arctic foxes and snowy owls, can be used in the marketing of the Arctic region to reinforce the image of clean, pristine and untouched place. Though silence was associated with cleanliness, it did not necessarily mean complete absence of sounds. The visual and auditory perceptions of animals and their presence was also seen to indicate cleanliness, except for their secretions. The perceptions of animals did not however include domesticated ones, but instead wild ones. Olfactory perceptions included smells of nature, especially originating from plants and trees. Both polar regions of the world were seen as clean places, not only because of the small amount of human presence and pollution sources, but also because of their remoteness and poor accessibility.

When embarking on this journey I knew that clean air can be defined chemically as low concentration of particulate matters but what intrigued me was the question of how is it defined socio-culturally? The results of this study indicate that the interviewed Chinese millennials saw clean air is often unnoticeable air. Unlike dirty air that can be perceived through all the sensory modalities, clean air is tasteless air that cannot be seen nor felt. For some it also was scentless that could not be heard. Some of the respondents however, felt that it could be both smelled and heard, associating natural smells and sounds with it. Olfactory and tactile sensory perceptions were considered even more important than visual perceptions, when assessing air quality, however, the diversified opinions regarding to the importance emphasise the subjective nature of sensory perceptions. The results indicate that among the interviewed Chinese millennials the air of Lapland was viewed positively, and thus Lapland could reinforce its the image as a clean air tourism destination, especially in among Chinese travellers and also to source markets that have been proven to tackle with air pollution. The image of clean air tourism destination could be strengthened through marketing campaigns but also by integrating the air quality information to applications or websites that tourists use before coming to Lapland or while being in Lapland. Also using the images of the signs that were considered to indicate cleanliness could augment Lapland's image of having clean

environment. Auditory and olfactory perceptions of nature, such as smells of forests and sounds of birds, could also be used more in place branding and marketing.

At present, little research attention has been given to investigate how the cleanliness of the environment is perceived by tourists. This study can therefore contribute to the existing literature on environmental quality and tourism. The results of my research can be applied to in tourism marketing campaigns of clean air tourism destinations such as Lapland. In addition to marketing, the results may also be used in developing sustainable tourism. The results can also be utilized in further research of air and environmental quality.

During the spring 2020, to slow down the spreading of the invisible killer, as the COVID-19 was called, many were confined to stay not only inside of country's or city's borders, but inside one's home. People were asked and demanded to keep their distance; not to stay too close to each other, let alone to touch one another. Other human beings, the others, became dangerous, potential health risks that needed to be avoided. One could argue that in the fight against the spreading of COVID-19 citizens of many countries are asked to use both forms of hygiene: washing hands and surfaces but at the same time being careful what to touch and in which order, i.e. not to use same towels as other family members and not to touch your face unless having washed the hands before. Using both forms of hygiene together can be seen as a way to ensure cleanliness.

COVID-19 and other infectious diseases can be considered invisible and unperceived dirt: dirt that cannot be seen, felt, tasted, smelled or heard. If the dirt is impossible to sense how do you protect yourself? Maybe the only way is to live in a void, isolating oneself from all the possible contacts with polluting or dirty items, surfaces and people. This is however quite impossible since living itself is dirty and messy business and "whatever lives also soils, and all that cleans kills" (Comte-Sponville, 2003, p. 174, as cited in Lagerspetz, 2018, p. 19). When trying to avoid this kind of unperceived dirt, people try to look for the sensory cues that might reveal its existence. In the midst of COVID-19 outbreak coughing or sneezing were seen as possible auditory cues that might reveal the sick persons that needed to be avoided, even though both are also typical symptoms of many allergies and respiratory illnesses.

In spring 2020 many countries took drastic measures in attempt to contain the spread of the COVID-19. In China many factories were closed and the movement of nearly 35 million

Chinese people were restricted (Popovich, 2020). Due to these measures, air pollution levels started to drop, especially around the city of Wuhan (Popovich, 2020). According to Wu Zhaohong from Visit Finland (2020) the COVID-19 outbreak can affect people's behaviour and attitudes toward environment. Future trends and selling points might include clean and healthy environment, being able to go to nature and breath freely without a mask. After the outbreak Chinese people are believed to care more about the hygiene practices, both personal hygiene and cleanliness of surroundings (accommodation, transportation). Lapland could thus benefit its reputation as a clean destination and reinforce this image through marketing and branding, especially in the source markets that are tackling with pollution and deterioration of environmental quality.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am very grateful to everyone who helped and guided me during the process of researching and writing this thesis. Firstly, I want to thank my interviewees who took the time to share their thoughts and knowledge with me. This research would not have been possible without them. I also would like to thank my Chinese friends for providing valuable insights into China and its culture. 谢谢!

This study was supervised by Soile Veijola, professor of Cultural Studies of Tourism, and Outi Rantala, associate professor at the University of Lapland/ Multidimensional Tourism Institute. I wish to thank both of my wonderful supervisors, who offered guidance, constructive criticism and inspiration during the writing process. I would also like to thank Monika Lühje for her valuable comments.

