WANDERLUST

ON A WARMING PLANET

Exploring climate-friendly practice change
in young adults' vacations

PhD Dissertation

Katinka Bundgård Fals

Wanderlust on a Warming Planet

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Katinka Bundgård Fals

Department of Environmental Science

Section for Environmental Social Science and Geography (ESGO)

Main supervisor: Lars Kjerulf Petersen

Co-supervisors: Jonas Andreasen Lysgaard & Anne Gammelgaard Ballantyne

Preface

This dissertation was submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Philosophiae Doctor in environmental sociology for the Department of Environmental Science (ENVS), Graduate School of Technical Science at Aarhus University (Denmark).

The CliFVac project

The dissertation is part of an overarching research project called Towards Climate-Friendly Vacation Practices (CliFVac), funded by the Independent Research Fund Denmark (grant 1127-00026B). The CliFVac project aims to investigate and support socio-cultural transition towards climate-friendly vacation practices (CliFVac, 2025).

The project integrates the fields of environmental sociology, communication and learning, with practice theory and actor-network theory as theoretical entry points. It explores how media and informal learning feed into and shape pro-environmental transition processes. Empirically, the project focuses on two groups of vacationers: young adults, which has been the focus of the PhD, and the 50+ segment, investigating the imaginaries, competences and material conditions that influence vacation practices to illuminate ties between media content, informal learning and people's life-world. As such, it expands our understanding of how imaginaries, sentiments and competences are formed and maintained, thereby providing valuable lessons regarding the socio-cultural dimension of green transition.

Apart from the PhD, the project consists of three researchers from different departments at Aarhus University: senior researcher Lars Kjerulf Petersen from the Department of Environmental Science (PI), and associate professors Anne Gammelgaard Ballantyne from the Department of Business Development and Technology and Jonas Andreasen Lysgaard from the Danish School of Education.

Scientific summary

In an escalating climate crisis, this dissertation delves into one of the most carbon-intensive consumption practices people in affluent countries like Denmark increasingly take part in: vacations. Seeking to identify emerging dynamics of climate-friendly practice change and potentials and impediments for further change, it asks: *how do Danish young adults learn, perform, and picture vacation practices in times of climate crisis, and which sociocultural and mediatised dynamics can support climate-friendly practice change?*

It explores these questions from a practice-theoretical perspective through focus groups, longitudinal interviews, and digital ethnography with 36 young Danes between 18 and 29 years old. Seeking a broader view of social change dynamics than existing practice-theoretical studies, it includes perspectives on learning dynamics and social media and their potential roles in climate-friendly practice change.

The dissertation identifies two distinct practices: *vacationing*, characterised by relaxation and quality time, and *journeying*, characterised by adventure and formative experiences. Both practices are generally carbon-intensive, and climate-friendly practice change is sparse. A key impediment is a common social valuation of foreignness. Another is that aeromobility is currently favoured through infrastructures, regulation, competences, and shared understandings, while train travel is considered troublesome and expensive. Yet, both practices also transpire in more climate-friendly forms, indicating potential for climate-friendly change.

Exploring the young adults' learning trajectories, the dissertation finds learning relating to each of the practices' different elements, as well as to the normativity governing shared practices. Communities of practice constitute important arenas for such learning and potentially for leveraging it into practice change.

The dissertation further finds that social media platforms and content play key roles in circulating, routinising, and reproducing current, carbon-intensive vacation practices, but that they also enable alternative, less carbon-intensive practices to circulate and recruit practitioners.

The dissertation's findings indicate that situated performances hold potential for causing practice change through mediatised and embodied communities of practice. As such, the dissertation's findings improve our grasp of dynamics that impede and potentially enable climate-friendly practice change. The findings suggest that situated and collective change dynamics could valuably be better included in practice-theoretical efforts to foster and support climate-friendly practice change, which currently ascribe most of the agency for change to policymakers.

Dansk sammenfatning

Midt i den eskalerende klimakrise dykker denne afhandling ned i en af de mest klimaskadelige praksisser, som mennesker i velhavende lande som Danmark i stigende grad deltager i: ferier. I jagten på klimavenlig omstilling undersøger den unge danskeres feriepraksisser for at lede efter igangværende klimavenlige forandringsprocesser og dynamikker, som understøtter og forhindrer videre omstilling. Den undersøger disse dynamikker med afsæt i spørgsmålet: *Hvordan lærer, udfører, og ser unge danskere på deres feriepraksisser i lyset af klimakrisen, og hvilke sociokulturelle og medialiserede dynamikker kan understøtte klimavenlig praksisændring?*

Afhandlingen anlægger et praksisteoretisk perspektiv. Den bygger på fokusgrupper, longitudinale interviews og digital etnografi med 36 unge danskere på 18-29 år. I et forsøg på at indfange flere forandringsdynamikker end eksisterende praksisteoretiske studier tilføjer afhandlingen et blik for sociale læringsdynamikker og sociale medier og deres potentielle roller i klimavenlige omstillingsdynamikker.

Afhandlingen optegner to særskilte praksisser: *ferien*, som er kendetegnet ved afslapning og kvalitetstid, og *rejsen*, som handler om eventyr og dannelse. Begge praksisser er generelt klimaintensive, og klimavenlig praksisændring er ikke udbredt. En central forhindring er en fælles orientering mod det fjerne og anderledes. En anden er, at flyvning er fordelagtigt stillet på grund af både infrastruktur, regulering, kompetencer og fælles forståelser, mens togrejse fremstår besværligt og dyrt. Alligevel findes der klimavenlige versioner af begge praksisser, og det viser et potentiale for klimavenlig praksisforandring.

Ved at følge de unges læringsspor påpeger afhandlingen sociale læringsdynamikker, som knytter sig til hver af praksissernes forskellige elementer, og en særlig slags læring, som knytter sig til den normativitet, der styrer praksisserne. Praksisfællesskaber er vigtige for alle læringsformerne og rummer et potentiale for at omsætte læringen til bredere praksisforandring.

Afhandlingen viser desuden, at sociale medier spiller en vigtig rolle i at udbrede, rutinegøre og reproducere eksisterende klimaskadelige praksisser, men at de også understøtter alternative og mindre klimaintensive praksisser i at sprede sig og rekruttere deltagere.

Afhandlingens resultater peger på, at sociale og medialiserede dynamikker blandt deltagere i praksisser med fordel kan spille en større rolle i praksisteoretiske forståelser af klimavenlig omstilling, som lige nu tilskriver politikudvikling størstedelen af handlerummet til at skabe forandringer. Dermed bidrager afhandlingen til viden om de sociale dynamikker, som påvirker mulighederne for klimavenlig omstilling.

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First and foremost, this dissertation builds on the practice and generous participation of 36 young Danes. I hope this work represents your honest and reflexive perspectives well, and that it can help create changes that will benefit your generation and the rest of us.

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A big thank you to Mads Ejsing for conceiving the caring, warm, and empowering space that is The Green Network for Researchers, and for inviting me in on the process of founding it. I am grateful to inspiring friends in the network fostering much-needed hope, community, and action.

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Part of my PhD was undertaken in Naarm/Melbourne on the unceded lands of the Kulin nations. I pay respect to their Elders past and present and acknowledge the intricate connection between these lands and the custodian peoples. My time there made a lasting impression, and my project would not have been the same without it.

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Katinka Bundgård Fals

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1. Introduction

2024 marked a provisional culmination of two different, but related developments that epitomise the challenge facing the societies we live in. On the one hand, global temperatures reached a record high, making 2024 the hottest year ever recorded – and the first year where global temperatures surpassed the 1.5°C global warming threshold set out in the Paris agreement (Copernicus Climate Change Service, 2025; WMO, 2025). At the same time, global air traffic demand reached a record high in 2024, marking a full recovery of the aeromobility industry from the covid-19 pandemic. As the director of the International Air Transport Association (IATA) put it: "2024 made it absolutely clear that people want to travel" (IATA, 2025). As the planet is warming, global wanderlust is increasing – and so are the emissions it causes.

These simultaneous records in temperatures and flight passenger numbers encapsulate the schism that climate change constitutes. Recent years have made it unmistakably clear that urgent, all-encompassing societal change is crucial to mitigate the escalating climate crisis and avoid disastrous global warming and ecosystem collapses (IPCC, 2022b). And yet current political and societal mitigation efforts are evidently insufficient: the nationally declared contributions to the Paris climate agreement are falling severely short of the 1.5 degree target (United Nations Environmental Programme, 2023, 2024), annual global carbon emissions have not yet peaked (Friedlingstein et al., 2025), and the most recent COP left many observers and global-south countries bitterly disappointed (Chandrasekhar et al., 2024; Krausing, 2024; United Nations, 2024). While the consequences of the climate crisis are becoming increasingly tangible and deadly (Otto et al., 2024), the international society is struggling to produce emissions reductions in the scale and pace required.

Political initiatives are, however, not the only means to achieve rapid reductions in emissions. The importance of non-state actors like citizens and consumers is increasingly recognised (IPCC, 2022a), and "demand-side mitigation", encompassing "changes in infrastructure use, end-use technology adoption, and socio-cultural and behavioural change", has been pointed out as a potentially powerful mitigation response (IPCC, 2022a, p. 34). This potential is particularly powerful in affluent and disproportionately carbon-intensive societies like Denmark, where citizens can achieve large direct emissions reductions in their own consumption but

also hold a powerful potential for "becoming role models of low-carbon lifestyles" (Creutzig et al., 2022, p. 566; European Commission et al., 2024). And this brings us back to the record flight passenger numbers of 2024. Amongst demand-side mitigation options, individual mobility choices entail the largest potential to reduce carbon footprints, and reducing long-haul air travel is identified as providing the largest "avoid"-potential (Creutzig et al., 2022, p. 505). Commercial aviation alone has been made out to account for around 2,4 % of global CO2 emissions (Graver et al., 2019), to which should be added the effects from e.g. contrail cirrus and NOx, which brings the total annual contribution from aviation to around 3.5 % of anthropogenic effective radiative forcing (Lee et al., 2021). And these 3,5 % can be attributed to a small share of the global population; multiple studies have found flying to be highly unequally distributed, both globally and within national populations (Gössling & Humpe, 2020; Ivanova & Wood, 2020). For those with access to flying, it constitutes the biggest part of households' carbon footprint, and it is the most carbon-intensive form of consumption (Ivanova & Wood, 2020). Furthermore, aviation's share of global emissions is expected to rise, with estimates suggesting aviation could account for 22 percent of global emissions by 2050 (Cames et al., 2015; Dolšak & Prakash, 2022).

And flying is just one aspect of vacations; when counting in emissions from both the activities undertaken and the commodities purchased by tourists, tourism accounts for around 8% of annual global greenhouse gas emissions (Lenzen et al., 2018). And emissions from tourism are still increasing (Tourism Panel on Climate Change, 2023). In a business-as-usual scenario, the accumulated emissions from tourism between 2015 and 2100 would consume 24-42% of the global carbon budget (Peeters & Papp, 2024). If 2024 made it absolutely clear that people want to travel, existing knowledge also makes it clear that travel comes with a significant toll for the global climate system, which is already under severe pressure.

The concurrent increases in global temperatures and global air passenger numbers thus encapsulate both the urgency and the challenge of mitigating climate change. People's desire to travel is contributing significantly to the climate crisis, and there is thus a large mitigation potential in changing the ways people travel. But can we find less carbon-intensive ways to satisfy increasing wanderlust while mitigating the rising temperatures – and what might such change look like? These are the central questions guiding this dissertation.

The dissertation explores the potentials and impediments for climate-friendly vacation practices in the context of Danish young adults.

1.1. Young adults – between climate concern and frequent flying

Young adults are often described as a group which is particularly concerned about and affected by climate change (Jones et al., 2023; Schack, 2024). Both in a Danish context and internationally, young adults are have been found to be particularly concerned about climate change (Ballew et al., 2023; Gundelach et al., 2012; Kongshøj, 2022; Madsen & Fertin, 2022) – though other studies observe that they are not necessarily more prone to climate-friendly action (Grønhøj & Hubert, 2022; Lewis et al., 2019; Petersen et al., 2024). Young adulthood can be seen as a life phase entailing large potential for climate-friendly practice change as it is often characterised by significant changes such as moving out of the family home, starting and finishing studying, and getting one's first job – changes which can be said to entail a "window of opportunity" for sustainable transitions (Schäfer et al., 2012; Thøgersen, 2012).

At the same time, research and surveys have pointed out that young adults account for a disproportionately large share of vacationing, flying and the entailing carbon emissions (Czepkiewicz et al., 2019; Czepkiewicz et al., 2020; Falk & Hagsten, 2021; Husted, 2020). Young adulthood is also widely seen as a life phase where formative journeys, gap year travel, and other forms of vacations and travelling have a special social and cultural significance, and where travelling to distant places to experience different cultures and acquire a cosmopolitan outlook is perhaps particularly socially desired (Bennett & Johan, 2018; King, 2011; Snee, 2016). This makes young adults' vacation practices a lucid showcase of both sociocultural dynamics that support and hinder climate-friendly practice change.

As such, young adults are seemingly caught between social norms and desires of formative experiences on the one hand and of taking care of the planet on the other. Set at the intersection of these two not straightforwardly compatible pursuits, young adults' vacations epitomise the schism facing affluent and highly carbon-emitting people in affluent and highly carbon-emitting parts of the world. Can wanderlust be accommodated without adding fuel to the fire of an already warming planet? And what are the potentials and impediments for such climate-friendly vacation practices?

1.2. The empirical context

The dissertation explores these questions of climate-friendly practice change in young adults' vacation practices in a Danish national context – an affluent Scandinavian welfare state with

just under 6 million inhabitants (Danmarks Statistik, 2025b). The Danish population is generally wealthy and well-educated – and, notably in the context of vacations, scores very high on work-life balance (OECD Better Life Index). In a climate context, Denmark is an interesting case because it is often highlighted as a country with progressive climate policies and even as a "green frontrunner nation" (Tilsted & Bjørn, 2023). This status is particularly connected with Denmark's history as a wind-power pioneer, which has lead the country to have a relatively large share of renewable energy sources and in some senses become a pusher for high climate standards (Dyrhauge, 2017). The Danish population is consistently found to have a high general level of awareness and concern about climate change and relatively wide public support for mitigation measures (Madsen & Fertin, 2022). As such, Danes have ample opportunity to act as "role models of low-carbon lifestyles", e.g. by avoiding flying (Creutzig et al., 2022; Nielsen et al., 2021; Urry, 2011).

