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Longing for Leisure

How Near-Past Nostalgia Shapes Leisure Practices

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Abstract

Nostalgia has been conceptualized as an emotion, yet limited studies have explored how it shapes practices. In light of the Covid-19 pandemic individuals' lives have been turned upside down, resulting in nostalgia for the time just prior to the pandemic. In this article, we look more specifically at how this near-past nostalgia has shaped contemporary leisure practices. Based on empirical material from 13 in-depth interviews, our analysis shows that near-past nostalgia expresses itself through three different modes; creative nostalgia, innovative nostalgia, and passive nostalgia, which in turn shapes contemporary leisure practices through individuals adopting three corresponding strategies; adaptation, innovation, and procrastination. By unfolding how different modes of near-past nostalgia shapes contemporary leisure practices in different ways, we discern important implications for marketing in terms of marketing strategy, targeting, and marketing communications of leisure services and products.

Keyword: Near-past nostalgia, leisure practices, practice theory, qualitative methodology

1. Introduction

Once upon a time, not too long ago, people could dine at restaurants, have drinks with friends in bars, and enjoy live concerts. The cinemas were open, as were the museums, and on holidays, people could even travel abroad. This was a time when working out at the gym, going out partying, or hosting dinners for friends was allowed. With the corona pandemic, however, such otherwise ordinary leisure activities have been restricted to curb the spread of the virus. The elements of fun that used to light up the boring everyday life have been exposed to uncomfortable changes. Seemingly, the absence of ‘ordinary’ leisure has resulted in an increasing nostalgia for the time just prior to the pandemic. Henceforth, we will refer to this as *near-past nostalgia*. People simply yearn for ‘ordinary’ leisure such as meeting with friends, going to the cinema, and traveling (Brunk, Hartmann, Dam & Kjeldgaard, 2020). More specifically, *leisure* can be defined as “activities people do when they are not working, to relax and enjoy themselves” (Cambridge Dictionary, n.d). Drawing on this definition, in this paper, leisure is conceptualized as a set of practices with the common denominator that they are performed to increase personal well-being.

With these being restricted, other forms of leisure practices seem to have emerged. On the one hand, people are increasingly engaging in old-school practices such as knitting, crochet, and DIY fashion. Baking sourdough bread has had an immense breakthrough, as have cleaning using housewife tricks and winter swimming. On the other hand, individuals' longing for their ordinary leisure practices is witnessing itself through replacements such as singing in choirs online, participating in live group training online, and staycations. While the first set of leisure practices appear to be more related to a far-reaching nostalgia, the latter is seemingly closer connected to a nostalgia for the near-past.

Over the past decades, increasing attention has been given to the concept of nostalgia within consumer and marketing research. However, much of this research builds on the conceptualization of nostalgia as a preference for objects from the past (Holbrook 1993; Holbrook & Schindler, 1989, 1991, 1994, 2003; Schindler & Holbrook, 2003; Loveland, Smeeters & Mandel, 2010; Seehusen et al., 2013; Zhou, Wang, Zhan & Mou, 2013). While objects in this conceptualization primarily refer to people, places, or things, Holbrook (1993) suggests that, in general, nostalgia also may refer to an affection for activities associated with days of yore. Still, this stream of research has been primarily concerned with the antecedents of nostalgic preferences for objects, and surprisingly little attention has been paid to activities. However, as activities commonly refer to doings, it lacks in explaining why people do what they do, and why they do it in the way that they do (Warde, 2005). In this paper, we therefore look through a lens of practices in order to include these dimensions. By doing so, we recognize that consumption occurs as a result of practice.

Furthermore, these previous studies are particularly concerned with far-reaching nostalgia for a bygone past, whereas the disrupted changes brought about by the pandemic indicate a near-past nostalgic mode. While near-past nostalgia may not be a new phenomenon *per se*, the pandemic and the accompanying restrictions make it ever more evident that the experienced near-past nostalgia concerns leisure practices rather than products and brands, as these have remained more or less the same during this period of time. Compared to far-reaching nostalgia, near-past nostalgia seemingly expresses itself through individuals' contemporary leisure practices which to a varying degree have been creatively adjusted to comply with contemporary conditions. In addition, near-past nostalgia is seemingly different from far-reaching nostalgia in how it relates to the future. While the distant past may be perceived as irreversible, the knowledge that contemporary restrictions are temporary allows individuals to carry the hope of a future that will return to the 'ordinary'. As near-past nostalgia is seemingly absent in the existing literature, this calls for a more differential understanding of nostalgia and how it shapes contemporary leisure practices. In this study, we explore this by drawing on 13 in-depth interviews with young adult Swedes during the ongoing Covid-19 pandemic.

By looking through a lens of practices, we therefore aim to explain the role of near-past nostalgia in shaping contemporary leisure practices. Accordingly, in this article, we treat consumption as a moment that occurs within a practice, rather than being a practice itself (Warde, 2005), most often a necessity or an enabler of leisure practices. With this as our point

of departure, we ask *how does near-past nostalgia shape contemporary leisure practices?* As near-past nostalgia is an unaddressed matter in the existing literature, we must first conceptualize near-past nostalgia in order to answer the question. The contribution of this paper is thereby two folded. Firstly, we add to the consumer and marketing literature by introducing a conceptualization of near-past nostalgia. Secondly, by turning to a practice approach, we show how near-past nostalgia shapes contemporary leisure practices through three different strategies that individuals adopt.

2. A Practice-theoretical Ontology of Nostalgia

Originating from Greek, the term nostalgia constitutes the words, *nostos* (home) and *alagia* (pain). While it was originally considered as a pathological longing for one's home country, it is more recently described as a longing for an idealized past that may no longer be recalled or returned to (Boym, 2001; Higson, 2014; May, 2017). Nostalgia has been a subject of interest within many fields of research reaching from psychology and history to cultural studies. Being used in such different academic domains, there is no common definition of the concept. In this article, we turn to three separate but relevant streams of research to understand nostalgia.

The first stream of research is consumer and marketing literature, in which nostalgia has alternately been considered as a preference (Holbrook 1993; Holbrook & Schindler, 1989, 1991, 1994, 2003; Schindler & Holbrook, 2003; Loveland et al., 2010; Seehusen et al., 2013; Zhou et al., 2013), a feeling (Sierra & McQuitty, 2007; Vignolles & Pichon, 2013), or a mood (Belk, 1990; Sierra & McQuitty, 2007); in other words, as an emotion (Sierra & McQuitty, 2007; Duffy, Hower & Wilson, 2012; Hartmann & Brunk, 2019). This stream of research suggests that nostalgic emotions arise from experiences of dislocation (Hartmann & Brunk, 2019), lack of belonging, and social connectedness (Loveland et al., 2010; Lasaleta, Sedikides & Vohs, 2014), and social insecurity (Zhou et al., 2013). Such experiences may be triggered by either occurrences that appear on an individual level, or from disruptive changes in the macro landscape (Davis, 1979). The latter is observed in Brunk, Giesler, and Hartmann's (2018) study, showing that disruptions in the institutional landscape lead to the development of nostalgia markets, and Zhou et al.'s (2013) research which shows that Chinese consumers experiencing existential and social insecurity develop increased preferences for nostalgic products. Under such circumstances, nostalgia offers a return to memories of an idealized past and may enhance positive emotions in the present (May, 2017; Cheung et al., 2013). These memories can be derived from either self-experienced events (Davis, 1979), or be revoked from collective memories of historical eras (Havlena & Holak, 1991; Baker & Kennedy, 1994; Hartmann & Brunk, 2019). As memories often involve objects, consumer research has been especially interested in the involvement of objects in memories as evokers of nostalgia (Belk, 1990; Stern, 1992; Baker & Kennedy, 1994; Holak & Havlena 1998; Holbrook & Schinder, 2003). Consequently, objects have been in the center of attention when studying nostalgia within this stream of research (Holbrook 1993;

Holbrook & Schindler, 1989, 1991, 1994, 2003; Schindler & Holbrook, 2003; Loveland et al., 2010; Seehusen et al., 2013; Zhou et al., 2013).

Similar to the consumer and marketing literature, sociological literature also suggests that nostalgia is almost always derived from an experienced lack of belonging (May, 2011), which is “a fundamentally temporal experience that is anchored not only in place but also time” (May, 2017. p. 401). Rooted in a sense of unhappiness with the present, nostalgia thus serves as a means to travel back in mind to an idealized past, and thereby involves an awareness of the temporal distance between now and then (May, 2017). Not surprisingly, nostalgia is thus often associated with a failure to cope with changes in one’s environment and a negative attitude towards the present and future.