I also wish to also thank my colleagues, the fellow students of the University of Lapland, especially Petra and Tiina, for continuous encouragement and vibrant discussions. Lastly, I want to thank my friends and family for their support and for all the countless conversations regarding cleanliness and dirt. Special thanks to my mum and dad, who have taught me so much about cleanliness, based on the use of both water and order.

REFERENCES

- Agapito, D., Mendes, J., & Valle, P. (2013). Exploring the conceptualization of the sensory dimension of tourist experiences. *Journal of Destination Marketing & Management*, 2(2), 62–73. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jdmm.2013.03.001>
- Alcorn, T. & Ouyang, Y. (2012). China's invisible burden of foodborne illness. *The Lancet*, 379(9818), 789–790. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(12\)60330-4](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(12)60330-4)
- Alitrip to bring 50,000 Chinese to visit Rovaniemi in 2017 (2017). Retrieved February 7, 2020, from <http://www.dailyfinland.fi/travel/80/Alitrip-to-bring-50000-Chinese-to-visit-Rovaniemi-in-2017>
- Allen, D. (2016) China's Millennial Consumers: a Generational Leap. Retrieved September 12, 2019 from <https://www.eastwestbank.com/ReachFurther/News/Article/Chinas-Millennial-Consumers-a-Generational-Leap-Forward>
- Anttila, P. (2012). Lapin ilmanlaatu 2000-luvun alussa. In R. Peltola & P. Sarala (Ed.), *Pohjoinen puhtaus* (pp. 9–26). Rovaniemi: Lapin tutkimusseura.
- Arikan, I., Ünsever, I., & Halioui, S. (2016). Importance of tourism paradox, tourism equinox and tourism detox for urban environments. *Acta Economica et Turistica*, 2(2), 221–229.
- Arlt, W. G. (2017). As smog hits China, Chinese tourists seek fresh air on pollution free holidays. *Forbes*. Retrieved February 9, 2017, from <http://www.forbes.com/sites/profdrwolfgangarlt/2017/01/05/chinese-online-travel-agency-publishes-haze-travel-list/#59520edf7e79>
- Becken, S., Jin, X., Zhang C., & Gao, J. (2017). Urban air pollution in China: destination image and risk perceptions. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 25(1), 130–147. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2016.1177067>
- Bickerstaff, K. & Walker, G. (2001). Public understandings of air pollution: The 'localisation' of environmental risk. *Global Environmental Change*, 11(2), 133–145. [http://doi.org/10.1016/S0959-3780\(00\)00063-7](http://doi.org/10.1016/S0959-3780(00)00063-7)
- Bohn, D., García-Rosell, J. C., & Äijälä, M. (2018). *Animal-based tourism services in Lapland*. Rovaniemi: University of Lapland, Multidimensional Tourism Institute.

- Borthwick, F. (2000). Olfaction and taste: Invasive odours and disappearing objects. *The Australian Journal of Anthropology*, *11*(2), 127–140.
- Cerbone, D. R. (2014). *Understanding phenomenology*. Abingdon: Routledge. (Original work published 2006.)
- Chen, A., Lu, Y., & Ng, Y. (2015). *The Principles of Geotourism*. London: Springer Heidelberg
- Cheng, M. & Foley, C. (2018). Understanding the distinctiveness of Chinese post-30s tourists through an exploration of their formative experiences. *Current Issues in Tourism* *21*(11), 1312–1328. <http://doi.org/10.1080/13683500.2017.1406462>
- Cheng, L., Zhang, T., & Fu, Y. (2015). Urban residents' cognition of haze-fog weather and its impact on their urban tourism destination choice. *Tourism Tribune*, *30*(10), 37–47. <http://doi.org/10.3969/j.issn.1002-5006.2015.10.004>
- Cheng, D., Zhou, Y., Wei, X., & Wu, J. (2015). A Study on the Environmental Risk Perceptions of Inbound Tourists for China Using Negative IPA Assesment. *Tourism Tribune*, *30*(1), 54–62. <http://doi.org/10.3969/j.issn.1002-5006.2015.01.00>
- Chung, J. Y., Chen, C., & Lin, Y. (2016). Cross-strait tourism and generational cohorts. *Journal of Travel Research*, *55*(6), 813–826. <http://doi.org/10.1177/0047287515569775>
- Clampet, J. (2017). Travel Megatrends 2017: Overtourism goes mainstream. Retrieved April 29, 2020, from <https://skift.com/2017/01/17/travel-megatrends-2017-overtourism-goes-mainstream/>
- Classen, C. (1997). Foundations for an anthropology of the senses. *International Social Science Journal*, *49*(153), 401–412.
- Classen, C. (2001). The senses. In P. N. Stearns (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of European social history from 1350 to 2000* (pp. 355–364). New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- Classen, C. (2012). *The deepest sense: A cultural history of touch*. (Studies in Sensory History). Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Classen, C., Howes, D., & Synnott, A. (1997). *Aroma: The cultural history of smell*. London: Routledge. (Original work published 1994.)
- Cohen, E. (1979). A phenomenology of tourist experiences. *Sociology*, *13*(2), 179–201.
- Cohen, W. A. (2005). Locating filth. In W. A. Cohen and R. Johnson (Eds.), *Filth: Dirt, disgust, and modern life* (pp. vii–xxxvii). Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