However, Denmark is at the same time problematised as an "indebted culprit" (Tilsted & Bjørn, 2023). As an affluent, industrialised global-north country, Denmark has relatively high per-capita emissions. An international assessment estimates Danish consumption-based emissions to 12 tonnes per capita, making it the world's 33rd largest, well above the 7,8 world average, and far beyond levels compatible with the Paris agreement targets (Minter et al., 2023; United Nations Environmental Programme, 2023). Regarding vacations and aviation, Denmark has a large volume of international aviation, mainly due to the large and primarily state-owned Copenhagen Airp,ort which acts as an international transportation hub (Københavns Lufthavne, 2023a). In line with international growth trends, the airport's passenger numbers have recovered from the COVID-19 decline with several record-breaking months in 2023, 2024 and 2025 (Københavns Lufthavne, 2023b, 2024, 2025). Danes are also highlighted as significant "net travellers", setting a much higher tourism-related carbon footprint abroad than foreign tourists exert in Denmark (Lenzen et al., 2018). And Denmark is among the European countries in which the largest share of the population participates in tourism generally and abroad (Eurostat, 2025); it is among the five European countries in which the largest share of the population has made at least one long-distance trip (+300 kms) within the last 12 months (European Commission, 2020); and it is one of six European countries in which flying is the most common mode of transport for these long-distance journeys (European Commission, 2020). As such, Danes are a relatively well-travelled population. Vacation-related emissions from Danes both domestically and abroad are estimated to approx. 9,3 million tonnes CO2e, or 12% of the country's total consumption emissions, of which around 3

million tonnes are attributed to aviation (Krawack & Collignon, 2025). Representative studies have not been made on the distribution of flying within the population in a Danish context, but a survey conducted as part of the CliFVac project found that 64% of respondents travelled by plane on vacation at least once a year before the covid-19 pandemic, while 16% never flew and 19% travelled by plane every second year or less (Petersen et al., 2024). And young adults are among the groups of the population who travel the most (Husted, 2020). This may be connected with the relatively widespread practice among young Danes of taking gap years after finishing high school, which often entails travelling abroad (EVA, 2019). Young Danes are also likely to be relatively more financially capable of travelling due to the country's free tuition and the state education grant and loans (SU) which is available to all students in Denmark over the age of 18, with monthly grants ranging from 1,060DKK to 6,820DKK depending on education form and whether living with or away from caretakers (Uddannelses- og Forskningsstyrelsen, 2024).

In many ways, the Danish context is thus a well-suited showcase for central dynamics enabling and constraining climate-friendly practice change, representing both pronounced potential for becoming role-models of low-carbon lifestyles and large room for reductions in vacation-related carbon emissions.

1.3. Approach and research questions

The dissertation approaches these potentials and impediments for climate-friendly change from a practice theoretical perspective (Halkier & Jensen, 2008; Schatzki, 2002; Shove et al., 2012). Rather than understanding young adults' vacations as the result of either unsustainable individual choices or determining social structures, it approaches them as socially shared practices in which young adults are participants. Such a perspective decentres individual choices and characteristics and instead emphasises the socially shared, embodied and interrelated character of everyday activities (Schatzki, 2002; Shove et al., 2012). Practice theories have become influential in studies of sustainable consumption (Welch, 2015). Approaching consumption – and the entailing emissions – as not a practice in itself but rather "a moment in almost every practice" (Warde, 2005), it allows for a multifaceted perspective including material, routinised, and socially shared aspects of resource-intensive consumption.

The dissertation thus engages with the potentials and impediments for climate-friendly practice change in the context of Danish young adults' vacation practices. This pursuit is directed

by the dissertation's overall research question, which asks:

How do Danish young adults learn, perform, and picture vacation practices in times of climate crisis, and which sociocultural and mediatised dynamics can support climate-friendly practice change?

This central research question is pursued through four different empirical strands, which focus on the configuration and climate impact of the young adults' vacation and different dynamics which enable or inhibit climate-friendly practice change, and a fifth strand which focuses on theory development. These different strands can be conceptualized according to the following underlying research questions:

1. *Which vacation practices transpire in young adults' situated performances, and which elements organise these practices?*

2. *How does the climate crisis interact with the organisation of these practices, and which elements of the practices support and challenge climate-friendly practice change?*

3. *Which dynamics of learning transpire in young adults' vacation practice trajectories, and how does this learning relate to climate-friendly practice change?*

4. *Which roles does social media content play in the circulation, reproduction, and performance of vacation practices, and how do representations on social media prevent and enable practice change?*

5. *How can the potentials and impediments for change in young adults' vacation practices inform practice theoretical accounts of climate-friendly practice change?*

The first four sub-questions are answered in the dissertation's three analysis chapters, which delve into the empirical data and produce thick descriptions of the sociocultural dynamics involved in young adults' practices, their learning trajectories in them, and the ways they are represented, circulated, and performed on social media. Throughout, the analysis focuses on the potential and impediments these dynamics pose for climate-friendly practice change. Bringing the insights generated through these analyses into dialogue with existing practice-theoretical scholarship, the dissertation's discussion chapter answers the fifth and final sub-question, seeking to contribute to practice-theoretical descriptions of dynamics of climate-friendly practice change based on the findings from young adults' vacation practices.

As such, the dissertation aims to paint a comprehensive picture of the potentials and impediments for climate-friendly practice change, focusing on a highly carbon-intensive form of practice and in an empirical context that showcases both dynamics that support and impede

climate-friendly change. It does so in the empirical context of Danish young adults, building on focus groups and longitudinal interviews with a total of 36 Danish 18–29-year-olds, as well as on vacation-related social media content provided by the young adults. To get an overview of dynamics that can be expected to transpire in the practices of young Danes, the next chapter reviews existing literature on climate-friendly practice change and impediments for it, the climate impact of vacations, and their sociocultural significance, particularly in the context of young adults.

2.   Literature review

This chapter starts by outlining existing research on sociocultural aspects of the green transition and climate-friendly practice change. Zooming in a level, it delves into the climate impact of current vacation practices and goes on to define what might then constitute climate-friendly vacation practices. Continuing from this definition, it outlines existing research about the potential and, mainly, challenges of changing these carbon-intensive vacation practices, which highlight the sociocultural significance of vacations and international travel, particularly for young adults. It also points out scarce but significant findings about the potential for climate-friendly change in the context of vacations, particularly about collective processes of reconfiguring the central position of aviation. Following on from these findings, it outlines the historical sociocultural significance of young adults' travel, pointing out notions of formative experiences and wanderlust as central aspirations. Tracing these notions up to the present, it outlines how social media and the societal diagnosis of "the achievement society" reinforce the significance of vacations for young adults today.

2.1. Researching climate-friendly practice change

Studying – and seeking to support – climate-friendly sociocultural[1] change is not a novel pursuit. Scholarship has long highlighted the importance of understanding sustainable transitions as not just technological and top-down political changes, but also sociocultural processes which entail developing and negotiating different forms of consumption and practice, new shared understandings, and, centrally, alternative conceptualisations of what "the good life" might feel, taste, look, and sound like (Creutzig et al., 2022; Schneidewind & Zahrnt, 2014; Shove & Walker, 2014; Wilk, 2002). Discussions and research about less resource-intensive and more environmentally friendly ways of living have flourished across academic disciplines at least since Rachel Carson's seminal warning about the environmental harm caused by pesticides in Silent Spring (1962) and the Club of Rome's controversial – and influential –

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[1] In this dissertation, the phrases sociocultural, sociomaterial, and sociotechnical are employed somewhat interchangeably. While these terms reflect differences, the dissertation's approach seeks to include all of them: i.e. both the cultural, material, and technological underpinnings of social dynamics. To avoid using all of the terms each time, I thus employ one of them, here sociocultural, noting that this doesn't foreshadow the cultural at the expense of material and technical aspects.

Limits to Growth (Meadows et al., 1972). With the release of the Brundtland report (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987), sustainable development became a major topic within research and policy, causing the emergence of fields like sustainable tourism and education for sustainable development (Ballantyne et al., 2024; Butler, 1999; Vare & Scott, 2007). And with the increasingly clear scientific consensus about human-induced climate change, research on the climate impact of many forms of human activity has proliferated since the turn of the millennium, e.g. with the establishment of the concept of the Anthropocene and the 'Great Acceleration' of parallel trends of rapid socio-economic growth and earth system deterioration (Crutzen & Stoermer, 2000; Steffen et al., 2015; Steffen et al., 2011). While the discipline of sociology has faced internal critique for being ecologically blind for a long time (Catton & Dunlap, 1978), the fields of environmental and climate sociology have made amends, producing large volumes of research on the intricate entanglements of social life and environmental and climate issues (Blok, 2012; Halkier, 1998; Hannigan, 2022; Latour, 1993; Petersen, 1997; Shove, 2003; Urry, 2011). Much scholarship in environmental sociology and neighbouring fields has been explicitly concerned with how climate-friendly or sustainable transitions can come about and be supported (Geels, 2010; Sahakian et al., 2022; Shove & Spurling, 2013; Stern, 2007; Wilk, 2002). Differences aside, this scholarship on sustainable transitions shares a common goal of abandoning resource-intensive, business-as-usual forms of production and consumption and achieving more sustainable societies and everyday lives (Geels et al., 2015; Welch, 2015). These pursuits are often concerned with domains such as mobility, food, and energy due to the large share of emissions they are responsible for (Ivanova et al., 2016; Tukker et al., 2010; Welch, 2015). A large body of such scholarship applies practice theoretical approaches, approaching it as a question of climate-friendly practice change (e.g. Bartiaux & Salmón, 2014; Gram-Hanssen, 2010; Shove, 2003; Verbeek & Mommaas, 2008; Warde, 2005). This dissertation locates itself within these pursuits with a focus on the consumption side, while acknowledging its relations with systems of provision and production-side dynamics.

2.2. Defining climate-friendly vacations

As the introduction showed, there are ample reasons to direct the pursuit of sustainable transitions towards aviation and vacations. As mentioned, reducing long-haul air travel is identified to hold the largest so-called "avoid" reduction potential amongst demand-side mitigation options (Creutzig et al., 2022, p. 505). For households that have access to flying, it constitutes

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the biggest part of their carbon footprint and the most carbon-intensive form of consumption (Ivanova & Wood, 2020). And flying is just one aspect of vacations; including emissions from activities and commodities, tourism accounts for around 8 % of global greenhouse gas emissions, which is disproportionately caused by travellers from high-income countries with Danes amongst the most significant net travellers (Lenzen et al., 2018). As such, large reductions can be achieved by the relatively small share of people who have access to flying.

Changing the vacations of people in affluent countries thus constitutes a particularly salient avenue for direct emissions reductions, but it also holds potential for invoking more wide-spanning socio-cultural change. Vacations are highly coveted and central in the normative configuration of "the good life" and thus of other key practices in people's everyday lives (Gössling et al., 2019; Randles & Mander, 2009a, 2009b; Urry, 2012). As such, vacations are a promising avenue for individuals with high socio-economic status to become "role models of low-carbon lifestyles" (Creutzig et al., 2022, p. 506; Nielsen et al., 2021). However, and for the very same reasons, vacation practices have been found to be particularly resistant to climate-friendly practice change, even for people who take other climate-friendly measures (Anciaux, 2019; Barr et al., 2010).

This dissertation approaches vacations as leisure days outside work or study – not only tourism or time spent travelling. According to Cambridge Dictionary, a vacation is "a time when someone does not go to work or school but is free to do what they want, such as travel or relax" (2023). As such, it includes both public holidays, whether spent at home or away, other annual vacations, various leisure travel, and longer trips such as gap year travel. This makes it a broader definition than tourism, but it excludes travelling as part of work or studies, e.g., on exchange abroad. While this definition includes less carbon-intensive activities such as staying at home, visiting friends, or going to a nearby summer cottage, travelling activities make up the larger share of the climate impact of vacations, and as such, the main focus is on addressing travel and tourism activities in vacation practices.

What constitutes a climate-friendly vacation, then? This dissertation does not aim to conduct life cycle assessments or carbon footprints of the young adults' different vacations, compare them, and come up with a measure for which ones entail a level of emissions that qualify as climate-friendly. Such a pursuit is beyond the dissertation's scope. Instead, it relies on available knowledge about features that affect the climate impact of vacations. In a large study of the carbon footprint of global tourism, Lenzen and colleagues (2018) confirm previous

findings that travel distance and transportation modes are the most critical factors in determining direct tourism emissions, with air travel as the most significant factor (Filimonau et al., 2014). For consumers from high-income countries, which Danish travellers belong to, air travel, road travel and transportation account for the by far largest share of emissions, while goods, accommodation, and restaurants account for smaller, but still significant shares (Krawack & Collignon, 2025; Lenzen et al., 2018). For domestic vacations, car travel is the the most significant cause of emissions (Krawack & Collignon, 2025). As such, mobility generally plays a large part in the carbon emissions of vacations, and thus also in the assessment of climate-friendly vacation practices in this dissertation. As described above, aviation is central in that regard, as it is a form of mobility that entails both large CO_2 emissions and additional warming effects assumed to be at least equally large (Lee et al., 2021). As such, vacations entailing air travel are considered carbon-intensive per se. Furthermore, long-haul aviation is found to have significantly larger impacts (Gudmundsson, 2019; World Tourism Organization, 2008). Therefore, intercontinental travel is also considered carbon-intensive. Many other factors play a part, such as the form of accommodation – e.g. whether it is air conditioned, features heated pools or other energy-intensive features – and the energy mix at different destinations, which plays a part both for the carbon intensity of accommodation and e.g. of electric trains, depending on if they're powered by e.g. hydropower or coal. Research has pointed out that there are also significant carbon emissions involved in second home use such as summer cabins – also within the same country, though these are significantly smaller if the second home is located within the country than abroad (Næss et al., 2019).

The question of which vacations can truly be considered climate-friendly is thus more complicated and multifarious than can be settled within this dissertation. Based on existing research, the dissertation broadly defines vacations involving air travel and cross-continental travel as carbon-intensive. In turn, vacations which take place in Denmark and neighbouring countries or rely on other forms of mobility – in particular trains, electric cars, and biking/hiking – are considered climate-friendly. The definition of climate-friendly vacations is thus relative to widespread, flight-borne vacations, and as such, it might validly be criticised for not necessarily entailing sufficient absolute emissions reductions to comply with the Paris agreement target (UNFCCC, 2016; United Nations Environmental Programme, 2024). Nevertheless, existing research suggests that such vacation practices have significantly lower emissions and thus constitute an important step in mitigating the climate crisis. However, judging from existing research, the prospects of such more climate-friendly vacation practices are not

promising. The next section outlines the main impediments for such climate-friendly changes that transpire in existing scholarship.