However, this second stream of research also highlights that nostalgia is a multi-layered and contradictory phenomenon (Pickering & Keightley, 2006; Higson, 2014; May, 2017) that on one hand can be reluctant, backward oriented, and melancholic (May, 2017), while on the other hand may be as much progressive, forward-looking and utopian (May, 2017; Higson, 2014; Pickering & Keightley, 2006). While the former view is more commonly used within the consumer and marketing literature, the latter has not yet had the same breakthrough. However, an exception is a study by Hartmann and Brunk (2019) in which they define three types of nostalgic modes (reluctant, progressive, and playful) that form the basis for different routes to enchantment. In line with the sociological literature (Pickering & Keightley, 2006; May, 2017), Hartmann and Brunk (2019) propose that nostalgia has a future dimension. This suggests that by recognizing past dimensions, the past can be used as an asset for reviewing what may be improved in the present and to create a more satisfying future (Pickering & Keightley, 2006; May, 2017).

Against this background, the extensive focus on solely objects in the consumer and marketing literature may limit our understanding of how past dimensions can be used in the improvement of consumers' contemporary life situations. While objects may play a prominent role in the remembrance of a bygone past, turning the attention to practices can help understand how nostalgia emotions shape practices as a way to cope with changes. Accordingly, the third stream of relevant research concerns theories of practice that incorporate emotions into the notion of practice. In order to address the role of nostalgia emotions in leisure practices, we thus start off by adopting Reckwitz’s (2002: 249) definition of a practice as “a routinized type of behaviour which consists of several elements, interconnected to one other: forms of bodily activities, forms of mental activities, ‘things’ and their use, a background knowledge in the form of understanding, know-how, states of emotion and motivational knowledge”. In other words, a practice can be understood as a composition of objects, doings, and meanings (Magaudda, 2011) or as integrations of materials, competences, and meanings (Shove, Pantzar & Watson, 2012).

With this as our point of departure, our theoretical orientation further follows a Wittgensteinian perspective (Schatzki, 1996) in which the personal experience of the practitioner of a practice is emphasized. This view of practice recognizes that emotions play a

central role in and are important for practices. In order to explain how emotions are incorporated into a practice, Schatzki (1996, 2002) introduces the notion of teleoaffective structure which can be understood as “a range of normativized and hierarchically ordered ends, projects and tasks, to varying degrees allied with normativized emotions and even moods” (2002: 80). Schatzki further explains that the teleoaffective structure includes “a range of acceptable or correct ends, acceptable or correct tasks to carry out for these ends, acceptable or correct beliefs (etc.) given which specific tasks are carried out for the sake of these ends, and even acceptable or correct emotions out of which to do so” (Schatzki, 2001: 52–3). Drawing on this, recognizing the teleoaffective structure as an element that surrounds and organizes the objects, doings, and meanings in a practice can improve our understanding of how individuals’ goals and emotional aspiration form a practice because it indicates what is aspired and why.

Along these lines, previous consumer research with a practice-theoretical ontology of emotions informs us that emotions and practices are interlinked. More specifically, it illustrates how emotions organize practices and vice versa and offers insights into the embodied and routinized nature of emotions (Molander & Hartmann, 2018). This suggests that to understand the role of near-past nostalgia in contemporary leisure practices, we must treat near-past nostalgia for what it actually is, an emotion, and consider its role in leisure practices to understand how it shapes them.

3. Methodology

Since the purpose of this article was to explore how near-past nostalgia shapes contemporary leisure practices, we were interested in understanding individuals’ experiences, emotions, and perceptions. For this reason, qualitative research with an interpretive agenda, studying informants’ subjective meanings and experiences through in-depth interviews, was considered most appropriate.

3.1 Contextual background

This research studies how near-past nostalgia shapes contemporary leisure practices in the empirical context of Covid-19 in Sweden. Since countries all over the world differ in what measures they have taken to prevent the spread of the virus, we chose to limit this study to one country. Since Sweden has been relatively open with regard to what people are allowed to do, we considered it to be a suitable research context. In addition, both authors are Swedish which facilitated the collection of empirical material as we could use our networks to find suitable interviewees.

As stated above, it is important to note that Sweden’s strategy to tackle the coronavirus differs from other countries. While other countries have taken more strict measures to prevent the spread of the virus with lock-downs and quarantines, Sweden has largely relied on voluntary social distancing guidelines and personal responsibility. At the time of writing, no more than eight people are allowed to be present at public gatherings or public events in

Sweden. In the wake of this, people are limited to participating in leisure activities such as going to live concerts, sports events, festivals, museums, amusement parks, etc. However, other types of leisure activities such as shopping, going to gyms and restaurants are allowed although the government and the public health authority strongly recommend people to avoid such environments.

Previous literature informs us that disruptive changes in the macro landscape, as witnessed now during the pandemic, trigger nostalgia (Davis, 1979; Brunk et al., 2018) which may be understood as an emotion (Sierra & McQuitty, 2007; Duffy et al., 2012; Hartmann & Brunk, 2019). In turn, emotions play a central role in organizing practices (Schatzki 1996, 2002; Molander & Hartmann, 2018). Thus, Sweden's institutional changes during Covid-19 provide us with a rich empirical context that allows us to study how near-past nostalgia shapes contemporary leisure practices.

3.2 Collection of Empirical Material

In this study, data were collected from 13 semi-structured, in-depth interviews which lasted from approximately 40 to 60 minutes each. Due to the spread of the Covid-19 virus and to ensure the respondents' safety, all interviews were carried out on the video conferencing service, Zoom, between the beginning of February and the end of March 2021.

The respondents were recruited through criteria sampling using our personal contacts to find suitable interviewees. Since the purpose of this study was to explore how near-past nostalgia shapes contemporary leisure practice, our respondents were selected based on two key criteria. First, individuals that live in larger Swedish cities have a broader selection of leisure activities that to a higher extent has been restricted due to the pandemic, such as going to concerts, sporting events, restaurants, etc. Second, to capture those that are especially engaged in these activities we chose a group of young adults within the age span of 25-35 whereas six were male and seven were female. Young adults in large cities tend to live a more vibrant life and have therefore arguably been more affected by the pandemic with regards to their leisure practices. Thus, we consider these young adults suitable to include in our study.

The interview guide contained key questions and topics that primarily focused on respondents' leisure practices before and during the pandemic and the related emotions and feelings to these different time periods as well as their thoughts about the future. To increase the quality of the interview guide, we initially conducted two test interviews which further allowed us to refine the questions (see the final interview guide in **Appendix A**). Since the researcher is the main instrument in the data collection when conducting qualitative research, this research method has been criticized for being influenced by the researchers' personal preferences, values, and opinions (Bryman & Bell, 2011). This limitation was mainly addressed by formulating open-ended questions in the interview guide and avoiding leading questions during the interviews.

Moreover, all interviews were recorded and transcribed verbatim. During and after each interview notes were taken to capture our own experiences of the interviews, the overall

theme, the emotional tone, body language, etc. This enabled us to understand underlying meanings that may have been difficult to grasp by only reading the transcriptions.

In line with Eriksson and Kovalainen (2008) and Flick's (2014) suggestions regarding ethical principles, all respondents participated on a voluntary basis and were informed about the purpose of the study, the identities of us researchers, and the use of the data. Further, all respondents gave consent to be recorded and were informed that the recordings would be transcribed, scientifically analyzed, and could be used as quotes in the final article. Moreover, all participants were guaranteed anonymity and that both personal information and recorded Zoom interviews were kept confidential, only accessible for the researchers. As such, respondents' names have been replaced with pseudonyms in this study. After finishing the recordings, our respondents were allowed to inquire for the erasement of single parts of the interviews, however, no such inquiries were made.

3.3 Analysis of empirical material

Qualitative research is often criticized for being unsystematic and lacking transparency, making it difficult for a third party to understand how the researchers carried out the data analysis and further arrived at their conclusions (Bryman & Bell, 2011). To address these limitations, our analysis of the empirical material was guided by Spiggle's (1994) analytical procedure suggestions from which categorization, abstraction, comparison, dimensionalization, integration, and iteration of the data was done.

The interpretive agenda of this paper further follows an inductive research approach. Rather than being predetermined by previous literature, our conceptualization was continuously formed throughout the research process and emerged from data. Moving back and forth between collected data and data analysis (*iteration*) allowed us to enhance the interview guide as well as developing and exploring provisional categories and constructs. This process of iteration continued until theoretical saturation was reached.