- Curtis, V. & Biran, A. (2001). Dirt, disgust, and disease: Is hygiene in our genes? *Perspectives in Biology and Medicine*, 44(1), 17–31.
- Curtis, V. (2007). Dirt, disgust and disease: a natural history of hygiene. *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health*, 61(8), 660–664.
<http://doi.org/10.1136/jech.2007.062380>
- Dann, G. M. S. & Jacobsen, J. K. S. (2003). Tourism smellscapes. *Tourism Geographies*, 5(1), 3–25.
- Darwin, C. (1897). *The expression of the emotions in man and animals*. New York: D. Appleton and company.
- Day, R. J. (2004). Perceptions of Air Pollution and Health in Social and Geographical Contexts. (Doctoral thesis.) Retrieved February 9, 2017, from <http://discovery.ucl.ac.uk/1383806/1/416036.pdf>
- Deng, T., Li, X., & Ma, M. (2017). Evaluating impact of air pollution on China's inbound tourism industry: A spatial economic approach. *Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research*, 22(7), 771–780.
- Douglas, M. (2002). *Purity and Danger: An analysis of concept of pollution and taboo*. London: Routledge. (Original work published 1966.)
- Drobnick, J. (2002). Toposmia: Art, scent, and interrogations of spatiality. *Angelaki*, 7(1), 31–47.
- Edensor, T. (2006). Sensing tourist spaces. In C. Minca & T. Oakes (Eds.), *Travels in paradox: Remapping tourism* (pp. 23–46). Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Edensor, T. (2007a). Mundane mobilities, performances and spaces of tourism. *Social & Cultural Geography*, 8(2), 199–215.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/14649360701360089>
- Edensor, T. (2007b). Sensing the ruin. *Senses and society*, 2(2), 217–232.
- Egri, C. P. & Ralston, D. A. (2004). Generation cohorts and personal values: a comparison of China and the United States. *Organization Science*, 15(2), 210–220.
- Ellingson, L. L. (2017). *Embodiment in qualitative research*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Eloranta, V. (2016). Nenäkarvat rehottavat villisti – ympäristöjärjestön kampanjavidео maalaa kauhukuvan Kiinan ilmansaasteiden vaikutuksista. Retrieved February 7, 2017, from <https://www.hs.fi/ulkomaat/art-2000002888956.html>
- European Environment Agency (2015). Increasing environmental pollution. Retrieved April 13, 2020, from <https://www.eea.europa.eu/soer-2015/global/pollution>

- Eusébio, C., João Carneiro, M., Madaleno, M., Robaina, M., Rodrigues, V., Russo, M., Relvas, H., Gama, C., Lopes, M., Seixas, V., Borrego, C., & Monteiro, A. (2020). The impact of air quality on tourism: A systematic literature review. *Journal of Tourism Futures*, 2020. <https://doi.org/10.1108/JTF-06-2019-0049>
- Evans, J. & Jones, P. (2011). The walking interview: methodology, mobility and place. *Applied Geography*, 31(2), 849–858.
- Finnish institute for health and welfare. Environmental pollutants. Retrieved April 13, 2020, from <https://thl.fi/en/web/environmental-health/environmental-pollutants>
- Finnish Meteorological Institute (2016). WHO: Air in Finland third cleanest in the world. Retrieved January 20, 2017, from <http://en.ilmatiiteenlaitos.fi/press-release/190770872>
- Fung Business Intelligence (2017). Understanding China's new consumer class – the millennials. Retrieved September 19, 2019, from https://www.fbicgroup.com/sites/default/files/CCS_series01.pdf
- Gardiner, S. & Kwek, A. (2017). Chinese participation in adventure tourism: A study of generation Y international students' perceptions. *Journal of Travel Research*, 56(4), 496–506.
- Grenier A. A. (2007). The diversity of polar tourism. Some challenges facing the industry in Rovaniemi, Finland. *Polar Geography*, 30:1–2, 55–72. <http://doi.org/10.1080/10889370701666622>
- Grimshaw, A. (2001). *The Ethnographer's eye: Ways of seeing on anthropology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hall, T., Lashua, B., & Coffey, A. (2008). Sound and the everyday in qualitative research. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 14(6), 1019–1040. <http://doi.org/10.1177/1077800407312054>
- Harju-Myllyaho, A. & Jutila, S. (2016). Viewpoints on inclusion on tourism: From accessible tourism to accessible hospitality. *Matkailututkimus*, 12(2), 33–44.
- Harris, P. G. (2008). Green or brown? Environmental attitudes and governance in Greater China. *Nature and Culture*, 3(2), 151–182.
- Heiskala, R. (2000). *Toiminta, tapa ja rakenne: Kohti konstruktivistista synteesiä yhteiskuntateoriassa*. Helsinki: Gaudeamus.
- Henshaw, V. (2014). *Urban smellscapes: Understanding and designing city smell environments*. New York: Routledge.