2.3. Impediments for climate-friendly vacations

An initial barrier for climate-friendly practice change in aviation and vacations is the relative lack of policy and industry interventions, which have failed to reduce emissions from an institutional perspective (Lyle, 2018; Peeters & Papp, 2024). Due to, e.g., lack of VAT and energy toll on aviation and limited tolls on the emissions entailed, flying is relatively favoured compared to other means of transport (Klimarådet, 2019). Subsidies, including loans, grants, and reduced taxes for airlines, infrastructure providers, and manufacturers, sometimes makes it viable for low-cost carriers to offer fares lower than the price of the fuel burned (Gössling & Dolnicar, 2022; Gössling et al., 2019). In part due to these favourable conditions, fares have been declining and are estimated to have halved over the last 20 years (IATA, 2018), which has been found to drive growth in commercial air traffic (Gössling & Dolnicar, 2022). And while flight taxes have been found to be effective in reducing supply and derived emissions (Bernardo et al., 2024; Falk & Hagsten, 2021), it requires more tangible price differences to counteract the declining fares (Falk & Hagsten, 2018; Gössling & Dolnicar, 2022; Markham et al., 2018). This means that while there are efficiency gains in aviation technology, they are subsumed by the continuous growth in passenger numbers and distance, leading to a steadily growing climate impact of aviation (Gössling & Peeters, 2015; Lenzen et al., 2018; Pels, 2008; Tourism Panel on Climate Change, 2023). In a Danish context, airports and airlines have also been politically prioritised and subsidised (Finansministeriet, 2022, 2024; Indenrigs- og Boligministeriet, 2021), while Danish and EU initiatives to improve the relative competitiveness of railway traffic have been largely unsuccessful (European Court of Auditors, 2017, 2018; Fitzová, 2017; Nash, 2011). In the face of rising passenger numbers and emissions, and in a context of regulatory and systemic inertia, it will thus be impossible to achieve sufficient emissions reductions from air travel without behaviour or practice change (Gössling & Dolnicar, 2022; Gössling & Humpe, 2020).

Scholarship therefore turns to the potentials and impediments for reducing the climate impact of aviation and vacations from the demand side, approaching travellers as consumers, citizens, and participants in social practices, and thereby as potential change agents. One strand of this literature explores tourism and flying through the lens of travellers' attitudes or values and their connections (or lack thereof) with behaviour. Such studies often approach leisure

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flying through the framework of an "attitude-behaviour gap" or a "knowledge-action gap" describing the presumed paradox that while climate-friendly attitudes and values are prevalent, climate-friendly behaviour change is not (Antimova et al., 2012; Barr et al., 2011; Barr et al., 2010; Cocolas et al., 2020; Higham et al., 2013; Loehr & Becken, 2021; McDonald et al., 2015). Some of these studies points out that the attitude-behaviour gap is stronger in the context of vacations than in everyday practices at home, suggesting a "home" and "away" gap and generally a stronger attention to spatial aspects of sustainability (Barr et al., 2011; Cohen et al., 2013). Similar dynamics have been described under the moniker of "the flyer's dilemma", describing the tension between the detrimental climate effects and the socially desired personal lifestyle and social network gains associated with flying, which often leads travellers to continue flying despite feeling guilt and concern (Higham et al., 2016; Higham et al., 2013). In fact, this research points out that the consumers with the strongest pro-environmental attitudes and environmental commitments at home often fly the furthest and the most frequently (Barr et al., 2011) – a finding which is consistent with other research (Böhler et al., 2006; Czepkiewicz et al., 2019; McDonald et al., 2015; Volden & Hansen, 2022). This scholarship thus suggests that a discrepancy between attitudes and behaviour is amongst the barriers for climate-friendly practice change.

This also suggests that attitudes and behaviour are not the most well-suited frameworks for understanding the potentials for climate-friendly change – rather, a broader perspective is needed which considers "how travel can also be understood as an embedded form of practice, intimately connected to historic, economic, and cultural influences" (Barr, 2018, p. 1). The mobilities field applies such an approach to the phenomenon of aeromobility and the potentials – and impediments – for climate-friendly practice change (Barr, 2018; Sheller & Urry, 2006; Urry, 2012). Analysing the sociotechnical system of aeromobility, the field points to the many people, technologies, materials, and operations upholding this system which "increasingly moves people apparently (though never actually) seamlessly around the world" (Sheller & Urry, 2006, p. 219). From this perspective, the main impediment for climate-friendly practice change is the socially central significance of mobility – in particular aeromobility – as an enabler of experiencing places and landscapes and maintaining networks through physical proximity and co-presence (Barr, 2018; Urry, 2002). As such, it highlights the necessity of understanding people's mobility as connected to social practices rather than through frameworks of individual decision making which remain widespread among researchers and policy makers (Barr, 2018; Urry, 2011).

As this description indicates, the mobilities scholarship shares perspectives with practice theories, and the two approaches are sometimes applied in the same studies (e.g. Randles & Mander, 2009a; Volden & Hansen, 2022). While practice-theoretical studies focusing on the potential for sustainable vacation practices are scarce compared to other consumption domains, there are studies that provide important insights. In a study of the gap year travel practices of British young adults, Luzecka (2016) sheds light on the socio-cultural nature of gap year travels, describing how long-haul travel is justified by conventions and imaginaries of "the Other" and "facing cultures very different to their own"; of learning from experiencing certain (distant) phenomena first-hand; and of "conventional" gap-year destinations. Furthermore, the study points out infrastructures, institutional arrangements, and sources of support and information as important in making some travel practices more accessible (Luzecka, 2016, pp. 452-455).

Another notable empirical study – of British frequent flyers' climate considerations – shows that flying is not so much a practice in itself as a part of other, socially cherished practices of experiencing different places and cultures, spending time with friends and family, and pursuing hobbies and interests (Randles & Mander, 2009a, 2009b). While some flights are considered indispensable, almost all participants could also identify flights that could be abandoned altogether or replaced by other modes of transport, suggesting that aviation is most helpfully understood through the wider practices in which it takes part. Invoking Shove (2003), the study centrally identifies a set of upwards "ratchets" for leisure flying – mechanisms that drive and lock in practices, suggesting a high level of sociotechnical and institutional path dependency (Randles & Mander, 2009b). Among these upwards ratchets are "first fly", i.e. overcoming the obstacle of flying and becoming familiar with it; and "budget airlines and penny flights", i.e. the preponderance of low-fare flights (Randles & Mander, 2009b, pp. 266-267). The study also identifies downwards ratchets – most notably a "tipping' of popular discourse against flying for environmental and climate change concerns, which is causing discomfort, but has not translated into practice change (Randles & Mander, 2009b, pp. 269-270).

In a study of air travel of Norwegian environmental organisation workers, Volden & Hansen (2022) find that flying is considered problematic but often necessary due to expectations related to convenience, time, and sociality, which work to lock in aeromobility. Similarly to Randles & Mander, they find indications that the teleoaffective structure of air travel is normatively "conditioned" by environmentalism as a general understanding, but this effect is

mediated by practical considerations. To achieve sustainable mobility, they argue, "we cannot focus solely on air-travel but need to pay attention to the aeromobile practices which are part of the fabric of contemporary societies" (Volden & Hansen, 2022, p. 362).

Dickinson et al. (2010) explore discourses of UK slow and non-slow travellers to justify modal choice in relation to climate change, finding that people experience a lack of agency and employ a range of discursive strategies to deny responsibility in a tourism context, e.g. a discourse of "politics preventing progress". They also point out that socially embedded rules for tourism and unequal availability of different infrastructures have made flying the assumed mode of transport, highlighting the need to reorganise tourism and mobility infrastructures.

In a Swiss context, Sahakian et al. (Sahakian et al., 2021) conducted a workshop series with citizens to identify initiatives that could support flying less. Flying less for leisure was generally seen as having more negative impacts than flying for work, but positive effects were identified in the form of "staycations" and developing local tourism. The workshops pointed out the need for developing better alternative infrastructures to flying and to distinguish between tourism practices and visits to family or friends. Similarly, Guillen-Royo (2022) finds that Norwegians whose travel practices were disrupted by COVID-19 experienced increased levels of well-being from reducing work-associated air travel, but negative effects from restrictions on private travel. In the context of sustainable Alpine tourism mobility, Verbeek and colleagues (2011) point out that environmentally friendly holiday practices are complicated by the nationally organised railway infrastructures and sectorial tourism industries. As such, impediments for climate-friendly vacations abound.

2.4. Potentials for climate-friendly vacations

In the face of these myriad impediments, there is a relative scarcity of studies that identify factors that can support climate-friendly practice change in the context of vacations (Morten et al., 2018). Focusing broadly on the environmental impact of tourism from a practice-theoretical perspective, Verbeek and Mommaas (2008) point out two theoretical avenues for mobilising travellers as change agents; one by enabling and "tempting" tourists to behave more sustainably through sociotechnical innovation, and the other by mobilising them as "citizen-consumers" through processes of sub-politics, social movements, and political consumerism. In light of the impediments pointed out above, the real-life feasibility of such mobilisation is uncertain, and it is not empirically underpinned in the study.

However, a few empirical studies provide findings that support such mobilisation potentials and the potential for climate-friendly change more broadly. Hoolohan (2024) presents the first evaluation of a workplace benefit scheme offering paid journey days to employees travelling without flying for vacation purposes. The study finds that the initiative works to catalyse and mainstream low-carbon travelling by supporting the recruitment of travellers to surface travel, sharing knowledge and know-how, reconfiguring temporal experiences, and overcoming the challenges of surface travel in a mobility system dominated by aeromobility.

Ullström (2024) explores the Swedish flight-free movement as an example of *prefigurative politics* (Yates, 2015) – a form of everyday activism that can enable the transformation of unsustainable consumption practices. The study finds the flight-free movement to constitute a form of prefigurative environmentalism that reconfigures existing travel practices but also expands beyond them, experimenting with alternative ways of life more broadly, which change the need or desire for long-distance travel (Ullström, 2024). As such, the study identifies a countermovement that contests established vacation and aviation practices and outlines an avenue for alternative ones, in vacations and in everyday lives more broadly.

Somewhat in contrast with other attitudes and behaviour approaches, Morten and colleagues (2018) find that people with positive attitudes towards reducing aviation are more likely to intend to reduce their flights. Furthermore, they find that expectations and norms from family and friends have a significant impact on intentions. However, as they note, these intentions are not certain to translate into behaviour.

As such, existing scholarship points out some avenues for climate-friendly change. However, these potentials are still relatively under-researched, and none of these studies target young adults. To get a better grasp of dynamics that can be expected to pertain particularly to young adults' vacation practices, the following section traces the historical European ties between young adults and travelling, from the Grand Tours to contemporary young adulthood.

2.5. The significance of travelling for young adults

As the introduction described, young adults are perhaps a group which can be expected to reflect impediments for climate-friendly vacations particularly strongly, even if they are generally aware of and concerned about the climate crisis. To understand this, we need to take a closer look at the special significance vacations and travelling have in young adulthood – a significance that dates at least several centuries back, but also connects with contemporary

circumstances like social media and pressures to perform.

In a European context, the strong sociocultural connection between young adulthood and travelling abroad can be traced back at least to the *Grand Tours* of young European nobility (Richards, 2021), and to the concurrent *journeyman years*, in which young craftsmen went abroad for, traditionally, three years and one day to work and become educated in their craft and as persons (Hartmann, 2021; Hobsbawn, 1951; Pedersen, 2015). Both forms of formative journeys evolved from the 16th century onwards, and their influence remains today.

The origins of tourism as such are often traced back to the Grand Tour: formative trips, often to Italy, undertaken by European young adults in the social elite for educational, aesthetic, and cultural purposes (Brodsky-Porges, 1981; Inglis, 2000). Originating in the 16th century as a "conspicuous leisure" almost exclusively for young British nobility (Veblen, 1899), the Grand Tour gradually became institutionalised and mainstreamed, also in other European countries and particularly in the eighteenth century (Löfgren, 1999; Richards, 2021). The routes often led to Italy. Many artists also embarked on a Grand Tour: the Danish national poet Hans Christian Andersen, who famously said that "to travel is to live" (Andersen, 1908), travelled around Europe on such tours on several occasions. There is also a rich tradition of Danish painters travelling abroad to learn from international beacons and become educated also in a wider sense –particularly in Danish romanticism, which is said to start with C. W. Eckersberg's paintings from exactly such a Tour to Rome (SMK Open, 2024). The Grand Tour thus not only developed a strong social significance of travelling abroad during young adulthood for educational and formative reasons – it also helped produce a particular "tourist gaze" to accompany these understandings and practices (Urry & Larsen, 2011). As such, the Grand Tour has in many ways shaped the broader tourism practices today – the young contemporary interrailers are even said to be the "true descendants" of the Grand Tour tradition, as both "travel to discover both the world and themselves" (Löfgren, 1999, p. 160)

Figure 1. Eckersberg, C. W. (1814-1816). Marmortrappen, som fører op til Kirken Santa Maria in Aracoeli i Rom. København: SMK Open. https://open.smk.dk/artwork/image/KMS1621

While the Grand Tour is prominent in cultural representations and historical accounts, they are not the only tradition connecting travelling abroad with young adulthood and formative experiences. Parallel to the nobility's Grand Tours, there was a strong tradition of craftsmen and women going "on the tramp", "on the Walz", or on "journeyman years" or "wandering years" to become educated, professionally and personally (Hartmann, 2021; Hobsbawn, 1951; Pedersen, 2015). Similarly to the Grand Tour, this tradition dates back at least to the 16th century (Pedersen, 2015) and was practiced all over Europe with a particularly strong tradition in Denmark, German-speaking countries, and France (Hartmann, 2021).