In the initial stage of the open-coding process, we identified passages of text with different temporal dimensions; past, present, and future. Within these, chunks that described more general phenomena of nostalgia and leisure practices were identified and labeled accordingly (*categorization*). By doing so, we gained an overall understanding of our respondents' nostalgic sentiments and relations to leisure practices both before and during Covid-19 as well as their thoughts and hopes for the future. Further, *comparison* allowed us to relate categories to each other and develop conceptual constructs, in which concrete instances from the collected data that share the same common characteristics were included (*abstraction*), for example, sense of the temporal location of belonging/social connectedness, prior leisure practices, adapted leisure practices, innovative leisure practices, procrastinating leisure practices and near-past nostalgia. As the characteristics within the different categories varied, we *dimensionalized* these to explore their conceptual meaning and to understand links between categories and conceptual constructs (Strauss & Corbin 1990). Influenced by Spiggle's (1994) 'representation of dimensional range', sense of the temporal location of belonging/social connectedness was dimensionalized into past and present; prior leisure

practices as well as adapted, innovative, and procrastinating leisure practices into purposeful and not purposeful; near-past nostalgia into passive and innovative. As the analysis and conceptual development carried on through comparisons, we labeled the in-between passive and innovative nostalgia ‘creative’ nostalgia for the sake of clarity as well as to capture what it reflected.

To develop the constructs of theory we used a “paradigm model” by defining specific conditions, contexts, strategies, and outcomes that were clustered together (*integration*) (Strauss & Corbin 1990). For example, a sense of belonging in the near-past was closely linked to passive nostalgia which in turn fostered procrastination that further structured the contemporary leisure practices. The paradigm model was thus our final stage in the data analysis from which our theoretical conceptualization was finalized.

To facilitate the illustration of how different modes of near-past nostalgia shape contemporary leisure practices in different ways, as in the above example, we chose to highlight representative cases in the findings and analysis section through empirical vignettes. These vignettes were essentially interview summaries from respondents that we found representative of different modes of near-past nostalgia. As such, these vignettes serve to exemplify and communicate the general phenomenon with regards to how each near-past nostalgia mode shapes contemporary leisure practices.

3.4 Quality of the study

Continuously during the research process, the quality and trustworthiness of the paper were evaluated following Lincoln and Guba (1985) and Eriksson and Kovalainen’s (2008) proposed evaluation criteria; credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability. These measures were adopted to address common criticism towards qualitative research being too unsystematic, impressionistic, and subjective. However, it is important to note that this paper has an interpretive approach, in which we seek to understand and interpret the subjective meanings and experiences of individuals. Accordingly, it relies on relativist ontology and subjectivist epistemology. Thus, we do not believe in the existence of one single reality. Instead, our point of departure is that there are multiple realities (relativist ontology) and that we as researchers and the participants in our study jointly create understandings (subjectivist epistemology) (Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2008). The aim is therefore not to generalize our findings, but to receive a contextual understanding of the research phenomenon (Bryman & Bell, 2011). Therefore, in line with Eriksson and Kovalainen’s (2008) advice, we found that credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability were more appropriate evaluation criteria than the traditional measurement concepts of reliability, validity, and generalizability.

Accordingly, all of our collected data, including video and audio recordings from Zoom, verbatim transcriptions, and interview notes is thoroughly documented, traceable, and available on request with the exception of video recordings due to ethical considerations concerning anonymity (*dependability*). During the interviews, we verified any “unclear” answers or statements by repeating these back to the respondents to make sure that we

understood them accurately (Cope, 2014). Moreover, when the collected data started to repeat itself, approximately after ten interviews, we conducted three additional ones. As the data from these final interviews were in line with previously collected data, we considered that saturation was reached (*Credibility*). Certain parts of this paper have some similarities with other research. For example, in line with previous research (Sierra & McQuitty, 2007; Duffy et al., 2012; Hartmann & Brunk, 2019) we defined nostalgia as an emotion and found that there are different modes of nostalgia; passive, creative, and innovative. These have, to some extent, similarities to the findings by May (2017) who suggests that nostalgia can be both reluctant, backward oriented, and melancholic, as well as progressive, forward-looking, and utopian. In addition, our findings align with the study by Molander & Hartmann (2018), showing that emotions play a central role in organizing practices (*Transferability*). Moreover, by following Spiggle's (1994) analytical procedure suggestions in our data analysis (see Analysis of Empirical Material), we illustrate how we linked findings and interpretations to the data (*Confirmability*).

4. Findings and Analysis

In the following, we bring forth a conceptualization of near-past nostalgia by presenting three different modes: creative nostalgia, innovative nostalgia, and passive nostalgia, to further showcase how these shape contemporary leisure practices through individuals adopting three different strategies; adaptation, innovation, and procrastination.

4.1 A Conceptualization of Near-Past Nostalgia

Similar to the conceptualization of nostalgia as being anchored in a temporal location of belonging (May, 2017), what underlies near-past nostalgia is seemingly different senses of temporal belonging to either near-past, present, or somewhere in between. As previous research suggests, different senses of temporal belonging affect how nostalgia is experienced. To some extent, our findings and analysis suggest similarities between near-past nostalgia and previous conceptualizations of far-reaching nostalgia, which propose that nostalgia can be both reluctant, backward oriented, and melancholic (May, 2017), while at the same time may be as much progressive, forward-looking and utopian (May, 2017; Higson, 2014; Pickering & Keightley, 2006). However, our findings also reveal that near-past nostalgia differs from far-reaching nostalgia in how it is experienced and expressed by individuals. For that reason, previous conceptualizations of nostalgia, such as Hartmann and Brunk's (2019) reluctant, progressive, and playful nostalgia were not fully transferable to this study. As such, our empirical findings have formed the basis for the identification of three modes of near-past nostalgia. More specifically, *creative nostalgia* seemingly arises from a sense of belonging in the near-past, just prior to the pandemic. However, while being backward oriented, creative nostalgia is also somewhat anchored in the present in which individuals still feel belonging to some extent. Our findings suggest that such nostalgia nurtures creativity. We further consider *innovative nostalgia* to be an extension of creative nostalgia, where the creative potential in

nostalgia becomes even more evident and expresses itself through an open and inventive mindset. Both these modes align with May's (2017) discussion of nostalgia in which she highlights its creative potential, and has similarities with Hartmann and Brunk's (2019) progressive nostalgia with regards to productiveness and reflectiveness. It is in this intersection that creative and innovative nostalgia seemingly emerge.

However, while May (2017) ascribes creativity to nostalgia on a more general level, our findings and analysis suggest that near-past nostalgia is not always creative but can also be uninspired and passive. *Passive nostalgia* is rooted in a sense of belongingness in the near-past, rather than in the present. While passive nostalgia may have some similarities with reluctant, backward oriented and melancholic nostalgia (May, 2017; Hartmann & Brunk, 2019) in terms of its focus on past times and mourning over lost social context, it differs because it provides hope of a better future in which the past may be recalled. In that way, it aligns with nostalgia as a contradictory phenomenon that may on the one hand be backward oriented and melancholic (May, 2017), while on the other hand may be as much forward-looking (May, 2017; Higson, 2014; Pickering & Keightley, 2006).

To better understand how these modes of near-past nostalgia shape contemporary leisure practices, it is useful to recall that nostalgia is closely related to some sense of social disconnectedness (Loveland et al., 2010; Lasaleta et al., 2014). In our research context, many individuals experience that the pandemic followed by regulations and recommendations has had a large impact on their social lives and that it has been challenging to maintain social relations. Therefore, it is not surprising that the witnessed near-past nostalgia concerns social leisure practices, that is, leisure practices that are performed together with others.

Our findings and analysis reveal that these near-past nostalgia modes shape contemporary leisure practices through individuals adopting three alternative strategies (adaptation, innovation, and procrastination). Creative nostalgia shapes leisure practices through adaptation which describes how individuals through a creative process are able to adapt their pre-pandemic leisure practices by adjusting one or several elements of the original practice to comply with temporary conditions. Further, innovative nostalgia shapes leisure practices through innovation which in this context denotes how individuals adopt, to them, new leisure practices that they perceive more acceptable and correct with regards to authority recommendations. Finally, passive nostalgia shapes leisure practices through procrastination which describes how individuals postpone pre-pandemic leisure practices when they are unable to find substitutions that are perceived sufficient enough to fill the purpose of the original leisure practice.

It is important to note, however, that one individual does not necessarily experience one mode of near-past nostalgia exclusively. For the individual, these nostalgia emotions may be connected to different leisure practices, in which adaptation, innovation, or procrastination emerge. However, some individuals may be dominated by one mode in particular which suggests that they almost exclusively adopt the corresponding strategy to the near-past nostalgia mode they are experiencing. Essentially, such individuals serve well in representing

how each near-past nostalgia mode shapes contemporary leisure practices distinctively. As such, for the sake of clarity, we have chosen to illustrate our findings partly with the use of vignettes from respondents that were seemingly dominated by a certain mode of near-past nostalgia. Table 1 provides an overview of these strategies, the underlying reasoning, and the associated dominant nostalgia mode.