- Henshaw, V., Medway, D., Warnaby, G., & Perkins, C. (2015). Marketing the 'city of smells'. *Marketing Theory*, 16(2), 153–170.
- Hirsjärvi, S. & Hurme, H. (2015). *Tutkimushaastattelu: Teemahaastattelun teoria ja käytäntö*. Helsinki: Gaudeamus Helsinki University Press.
- House of Lapland. Kestävää kasvua Kiinan matkailumarkkinoilta – Ammatillaisen muistilista. Retrieved February 7, 2020, from <https://www.lapland.fi/fi/arctic-biz-post/kestavaa-kasvua-kiinan-matkailumarkkinoilta-ammattilaisen-muistilista/>
- House of Lapland. Where, what and how in Lapland? Retrieved May 3, 2020 from <https://www.lapland.fi/visit/plan-your-stay/>
- Howes, D. (2003). *Sensual relation: Engaging the senses in culture and social theory*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.
- Howes, D. & Classen, C. (2014). *Ways of sensing: Understanding the senses in society*. London: Routledge.
- Husserl, E. (1964). *The phenomenology of internal time-consciousness*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- IQAirVisual. 2019 World air quality report. Retrieved April 9, 2020, from <https://www.iqair.com/world-most-polluted-cities>
- Ingold, T. (2000). *The Perception of the Environment: Essays on livelihood, dwelling and skill*. London: Routledge.
- Jennings, G. R. (2005). Interviewing: A focus on qualitative techniques. In B. W. Ritchie, P. Burns & C. Palmer (Eds.), *Tourism research methods: Integrating theory with practice* (pp. 99–118). Wallingford: CABI Publishing.
- Jennings, G. R. (2010). *Tourism research* (2nd ed). Milton: John Wiley & Sons.
- Jensen, M. T., Scarles, C., & Cohen, S. A. (2015). A multisensory phenomenology of interrail mobilities. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 53, 61–76.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2015.04.002>
- Johnston, M. E. (2011). Arctic Tourism Introduction. In P. Maher, E. Stewart and M. Lück (Eds.), *Polar tourism: human, environmental and governance dimensions* (pp. 17–32). Elmsford: Cognizant Communication Corp.
- Jonas, H. (2001). *The Phenomenon of life: Toward a philosophical biology*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press.
- Kawano, S., Lu, J., Tsang, R., & Liu, J. (2015). The Chinese Tourist Boom: Where Now, Where Next? Goldman Sachs Macroeconomic Insights, *The Asian Consumer*, November 20, 2015. Retrieved September 9, 2019 from

<http://www.goldmansachs.com/our-thinking/pages/macroeconomic-insights-folder/chinese-tourist-boom/report.pdf>

- King, B. & Gardiner, S. (2015). Chinese international students: An avant-garde of independent travellers? *International Journal of Tourism Research*, 17(2), 130–139. <https://doi.org/10.1002/jtr.1971>
- Kivunja, C. & Kuyini, A. B. (2017). Understanding and applying research paradigms in educational contexts. *International Journal of Higher Education*, 6(5), 26–41.
- Krelling, A. P., Williams, A. T., & Turra, A. (2017). Differences in perception and reaction of tourist groups to beach marine debris that can influence a loss of tourism revenue in coastal areas. *Marine Policy*, 85, 87–99.
- Kuula, A. (2011). *Tutkimuseetiikka: Aineistojen hankinta, käyttö ja säilytys* (2nd edition). Tampere: Vastapaino.
- Lagerspetz, O. (2018). *A philosophy of dirt*. London: Reaktion Books.
- Laine, T. (2015). Miten kokemusta voidaan tutkia? Fenomenologinen näkökulma. In R. Valli & J. Aaltola (Eds.), *Ikkunoita tutkimusmetodeihin 2. Näkökulmia aloittelevalle tutkijalle tutkimuksen teoreettisiin lähtökohtiin ja analyysimenetelmiin* (pp. 29–51). Jyväskylä: PS-kustannus.
- Law, R. & Cheung, C. (2007). Air quality in Hong Kong: A study of the perception of international visitors. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 15(4), 390–401. <http://doi.org/10.2167/jost637.0>
- Li, J., Pearce, P. L., Wu, B., & Morrison, A. M. (2015). The impact of smog on risk perception and satisfaction of international and domestic tourists in Beijing. *Tourism Tribune / Lvyou Xuekan*, 30(10), 48–59. <http://doi.org/10.3969/j.issn.1002-5006.2015.10.005>
- Maher, P. T., Gelter, H., Hillmer-Pegram, K., Hovgaard, G., Hull, J., Jóhannesson, G. T., Karlsdóttir, A., Rantala, O., & Pashkevich, A. (2014). Arctic tourism: Realities and possibilities. 2014 Arctic Yearbook, 290–306.
- Maher, P. T. (2017). Tourism futures in the Arctic. In K. Latola & H. Savela (Eds.), *The Interconnected Arctic – UArctic Congress 2016* (pp. 213–220). Cham: Springer Polar Sciences. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-57532-2_22
- Manning, K. E. & Wemheuer, F. (2011). Introduction. In K. E. Manning & F. Wemheuer (Eds.), *Eating bitterness: new perspectives on China's Great Leap Forward and famine* (pp. 1–27). Vancouver: UBC Press.