While less conspicuous in popular culture, the practice of going "on the Walz" was also culturally significant for centuries. It is, e.g., described in Mahler's song cycle Lieder Eines Fahrenden Gesellen (songs of a journeyman) and in Goethe's novel Wilhelm Meister's Journeyman Years – and in 2015, the tradition was named an intangible cultural heritage by UNESCO (Hartmann, 2021). Traditional descriptions of the journeyman years also ring

surprisingly familiar today. In a guide for young artisan workers wanting to go abroad for "professional Bildung", a vignette caption on the title page (figure 2) reads "Fly boldly off and try your wing's worth/With courage and passion into the free nature/For when you return home to noble deed/You will soon enough be trapped in a cage" (Nielsen, 1888). As such, the journeyman years seem to reflect and reinforce an understanding of young adulthood as a particular life phase for formative experiences away from home – an understanding which, as the analysis will show, also transpires in young Danes' contemporary vacation practices.
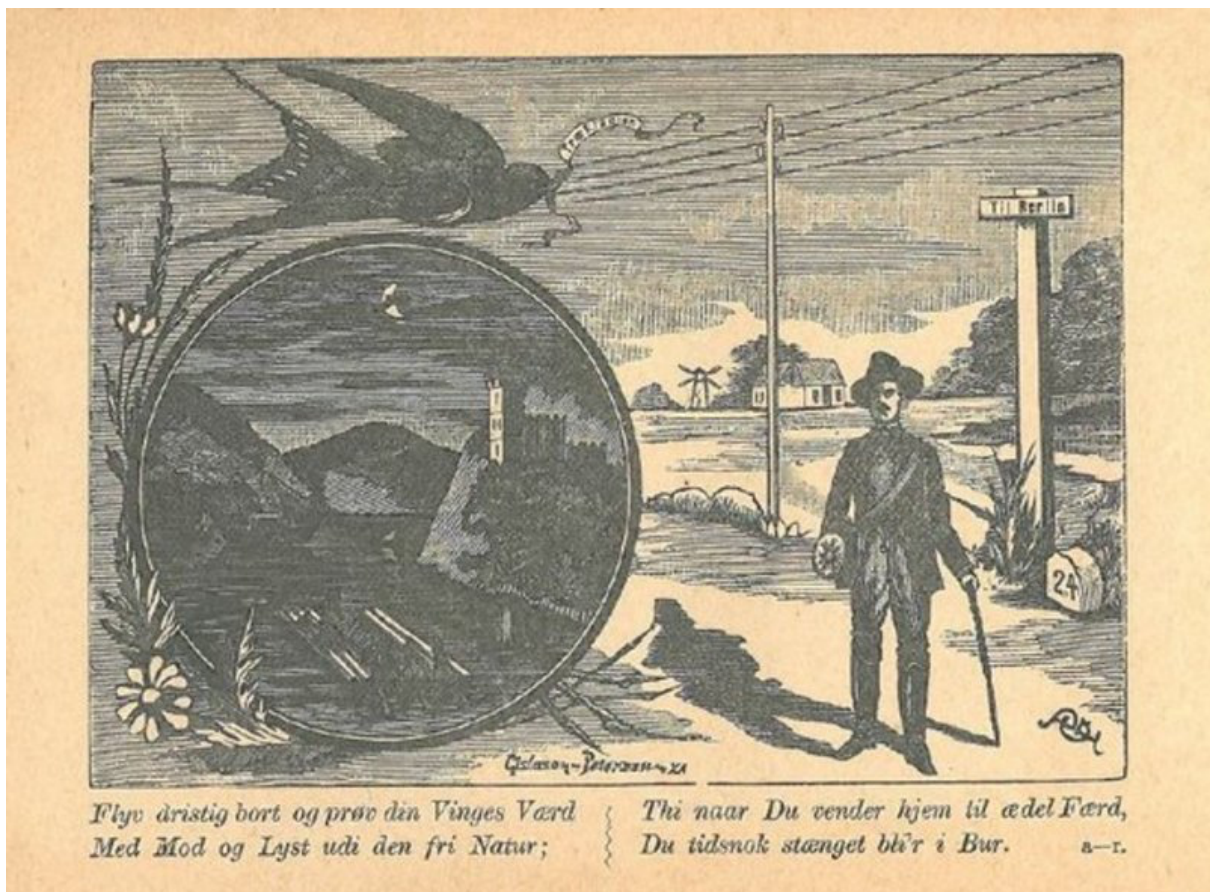
Figure 2 Nielsen, F. (1888): Vejledning for unge Haandværkere, som ville rejse til Udlandet for at søge faglig Dannelse (title page). København.

This understanding is closely entangled with the notion of *wanderlust*. Originating from German and literally meaning "desire for travelling" (Harper, 2017), wanderlust refers to "the wish to travel far away and to many different places" (Cambridge Dictionary). The phrase dates back to the golden years of both the Grand Tours and the journeyman years in 19th-century German romanticism, where wandering had a central significance as a way of reaching both religious and more personal insight and transcendence (Ziarnik, 1997). As such, it conveys a similar message about the formative yield of travelling. Wanderlust is also featured in a classic account of tourism as driven by two distinctive motivations: *wanderlust* and *sunlust*

(Gray, 1970). In this distinction, wanderlust refers to a "basic trait in human nature" causing some people to want move from a known to an unknown setting to explore and learn about different cultures, while 'sunlust' tourists are drawn by "pleasure travel" to sunny, warmer climates or other relaxing facilities which are not available at home (Gray, 1970, p. 13). The notion of wanderlust thus weaves a common thread from the centuries-old Grand Tour and journeyman year practices of young adults, through the booming mass-tourism of the second half of the 20th century, and up to contemporary young adults' vacation practices and desires.

The relevance of the notion of wanderlust today can be seen quite directly in the prevalence of the hashtag #wanderlust, which had more than 155 million hits on Instagram in November 2024. As such, wanderlust also connects with some of the circumstances that maintain and expand the social significance of travelling in contemporary young adulthood. One of these circumstances is the prevalence of social media, which are used particularly often by young adults both in Denmark and abroad (Danmarks Statistik, 2023b; Konkurrence- og Forbrugerstyrelsen, 2025; Pew Research Centre, 2024). Amongst their many effects, a study based almost exclusively on young adults concludes that "social media fuels wanderlust" (Asdecker, 2022), another study finds that the vacation practices of Danish young adults are frequently inspired by social media content (Petersen et al., 2024), and a third finds that millennials (born between 1981 and 1996) are prone to desire luxury travelling after encountering representations of it on social media (Liu et al., 2019). Social media have also been found to have significant impacts on vacations and tourism in other ways, changing the ways tourists access and use information in all stages of their trips (Fotis, 2015; Minazzi, 2015; Narangajavana et al., 2017) and impacting travel decisions and practices more broadly (Cox et al., 2009; Fotis, 2015; Ghandour & Bakalova, 2014; Kavoura & Stavrianeas, 2015). As John Urry's seminal work on "the tourist gaze" argues, vacation practices and desires aren't inherent or universal – they are contingent, learned and shaped in connection with, among others, the many different forms of media that capture and showcase them (Urry & Larsen, 2011). Just as romantic paintings from the 19th century Grand Tours helped produce and maintain a specific tourist gaze, so social media today are shaping both the tourist gaze and the desire to travel – particularly for young adults, who are avid social media users.

A final contemporary circumstance that might affect young people's vacation practices is the prevalence of what has been described as "the achievement society" (Petersen, 2016; Petersen & Madsen, 2023) – an influential societal diagnosis describing a social order relying

heavily on competition and thus fostering a strong pressure to perform well in different aspects of life. This achievement society is described as putting particular pressure on young adults, potentially causing exhaustion, stress, and depression (Katznelson et al., 2022). The achievement society is often tied to the widespread use of social media, but also to school-related stress and pressure to get the desired grades and, in turn, gain admission to further education and, eventually, a desirable career and overall life (Petersen & Madsen, 2023; Sommer & Klitmøller, 2018). As such, it is used as a diagnosis to explain the large and growing number of young adults, particularly young women, who report psychological symptoms such as stress, anxiety, depression, loneliness, and discontentment (Jensen et al., 2022). As Urry & Larsen observe, tourist practices are intimately connected with the non-tourist practices of everyday life they constitute a break from, particularly those of work or other obligations (2011, pp. 3-4). Southerton (2020) points out that one of the things travellers seek from vacations is a sense of slowness as a contrast to, or even escape from, the pace of ordinary routine. For young adults, vacations and travelling might thus also constitute a break from everyday lives characterised by a pressure to perform well in many aspects – a wanderlust for escaping everyday life demands.

As such, wanderlust epitomises the intricate connection between young adults and formative journeys, which seem to have persisted from the Grand Tours and journeyman years to the current-day growing emissions from global travel activity. In light of the severity of the climate crisis, it is thus a central question how wanderlust might be reconciled with the requirements of an already warming planet. In engaging with this question, the dissertation locates itself within a longer scholarly tradition researching the potentials and impediments for sustainable sociocultural change, as seen in the previous sections of this chapter.

2.6. Partial conclusion: The cultural and climatic significance of vacations

This chapter has shown that wanderlust runs like a strong current through vacation practices in affluent societies like the Danish in general, and through social understandings of travelling in young adulthood in particular. Surveying the literature on sustainable transitions, it has positioned this dissertation within approaches focusing on the sociocultural development of less resource-intensive everyday life practices. Based on existing research on the distribution of carbon emissions from vacations and tourism, it has described vacations as a highly relevant avenue for reducing emissions and showcasing low-carbon lifestyles. Identifying aviation and long-haul travel as central causes for emissions, it has defined climate-friendly

vacations as occurring domestically or relying on less carbon-intensive mobility forms such as trains, bikes, or hiking.

Reviewing existing research about impediments and potentials for such climate-friendly vacations, the chapter has outlined the many identified impediments for change. One strand of barriers is a regulatory and sociotechnical *flight-centrism* favouring air travel in the practice landscape and rendering flights more practically accessible and familiar. A related impediment is *low flight fares*, as fares are disproportionately low due to subsidies and lack of sufficient taxes. A third broad impediment is the socially desirable gains that flying provides access to – in particular experiencing *foreign places and cultures*, which keeps in place the demand for (long-haul) flights. Finally, particularly in the context of young adults, conventions about *formative experiences* as linked with foreignness and certain (distant) destinations maintain the demand for (long-haul) air travel.

In the face of these impediments, the chapter pointed out notable findings in an otherwise relatively limited body of scholarship on enablers of climate-friendly vacations. These studies point out the centrality – and attainability – of unsettling the taken-for-granted position of air travel, e.g. through prefigurative efforts to reconfigure vacation practices, or through employer-paid journey days for flight-free vacations, which help employees gain experience with surface travel, know-how in doing it, and social networks for sharing and expanding it.

Finally, the chapter traced back the history of young adults' formative journeys, pointing out the sociocultural significance of travelling in young adulthood at least since the Grand Tour and the journeyman years. In contemporary times, a notion of wanderlust still prevails, drawing on this long history, but also on representations on social media, and perhaps as an escape from the pressures of what some describe as an achievement society.

Having established both the climate impact and the sociocultural significance of vacations in general and young adults' travelling in particular, we know that climate-friendly vacations entail a strong potential for both direct emissions and for showcasing low-carbon lifestyles more broadly. However, we also know that many impediments exist, and that these are most usefully understood – and potentially changed – if they are approached through the social practices to which they pertain. The next chapter, therefore, engages with practice theories to outline the ontological and conceptual approach through which young adults' vacations will be explored.

3.   Theoretical framework

As previously mentioned, this dissertation is fundamentally shaped by a practice theoretical ontology and epistemology. This chapter describes what that entails, outlining central concepts and understandings that will be employed in the empirical analysis of young adults' vacation practices in the following chapters. The chapter's first and central part, 3.1, outlines practice theories, defines central concepts, and points out aspects that call for further theory development. The following parts turn to two of these aspects that could be conceptually developed, namely, the dynamics of learning related to practices and practice change, and the roles of (social) media content in practice reproduction and change. In this pursuit, perspectives from scholarship focused on learning and social media are engaged and incorporated into a practice-theoretical framework.

3.1. Practice theories

In this dissertation, I employ the phrase *practice theories* to refer to a family of theories that, in other contexts, are sometimes called practice theory, social practice theory, or theories of practice. These theories are closely related and share what can perhaps best be described invoking Wittgenstein's "family resemblance" – they may not all share one common trait, but there are enough commonalities amongst them that they are clearly connected, sharing similar pursuits, mutual exchanges and developments (Nicolini, 2013). If they share one common trait, it is that they locate sociality in practices rather than in individuals or structures, thus conceiving of practices as the relevant unit of social analysis (Reckwitz, 2002; Schatzki, 2002; Shove et al., 2012). In the following, I will outline other common traits before describing in more detail the particular perspective I rely on for this dissertation.

Theories of practice have established themselves as a flourishing field for grasping dynamics of social reproduction and change within the last 20-odd years, particularly within environmental sociology and sociology of consumption, and often with a strong everyday life orientation (Gram-Hanssen, 2010; Halkier, 1999; Hargreaves, 2011; Petersen, 2008; Reckwitz, 2002; Shove, 2003; Warde, 2005). Rather than constituting a completely novel group of theories, practice theories synthesise practice-oriented readings of previous scholarship; mainly

early Bourdieu, early Giddens, late Foucault, Butler, and Latour (Halkier & Jensen, 2008; Reckwitz, 2002). Synthesised, these perspectives provide an approach to social phenomena which does not presuppose structural or individual-oriented explanations. They generally follow Giddens (1984) in positing that neither often-deterministic structural theories nor voluntaristic individual-oriented approaches convincingly account for social phenomena. Instead, sociality must be conceptualised as multifarious, complex dialectics between situated instances and more overarching dynamics. They thereby seek to bridge and abandon the dualism between structure and agency, which has been a persistent problem within sociological thinking. Practice theories, then, do not provide a grand theory: rather, they open up the playing field for empirically based analyses of social activity with conceptual tools and flexibility to prioritise e.g. sociomaterial, sociocultural, regulatory, discursive, competence-oriented, or other explanations to the extent that they prevail as salient in the given context.

Rather than assuming action to be decided by individuals based on attitudes, values, identities, and rational choices, practice theories approach action as inherently socially shared and shaped by material infrastructures, shared understandings, and collective imaginaries and competences. Instead of surveying people's attitudes as a basis for their actions, theories of practice focus on practice first to understand what people do in its historical, cultural, and material context. In other words, practice theories relocate action – and agency – from the minds of individuals and into nexuses of bodies, infrastructures, shared meanings and socially distributed forms of knowledge and skills. This move often involves paying attention to embodied, routinised, socio-material and mundane aspects and taking particular interest in everyday lives (Gram-Hanssen, 2010; Halkier & Jensen, 2008; Reckwitz, 2002). In so doing, practice theories emphasise "doing over thinking, practical competence over strategic reasoning, mutual intelligibility over personal motivation and body over mind" (Warde, 2013, p. 18). This movement abandons methodological individualism and relocates individuals from the centre, where they are often placed in e.g. economic and psychological studies of behaviour, and out in a broader circle of relevant factors. People play important roles as "carriers of practice" (Shove et al., 2012) or as "unique crossing points of practices" (Reckwitz, 2002), but they are not the central agents explaining actions. At the same time, practice theories refrain from structural explanations that frame action as pre-determined and more or less inevitable results of material, economic, or political conditions. Instead, they place practice at the centre of theory and analysis. The following sections will outline how practices are conceptualised, which elements they entail, how vacations can be approached as practices, what

constitutes practice change, and to what extent social differentiation can – and cannot – be accounted for within the theoretical framework.

3.1.1. Conceptualising practices

As the name indicates, practices are the core of practice theories. Following Schatzki (1996, p. 89), a practice can be defined as "a temporally unfolding and spatially dispersed nexus of doings and sayings". Reckwitz' definition provides a bit more information about this nexus, contending that "a practice is a routinised type of behaviour which consists of several elements, interconnected to one other [sic]: 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, p. 249). Practices are thus multirelational configurations of different elements. These elements are described in more detail in the next section, but first, this section outlines other central features of practices.