Moreover, our findings and analysis suggest that individuals that have changed and expanded their repertoire of leisure practices during the pandemic through adaptation and innovation are positive about continuing both modified and ‘new’ leisure practices in their post-pandemic lives. With regards to innovation, individuals that have explored ‘new’ practices welcome these to become additional leisure practices in the future, while adapted practices are seemingly more likely to function as complements in the future. There are no ‘new’ or adapted leisure practices that have emerged from procrastination, rather individuals have increased their activity in ‘procrastinating’ leisure practices that comply with contemporary conditions. Therefore, such practices will seemingly receive less involvement in the post-pandemic lives of individuals as they will resume leisure practices from their pre-pandemic lives when possible again.

Table 1

Near-past nostalgia modes and corresponding strategies

Strategies	Adaptation	Innovation	Procrastination
Description	Modification of past leisure practices so that past dimensions are brought into an adapted version of the original practice that can be performed in the present.	Trying out and discovering leisure practices that are completely new to oneself.	Increased involvement in pre-pandemic leisure practices that comply with current conditions. Fill the purpose of making time pass.
Underlying reasoning	“How can I continue my past ordinary leisure practices in the present?”	“Now that I can’t carry out my past ordinary leisure practices, what can I do instead?”	“How can I make time pass while I am waiting for things to go back to normal?”
Dominant near-past nostalgia mode	<i>Creative nostalgia</i> Belonging is sensed in both present and near-past. Expresses itself through creativity and productiveness that enables individuals to bring meaningful dimensions of the past into contemporary practices.	<i>Innovative nostalgia</i> An extension of creative nostalgia. Belonging is sensed in both present and near-past. Expresses itself through an openness towards new leisure practices and an inventive mindset.	<i>Passive nostalgia</i> Belonging is sensed in the near-past. Expresses itself through passivity, lack of inspiration, and melancholia in the present but provides hope of a better future.

4.2 Adaptation

Adaptation emerges from creative nostalgia. This suggests that individuals adapt pre-pandemic leisure practices that they are longing for in order to enable their continuance. Let us illustrate this with a vignette.

Doris is a spontaneous young woman studying to become a nurse. She longs for the easy times when one could spontaneously meet friends and acquaintances without having to plan everything in detail, to work out at the gym together with others, and to dine out at restaurants. Although Doris feels more lonely and socially disconnected now, she still perceives that her life has been okay during the pandemic, and further explains that she has been able to adapt some of her prior leisure practices so that she can continue to nurture her friendships while simultaneously complying with current authority recommendations regarding social distancing. She expresses that one of the most important things has been a new weekly tradition where she and her friends meet at Zoom and have group workout sessions instead of going to the gym. She says, “sometimes you have to be a bit creative.. we were kind of missing our common workouts.. so ehm.. this was our way to do it so that we could continue working out together..”

As the above vignette illustrates, our findings suggest that creative nostalgia nurtures creativity and creates incentives for adaptation, that is, to modify past leisure practices so that these can be continued in the present. In this case, Doris’s loneliness in the present together with her longing for the near-past indicates a temporal location of belonging in the time just prior to the pandemic. However, she also explains that “I still feel that I’m very close to my friends” which suggests that her belonging is also somewhat anchored in the present. This two-sided sense of belonging underlies this near-past nostalgia mode which expresses itself through creativity. This aligns with May’s (2017) discussion on nostalgia in which she highlights its creative potential. May (2017) argues that temporal belonging can be used creatively “to create a sense of continuous self” (p. 401), which Doris seemingly does through her workout practice. Through adaptation, one is able to create a sense of continuous self by adapting the pre-pandemic leisure practice so that it can be continued in the present. This showcases how creative nostalgia underlies the adaptation of pre-pandemic leisure practices.

For Doris and several others in our study, the workout practice is brought up as an example of a practice that has been subject to change during the pandemic. While gyms in Sweden are still held open, the government and the public health authority urge people to avoid such places. Following the recommendations thus suggests that one should simply discontinue such a practice. For several respondents, including Doris, it has not been an alternative to

completely discard such leisure practices that in their original form disobey the authority recommendations. Another respondent, Karin, explains:

“Well, it was not like it was an option to quit working out, you just kind of had to find some other way basically, like running.”

It is salient throughout our findings on creative nostalgia and adaptation that respondents search for creative alternatives and options to enable the continuance of their pre-pandemic leisure practices. However, it is seemingly not always a straight path towards finding satisfying solutions. While respondents initially tried very hard to follow the recommendations, for example by working out alone at home, it proved itself difficult to maintain a routine. For example, Karin explained that working out alone at home “is not at all the same without the social, and without other people around you that do the same as you.” Doris expressed similar feelings regarding alone workouts at home. While physical exercise is perceived as important to stay in good shape and feel healthy, it is not enough of an incentive to carry out workouts alone at home. Individuals seemingly miss the company of others and feel nostalgic for when working out with friends was uncomplicated. They become dedicated to finding new ways in which this practice can be continued in spite of the pandemic which gives rise to new ideas. In Karin’s case, it was to start running with a friend, while in Doris’s case this gave rise to the idea to start having weekly workout sessions at Zoom. Doris explains how these are carried out:

“Well, you choose one person that will be in charge of the session. And then you decide a time, and then, the one in charge will explain and guide the workout. And then, everyone has their cameras on and workout together. And then for the next time, we’ll say ‘well okay, you will be in charge the next time’, and then you have to prepare a workout session”

She goes on by explaining what makes these workout sessions meaningful:

“I mean.. it’s like.. you don’t have to spend time on getting somewhere to do the exercise, so it’s like.. I mean, I have been participating every time and I don’t think I would have done that if I was supposed to go someplace to do it. Like, suppose you have one minute, then you’ll have time to get ready and change and still be on time, or you can be one minute late, and that’s fine [laughter]. Well, yeah.. it’s easy, we do it together; we can still see each other, and it gives us a chance to do some small-talk, and then we work out. You kind of can’t do that on your own.”

Compared to working out alone, the Zoom workout sessions provide multiple meanings. It is perceived as time-saving and accessible, but perhaps most importantly, it opens up an opportunity to socialize with friends in a time when one feels quite lonely. Thus it is not surprising that Doris has succeeded to maintain a routine in Zoom workouts. Compared to alone workouts at home, the online training sessions give more than just the satisfaction of being in good shape, it also increases the sense of belonging in the present and social connectedness. Guided by creative nostalgia, the current workout practice is thus performed

for the sake of social connectedness rather than for the sake of being physically active. This points to how emotions can organize a practice (Molander & Hartmann, 2018), in this case, creative nostalgia which helps to organize the objects (e.g. setting and equipment), doings (e.g. adaptation of exercises to the setting and available equipment), and meanings (e.g. to meet friends, becoming physically fit) of the workout practice so that the emotional aspiration to sense belonging in the present and social connectedness can be achieved.

However, Doris also expresses that she still misses the gym since they only use their own body weight in the Zoom workout sessions, saying that she feels that she has lost a lot of strength because of that. Still, triggered by the creative nostalgia she has been able to bring those past dimensions of the workout practice that she found most valuable into her contemporary life through adaptation. In addition, she considers that the Zoom workout has some positive aspects that the pre-pandemic gym workout did not have, such as the possibility for friends living far away to participate in the sessions. She also considers this to be a great reason for continuing their new weekly tradition after the pandemic, which she feels certain that they will do. In line with the sociological literature on nostalgia (Pickering & Keightley, 2006; May, 2017), this example illustrates how past dimensions of a leisure practice that one is longing for can be brought into one's contemporary life. Through adaptation, it is seemingly possible to make use of the past to improve a contemporary leisure practice, as well as recognizing its potential to become a satisfactory part of a future life as it may allow a continued social connectedness with friends living far away.

Another example of how creative nostalgia shapes leisure practices through adaptation was given by our respondent Peter.

Before the pandemic, Peter lived an active and social life in which working out and meeting friends were central parts of his leisure practices. He had a job where he met a lot of people every day and could socialize with his colleagues. For over a year now, both his private and professional life has been affected by the pandemic. Peter considers that it is important to follow the authority recommendations regarding social distance to limit the spread of the virus, and has therefore been working from home while also avoiding meeting friends indoors. As such, he expresses a strong longing for social interaction saying that it is something that he is “craving”. In an effort to minimize his sense of social disconnection from friends he has creatively tried to adapt prior leisure practices so that they comply with contemporary conditions, explaining that “you find ways to solve lack of social interaction”. While gathering indoors playing board games has been adapted to a digital sphere where he and his friends play an online game called *Among Us*, drinking beers at the local pub has been replaced with barbecue gatherings outdoors. He also emphasizes that these activities themselves are “secondary”, the main purpose is rather the social aspect.