- Medway, D. (2015). Rethinking place branding and the ‘other’ senses. In M. Kavaratzis, G. Warnaby & G. J. Ashworth (Eds.), *Rethinking place branding. Comprehensive brand development for cities and regions* (pp. 191–209). London: Springer.
- Mihalič, T. (2000). Environmental management of a tourist destination: A factor of tourism competitiveness. *Tourism Management*, 21, 65–78.
- Miller, W. I. (1997). *The anatomy of disgust*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Moilanen, P. & Rähkä, P. (2015). Merkitysrakenteiden tulkinta. In R. Valli & J. Aaltola (toim.), *Ikkunoita tutkimusmetodeihin 2. Näkökulmia aloittelevalle tutkijalle tutkimuksen teoreettisiin lähtökohtiin ja analyysimenetelmiin* (pp. 52–73). Jyväskylä: PS-kustannus.
- Moran, D. (2000). *Introduction to phenomenology*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- More Chinese travelling overseas for clean air. (2014). CGTN America. Retrieved November 11, 2016 from <https://america.cgtn.com/2014/12/14/more-chinese-travelling-overseas-for-clean-air>
- Müller, D. K. (2013). Tourism and the definition of the Arctic. In R. H. Lemelin, P. Maher & D. Liggett (Eds.), *From talk to action: How tourism is changing the polar regions* (pp. 9–20). Thunder Bay: Centre for Northern Studies.
- Müller, I. (2014). Defining arcticity: Phenomenological study on tourists’ understanding of arctic. (Pro gradu -thesis. University of Lapland, Faculty of Social Sciences.)
- National Bureau of Statistics China (2019). China Statistical Yearbook 2019. Retrieved February 19, 2020, from <http://www.stats.gov.cn/tjsj/ndsj/2019/indexeh.htm>
- Nilsson, S. (2016). Luxury without labels. *Blue Wings, December 2016*, 58.
- Oklevik, O., Gössling, S., Hall, C. M., Steen Jacobsen, J. K., Grøtte, I. P., & McCabe, S. (2019). Overtourism, optimisation, and destination performance indicators: A case study of activities in Fjord Norway. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 27(12), 1804–1824. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2018.1533020>
- O’Neill, M. & Roberts, B. (2020). *Walking methods: Research on the move*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Packer, J., Ballantyne, R. & Hughes, K. (2014). Chinese and Australian tourists’ attitudes to nature, animals and environmental issues: Implications for the design of nature-based tourism experiences. *Tourism Management*, 44, 101–107. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2014.02.013>

- Passoja, A. (2016). Kiinalaisturistit löysivät Lapin raikkaan ilman. Retrieved November 11, 2016 from http://yle.fi/uutiset/kiinalaisturistit_loysivat_lapin_raikkaan_ilman/8573308
- Paul, P. (2001). Getting inside Gen Y. *American Demographics*, 23(9), 42–49.
- Pernecky, T. & Jamal, T. (2010). (Hermeneutic) Phenomenology in tourism studies. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 37(4), 1055–1075.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2010.04.002>
- Pollio, H. R., Henley, T. B., & Thompson, C. J. (1997). *The phenomenology of everyday life*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Popovich, N. (2020). Watch the footprint of coronavirus spread across countries. The New York Times. Retrieved April 8, 2020, from <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/climate/coronavirus-pollution.html>
- Porteous, J. D. (1985). Smellscape. *Progress in Human Geography*, 9(3), 356–378.
- Porter, E. J. & Cohen, M. Z. (2013). Phenomenology. In A. A. Trainor & E. Graue (Eds.), *Reviewing qualitative research in the social sciences* (pp. 180–196). London: Routledge.
- Rastas, A. (2005). Kulttuurit ja erot haastattelutilanteissa. In J. Ruusuvoori & L. Tiittula (Eds.), *Haastattelu: Tutkimus, tilanteet ja vuorovaikutus* (pp. 78–102). Tampere: Vastapaino.
- Rindisbacher, H. (1992). *The smell of books: A cultural–historical study of olfactory perception in literature*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Rogler, L. H. (2002). Historical generations and psychology: The case of the Great Depression and World War II. *American Psychologist*, 57(12), 1013–1023.
- Rotko, T. (2004). *Social aspects of air pollution: Sociodemographic differences in exposure, perceived annoyance and concern about air pollution*. (Academic Dissertation. Publications of the National Public Health Institute A5 / 2004.) Helsinki. Retrieved February 9, 2017, from <http://julkari.fi/bitstream/handle/10024/78755/socialas.pdf?sequence=1>
- Rovaniemi accommodation and travel stats. Retrieved February 7, 2020, from <https://visitory.io/en/rovaniemi/2019-01/2019-12/>
- Rozin, P. & Fallon, A. E. (1987). A Perspective on Disgust. *Psychological Review*, 94(1), 23–41.