As Schatzki's definition describes, practices are temporally unfolding and spatially dispersed – they occur in time and across different locations. This means that practices both play out as situated moments of enactment and exist as more than just these separate occurrences. In Schatzki's words, actions presuppose practices; any given situated performance of doings and sayings relies on and refers back to an always-already existing nexus of doings and sayings linked by certain constitutive elements (Schatzki, 2002). Actions are the actions they are only in the context of already existing practices. This relation can be helpfully understood by considering practices as made up of two different, but mutually dependent units: the practice as *entity* and the practice as *performance* (Shove & Pantzar, 2007). Practice entities can be imagined as abstract, ideal-type practices existing across time and place that prefigure each situated performance. Practice performances, on the other hand, are situated moments of action in which practices are enacted in a particular way and context. Following Schatzki's descriptions, practice entities precede situated performances, and at the same time, the ongoing, situated performances sustain practice entities by continuously reproducing them. This way, practice entities and performances are mutually constitutive, each presupposing the other.

In this dialectical relationship, practice entities are the immediately observable phenomenon, expressing the general composition of the practice entity, but always varying slightly according to the situated context (Shove & Pantzar, 2007). Each performance, then, cannot be interpreted as an exact expression of the practice entity. Rather, it can be understood as a partial

and particular expression of the practice entity, illuminating some sides while eluding others. Through several performances in varying contexts, however, the entity transpires. As such, practice performances can be imagined as trays of photographic developer, each bringing out some of the otherwise invisible innate features of the practice entity. Exposing the practice through different practice performances can elicit a coherent image of the entity.

Yet, performances are more than merely expressions showcasing features of underlying entities. As the dialectical nature of the relation suggests, performances also have an inherent potential for practice change, as they work back on entities to reproduce or calibrate them. In many conceptualisations, situated variations in performances are thus described as a possible source of practice change, as these variations can catch on and circulate to other practitioners, thereby adjusting the doings and sayings involved, the elements tying them together, and the ways they are connected in the practice entity. We will return to this change dynamic in section 3.1.5.

It is worth emphasising here that practices in Schatzki's conceptualisation entail both doings and sayings. Banal as this observation might seem, practice theoretical literature tends to focus on material, embodied, and pre-reflexive aspects of practices – the 'doing' side of practices – while sayings have received less attention. This tendency is reflected in Warde's contention, as referred above, that giving precedence to practical activity equates "emphasising doing over thinking, practical competence over strategic reasoning, mutual intelligibility over personal motivation, and body over mind" (Warde, 2013). This widespread understanding might reflect practice theories' origin as correctives to approaches focusing strongly on discourse and voluntary choice theories, but it means that an important part of the activities making up a practice has been somewhat neglected (Halkier, 2020). In Schatzki's conceptualisation, doings and sayings amount to "discursive and nondiscursive actions", and it would be "an error to grant priority to either type" (Schatzki, 2002, p. 77). Integrating the sayings of practices into the analysis thus appears as an avenue for strengthening practice theoretical frameworks. We will return to this point later, but first, we will look at how these doings and sayings become intelligible as practices.

3.1.2. Practice configuration and elements

Schatzki goes on from defining practices as temporally dispersed nexuses of doings and sayings to saying that the doings and sayings that compose a given practice "hang together"

through certain organising elements that link them (Schatzki, 2002, p. 77). These elements are described in varying terms by different scholars and have different implications for ontology and analysis. I will not make a comprehensive review and comparison of these elements, but since I synthesise several of them in my conceptualisation, I will outline the most relevant ones for this study. For others, see e.g. Sahakian & Wilhite (2014) and Gram-Hanssen (2010).

In this dissertation, I define the elements that organise practices as materiality, teleoaffective structure, competences, and regulation. As readers familiar with practice theories will notice, this is an amalgamation of Shove, Pantzar & Watson's (2012) operational tripartite concepts materials, meanings, and competences with Schatzki's more philosophically comprehensive framework – in this context teleoaffective structure and rules, but I also draw on his conceptualisation of learning in section 3.2 (2017; 2002). Combining different theoretical conceptualisations comes with certain weak points, but I have found the conceptual advantages to outweigh the weaknesses for reasons which will hopefully be clear from the following descriptions. Adjusting the conceptual framework is not unusual in practice theoretical scholarship, and many now-widespread conceptualisations emerged as reworkings of one or more previous conceptualisations (e.g. Gram-Hanssen, 2010; Sahakian & Wilhite, 2014; Shove et al., 2012; Warde, 2005).

My conceptualisation, then, posits that practices are temporally unfolding and spatially dispersed nexuses of doings and sayings that hang together due to four forms of organising elements: materiality, teleoaffective structure, competences, and regulation. These elements are described below.

Materiality

The place of materiality in the conceptualisation of practices is an ongoing discussion in practice theories, and perhaps the largest ontological divergence between the two theories I seek to synthesise. For many theorists, most prominently Shove et al. (2012), materiality is an important – perhaps the most important – element in practices, compiling artefacts, infrastructures, and the human body. According to Schatzki, on the other hand, materiality should not be considered an element of practices; it rather constitutes a physical landscape in which practices play out (Schatzki, 2010). On the other hand, Schatzki does acknowledge that places and objects are entangled with practice, contending that in cases where "spatial

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relations" are produced by human activity, with or without intention, they are "beholden to practice organizations and established in the fabric of practices" (Schatzki, 2002, p. 98). The widespread concept of the Anthropocene suggests that current spatial relations are both produced by and constitutive of human activity (Steffen et al., 2011), and, as such, that it is sensible to consider spatial relations as mutually related to practices. Similarly, Schatzki contends that how artifacts afford and constrain activity "depends not just on their physical properties, but also on the organisation that human activity imposes on them" (Schatzki, 2002). As such, Schatzki's conceptualisation suggests interdependence between materiality and practices, even if it is located somewhat ambivalently as something that enables, restrains, and is shaped by practices, but which is excluded from the elements said to organise them.

In the context of this study, there is analytical leverage in considering, e.g., aviation infrastructures, holiday resorts, sun-bronzed and sensing bodies, natural sceneries and social media platform infrastructures as something that not only facilitates and is shaped by practices, but directly as organising or configuring elements. I therefore follow Shove, Pantzar & Watson (2012) and include materials – or materiality, which I find to be a more apt concept to also include places, digital platforms, and their material features – as an element in the configuration of practices while acknowledging that they cut across and expand beyond practices. Materiality, then, constitutes the first organising element in my practice conceptualisation – an element which, following Shove et al., includes objects, technology, tools, commodities, and infrastructures, as well as the human body (Shove et al., 2012), but which follows Schatzki in also including spatial relations and arrangements (Schatzki, 2002). As far as the human body goes, I do not understand it exclusively as materiality; embodied sensory impressions e.g. make up part of the teleoaffective structure, and competences are largely embodied and thus also include the body capable (or incapable) of performing certain activities. The human body, then, plays a part as a material element, but is also entailed in other elements. As both the human body and other aspects show, materiality involved in practices is often inconspicuous, but it is central in enabling and affecting the development of practices (Gram-Hanssen, 2010). In addition to these aspects, I include geographical features as part of the materiality. Landscapes and other physical environments are also shaped by the notions, imaginaries etc. they are imbued with, but they reflect a strong materiality, too. In a vacation context, materiality can thus include aeroplanes, backpacks, navigation services like Google Maps, railways, hostels, bounty beaches, online platforms for buying tickets, mountain landscapes, sunbeds, as well as the sun-bronzed (or sunburned) bodies reclining on them.

Teleoaffective structure

If I reject Schatzki's ontological description of a central aspect like materiality, why get his ontology mixed into the matter? Enter *teleoaffective structure*, one of Schatzki's most theoretically useful concepts. Teleoaffective structure describes features like those Reckwitz calls "forms of mental activities" and "states of emotion and motivational knowledge" (2002), what Gram-Hanssen (2010) and Warde (2005) call "engagements", and what Shove, Pantzar & Watson call "meanings" (2012). All of these conceptualisations are useful and highlight the important and varying roles teleoaffective structure plays in the practice, but, as I see it, the term 'teleoaffective structure' has several advantages. According to Schatzki, the teleoaffective structure of a practice comprises "a range of normativized and hierarchically ordered ends, projects, and tasks, to varying degrees allied with normativized emotions and even moods" (Schatzki, 2002, p. 80). "Teleo" refers to the goal orientations or projects implied, while "affective" highlights that emotional values and significances are entailed – though these are, like the teleoaffective structure as a whole, anchored in the practice rather than in the minds of individuals. The last part of the concept, "structure", conceptualises the different phenomena involved in the teleoaffective structure as organised in a somewhat fixed hierarchical structure which is particular to the practice, even if it is "unevenly incorporated into different participants' minds and actions" (Schatzki, 2002, p. 80). It thus includes desires, goals, emotions, notions, aspirations, and normative valuations and significances of a practice, all incorporated into a common organised structure[2]. Thus, teleoaffective structure resembles Shove et al.'s *meanings* in that it constitutes "the social and symbolic significance of participation at any one moment" (2012). But it adds an understanding that this social and symbolic significance depends on the organisation of different teleoaffective matter into a (somewhat) coherent structure. The teleoaffective structure of an all-inclusive vacation, for instance, might compile orientations and notions like relaxation, indulgence, quality time, convenience, and perhaps acquiring a suntan, all compiled into a common structure that organises the doings and sayings involved in the practice. This structure both directs action and provides it with meaning, e.g. making it more meaningful to fly to a sunny destination to lie on a sunbed by the pool than to go on a bike trip in a nearby area, sleeping in a tent and

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[2] Some of the phenomena I here refer to might belong to what Schatzki denominates general understandings (2002, p. 86). I find his conceptual delineation of the two unclear and unproductive and therefore disregard general understandings here, defining teleoaffective structure as including the understandings that shape the normative orientations and emotions it comprises, in similar terms as Shove et al.'s meanings.

cooking over an open fire. While the goal-orientations and aspirations show that the teleoaffective structure has a future orientation, it is worth highlighting that it is concurrently pointing back towards past events and meanings, e.g. when past performances of vacations and routinised social understandings of a quintessential vacation direct the planning of a future vacation toward a family summer house or a conventional charter destination. At the same time as it directs practices toward future goals, the teleoaffective structure thus also expresses the history and setting that underpins the practice and imbues it with particular meaning.

A particularly useful aspect of this conceptualisation of a teleoaffective structure is the hierarchical ordering of its elements. The hierarchy illustrates that multiple and possibly contrasting ends, feelings, and orientations can be at play in the same practice, but that some of them are more dominant in organising the practice's doings and sayings. In the aforementioned all-inclusive vacation, orientations towards locality or authenticity might e.g. be part of the teleoaffective structure, but take a less prominent position than convenience and relaxation, thus orienting the practice towards meals at the resort's premises rather than searching for restaurants perceived as local and authentic in a nearby village. When studying practices as comprehensive as vacation practices, which comprise many different doings and sayings, it is helpful to consider the hierarchical ordering of the different orientations and notions involved. Considering the hierarchical order is also a valuable way of conceptualising some of the dynamics that can lead to practice change. For instance, the repositioning of climate concern in the hierarchy might potentially reorient the practice's doings and sayings and thus reorganise the practice as such.

As these points indicate, teleoaffective structure plays a vital role in understanding vacation practices and how they might change. But, contrary to the vivid discussions and many studies focusing on different forms of materiality, teleoaffectivity can be said to have been somewhat neglected in much practice theoretical literature – perhaps, similarly to sayings, as a corrective to then-dominant poststructural and cultural approaches emphasising symbolic and discursive dimensions, conspicuous consumption, and lifestyles (Halkier, 2020). Considering practice theories' well-established position today and the emphasis on embodied, routinised and material aspects in most theoretical and analytical endeavours, it seems there is some wiggle room for re-emphasising meanings, also in symbolic and discursive forms, on a par with other elements without risking over-emphasising them. This dissertation is not the first to point this out; Halkier (2020, p. 399) e.g. states that "a number of concepts and concerns

from cultural sociology were thrown out with the bathwater", Gram-Hanssen (2021) has pointed out the lack of practice-theoretical conceptualisations of the place of emotions, ethics, and agency in social change, and Petersen (2020) contends that meaning content from media texts plays significant roles as a source for environmental concern which can be integrated into everyday practices and cause pro-environmental practice change. Keller & Halkier (2014) also develop a framework for understanding media discourse as a resource for normative negotiations in contested consumption practices. Such efforts are relevant in the context of vacations, which can be said to be organised by particular meanings, aesthetics, and notions taking prominent positions in the teleoaffective structure. These dynamics have been described as part of a "tourist gaze" (Urry & Larsen, 2011), which orients the practice toward certain desired locations, activities, and aesthetics socially established to epitomise the vacation experience. In line with some of the efforts described above, these orientations seem to relate to mediatised discourses. To elaborate on the teleoaffective elements and dynamics entailed in vacation practices, the dissertation thus engages with literature on the tourist gaze and on the roles of media content in practices. These perspectives are outlined in the third part of this chapter.

Competences

A third element organising the doings and sayings of practices is what I follow Shove et al. (2012) in calling *competences*. Competences cover explicit knowledge like expert knowledge, instructions, or other conscious, theoretical knowledge, as well as embodied know-how such as routinised, non-verbal, practical skills and understandings. Competence is thus both forms of conscious, formal, mental knowledge and more or less habitual, embodied, practical abilities necessary to perform a practice (Shove et al., 2012). This element thus highlights the embodied, routinised, and often overlooked know-how and capabilities involved in performing actions which are essential for practices to persist. It should be noted that, like the other elements, these competences are not a property of individuals, but a collectively shared reservoir anchored in and acquired through practice. In Schatzki's account, competences are partly represented as practical understandings, which refers to three kinds of abilities that pertain to practices; knowing how to perform the given practice, knowing how to identify it, and knowing how to prompt and respond to it (Schatzki, 2002, pp. 77-78). This description might be philosophically substantial, but it does not add much leverage to the empirical analysis of a practice like going on vacation. I therefore refer to them as competences

instead, invoking Shove et al.'s more operational definition.

In some accounts, competences are described as the realm of the routinised and habitual aspect of practices – Gram-Hanssen e.g. refers to it as "know-how and embodied habits" (2010, p. 155). In my understanding, competences are to a large extent habitual, e.g. in the case of embodied practical skills. But they are not the realm of the habitual and routinised as such, and neither are they the only element that has a habitual component. Teleoaffective notions, for instance, can just as well be habitual, e.g. providing flying with meanings as a convenient, effective and jetset-like experience, rather than e.g. as a hassle involving uncomfortable and crowded seats, long waiting times for check-in, security and boarding, and bland microwave meals. The dissertation, therefore, does not assign habit and routine to competences alone, but it contends that competences are a prominent element by which practices become habitual. This might seem like an insignificant distinction, but it makes a difference when considering people's trajectories in practices and the possibilities and impediments for change – and, as we will see, in the understanding of vacation practices and the routinisation of not just competences, but also aesthetics, orientations, and materials.