Similar to Doris, Peter seemingly senses the temporal location of belonging in the time just prior to the pandemic when he regularly met friends and colleagues, saying that this is something he is “craving”. At the same time, he has an ongoing social life, although it is

different, which provides him with a sense of belonging in the present. As such, this two-sided sense of belonging in the near-past and present nurtures creative nostalgia, which facilitates adaptation of pre-pandemic leisure practices so that these can be continued. Creative nostalgia is thus “used as a technique to connect with a sense of belonging in the past that is then used to ‘warm up’ and give vitality to a bleak present” (May, 2017:411). In this context, this is showcased through the adaptation of pre-pandemic leisure practices.

Moreover, several respondents, including Peter, expressed feelings of guilt when going against the recommendations and meeting friends physically. For example, one respondent, Amir, explained that:

“I miss that kind of not having to care or think about where to go and where to be. Because now, every time I think about doing something, I have to face the question.. well ok.. is it really necessary? Can I manage without it?”

This points to how recommendations may increase the sense of responsibility among individuals that aim to do the right thing. However, when following recommendations, feelings of loneliness and social disconnectedness emerge instead, increasing the nostalgia for the pre-pandemic life when it was possible to freely meet whoever one wanted. For example, when we asked one respondent, Kim, that tried very hard to follow the recommendations, if she felt that her social needs were satisfied, she expressed that:

“No.. I don’t feel that.. no.. absolutely not..”

She further explained how this had made her feel:

“It’s like. the obligation to be.. to do good.. to value.. you see other people hanging out like the restrictions didn’t exist, and then trying to follow them yourself with great losses.. like great personal losses, not being able to meet friends.. not being able to be a part of each other’s lives..”

In this dilemma of emotions, aspirations to follow the public health authority's recommendations have a high hierarchical order closely allied with normativized emotions of being a good citizen. However, at the same time, sensing belongingness in the present and feeling socially connected to friends is seemingly very important as well. To decrease the contradiction between having social connectedness and being a good citizen, these emotions together guide adaptation. Thus, nostalgia alone does not provide a blueprint for the re-shaping of the practice but is incorporated into the teleoaffective structure together with other emotions (Schatzki, 2001).

In Peter’s case, the teleoaffective structure guides him in the adaptation of both the ‘board game practice’ and ‘beer drinking practice’. Adapting them to new settings, he is able to cope with his sense of social disconnection in the present without compromising his desire to follow the recommendations. However, both these adapted practices are different with

regards to several aspects. The objects within the gaming practice have changed, board games have been replaced with phones, computers, and apps, and the gathering place has gone from being someone's living room to being a digital meeting room in which they can talk and chat. Within the 'beer drinking practice', similar adaptations have been made:

"Like.. If you compare it with how we used to hang out before, we went out for beers, that was how we hung out.. so it's more like, now we meet outdoors, and find other things to do, like barbequing sausage. It has become synonymous with hanging out.. ... You find ways to solve lack of social interaction.. like.. well, barbeque sausages or just set up a fire to keep warm.. so it kind of becomes a common denominator.. kind of like... that people can gather around."

In other words, the pub has been replaced with an outdoor gathering place, and the tables and beers have been replaced with fire and sausage. Consequently, the doings have also changed to some extent as it is performed differently due to the objects involved, which in turn requires other skills and know-how. Perhaps the most important aspect of the performance, however, is still similar as it is performed together with others. The meaning of playing board games and drinking beers may be multiple, just like in the case of Doris' gym workout practice. However, in Peter's case, the shift to online gaming and outdoor gatherings with friends has brought additional meaning in terms of him feeling like a good citizen because it aligns with the recommendations. From this perspective, the adaptation of objects and doings allows for retaining the social meaning of pre-pandemic leisure practices while at the same time strengthening the sense of being a responsible citizen.

What may be important to note is that Peter has a lot of past experience from both online gaming and outdoor activities. With regards to online gaming, the difference now is that Among Us, which he plays with his friends that he used to play board games with, is much simpler and beginner-friendly than what he usually plays with his 'gamer friends'. In fact, the game itself does not appear to amaze Peter:

"I mean, I wouldn't sit and play the game by myself.. Or.. like, I don't think the game itself is that much fun, it's more like a reason to hang out."

Similarly, meeting outdoors is a modified way for him to socialize with the friends that he used to meet at pubs. This points to how both Among Us and barbequing become substitutional ways of socializing with friends that one would have met in other settings prior to the pandemic. Just like Doris, Peter's creative nostalgia has encouraged him to bring past dimensions into contemporary leisure practices through adaptation and he expresses that he hopes to continue these practices in the future as complementing ways of hanging out with friends.

Overall, adaptation suggests that individuals' creative nostalgia enables them to make creative adjustments in their pre-pandemic leisure practices so that these can be continued in a new form while still maintaining the social element during the pandemic. While the

workout practice, gaming practice, and barbecuing practice constitute three insightful examples, we witness a range of similar adaptations of social leisure practices, often moving from a physical space to a digital sphere, or from an indoor setting to an outdoor environment. While this may affect the multiple meanings of the leisure practice, this effort is done in order to maintain the social element and to increase the sense of belonging and social connectedness. Although it works as a contemporary substitution for socializing and offers comfort in times in which individuals experience some sense of social disconnection, respondents underline that it is not sufficient enough to fill the social need. Still, a lot of the respondents have explored positive aspects of the adapted practices that the original practices lacked, mainly in terms of accessibility, time-saving, and being outdoors. Accordingly, individuals perceive that these practices will function as complements in the future.

4.3 Innovation

Innovation emerges from innovative nostalgia, which can be understood as an extension of creative nostalgia. In this research context, innovation refers to when individuals are inventive and come up with new ideas of what leisure practices to adopt when former ones are restricted. Instead of adapting pre-pandemic leisure practices, they are guided by their innovative nostalgia to look for new alternatives within other categories of leisure practices. Let us illustrate this with the below vignette.

Dennis works as a craftsman and lives an active life in which sports such as golf, climbing, and skiing are natural parts of his everyday leisure practices. Throughout the pandemic he has been able to continue both his work as usual, and practice the sports that he enjoys, expressing that “well, it hasn’t changed that much for me personally. I don’t think.. well, a lot of the things that I like to do, I can still do them..”. However, he also expresses that the pandemic has made it difficult to carry out these sports in a relaxing way because the sports centers have introduced booking systems. This restricts him from being free, spontaneous, and flexible, saying that “it becomes more difficult than it is relaxing”. He also has a huge interest in music and often attended music events before the pandemic which is something that he misses badly. Apart from the music experience itself, this was also his way of meeting with a particular group of friends that were otherwise often busy with work and family. To continue these friendships despite that all music events have been canceled, Dennis and these friends have started playing padel. This is a completely new activity through which they are able to gather and feel that it is “corona safe”.

While adaptation was closely related to a stricter view of authority recommendations, individuals that shape their social leisure practices through innovation interpret these recommendations differently. From their perspective, these ‘new’ practices are in line with the recommendations and are perceived as ‘corona safe’ although they almost always imply physical meetings with friends. It is thus not surprising that these individuals sense more satisfaction with their contemporary leisure time and a strong sense of belonging in the

present. However, we still note unhappiness with the present situation and longing for when things were as they used to be. More specifically, this longing concerns emotions of freedom, variation with regards to contexts in which they can meet their friends and flexibility.

While most of the respondents that experience innovative nostalgia, including Dennis, explain that they still meet their friends, the changes lie in what they do when they meet:

“It’s not like I don’t meet my friends, but this particular group of friends.. I don’t know.. it’s like.. I miss how we would go to concerts together, and festivals. I really miss everything that surrounded those happenings.. At least I’m happy that we started playing padel, that way we can at least meet. I think.. yeah but.. yeah, it would have sucked if we would have lost contact because of the pandemic”

As both the above vignette and quote showcase, Dennis has started playing padel during the pandemic now that other ways of hanging out such as going to the pub or concerts were not possible. He says that:

“You still find new ways to meet, even when it’s not possible to meet at a concert or something..”

However, while practicing padel is quite different from attending music events, Dennis still reflects and compares these practices. He senses longing for the time just before the pandemic when he could attend music events together with friends, but feels that practicing padel provides a new way to get together. These friends, he explained, were family fathers and therefore quite busy in everyday life. Accordingly, these music events were very important for their friendship as they provided a reason to gather. When concerts became prohibited as a result of the pandemic, Dennis and his friends had to find some other way of meeting. That was when they came up with the idea that they could start playing padel. Through padel, Dennis and his friends have been able to continue socializing and nurture their friendship.