- Ruusuvuori, J. & Tiittula, L. (2005). Tutkimushaastattelu ja vuorovaikutus. In J. Ruusuvuori & L. Tiittula (Eds.), *Haastattelu: Tutkimus, tilanteet ja vuorovaikutus* (pp. 22–56). Tampere: Vastapaino.
- Saarinen, J. (2017). Matkailun maantiede. In J. Edelheim & H. Ilola (Eds.), *Matkailututkimuksen avainkäsitteet* (pp. 42–47). Rovaniemi: Lapland University Press.
- Salonen, R. O. & Pennanen, A. (2006). *Pienhiukkasten vaikutus terveyteen: Tuloksia ja päätelmiä teknologiaohjelmasta FINE Pienhiukkaset – Teknologia, ympäristö ja terveys*. (T. Paukku, Ed.). Helsinki: Tekes.
- Sardello, R. (2008). *Silence: The mystery of wholeness*. Berkeley: North Atlantic Books.
- Schafer, R. M. (1994). *The soundscape: Our sonic environment and the tuning of the world*. Rochester: Destiny Books. (Originally published: *The tuning of the world*. New York: Knopf, 1977.)
- Schuhmann, P. W. (2011). Tourist perceptions of beach cleanliness in Barbados. Implications for return visitation. *Études Caribéennes*, 19.
<https://doi.org/10.4000/etudescaribeennes.5251>
- Sherman, G. D. & Clore, G. L. (2009). The color of sin: White and black are perceptual symbols of moral purity and pollution. *Psychological Science*, 20, 1019–1025.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9280.2009.02403.x>
- Silvennoinen, M. & Veijola, S. (2012). Moniulotteinen hiljaisuus: Semioottinen tutkimus Visit Finland -maaportaalista. *Matkailututkimus*, 8(2), 23–39.
- Slevitch, L. (2011). Qualitative and quantitative methodologies compared: Ontological and epistemological perspectives. *Journal of Quality Assurance in Hospitality & Tourism*, 12(1), 73–81.
- Smith, V. (2001). Cleanliness. In P. N. Stearns (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of European social history from 1350 to 2000* (pp. 343–353). New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- Smith, V. (2007). *Clean: A history of personal hygiene and purity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Southworth, M. (1969). The sonic environment of cities. *Environment and Behavior*, 1(1), 49–70.
- Statistics Finland (2017a). Nights spent by foreign tourists in Finland up by 17.6 per cent in December 2016. Retrieved February 6, 2020, from http://www.stat.fi/til/matk/2016/12/matk_2016_12_2017-02-16_tie_001_en.html

- Statistics Finland (2017b). Demand for accommodation services grew by 3 per cent in 2016. Retrieved February 6, 2020, from http://www.stat.fi/til/matk/2016/matk_2016_2017-04-27_tie_001_en.html
- Statistics Finland (2018a). Nights spent by foreign tourists in Finland up by 10.4 per cent in December 2017. Retrieved February 6, 2020, from http://www.stat.fi/til/matk/2017/12/matk_2017_12_2018-02-15_tie_001_en.html
- Statistics Finland (2018b). Demand for accommodation services rose to record figures in 2017. Retrieved February 6, 2020, from http://www.stat.fi/til/matk/2017/matk_2017_2018-04-19_tie_001_en.html
- Statistics Finland (2020a). Nights spent by foreign tourists on level with the previous year in December 2019. Retrieved February 6, 2020, from https://www.stat.fi/til/matk/2019/12/matk_2019_12_2020-01-31_tie_001_en.html
- Statistics Finland (2020b). Nights spent by resident tourists in Finland increased by 10 per cent in February 2020. Retrieved April 8, 2020, from http://www.stat.fi/til/matk/2020/02/matk_2020_02_2020-03-26_tie_001_en.html
- Statistics Finland (2020c). Demand for accommodation services grew by 3.9 per cent in 2019. Retrieved April 8, 2020, from http://www.stat.fi/til/matk/2019/matk_2019_2020-04-08_tie_001_en.html
- Stokols, D. (1972). A social-psychological model of human crowding phenomena. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 38(2), 72–83.
- Stoller, P. (1989). *The taste of ethnographic things: the senses in anthropology*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Sutton, D. (2010). Food and the senses. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 39, 209–223.
- Synnott, A. (1991). A sociology of smell. *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*, 28(4), 437–459.
- Takala, T. (2016). Puhdasta arktista ilmaa – Kiinalaisten matkailijoiden ilman puhtaudelle antamat merkitykset. (Bachelor's thesis.) Rovaniemi: Lapin yliopisto.
- Tang, J., Yuan, X., Ramos, V., & Sriboonchitta, S. (2019). Does air pollution decrease inbound tourist arrivals? The case of Beijing. *Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research*, 24(6), 597–605.