Regulation

The fourth and final element organising practices is regulation – in Schatzki's terms, rules. Regulation follows Schatzki's description of "explicit formulations, principles, precepts, and instructions that enjoin, direct, or remonstrate people to perform specific actions". It thus includes regulation and other forms of more or less formal rules and precepts. This element is absent from Shove et al.'s conceptualisation, but prevails in other accounts, e.g. as regulation in Petersen (2013) and as procedures in Warde (2005). Regulation thus spans relatively formalised policies, rules, standards, or procedures that affect how practices are permitted, acceptable, accessible, or practically intelligible. In the context of vacations, this could include prohibitions of hazardous goods and liquids above a certain quantity on planes and the related procedures of placing liquids in ziplock bags, x-raying carry-on baggage, and scanning passengers' bodies. It could also entail such phenomena as border regulations, citizenship rights, visas, and related procedures, e.g., passport control and customs. A third, and highly relevant example is regulation pertaining to taxation, tariffs, and subsidies, e.g. fuel taxes, public funding of roads and rails, or air passenger taxes.

It could be argued that regulation is more than explicit formulations, and that there are often

tacit rules at play in social settings which affect practice and whether it counts as "proper" or acceptable conduct (Halkier, 2010a). This is a relevant observation, and one that has usefully led to analyses of the negotiations and workings of such social rules through studies of micro-interactions, e.g. in focus groups. However, such a definition allocates a large share of the norms and normativity involved in practices to regulation, thereby blurring the line between regulation and teleoaffective structure. While it is hardly possible to draw definitive and mutually exclusive lines between the organising elements, however they are defined, I find it most useful to follow Schatzki in leaving these tacit or implicit rules out of the regulation category, treating them instead as norms or other aspects of the teleoaffective structure to the extent they are not explicitly formulated and somewhat formalised. This is not to say that normativity is not entangled with regulation. But in my conceptualisation and analysis, regulation is not the main location for such normativity. My choice of the concept regulation instead of rules seeks to underpin this more formalised definition.

While regulation is not the most prevalent element in the young adults' accounts of their vacation practices, it is nevertheless relevant to include it in the analysis as it draws more direct attention to how regulation, policy-making practices, and economic dispositions play a part in shaping practices – aspects which transpired strongly in the literature review. These aspects might to a certain extent be addressed in relation to other elements. Policies and other regulation, e.g. often underpin the layout, maintenance, and functioning of infrastructures; regulation can create, reflect, and adjust embodied know-how or shared orientations; and norms might be said to constitute a form of social rules, however tacit and informal. However, they cannot be sufficiently covered by these categories. As the analysis will show, one feature that would e.g. be insufficiently accounted for is the role of prices in the configuration of vacation practices. Money is not a straightforward phenomenon to conceptualise in practice-theoretical terms (Welch et al., 2020), and in the context of vacations, they certainly extend beyond the material, which might immediately seem like the most obvious element category. Prices (low ones at that!) e.g. transpire in the analysis as a goal orientation in the teleoaffective structure, but the relative price differences between different means of transportation also constitute a more comprehensive factor than simply a symbolic one. Such economic features might be included in the analysis as e.g. features of the material infrastructures, but that involves a fair bit of jumping through hoops. A more direct way of approaching it is acknowledging regulation as a distinct element, even if it is not as clearly and frequently expressed. As such, regulation constitutes the fourth and final organising element in my practice conceptualisation.

3.1.3. Defining vacations as practices

We now have a concept of how practices are composed and organised. But how do we identify and delineate what constitutes a practice in the first place? When is something a practice, what kind of a practice is it– and, in the current context, is it even meaningful to conceptualise a phenomenon as expansive as vacations as one coherent practice and not many different ones? These questions reflect issues of scale, distinction, and character in the definition and analysis of practices. In particular, two features of vacations challenge their definition as practices, namely the facts that they are expansive and conspicuous. I will address both issues in the following.

As far a the scale of practices goes, this is a question addressed in Schatzki's distinction between dispersed and integrative practices (Schatzki, 1996) and Warde's compound practices (Warde, 2013). Both build on the acknowledgement that practices can have different degrees of complexity and should be described and analysed accordingly. Warde's efforts in particular acknowledge the difficulties of delineating and grasping what constitutes a practice, and what kind of practice it can then be said to constitute. Is air travel, for instance, a practice in its own right, or is it a part of another practice – e.g. a travel or tourism practice? And is it then a specific tourism practice if it includes air travel, and a different one if it involves taking the train instead? These considerations arise from the basic contention that practices constitute an interwoven mesh or *landscape* where different practices co-occur, overlap, compete, and co-evolve, all of which reflect interrelations and contribute to blurring the lines between them.

For Schatzki, dispersed practices constitute simple and well-delineated sets of activities which are dispersed widely across different contexts and forms of activities in social life (1996). Integrative practices, on the other hand, are "the more complex practices found in and constitutive of particular domains of social life" (Schatzki, 1996, p. 98). Such practices are e.g. farming practices, teaching practices, business practices, cooking practices, and recreational practices – or arguably, as in the case of this dissertation, vacation practices. Dispersed practices can occur as part of integrative practices, and they take on particular forms based on the integrative practice into which they are integrated. The distinction between dispersed and integrative practices thus helps us understand that practices can vary in the number of doings and sayings entailed, their temporal and spatial extensions, and how much or little they are organised or configured by elements, e.g. orientations. By this account, vacation practices

might be understood as integrative practices that include many variations of dispersed practices.

Expanding on Schatzki's distinction, Warde (2013) introduces *compound practices* to account for some of the difficulties entailed in drawing boundaries around certain forms of practices – in his case, eating, but similar issues also apply to vacationing. As part of his concept development, Warde pinpoints characteristics that can help identify a practice. He posits that Schatzki's assertion that practices can be subjected to judgements of correctness and acceptability implies that there are collectively recognisable standards for them. These standards are usually formalised, e.g. through documentation of rules or procedures or by instruction manuals or guidebooks. In the case of vacationing, the existence of literal guidebooks like Lonely Planet thus suggests that there are collectively established routines and procedures for the right way of spending a vacation.

There are other ways of defining practices on different scales, too. Shove et al. (2012) talk about *bundles* and *complexes* of practices to describe the more or less sticky and integrated connections between different practices[3]. Bundles refer to looser associations between practices which occur in relation to each other, e.g. the bundling of food, cleaning, leisure, and work practices due to their shared connection to a specific place such as the home. Complexes refer to "stickier and more integrated arrangements including co-dependent forms of sequence and synchronization" (Shove et al., 2012, p. 17). Complexes can become so dense that they constitute new entities in their own right. An example given is driving a car, which has evolved from linked but discrete practices such as starting the car engine, doing repairs on the way, navigating, etc., into an integrated single practice (Shove et al., 2012, pp. 82-83). By this definition, vacations might also be approached as a complex made up of co-dependent and synchronised practices of booking tickets, packing luggage, being transported to a destination, and so on. This account, however, does not describe when driving a car went from being a complex of practices to being one integrated practice, and the distinction thus remains unclear.

The accounts above do not refute that vacations can be described as too wide-spanning, too heterogeneous doings, sayings, meanings, and even too dispersed in time and space to be

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[3] Schatzki (2002) also uses the word 'bundles' and 'complexes' in a similar, but slightly different sense, related to what he calls 'social orders'. A comparison of the two is beyond the scope of this dissertation, so it is just noted that I employ 'bundles' and 'complexes' in Shove et al.'s (2012) terms.

coherently analysed as a single practice. These objections are valid. However, my contention is that delineating something as a practice – be it dispersed, integrative, or compound – or as a bundle or complex of practices, is, ultimately, not an absolute distinction but rather a pragmatic one depending on the aim, scope, and object of the particular analysis. As such, vacationing could just as well be conceptualised as a complex of practices rather than a single practice. However, for this dissertation, I find it helpful to conceptualise vacations as practices for at least three reasons.

Firstly, I ontologically perceive the practice framework to be a heuristic device and not an exact representation of exact, robust entities "out there" (Galvin & Sunikka-Blank, 2016). As such, the practices described in this dissertation are, in the end, constructed and delineated to help order, clarify, and illustrate my scientific pursuit and the results it has yielded. The main aim of my analysis, then, is not so much to capture some precise, "true-to-nature" practice character of vacations. Instead, I employ the framework to most helpfully reveal and describe central dynamics of the object of study. Considering the large and intertwined emissions involved in vacations (Lenzen et al., 2018) and the social significance of vacations and travelling as such, I find it apposite to approach these as the central unit of analysis and thus to conceptualise it as one of those practices that are the main acts in practice theories.

Secondly, previous empirical studies suggest that it is analytically meaningful to approach vacations as an entity. Studies of e.g. frequent flying have pointed out that flying can hardly be meaningfully grasped as a practice of its own but must be seen in relation to the other practices in which it is involved (Randles & Mander, 2009a). This shows that compartmentalising different aspects of vacations into separate practices might make it harder to grasp and describe central dynamics in what would then be conceptualised as underlying, separate practices that combine to form the complex of vacations.

Furthermore, as the analysis will show, I found there to be a strong shared understanding of vacations as distinct, recognisable and coherent entities in the young adults' accounts, supporting the salience of approaching vacations as practices, even if their activities and spatio-temporal unfolding are expansive and varied. This conviction was especially supported by the focus groups, which revealed clear and coherent understandings of what travelling or going on vacation meant, indicating that it constitutes socially established, identifiable and distinguishable units to a greater extent than what a complex of practices suggests. This was further underpinned by the very similar representations of vacatins in social media content. Lastly,

but also importantly, it is more linguistically and conceptually straightforward, underpinning the pragmatic understanding of practices as a heuristic tool to support the analysis and the feasible communication of the results.

As such, I approach vacations as distinct compound practices integrating a range of doings, sayings, and elements – some constituting dispersed practices in their own right, others looser elements organised by the practices' elements. It will not be an important analytical point which kind of practice vacation practices are defined as: the key point is that vacations are defined as practices.

Another objection that might validly be raised is that vacations are too conspicuous for a theory of the mundane, which practice theories can be described as (Gram-Hanssen, 2010; Halkier & Jensen, 2008; Reckwitz, 2002). As described, practice theories emerged partly as a reaction to currents within cultural studies and consumer studies focusing on conspicuous consumption and symbolic aspects of it (Halkier, 2020). As such, they tend to focus more on mundane, inconspicuous, routine everyday practices. It might be argued that vacations are not a good fit with such theories due to their conspicuous character and their role as what can be described as an exception from everyday routines rather than a part of them. However, I contend that vacations can still validly be described as practices and explored within a practice-theoretical framework for several reasons. While vacations may be the exception rather than the rule in the passing of a year, they nevertheless become familiar and even habitual over time, and routines do become established regarding when to go on vacation, how to spend them, which kind of transportation to rely on, and how to spend the days. For people who fly several times a year, routines develop around getting to the airport, perhaps how to pack to avoid paying for check-in luggage, moving through security and so on. Furthermore, and just as importantly, vacations can be said to be routinised at a collective level in the sense that both the infrastructures, competences, and perhaps particularly the imaginaries that underpin vacations are socially shared and maintained both in public discourse, media content, and in other (mundane) practices of work and study, which vacations are intimately connected with (Haldrup & Larsen, 2009). These imaginaries are socially routinised to an extent where they can be said to constitute a "tourist gaze", which, as we will see, creates strong conventions and collective imaginaries about which places to visit, and what to do and look for while there (Urry & Larsen, 2011). As such, there are clearly routinised dimensions of vacations, too. And many of the features that can be described as conspicuous might also be

conceptualised within the framework of more the mundane, collective and routinised, e.g. desires to visit spectatular places. These points are underpinned by the robust analyses accomplished in existing practice-theoretical scholarship on vacations and leisurely air travel (Luzecka, 2016; Randles & Mander, 2009a, 2009b; Sahakian et al., 2021). As such, while it can be argued that vacations do not fit well within the framework of practices and practice theories, there are robust reasons to hold that vacations can be conceptualised and approached as practices just as well as consumption practices pertaining to e.g. food, cars, clothes, and apparel, which also have both mundane and conspicuous dimensions.

3.1.4. Social difference and unevenly distributed practices

While vacations thus arguably have routinised and mundane dimensions, they are evidently also related to luxury, exclusivity, and conspicuous consumption. As such, it is relevant to consider whether dynamics of social stratification play into the distribution and configurations of practices. Considering practice theories' intellectual heritage from Bourdieu, they might be assumed to have strong concepts of social stratification and distinction. However, they do not provide a clear conceptual framework of whether and how practices are socially differentiated.

Perhaps due to their efforts to move away from structural, deterministic descriptions of sociality, features such as class, status, gender, and ethnicity play a very limited role in the conceptual development and theorising in practice theories. In their account of recruitment to practices, Shove et al. contend that access to different practices is "structured by divisions like those of gender and social class" (2012, p. 156). These divisions, along with unequal distributions of the elements necessary to perform certain practices, render access to and participation in practices unequally distributed. Contrary to Bourdieu, Shove, Pantzar & Watson contend that these inequalities should be addressed from the perspective of practices rather than individuals. Following this logic, inequalities or stratified variations in vacation practices might then be explained by unequal access to elements involved, e.g. materiality like five-star resorts, business class flight tickets, or camping and outdoor equipment; competences like booking train tickets through different European countries; or teleoaffective matter such as orientations towards Mallorca or the Maldives.

In addition, stratified differences can be explained and surveyed as the outcome of different practices' unequal access to circulation and recruitment of practitioners. Often, recruitment of

practitioners happens through already existing practices and the communities of practice to which they have given rise (Shove et al., 2012, pp. 66-68). As such, participation in certain practices can reduce or increase the chances of encountering and being recruited to other practices and. This amounts to a form of conceptualisation of social inequality through practices, but it is not a very robust conceptualisation – and it is also contradicted or at least bypassed in different instances, e.g. when a subsequent description of changes in the composition of practitioners observes that "when practices diffuse through social hierarchies, for instance as people emulate those of higher status, the meaning of participation changes" (Shove et al., 2012, p. 72). As such, dynamics of social status and differentiation outside practices are implied, but not explicitly conceptualised or addressed.

Some studies have explored issues of socioeconomic disadvantage, variation, and distinction in practices and sought to integrate these concepts into practice theories (Anantharaman, 2022; Gram-Hanssen, 2021; Halkier & Holm, 2021). Gram-Hanssen in particular makes a useful contribution to better capturing social variation in practices, arguing that gender, race, and class should e.g. be included in explaining variation in performing and carrying practices, locating such efforts with a broader pursuit to understand ethical consumption related to sustainability. The article makes many important points, such as arguing broadly that people should be better included in practice-theoretical descriptions, since "a sustainable future requires people because technology, infrastructure, and policy cannot achieve these alone" (2021, p. 11). But its emphasis is on developing a practice-theoretical framework of ethics rather than of social differentiation.