Similarly, another respondent Lars, describes how the pandemic has affected both his professional and personal life. Being new in Stockholm, his colleagues constituted an important part of his social life:

“Well, like a lot of other people I started to work from home when the pandemic started.. and since I’m new in Stockholm.. for me, ehm.. that kind of affected my social life because I mostly met people at work, those are basically the only ‘friends’ I have here.. so.. I mean, we used to go out for lunch.. but also like after a workday, we would go to the gym, or just have like after work at some bar.”

Due to the pandemic, Lars had to start working from home which resulted in a loss of social context. He describes that he misses the freedom to do whatever he wants and explains that life in Stockholm became both boring and lonely when the pandemic hit. He further states:

“It has been really important for me to kind of find something else that connects me to my colleagues. To find something else to have in common besides work.. I think that’s why I started with road cycling”

Seemingly, road cycling has been an innovative solution allowing Lars to maintain his sense of belonging and social connectedness in the present while decreasing feelings of boredom and loneliness. It becomes a way to connect with the past in which his work and colleagues were important.

In other words, innovative nostalgia seemingly guides individuals to look for alternative leisure practices outside of their repertoires in order to maintain and nurture relationships. It suggests that these ‘new’ leisure practices form the basis for unification. Although individuals still look back at life just prior to the pandemic and feel nostalgic about the near-past, they are able to maintain a sense of belonging in the present. From this perspective, the ‘new’ leisure practices provide similar meanings to the practitioners as the old ones did prior to the pandemic. For example, in Dennis's case, he pointed out that an important part of the ‘concert’ practice used to be preparing tasks and projects prior to the concerts, such as setting aside time, planning together, booking tickets, listening to the music, going to a pub before the concerts, etc. These tasks and projects were on the one hand important to enable the performance of the practice, while they on the other hand contributed to a sense of belonging.

Many of these tasks and projects are similar in the padel practice, for example, setting aside time, planning together, and booking padel courts. While the friends would discuss the music experience after a concert, the padel games have become the new discussion topic. However, while different practices require different materials and competences (Shove et al., 2012), so does playing padel and going to concerts. We note from our findings that possessing competences from sports, in general, facilitates the move towards substituting prior social leisure practices, such as going to concerts, dining out, having beers, playing board games, etc. with, for them, new physical activities as a way for socializing. However, in this context, the ‘new’ practice is carried out for the sake of meeting friends and to increase the sense of belonging, rather than for the sake of being physically active. Consider how Dennis explains what padel means to him:

“The best thing about padel is that.. Well, I kind of like the competition. And with that I mean to compete against friends.. you know.. like.. you get stoked and you want to win.. that’s one of the best things, but also that you.. yeah, I don’t know.. I like that you get time to actually hang out, I think that’s damn important, and it kind of makes you feel good”

As such, the provided meaning of playing padel is not different from going to a concert with regards to the social aspect. However, practices may have multiple meanings (Shove et al., 2012; Magaudda, 2011; Schatzki, 2001), and while these meanings may have different hierarchical orders connected to different normativized emotions (Schatzki, 2001), sensing

belongingness and social connectedness are seemingly important emotions to sustain. In Dennis's case, innovative nostalgia allowed for innovation, making him involved in padel so that he could maintain feelings of belongingness and social connectedness in the present.

Other examples of how innovative nostalgia may shape contemporary leisure practices through innovation were distinguishable in an interview with Lynn.

Lynn was in the middle of her studies to become a psychologist when the pandemic turned her life upside down. Suddenly, she had to study off-campus and could not meet as many friends and acquaintances as she used to do prior to the pandemic. Being at the campus, and hanging out with friends either at a restaurant, pub, or at home were things that she enjoyed a lot and which kept her busy. While she expresses a strong longing for these things, she still perceives that the pandemic year “hasn't been that bad.. it has just been different”. Lynn further explains that “corona has given me the possibility to be outdoors much more than before and I have discovered that I think it's quite nice to be outdoors.. ...corona kind of gave me that, because before I would be a bit comfortable and kind of prefer meeting at home or something”. In general, Lynn feels that her longing for socializing has made her think outside the box, and she has pushed herself to try out things that are completely new to her, such as climbing and winter swimming. When she explains more specifically why she has started doing these activities, she points to the social aspect in particular and describes it as a way to hang out with friends while at the same time being outdoors and exercising.

Moreover, Lynn explains that she has one friend in particular that has encouraged her to start with these activities. Lynn herself does not have much past experience with being outdoors and exercising. Considering that a practice can be understood as “forms of bodily activities, forms of mental activities, ‘things’ and their use, a background knowledge in the form of understanding, know-how, states of emotion and motivational knowledge” (Reckwitz, 2002:249), we see in this example that states of emotion and motivational knowledge have been prominent in adopting these new practices. More specifically, Lynn's longing concerns social aspects of pre-pandemic leisure practices such as dining out or going to the pub. When the pandemic hit and these practices were restricted, emotions and motivation, rather than background knowledge and know-how, became driving forces to find other ways of connecting with her past social life. When reflecting upon how her life could have been during the pandemic if she had not started climbing and winter swimming, she says:

“Well, I actually think it would have been really depressing. Because.. I noticed that at the beginning of the spring semester [when the pandemic started].. ... if the rest of the year would have been like it was in spring, I think it would have really sucked.. because at that time it was like.. I went on with my old way of living besides that there were all these things that I couldn't do anymore. And then somewhere around summer, I thought to myself ‘what can I do now instead, when I can't do any of the things I did before’. So if I would have been

stuck with the same mindset as in spring, I think it would have been much more boring, and heavier, and depressing..”

Lynn’s innovative nostalgia became her point of departure from which she found the strength to think innovatively, and with motivation from one friend in particular, her innovative nostalgia could be translated into practice and she was able to do something about her situation instead of just waiting for better times. While she expresses that she still misses her pre-pandemic leisure practices, she also senses happiness for the good things that came out of it, such as her discovery of new leisure practices, saying that these are “new ways of socializing” for her.

In sum, the pandemic has brought changes to how emotions of belongingness and social connectedness may be sustained by restricting certain leisure practices, such as going to concerts or having beers at a pub. We witness that this has given rise to innovative nostalgia among a number of our respondents. As such, these individuals’ contemporary leisure practices are shaped through innovation as they inventively find new ways in which emotions of belongingness and social connectedness can be obtained. However, individuals clearly long for other dimensions of the leisure practices they can no longer perform. For example, while padel fills the social need that is important for Dennis’ sense of belonging, it lacks other meaningful dimensions that he obtained from music events, such as the audio-visual experience of a live concert. Being a person interested in music, attending music events strengthened this identity and sense of belonging to the music community. While going to concerts with friends and playing padel have the social aspect in common, these practices are quite different with regards to other aspects. Lynn has similar thoughts about her new leisure practices, saying that while these have enabled her to discover new ways to socialize, winter swimming and climbing cannot replace a beer at the pub, or a party with friends. As such, these new leisure practices cannot substitute or be complements to the pre-pandemic leisure practices, but may rather become additional practices in the future. Consider Dennis future thoughts about these leisure practices:

“I will most probably continue with padel in the future because I think it’s really fun.. but I hope to be able to play padel during daytime and go to concerts in the evenings.. ... I mean, yeah.. we will continue playing padel, I really do believe that”.

Overall, we see that the involvement in ‘new’ leisure practices tends to be insufficient with regards to some aspects that the respondents perceive important, such as in these examples. However, most respondents are positive about continuing these practices in the future, not as a substitute, but as additional leisure practices since they have become natural parts of their everyday lives that provide joy and excitement.

4.4 Procrastination

Procrastination emerges from passive nostalgia. The experience of having lost one's social context and belonging in the present increases passivity and leads to an inability to adapt or innovate contemporary leisure practices. Let us illustrate this with a vignette.

Before the pandemic, Astrid had a rich social life that circulated around music. Apart from going to music events regularly, she was working hard on developing her own career within music as a singer and studied music at college. The pandemic thus implied a huge downturn in both her personal and professional life. As such, she has been experiencing a high sense of social disconnection and a lack of belonging from her music community and friends. She even expresses: "I've had a terrible year. Mm.. both private with regards to my mental health, but also.. well.. like workwise. ... I think that.. I kind of.. when I was picked out of my context.. because I was studying when it began, and suddenly it [school] disappeared, and it became digital and it was not at all as good because they weren't that prepared as now.. and I had some jobs that were canceled when it wasn't possible to sing and perform for people anymore. But it became.. I kind of felt that I was picked out." In normal cases, Astrid explains that her way of coping with such feelings would have been to meet friends and socialize. With this possibility perceived as gone, she has become passive instead. Her screen time has increased immensely when she frenetically goes through her social media feeds, and binge watches series over and over again in an uninvolved way. Astrid herself notes that the way she watches series and movies has changed compared to before the pandemic.