- TENK (2019). *The ethical principles of research with human participants and ethical review in the human sciences in Finland*. (Tutkimuseettisen neuvottelukunnan julkaisuja 3/2019). Finnish National Board on Research Integrity (TENK), Helsinki. Retrieved April 5, 2020, from https://www.tenk.fi/sites/tenk.fi/files/Ihmistieteiden_eettisen_ennakkoarvioinnin_ohje_2019.pdf
- Tribe, J. (2001). Research paradigms and the tourism curriculum. *Journal of Travel Research*, 39(4), 442–448. <http://doi.org/10.1177/004728750103900411>
- Tristan da Cunha Tourism. Retrieved April 29, 2020, from <http://www.tristandc.com/visits.php>
- Tse, T. S. M. & Hobson, J. S. P. (2008). The forces shaping China's outbound tourism. *Journal of China Tourism Research*, 4(2), 136–155. doi:10.1080/19388160802279459
- Tökkäri, V. (2018). Fenomenologisen, hermeneuttis-fenomenologisen ja narratiivisen kokemuksen tutkimuksen käytäntöjä. In J. Toikkanen & I. A. Virtanen (Eds.), *Kokemuksen tutkimus VI: Kokemuksen käsite ja käyttö* (pp. 64–84). Rovaniemi: Lapland University Press.
- UNWTO/GTERC (2016). *Asia tourism trends: 2016 edition, executive summary*. Madrid: UNWTO. <https://doi.org/10.18111/9789284418312>
- UNWTO/GTERC (2018). *Asia tourism trends: 2018 edition, executive summary*. Madrid: UNWTO. <https://doi.org/10.18111/9789284420056>
- UNWTO/GTERC (2019). *Asia tourism trends: 2019 edition, executive summary*. Madrid: UNWTO. <https://doi.org/10.18111/9789284421176>
- UNWTO (2017a). *Tourism highlights: 2017 edition*. Madrid: UNWTO. <https://doi.org/10.18111/9789284419029>
- UNWTO (2017b). *Penetrating the Chinese outbound tourism market: Successful practices and solutions*. Madrid: UNWTO. <https://doi.org/10.18111/9789284418992>
- UNWTO (2018). Overtourism? – Understanding and managing urban tourism growth beyond perceptions, executive summary. Madrid: UNWTO. <https://doi.org/10.18111/9789284420070>
- UNWTO (2019). *International tourism highlights: 2019 edition*. Madrid: UNWTO. <https://doi.org/10.18111/9789284421152>
- Urry, J. & Larsen, J. (2011). *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*. London: Sage Publications.

- Van Cauwenberghe, L., Vanreusel, A., Mees J., & Janssen, C. R. (2013). Microplastic pollution in deep-sea sediments. *Environmental Pollution*, 182, 495–499. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.envpol.2013.08.013>
- Veiga, C., Custódio Santos, M., Águas P., & Santos, J. A. C. (2017). Are millennials transforming global tourism? Challenges for destinations and companies. *Worldwide Hospitality and Tourism Themes*, 9(6), 603–616.
- Veijola, S., Germann Molz, J., Pyyhtinen, O., Höckert, E., & Grit, A. (2014). *Disruptive tourism and its untidy guests: Alternative ontologies for future hospitalities*. (Leisure studies in a global era). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Veijola, S. & Jokinen, E. (1994). The body in tourism. *Theory, Culture and Society*, 11(3), 125–151.
- Viken, A. (2010). Academic Writing about Arctic Tourism: Othering of the North. In P. Fryer, C. Brown-Leonardi & P. Soppela (Eds.), *Encountering the changing Barents – Research Challenges and Opportunities* (pp. 110–120). (Arctic Centre Reports 54.) Rovaniemi: Arctic Centre. Retrieved February 25, 2020, from http://lauda.ulapland.fi/bitstream/handle/10024/59443/publication54_doria.pdf?sequence=1
- Visit Finland (2020). COVID-19 – Impacts of the outbreak on the Chinese travel industry. Webinar. Retrieved April 4, 2020, from <https://www.businessfinland.fi/en/whats-new/events/visit-finland/2020/webinar-covid-19---impacts-of-the-outbreak-on-the-chinese-travel-industry/>
- Waldmeir, P. (2014). Shanghai Notebook: Bronchial set seek blue sky breathing in China. Financial Times. Retrieved November 11, 2016, from <http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/9a68bf4c-731f-11e4-907b-00144feabdc0.html#axzz434BYQU2K>
- Wall, G. (1973). Public response to air pollution in South Yorkshire, England. *Environment and Behavior*, 5(2), 219–248. <http://doi.org/10.1177/001391657300500206>
- Williams, A. T., Rangel-Buitrago, N. G., Anfuso, G., Cervantes, O., & Botero, C. M. (2016). Litter impacts on scenery and tourism on the Colombian north Caribbean coast. *Tourism Management*, 55, 209–224.
- WHO (2016a). Air pollution levels rising in many of the world's poorest cities. Retrieved January 20, 2017, from <http://www.who.int/mediacentre/news/releases/2016/air-pollution-rising/en/>