So far, there are thus no substantial conceptualisations of social stratification and inequality in a practice-theoretical framework. This dissertation's study of vacation practices employs the conceptualisations offered by Shove et al. but also pays attention to other possible forms of variation following Gram-Hanssen's observations, seeking to grasp both the socially shared and the unevenly shared aspects of vacations.

3.1.5. Conceptualising practice change

We now have a solid understanding of how this dissertation defines practices ontologically and delineates them epistemologically. But how does it conceptualise what counts as practice change, then? This section will provide a definition we can bring into the empirical realm of vacation practices in the search for climate-friendly practice change.

How practices change is a key question in practice theories. Schatzki's seminal book The Site of the Social presents itself as "a Philosophical Account of the Constitution of Social life and *Change*" (2002, italics added), an account continued e.g. in a 2019 book simply called "*Social Change* in a Material World" (2019), and Shove et al.'s "Dynamics of Social Practice" bears the subtitle "Everday Life and *how it Changes*" (2012). Practice change, then, is at the core of practice theories, and one of the theories' ontological affordances is that they enable conceptualisations and analyses of change better than some of their more reproduction-oriented origins, such as Bourdieu.

On a basic level, since agency is located in practices, this is also where we must understand the potential for change to reside (Schatzki, 2002). Change, then, does not start outside practices, but occurs as the result of dynamics within practices. Since we have defined practices as *temporally unfolding and spatially dispersed nexuses of doings and sayings which hang together due to four forms of organising elements: materiality, teleoaffective structure, competences, and rules*, practice change might be understood as changes to either of these components; different doings or sayings, changes in some of the organising elements, or variation in the way these elements, doings and sayings hang together. However, we also know that practice performances are always situated and rarely reproduce the entities completely, but omit something, add other elements, and entail slight variations in the doings and sayings. And yet these performances mostly amount to reproducing the practice rather than changing it. As such, it is not enough for a practice performance to diverge for the practice entity to constitute practice change. How and when do practice entities change, then?

While comprehensive, Schatzki's theoretical account remains very abstract on the issue of practice change and is rarely employed as the basis of empirical analysis. Despite the subtitle's promise, The Site of the Social explicitly contends that it "neither aims for systemicity nor seeks to fashion the forms and mechanisms it considers into a template that can be used either to order or to account for particular changes" (Schatzki, 2002, p. 235). Somewhat ambiguously, its only "general proposition" is that "change comes about through agency". As agency is located in practices, explaining change is thus "a matter of achieving sufficiently detailed surveyable descriptions of practices, orders, and complexes thereof". In Schatzki's framework, describing practice change is not fundamentally different from describing practice reproduction – the important matter is to describe in detail the dynamics entailed in the studied practices and the orders and complexes they are woven into.

While not conceptually elaborated, Schatzki does introduce an inexhaustive range of dynamics by which the mesh of practices and orders can evolve, some of which are useful in the context of climate-friendly practice change and vacation practices. These dynamics do not refer particularly to change in a single practice but describe changes in broader contexts of connected practices and social orders – what he calls bundles, orders, and complexes. One relevant dynamic described is *contagion*, which refers to the rapid spread of a practice, order, or complex because information about the practice has previously been disseminated, and because of the practice's "attractiveness at achieving some end (e.g. solving some problem, satisfying some desire or need)" (Schatzki, 2002, p. 247). Contagion occurs across different complexes because people appropriate practices and orders that exist elsewhere. Different forms of incorporation of elements into practices are also mentioned – one dynamic, referred to as *insemination*, involves "the insertion of some element of a practice or order into a bundle, whereupon the bundle proliferates" (Schatzki, 2002, p. 248). Its counterpart, where insertion of a component destroys a bundle, is called *poisoning*. These three conceptualisations of practice change are useful and relatively easy to accommodate within the existing framework.

Two other dynamics are also relevant for this dissertation, namely interdependent *reactions to events* and *media of communication*. Reactions to events highlight how events such as economic collapses, droughts, assassinations – or, potentially, climate events such as droughts, wildfires, or floods – can lead to "widespread coordinated or interdependent changes in the social site" (Schatzki, 2002, p. 250). In the context of this study, such an event could e.g. be the rapid spread of COVID-19 and its impacts on almost all avenues of social life, including international travel and vacation practices. Media of communication refers to "events, actions (including speech acts), and physical phenomena through which information flows among people who are carrying on the same or different practices at the same or disparate orders" (Schatzki, 2002, p. 250). Such media can range from puffs of smoke to electromagnetic waves or emails, all of which "often decisively mediate changes in practices" and the broader contexts they take part in. This feature is an important one in the context of this dissertation, where all sorts of media of communication play a role, e.g. by disseminating information about the climate crisis and the carbon emissions from aviation, advertising cheap flight prices, or conveying myriad imagery of desirable vacations and locations. Together, these accounts provide applicable concepts for the analysis of change, but they do not present details and descriptions for their employment in empirical analysis.

Other practice theoretical efforts provide more operational conceptualisations of change dynamics. Shove poignantly points out that "long-term transformation in what counts as a normal and acceptable way of life depends on reconfiguring the elements of practice; relations between practices, and patterns of recruitment and defection" (2014, p. 419). This contention is described more elaborately by Shove, Pantzar and Watson (2012), who provide an accessible and widely used description of change, which serves as a good starting point for empirical analysis. Their description focuses on "paying attention to the trajectories of elements, and to the making and breaking of links between them" as a means to describe and analyse change and stability (Shove et al., 2012, p. 22). This approach entails four avenues for practice change: "a) the range of elements in circulation; b) the ways in which practices relate to each other; c) the careers and trajectories of practices and those who carry them; and d) the circuits of reproduction" (Shove et al., 2012, p. 146). The authors describe each of these four avenues in practical terms, explicitly addressed to policymakers in the realm of climate change.

Addressing change via avenue A involves studying the elements entailed in a practice, surveying other elements in circulation, and considering whether and how these elements might be replaced. Examples are e.g. changing the meanings of a certain practice: e.g., in the case of a Japanese governmental initiative called Cool Biz, changing the meaning of what constitutes appropriate attire in an office environment, thereby reconfiguring the need for air-conditioning and reducing the resources required for working practices (2012, pp. 148-151). This avenue seems to incorporate the dynamics described by Schatzki as insemination and poisoning.

Change through avenue B is concerned with how practices support or compete with each other in the wider practice landscape. Bike-riding and car-driving are examples of two practices competing for the same time and space, and the ways they relate to each other affect the potential for change, e.g. for the reach and configuration of cycling. This way, whether riding a bike "is characterized as slow, dangerous or effortful is not just a matter of personal opinion, but is instead related to the systemic configuration of this practice and others in terms of which it is defined" (Shove et al., 2012, p. 153). Changing bike-riding as a practice might then depend on changing the relationship between riding a bike and driving a car, e.g. by prioritising safe, spacious, or more direct bike lanes over roads, or by addressing the meanings of car-driving and thereby reconfiguring the systemic configuration of bike-riding. This avenue could include Schatzki's contagion, but also involves more complex internal relations between practices.

Addressing change through avenue C entails looking at dynamics by which practices recruit and defect practitioners. In describing these dynamics, Shove et al. introduce a notion of valued pursuits, which are "outcomes of the dialectical interaction between individual and institutional projects" and account for the relative advantage some practices have in recruiting carriers (2012, p. 157). This way of approaching change transpires more as an account of path dependence and resistance to change, pointing out how "institutional projects are complex amalgams of past trajectories and current aims and aspirations, many of which are materially sustained and reinforced by the state" (2012, p. 157). As such, it highlights how grasping practice change, or lack thereof, must involve a perspective for different temporal perspectives and layers of linked practices.

Approaching change through avenue D, finally, steers the perspective toward the social networks through which practices travel and are sustained, but which also emerge from practices. This avenue emphasises communities of practice as relevant units for processes of social learning, which may amount to practice change (Shove et al., 2012, p. 161). Though the authors elsewhere in the book lend much explanatory power to social networks and communities of practice in understanding how practices circulate and recruit practitioners, change dynamics related to these networks are described in very broad terms. As such, it is the remarkably least expansive of the four described avenues for change. While this is perhaps due to the four avenues' address to policymakers, who have less direct means for intervention in communities of practice, this dynamic appears promising in other regards than for policy interventions and could usefully be elaborated.

Shove, Pantzar, and Watson thus formulate a framework for grasping and instigating practice change that can account for many relevant dynamics and the different levels change can occur on: from specific practice elements to practice landscapes or communities of practice, and from immediate effects to long-term path dependence. It provides useful insight into potential avenues for change through relations between elements and practices more broadly in the practice landscape, but it leaves a promising avenue for change through social learning under-conceptualised.

Spurling et al. (2013) provide a further useful reiteration of the framework put forth by Shove et al., again directed at policy interventions. Their report suggests practice theoretical alternatives to sustainability policy interventions targeting behaviour, outlining three rough framings of sustainable practice change: re-crafting practices by changing the elements that make

current practices resource-intensive; substituting practices with more sustainable alternatives that can fulfil similar purposes; and changing how practices interlock by addressing complex interactions between practices to facilitate change across connected practices (Spurling et al., 2013, p. 5). This framing suggests "thinking about how more sustainable practices (new or old) can fulfil the same needs and wants, " providing a simple but helpful guiding framework. This approach seems to incorporate many of the dynamics outlined by Schatzki and by Shove, Pantzar & Watson, compiling them into an operational framework that connects simple analytical questions to comprehensive conceptualisations of potential change dynamics. Drawing on Spurling et al.'s framework (2013), the dissertation thus approaches climate-friendly practice change by exploring how alternative, less carbon-intensive practice configurations can serve the same purposes as current vacation practices, drawing on the background descriptions offered by Schatzki (2002) and Shove, Patzar & Watson (2012).

3.1.6. Change dynamics beyond policy interventions

As the descriptions above reflect, the dynamics and possible sources for practice change have particularly been operationalised in relation to policy – often environmental or climate policy. These operationalisations are more or less explicitly framed in opposition to psychological and economic behaviour-oriented approaches, which are described as almost hegemonic within policy. These approaches – sometimes called the ABC (Attitude, Behaviour, Choice) model of behaviour (Shove, 2010) – assume that behavioural nudges or information about environmental or climate downsides of one form of behaviour will lead people to change their actions. As will be clear from the descriptions above, practice theories make fundamentally different ontological assumptions, and many scholars have thus sought to present alternative and operational conceptualisations of change and advice on how they might be employed in practice – particularly in the realm of climate change, and often directly addressing policy and planning (e.g. Shove, 2014; Shove & Spurling, 2013; Spurling et al., 2013; Strengers et al., 2014). These analyses and guidelines provide valuable insights that this dissertation builds on, as the section above shows. But something seems to be missing.

Perhaps due to their position as a corrective to widespread assumptions underlying current policy efforts, practice theoretical accounts of change appear strongly and somewhat one-sidedly oriented towards policy interventions. While practice theories thus avoid the structure-actor dualism, it appears that their implicit theory of change has not quite overcome this divide. Practice theories convincingly locate agency in practices, but it seems that the agency

for changing these practices is, whether deliberately or not, often ascribed to policymakers, planners, or other forms of top-down interventions. As such, an implicit assumption seems to be that while practice change can happen in many ways in theory, it requires top-down interventions in policy, planning, or systems of provision in practice. This is somewhat paradoxical, as the outlines of possible practice change initiatives above often presume and address already ongoing changes. Shove et al. also explicitly state that "[i]n so far as they make a difference, policy initiatives do so not in the abstract but to processes that already have a life of their own" (2012, pp. 155-156) – pointing out that policy initiatives are inherently intermingling with already ongoing dynamics, possibly reinforcing ongoing changes, but seldom instigating them from scratch. There are many reasons why it is sensible to highlight policy opportunities to support and consolidate practice changes, and these do not necessarily imply a one-sided understanding that change can only come about through such measures. Nevertheless, the consistent emphasis on policy interventions in seminal contributions tilts practice theoretical accounts toward structure-oriented descriptions. It thus risks concealing or overlooking change dynamics that take other forms or could be supported by different means.

While existing studies highlight important points of attention for policymakers and others seeking to instigate change, there is a lack of conceptualisations of change that truly escape the structure-actor dualism and do not rely either on structure-oriented, top-down policy and planning interventions or completely situated instances of innovation in single practice performances. While some analyses do reflect e.g. sociocultural dynamics or mechanisms of change through communities of practice (e.g. Laakso et al., 2021; Shove, 2003), these change processes remain theoretically and analytically underdeveloped. Shove et al. (2012)'s above-mentioned avenue D, describing communities of practice as relevant units for processes of social learning, is a good example of such a change dynamic which aligns well with the ontology and appears promising, but which remains under-conceptualised. Schatzki's description of media of communication as phenomena which "often decisively mediate changes in practices" (2002, p. 250) is another avenue that appears relevant, particularly in this dissertation's context, but which requires further conceptual development to be analytically operational. These two avenues are sought conceptually developed in the following parts of this chapter, connecting with the dissertation's pursuit to grasp learning dynamics and mediatised aspects of vacation practices and climate-friendly practice change.

In conclusion, practice theories thus provide a valuable framework for grasping social change

with sensitivity to the complex, ambiguous and multifaceted character of these dynamics as they play out in practice. However, despite the large corpus of literature on practice change, central dynamics remain unclear and under-conceptualised, seemingly attributing the agency for change mainly to policymakers. As such, there might be scope for a more elaborate conceptualisation of change dynamics beyond spontaneous situated changes or planned policy interventions, e.g. in communities of practice, as suggested by Shove et al. (2012), or via media of communication, as suggested by Schatzki (2002).

This dissertation, then, employs the operational framework for studying practice change provided by Shove et al. (2012) and Spurling et al. (2013) as a starting point for its analysis of climate-friendly practice change. This approach is related to insights from Shove et al. (2012), particularly their avenue for social learning in communities of practice, and from Schatzki (2002), particularly his descriptions of change dynamics relating to media of communication. This perspective follows the tradition of practice theoretical scholarship of looking for possible policy interventions, but it also maintains a broader perspective, surveying different change dynamics and ways that they might be harnessed.

3.1.7. Practice theories: summing up

This first part of the theory chapter has outlined central features of the ontology this dissertation relies on, related it to seminal texts in the practice theoretical literature, and, through this analytical review of practice theories, outlined central concepts and dynamics which will be employed and studied in the empirical analysis of vacation practices. These conceptualisations include defining practices, the elements that organise them, and how they might change. At the same time, the review has pointed out aspects where practice theories currently provide limited frameworks for important dynamics. These limitations regard the roles of the teleoaffective structure in practices and change, explaining socially stratified variations in practices, grasping change dynamics relating e.g. to social learning and media of communication, and expanding the implicit theory of change beyond top-down initiatives by policymakers and planners to more explicitly outline a theory of change on the level of practices.