While watching TV before the pandemic fed Astrid's interest in movies and series, the meaning it provides now has changed:

"...before it was more like 'now I'm gonna watch this'.. Now, it's kind of more like a way to make time pass. It kind of feels less lonely to have some noise and voices in the background"

By having the TV on in the background, the background noise increases her sense of time passing quicker and decreases her sense of loneliness. In other words, the purpose for carrying out the practice has changed which in turn, seemingly influences the performance. To obtain the current meaning of the practice, she does not need to actively watch TV, it is enough to have it on in the background. From this perspective, the contextual situation with regards to the pandemic has increased the sense of social disconnection, lack of belonging, and loneliness, giving rise to nostalgia emotions.

When we further talk about Astrid's interest in music, and alternative ways to experience music during the pandemic, she expresses a strong longing and starts reflecting on online concerts that have been arranged lately:

“There are a lot of people that do a lot of really nice online concerts and people really try, but it’s not the same thing.. ... I guess it’s because it’s.. you look forward to doing it together with others, to meet other people. It’s like you include the social and.. yeah, I guess you want to meet people, kind of. And you don’t get that online.. “

Astrid is seemingly feeling uninspired to attend online music events. While the materials in the original concert practice included other people and a physical space to meet, the changes brought about by the pandemic have resulted in a new material setting. This online setting is insufficient in providing Astrid a sense of social connectedness to others, making her experience of the changed practice meaningless. Instead, she feels unmotivated to attend such events and consequently refrains. Feeling unable to find sufficient alternative solutions for meeting friends and socializing, this near-past nostalgia expresses itself through passivity. Considering that emotions play a central role in organizing practices (Schatzki, 1996, 2002; Molander & Hartmann, 2018), passive nostalgia emotions seemingly shape the meaning and desired goal of pre-pandemic leisure practices, such as watching TV. Procrastination, thus, implies that contemporary leisure practices are carried out for the sake of keeping oneself occupied while making time pass.

Kim has a similar way of dealing with the loss of social context. Instead of pre-pandemic leisure practices such as inviting friends over for dinner or meeting them at the pub to grab a beer, her everyday life has been routinized to include the same tasks and projects day after day. She explains:

“If I’m off work.. ... an evening off or after I’ve quit working, I come home and then I wait for my partner to come home. Then we go for a walk, and then hopefully we have already solved the dinner, if we haven’t, one of us goes into the store, buys groceries. We go home. Cook food. Eat.. and then.. we watch series. And then we go to sleep. I would really say that.. the last.. well yeah, this last year, this is how it’s been.. and yeah, this goes for the weekends I’m off as well. ”

While practices such as going for walks or cooking dinner were part of Kims’ everyday life before the pandemic as well, they have seemingly increased in importance due to social leisure practices being restricted. Regarding walks, Kim explains:

“Ehm.. I think now more than ever, our routines to take walks kind of..ehm.. it has never been more important than now, to still have that.. ...even on weekends, that is what one can do, just go out and walk. “

Kim is seemingly perceiving that going out for walks is one of the few leisure practices that she can carry out in spite of the pandemic. She is caught up in repeatedly doing the same thing and seems unable to find alternatives through which she can obtain social interaction with friends even though she expresses that she suffers from “great personal losses not being able to meet her friends”. Even though the walks do not fill her social needs, they are still important for her to increase her sense of well-being.

While pending a future in which things ‘go back to normal’, procrastination makes time pass through the engagement in pre-pandemic leisure practices that comply with current conditions. These practices are often performed individually without the company of others, or with ones’ partner, and were so before the pandemic as well. However since they lack the social component they are not sufficient in substituting prior social leisure practices but are still important for sustaining a good quality of life during the pandemic. From this perspective, the objects and doings of the practices have remained similar, while the meaning, that is why the practice is performed, has changed. Instead of being performed as recreational practices and for the sake of recovery from the social, or to feed an interest, they now fill the purpose of making time pass.

Another example of how passive nostalgia may shape contemporary leisure practices through procrastination was given in an interview with Ellen.

Ellen expresses that she experiences loneliness and social disconnection from her friends and family due to the pandemic. While her pre-pandemic life included social leisure practices such as having beers at a pub or at some friend's place, traveling, and working out at the gym with friends, she has been unable to find substituting ways of continuing those practices. She further expresses that the pandemic has been a “pause” from normal life in which video gaming has had an increased importance in providing her meaningfulness. While she expresses melancholia for her near-past when friends and family had a central role, she still has the ability to look forward and feel positive about the future. However, meanwhile, the video gaming practice makes her feel less lonely and increases the perception of time passing quickly.

Interestingly, Ellen has a lot of past experience of video gaming from her childhood. However, in the last couple of years this practice has received little attention because social leisure practices have been prioritized. Perceiving that her social life is on hold, she has found the time to engage in video gaming again. As a child, video gaming was an escape from reality that provided her with joy and recreation. While it currently provides a similar meaning, we note that it in addition fills her time, making the sadness over lost social context more bearable. Interesting to note, is that Ellen exclusively plays video games that she is familiar with from her childhood, more specifically, the Sims, Super Mario, and Zelda which are games she plays alone. When asked if she has considered trying out new games she responds accordingly:

“It’s a good question. I’m not super keen.. But my boyfriend talked about a new game yesterday, a computer game that has become quite popular.. and he thought it seemed fun. ... but then I kind of feel nooo, I will probably stick to Sims and Zelda”

This points to some sense of reluctance towards expanding her repertoire of video games. To Ellen, video gaming is seemingly a nostalgic leisure practice. The nostalgia emotion organizes the practice, making it restricted to the Sims, Zelda, and Super Mario. This

activates emotions of comfort and safety in the present (May, 2017; Cheung et al., 2013) which in turn increases the motivation for continuing the practice and seemingly moves her attention away from finding substitutes for what she is actually longing for: meeting friends and family. Ellen herself notes that:

“I mean, I have much more time to play games but it’s not like.. I don’t value that time as much as hanging out with friends.”

Clearly, normative emotions of belongingness and social connectedness in the present have a high hierarchical order. Within the video gaming practice, since it is carried out alone by Ellen, this emotion is quite absent. The motivation of performing the practice instead lies in nostalgia for the far-reaching past to which she increases her temporal location of belonging when playing these video games. It brings past and present into dialogue and turns her focus away from her social needs and her nostalgia for the near-past. Her engagement in the practice is thus rather a way of procrastinating those social leisure practices that she is longing for, such as having beers with friends at a pub, instead of trying to adapt (adaptation) or find new (innovation) social leisure practices that comply with contemporary conditions.

Overall, procrastination suggests that individuals' passive nostalgia makes them engage in certain leisure practices for the sake of making time pass while pending a future in which they can participate in social leisure practices again. While there are several differences in how individuals procrastinate social leisure practices, the similarities lie in why they do it. The above respondents provide insightful examples of how passive nostalgia may shape contemporary leisure practices through procrastination in different ways. As society opens up again, and social leisure practices may have more space in individuals' everyday lives, it seems reasonable to assume that these 'procrastinating' leisure practices will receive less space and go back in providing a similar meaning as in the past, allowing recreation and a break from the social.

5. Concluding Discussion and Contributions

The aim of this study was to explain how near-past nostalgia shapes contemporary leisure practices. Our findings unfold that near-past nostalgia emerges from different temporal locations of belonging and is closely related to some sense of social disconnectedness which aligns with previous literature on nostalgia (e.g. May, 2017; Loveland et al., 2010; Lasaleta et al., 2014). However, our findings suggest that *how* belonging is experienced evokes three different modes of near-past nostalgia (creative, innovative, and passive) which in turn shape contemporary leisure practices through individuals adopting three different strategies (adaptation, innovation, and procrastination).

Creative nostalgia and innovative nostalgia suggest that individuals experience a two-sided sense of belonging in both the near-past and the present. Both these modes are arguably

creative, however, innovative nostalgia is seemingly an extension of creative nostalgia from which individuals become more prone to think outside their repertoire of leisure practices and inventively come up with new ideas of what one can do instead. On the contrary, creative nostalgia suggests that individuals are bound to their near-past leisure practices which they are longing for, and use their creativity to enable some form of continuance of these. In other words, while creative nostalgia shapes contemporary leisure practices through adaptation, through which different elements of the pre-pandemic leisure practice are modified to comply with contemporary conditions, innovative nostalgia shapes individuals' contemporary leisure practices through innovation.