- WHO (2016b). Ambient air pollution: a global assessment of exposure and burden of disease. Retrieved February 20, 2020, from <https://apps.who.int/iris/bitstream/handle/10665/250141/9789241511353-eng.pdf?sequence=1>
- Xu, B. & Dong, D. (2020). Evaluating the impact of air pollution on China's inbound tourism: A gravity model approach. *Sustainability*, 12(4), 1–21. <https://doi.org/10.3390/su12041456>
- Xu, X. & Reed, M. (2017). Perceived pollution and inbound tourism in China. *Tourism Management Perspectives*, 21, 109–112.
- Yale University (2018). 2018 EPI Report. Retrieved April 13, 2020, from <https://epi.envirocenter.yale.edu/node/36476>
- Zhou, B., Qu, H., Du, X., Yang, B., & Liu, F. (2018). Air quality and inbound tourism in China. *Tourism Analysis*, 23(1), 159–164.
- Äijälä, M., García-Rosell, J. C., & Haanpää, M. (2016). Kirjallisuuskatsaus: Eläimet osana matkailutoimintaa. *Matkailututkimus*, 12(2), 45–59.

APPENDIX 1. THE SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Personal information

- Age
- Gender
- Hometown
- Length of stay in Lapland
- Places visited in Lapland

THE QUESTIONS

- Why did you choose to travel to Lapland? What was the main reason for travelling to Lapland?
- Have you liked being here? What have you liked?
- How you would describe Lapland compared to your hometown and home country?
 - o What are the differences?
 - o What has been the biggest difference?
 - o What are the similarities?
- What about the air?
- How would you describe the air in Lapland?
- How does the air in Lapland look like?
 - o Or smell?
 - o How does the air feel like when you are breathing?
 - o Taste?
 - o How does it sound like?
- How would you describe the air in your hometown?
- How does the air there look like?
 - o How does it smell?
 - o How does it feel like?
 - o How does it taste?
 - o Or sound?
- How does the air in Lapland differ from the air in your hometown? Or from another places you have visited?

- Could you describe the features of a dirty place? (When you think about a dirty place what kind of place you see? What do you hear? Smell? Taste? Or feel?)
- Could you describe the features of a clean place? (When you think about a clean place what kind of place do you see? What do you smell? Is there a smell that particularly reminds you of a clean place? What do you hear? Or feel? Taste?)

- What in Lapland you find clean?
- What in Lapland you find dirty?
- Do you think that clean environment or clean air could be a reason for travelling?
- Has the clean environment been a reason for travelling for you in the past?
- Could it be in the future?
- Before coming to Lapland did you heard anything about the air quality in Lapland? If yes, what?
- Do you ever use anything to look up what air quality is like or going to be like? For example, weather applications or air quality applications?
- Where in the world do you think the air is clean?

Before ending this interview I would like to know is there something you would like to add or say?

KIITOS! THANK YOU! 谢谢! 唔該! 感謝!

APPENDIX 2. THE LETTER OF CONSENT



LETTER OF CONSENT

Dear interviewee,

I am a student at the Multidimensional Tourism Institute (MTI), University of Lapland (Rovaniemi, Finland) under the supervision of Soile Veijola, Professor of Cultural Studies of Tourism. You are invited to participate in a research study I am conducting for my Master's thesis. The purpose of this study is to investigate Chinese tourists' sensory experiences in Lapland. The data generated from this interview will be used in my Master's thesis and other publications on this topic.

The interviews will be recorded. The interview data is used for research purposes only. The data will be treated anonymously.

The research follows the principles for responsible conduct of research dictated by the Finnish Advisory Board on Research. Your participation is completely voluntary. You can withdraw your permission after signing this document, simply by informing me. Should you choose to withdraw from the study, there will be no consequences to you.

Further information regarding the study and the use of the interview data can be obtained from my supervisor Soile Veijola (soile.veijola@ulapland.fi, Tel. +358 400 169 693).

Thank you in advance for your assistance in this study.

Sincerely,

Tiina Takala
Student, Tourism Research

titakala@ulapland.fi

I give consent to use the data for the purposes mentioned above.

Signature

Date

Print Name