Moreover, our findings suggest that passive nostalgia is rooted in a sense of belongingness in the near-past, rather than in the present. This seemingly leads to passivity and an inability to be creative or innovative. Passive nostalgia does therefore not allow for adaptation nor innovation of contemporary leisure practices but rather shapes them through procrastination. While pending a future in which things 'go back to normal', procrastination makes time pass through the engagement in pre-pandemic leisure practices that comply with current conditions.

Finally, our findings point to how near-past nostalgia links together the near-past with the present and matters for the future. While previous literature has been primarily concerned with the link between the far-reaching past and present (e.g. Holbrook, 1993; Sierra & McQuitty, 2007; Loveland et al., 2010), our study sheds light on how nostalgia emotions may have important implications for consumers' future leisure practices, and in turn, leisure consumption.

5.1 Theoretical contributions

While previous literature on nostalgia has been particularly concerned with far-reaching nostalgia, our study adds to the field by offering a conceptualization of near-past nostalgia. In line with previous studies, our findings suggest that near-past nostalgia can be understood as an emotion (Sierra & McQuitty, 2007; Duffy et al., 2012; Hartmann & Brunk, 2019) that can be either creative, innovative, or passive. While it has been addressed previously that nostalgia is a multilayered phenomenon, which can be both reluctant, backward oriented, and melancholic (May, 2017), while at the same time may be as much progressive, forward-looking, and utopian (May, 2017; Higson, 2014; Pickering & Keightley, 2006), our findings reveal that there are more nuances to this. More specifically, our three modes of near-past nostalgia showcase how this multilayered phenomenon is expressed differently among individuals depending on their sense of temporal location of belonging. These modes may be applicable in other research contexts and empirical fields as well to understand how individuals may react and act upon change. Such changes may include occurrences on a personal level such as loss of a loved one, sickness, or losing one's job, but also on a societal level with regards to changes in legislation, financial crisis, or natural disasters.

Our findings further illuminate theoretical linkages between the different modes of near-past nostalgia and contemporary leisure practices. More specifically, we enrich the consumer and

marketing literature on nostalgia by introducing three different strategies (adaptation, innovation, and procrastination) through which near-past nostalgia shapes contemporary leisure practices. While previous consumer and marketing literature on nostalgia has been primarily concerned with the antecedents of nostalgic preferences for objects (Holbrook 1993; Holbrook & Schindler, 1989, 1991, 1994, 2003; Schindler & Holbrook, 2003; Loveland et al., 2010; Seehusen et al., 2013; Zhou et al., 2013), our study contributes to this stream of research by having a practice-theoretical ontology of nostalgia. By understanding how near-past nostalgia operates in practices and how it matters in and for the things we do is helpful in understanding how practices work. In other words, we showcase how near-past nostalgia is capable of shaping practices but also capable of maintaining practices and their variations. This should be of particular interest to marketers, sustainability scholars, and policymakers that intend to understand practice change and to evaluate possibilities and challenges of inventing new practices or adapting practices.

5.2 Managerial contributions

Our findings also suggest some managerial implications. In the field of marketing strategies, marketing managers can benefit from recognizing the link between each dominant near-past nostalgia mode and the strategy through which individuals shape their leisure practices. This allows marketers to tailor offerings and communication to strategically target individuals based on their dominant near-past nostalgia mode. Moreover, our findings suggest that near-past nostalgia mainly concerns the social aspect of leisure practices. More specifically, this article holds implications for our understanding of leisure consumption and its social meaning in consumers' lives. The importance of understanding practices' social aspect in consumer research emerges with clarity when pairing the idea that individuals seek to sense social connectedness and belonging through their practices, with the idea of consumption as something that results from most practices and which is required for the performance (Warde, 2005). Accordingly, when marketers develop offerings they should include and focus on communicating the social element.

However, as individuals are dominated by different near-past nostalgia modes, consequently, adopting different strategies through which they shape their contemporary leisure practices, offerings and communication have to be tailored accordingly. With regards to creative nostalgia, marketing should target these individuals by drawing on their creativity to adapt and desire to continue past leisure practices in the present. For example, while fitness centers could preferably develop offerings so that individuals may continue to attend group workout sessions without losing the social and interactive aspect, for instance by providing outdoor- or online group sessions, sports brands could focus on marketing their products in such contexts to inspire adaptation and showcase their relevance. As our study indicates, individuals experience positive aspects of adapted leisure practices that the original practices lacked, such as accessibility, time-saving, and being outdoors. Marketers should therefore emphasize these aspects in future marketing.

Regarding innovative nostalgia, marketing should target these individuals by drawing on their inventive mindset and desire to explore new leisure practices. However, it is vital to communicate the social element since that is the underlying motivation for exploring. In addition, marketers should focus on inspiring innovation by facilitating the step towards trying out new leisure practices, for example, by offering free trials, gear rental, and emphasizing that it is beginner-friendly. As our study indicates that individuals that have become involved in ‘new’ leisure practices are likely to continue these after the pandemic, such offerings will seemingly be beneficial in the long term.

Concerning passive nostalgia, marketing should focus on tailoring offerings that influence individuals’ perception of time, increasing the sense that time passes quickly while providing amusement and a sense of having company while performing the practice alone. This is especially relevant for the entertainment industry with regards to movies, series, video games, music events, and other types of entertainment offerings. However, as society gradually opens up, and social leisure practices may have more space in individuals’ everyday lives, it seems reasonable to assume that these ‘procrastinating’ leisure practices will receive less space and go back in providing a similar meaning as in the past, allowing recreation and a break from the social. Therefore, future marketing should focus on bringing forth the recreational and amusing aspects of such leisure practices.

5.3 Future Research

Our study opens new avenues for future qualitative and quantitative research. While our study indicates that near-past nostalgia might be collectively experienced as a common longing for a near-past in which things were ‘normal’, we have been focusing on how near-past nostalgia is experienced on a personal level. Future research could therefore focus on how near-past nostalgia is perceived collectively.

Further, this study provides a contextual understanding of how near-past nostalgia is experienced among young adult Swedes in cities during Covid-19, looking specifically at how it shapes leisure practices. As this may be different in other contexts and among other age groups, future research could be conducted in other national contexts, among other age groups, and with regards to other practices. In addition, societies may be affected by other disruptive changes such as wars, financial crises, or natural disasters giving rise to near-past nostalgia, that is the time just prior to such turmoil. While in this context, our findings show that there are three modes of near-past nostalgia, additional modes may be found in other contexts. We therefore suggest that additional research needs to further investigate how near-past nostalgia during and after such events is perceived, expressed, and shapes practices.

We also suggest that additional research is needed to further investigate how near-past nostalgia shapes leisure practices through adaptation, innovation, and procrastination. For example, by treating near-past nostalgia as a multilayered construct (creative, innovative, and passive) and quantify the impact on leisure practices through adaptation, innovation, and procrastination.

Finally, it is important to note that when different near-past nostalgia modes shape contemporary leisure practices through adaptation, innovation, or procrastination, this may in turn reinforce different senses of the temporal location of belonging and strengthen the experienced nostalgia mode. For example, while passive nostalgia shapes contemporary leisure practices through procrastination, procrastination may, in turn, reinforce the sense of passive nostalgia since individuals' involvement increases in leisure practices that lack social aspects, thus further increasing the sense of social disconnectedness. Future research could therefore further investigate the interrelationship between each nostalgia mode and the associated strategy.

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Appendix A Final Interview Guide in English

Introduction

Could you please tell me a little bit about yourself, who are you?

How do you perceive that the past year has been for you?

Past

Can you describe what you miss most about the time prior to the pandemic?

How often did you usually do these things?

Can you describe how this/these activities are carried out?

What is special for you about that activity? (emotions, meaning)

Can you describe something that you do not miss about the time prior to the pandemic?

-Why do you think you feel that way?

Present

Can you describe what you do now when you are off duties during evenings, weekends and vacation?

- Is this something that you have done before in life?

Have you started doing anything new during the pandemic?

-How come you started doing this?

Can you describe how this/these activities are carried out?

What is special for you about that activity? (emotions, meaning)

What is the best thing about this activity?

Can you describe in what way your leisure activities and vacations have changed compared to before the pandemic? (what and how?)

Is this a new way of experiencing the old way of ?

Do you experience that your leisure time is better/worse now than it was before the pandemics? Why?

Do you perceive that these activities can replace your earlier leisure activities in the future? Why/Why not?

Future

What would you like your life to be like after the pandemic?

What would you take with you from life during the pandemic to the future?

What wouldn't you take with you from life during the pandemic to the future?

What do you think you will miss from life during the pandemic in the future?