As such, this section has provided us with a good foundation for our analysis, but more is needed to fully grasp the dynamics at play in climate-friendly change of vacation practices. Therefore, the remainder of this chapter turns its attention to different bodies of scholarship that can supplement practice theories in explaining relevant dynamics for the prospects of

climate-friendly vacation practices, namely literature on learning dynamics and the roles of media content.

As described, social learning in communities of practice appears as a fruitful conceptualisation of a potential avenue for climate-friendly practice change, but it is conceptually underdeveloped. The field of learning, in particular environmental and sustainability learning, has studied and conceptualised such dynamics and can thus provide insights that can inform a practice-theoretical description of such social learning dynamics and their relation to climate-friendly practice change. The second section of the chapter therefore outlines central insights from the field of relevance for this dissertation.

Media of communication transpire as another potential avenue for practice change that could expand our understanding of vacation practices and climate-friendly practice change, but which requires additional conceptual development. The development of vacation practices specifically has been described as closely intertwined with media representations – an entanglement which has given rise to, and been maintained by, a particular tourist gaze (Urry & Larsen, 2011). This gaze plays an integral part in reproducing and possibly changing vacation practices, and it is concurrently being reproduced and changed itself, prominently through media representations. As such, change dynamics related to media of communication transpire as particularly relevant for this dissertation's pursuit. These dynamics are pursued specifically in the context of social media, which transpire as particularly relevant in the context of young adults' vacations. The chapter's third section thus describes both the tourist gaze and relevant literature on social media more broadly, conceptualising them in a practice-theoretical framework.

3.2. Climate-friendly learning in practice

In our pursuit to grasp the dynamics enabling and constraining climate-friendly practice change in young adults' vacation practices, there are useful perspectives to be found in the literature on learning. More specifically, there are valuable insights to gain from a field that has concerned itself with learning related to environmental and sustainability issues for decades: Environmental and Sustainability Education (ESE). Furthermore, particularly regarding young adults' vacation practices, the somewhat related perspectives on Bildung can shed light on the notion of formative journeys that transpire in young adults' practices and might relate to climate-friendly practice change.

This section starts by outlining a practice-theoretical account of learning, locating learning in practices and describing it as inherently occurring through participation in practice while extending in trajectories beyond situated performances. Next, the section outlines key concepts and advances within environmental and sustainability learning (ESE) of relevance for this study. Lastly, the section delves into the history and definitions of the term Bildung, tracing its historical ties with young adulthood and travelling, and exploring its forms and possible contributions in the ongoing climate crisis.

3.2.1. Learning in a practice-theoretical framework

To include social learning dynamics in the study of young adults' vacation practices and their potentials for change, we first need a firm conceptual understanding of how learning can be conceived of and approached in a practice-theoretical ontology. This section engages with existing practice-theoretical literature and compatible descriptions of learning to develop an ontologically consistent definition of learning in practice-theoretical terms. Based on these engagements, seven key features of learning in a practice-theoretical framework emerge. These are described in the following.

Feature 1: Learning is social

The issue of learning has not been expansively covered in practice-theoretical literature, but it is not unheard of, either. A seminal work is Lave & Wenger's Situated Learning (1991), which gives an influential account of situated learning as it plays out in communities of practice. Lave & Wenger's central contribution is their description of how learning is not about individuals acquiring abstract knowledge – rather, it is an inherently social and practical affair, playing out in situated, real-world contexts in which people engage with their surroundings and with other people around them participating in the same activity. Such a group of people engaged in the same activity constitute a *community of practice*, and these communities are pivotal in situated learning. Lave & Wenger describe how learning processes start with a position of *legitimate peripheral participation*, in which newcomers to a certain practice start in the periphery of the given community of practice. Through their activity, and particularly through interaction with more expert members of the community of practice, participants gradually acquire a more central position of full and expert participation. Lave & Wenger also introduce the concept of *learning trajectories*; a somewhat under-conceptualised notion which describes how learning is situated "in the trajectories of participation in which it

takes on meaning" (Lave & Wenger, 1991, p. 121). Learning trajectories situate learning not only within the given social context, but also in each person's history of participation in the given practice, and within "the interconnections of activity and activity systems, and of activity systems and communities, culture, and political economy" (Lave & Wenger, 1991, pp. 121-122). As such, Lave & Wenger's seminal work highlights the inherently social character of learning and its embeddedness in situated contexts. In this dissertation's framework, it underscores that learning should be approached as something that arises in practice and pertains to collectives of people rather than individuals, emphasising the need to pay attention to the communities of practice learning occurs in. Lave & Wenger's learning theory has been applied in several practice-theoretical studies of learning processes (e.g. Hargreaves, 2011; Jensen & Foulds, 2014; Laakso et al., 2021) and is also the basis of Shove et al.'s descriptions of practitioners' "careers" in practices and the impact these have on the career, or development, of the practice itself (Shove et al., 2012). While it has been criticised for foregrounding individuals' learning processes rather than learning's impacts on the transformation of practices (Buch, 2020; Kemmis et al., 2013), the theory is a helpful starting point in a practice-theoretical inquiry into learning. It is also central in one of the few more elaborate accounts of learning and practice theories (Schatzki, 2017) , which this dissertation builds its conceptualisation on[4].

Feature 2: Learning is practical

According to Schatzki, a practice theoretical perspective on learning does not in itself foster a new definition of learning, but it has the logical implication that learning must be understood as occurring within practices (Schatzki, 2017). Building on Lave & Wenger, Schatzki defines learning as "coming to participate in practices", arguing that coming to participate in practices amounts to "acquiring the knowledges of different sorts needed to participate in it" (Schatzki, 2017, p. 23). In contrast to cognitivist psychological approaches to learning, a practice theoretical understanding thus highlights that these different sorts of knowledge are as much practical, sensorial and embodied as they are cognitive and mental. Schatzki's practice-theoretical account of learning here builds on both Lave & Wenger (1991) and Dewey

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[4] Another relevant practice-theoretical conceptualisation of learning can be found in the work of Stephen Kemmis (Kemmis, 2022; Kemmis et al., 2013). Though his work is elaborate, it is within the practice architectures literature, which has a pronounced structural orientation and thus is not straightforwardly compatible with the practice-theoretical ontology employed in this dissertation. Kemmis' conceptualisation of learning in practice architectures is therefore disregarded here.

(1964) in contending that learning is inherently entangled with practical activity. Such an understanding of learning contradicts understandings of propositional knowledge and cognitivism, which fundamentally contend that learning amounts to the accumulation of knowledge in individuals' brains. A practice-theoretical understanding of learning perceives the forms of knowledge to be acquired to also involve skills, capacities, competences, as well as feelings, aesthetic judgements, orientations, and meanings. And contrary to the cognitivist and propositional knowledge approaches, the acquisition of these forms of knowledge is not understood as first and foremost a matter of cognitive processes in individuals' brains; rather, they are understood to occur in social interactions between multiple people through participation in practices (Schatzki, 2017, p. 35).

Feature 3: Learning forms trajectories

Schatzki invokes critical psychologist Ole Dreier to describe that learning follows trajectories in and across practices (Dreier, 1999). As mentioned, learning trajectories are also described by Lave & Wenger (Lave & Wenger, 1991), but not conceptually elaborated. For Dreier, learning trajectories are a central concept explaining how people conduct their lives, make sense, and learn in and across a large array of practices. As Dreier writes, learning is "directed towards and anchored in people's participation in different social settings and in these people's configuration of a composite existence in and across an array of fields of society" (Dreier, 1999). As such, the concept of learning trajectories conveys the accumulation of varied forms of knowledge and experience across many, diverse and sometimes contradictory practices across which people conduct their everyday lives. These trajectories are not static; they are continuously and dynamically being engaged, elaborated and challenged as part of people's ongoing practice. A person's learning trajectory can thus be described as an ongoing, dynamic acquisition of varied forms of knowledge, skills, competences, experiences and sensibilities across the particular constellation of practices they participate in. This understanding resembles Reckwitz' contention that each person constitutes a "unique crossing point of practices" (Reckwitz, 2002), adding to it that these unique crossing points of practices involve each their unique trajectory of learning. Thinking about learning as occurring in ongoing trajectories across a range of practices also entails the possibility that learning from participation in one practice can manifest not just at a later time, but also in a completely different practice. Dreier's (1999) contention that learning is anchored in people's composite existences across an array of fields thus underscores that learning involves a potential for

practice change, as learning trajectories constitute channels that enable interaction between practices. This way, learning from one practice can enter into other practices via people's learning trajectories and potentially change them.

Feature 4: Learning happens along the way

Schatzki's description also invokes another of Dreier's concepts, "concomitant learning" ["*medlæring*"] (Dreier, 1999). Concomitant learning refers to the fact that the learning accumulated through participation in practices is not necessarily the immediate, intended objective of what people are doing at a given point in time – they may not even be aware that they are learning. Yet learning often occurs while people are working towards other ends and objectives in the practices they are performing. Learning can, of course, also be the more direct objective of a practice, but it doesn't have to be in order for learning to occur – and even if learning is the objective, concomitant learning pertaining to other aspects of the practice will often occur simultaneously. These features highlight that learning is not necessarily a conscious or immediate process, which can easily be delimited and assigned to a particular place and time. Rather, it is continually unfolding, prompting people to adjust, reconsider, relearn, change assumptions, or reinforce or challenge their understandings (Dreier, 1999). This means that learning is hard to temporally pinpoint – it "exhibits a certain indefiniteness" (Schatzki, 2017, p. 31). As such, a practice-based understanding of learning highlights the situated, practical, and often unintentional character of learning as something that happens along the way – often over an extended period of time, and thus also across several practices.

Feature 5: Learning is personal

From a practice-theoretical point of view, it is worth observing that while learning necessarily occurs through practice, it pertains to changes in the *people*, not in a direct sense in the practice (Schatzki, 2017, p. 35). This way, learning happens through and in relation to practice, but it is not a property of the practice itself, as e.g. practical understandings is. Instead, learning is a property of the practitioner, tied to their trajectories in and across practices. This does not mean that learning is an individual affair – rather, it is almost inevitably distributed between people within a community of practice, just as practices are. As such, learning takes places through participation in practices and within a community of practice, but it is individuals who learn. Schatzki describes the outcome of learning as *augmented operability* (Schatzki, 2017, p. 31), and it is this augmented operability which pertains to the practitioner.

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Learning thus provides the practitioner with augmented operability in practices. For the context of this study, it is worth highlighting the second aspect of this observation, namely that learning does not, in a direct sense, amount to changes in the practice. Often, learning results in augmented operability for the practition,er which helps to maintain rather than change the practice. However, as the previous features have shown, learning entails less direct potentials for practice change, even if it primarily pertains to the practitioner.

Feature 6: Learning is variable

Schatzki outlines different ways that augmented operability can be expressed, i.e. different ways that learning can enable practitioners to take part in the practice in more skilful, capable, sensitive, or comprehensible ways. These include "attaining greater facility and possible excellence in the performance of the sayings, doings, tasks, and projects that compose a practice" (Schatzki, 2017, p. 31) – in my terms *a more excellent* operability; becoming able to "perform more of the actions that make up their practices" (Schatzki, 2017, p. 32) – in my terms a *broader* operability; learning to use and relate to a wider range of the "artifacts, organisms, and things in the settings in which practices are carried out" (Schatzki, 2017) – in my terms augmented *material* operability; and learning to "better choose what to do in a practice" (Schatzki, 2017, p. 32) – in my terms a *more attuned* operability. This means that learning pertaining to the same practice can take very different forms. I also take these descriptions to suggest that learning can relate to one or more of the different organising elements of a given practice. This point is not spelled out completely in Schatzki's account, but he does note that "the structure of the social world as practices delimits and defines the knowledges (and other items), the acquisition of which constitute learning" (Schatzki, 2017, p. 33). If learning is delimited and defined by the structure of the social world of practices, it seems pertinent to analyse and describe learning in a way that more clearly connects the practitioner's learning with the elements that organise practices – particularly when my interest in learning stems from its potentials for bringing about climate-friendly practice change. In my pursuit to grasp learning that can support climate-friendly practice change, I will therefore pay particular attention to how learning processes relate to different organising elements – both in the form of augmented material operability, as described above, but also pertaining to the teleoaffective structure, competences, and regulation. Schatzki notes that learning can, e.g., consist of "mastering additional techniques", which appears as a form of competence learning, or "flexibly coping with rules", which relates quite directly to what I call regulation

(2017, p. 32). As such, it seems it is not a far stretch to more systematically consider learning as something which often relates to one or more of the organising elements of a practice. In the case of this dissertation, that means that learning can take many forms and relate to a practice's materiality, teleoaffective structure, competences, and regulation.

Feature 7: Learning is normative

Finally, and as a relatively foreign understanding for most practice theories, Schatzki introduces a form of learning which "concerns normativity" (Schatzki, 2017, p. 32). Normativity in Schatzki's framework affects practices through the interpretation of the rules entailed as well as through the disputation of acceptable or prescribed ends, projects, and tasks. According to Schatzki, learning related to normativity is manifest when a person becoming better at "stating and defending what rules call for and what is acceptable or prescribed", in turn increasing "the contribution she can make to the determination of the normativity that governs the practices she carries on" and thereby to "the evolution of these practices" (Schatzki, 2017, p. 33). This conceptualisation of learning concerning normativity seems to require being able to reflexively and consciously state the normative content of a practice, not just gaining a better tacit sense or orientation towards specific normative orientations, as a practice theoretical framework might otherwise suggest. This seems to distinguish learning concerning normativity from e.g. normative orientations in the teleoaffective structure of a practice, which practitioners are not necessarily, indeed, not usually, explicitly conscious of (Schatzki, 2002, p. 81). The relevance of reflexivity in practices as such is debated in practice theories, but compelling arguments have been made that practices have relevant reflexive aspects, even if they are mainly routinised and inconspicuous (Christensen et al., 2023; Halkier, 2001; Jack, 2020). Highlighting such a reflexive and normative form of learning brings Schatzki's practice-theoretical conceptualisation closer to these understandings. It also ties it with seminal theories of environmental and sustainability education (ESE) and Bildung, which are often preoccupied with normative and reflexive dimensions of learning and its implications on the potential for climate-friendly practice change (Læssøe & Lysgaard, 2024). Considering normativity as something which is learned and employed in the performance of practices aligns with recent engagements with ethics as a potential cause for variation and change in consumer practices (Gram-Hanssen, 2021). As such, normative operability highlights that learning can also include the development and refinement of reflexive, normative statements about the practice, which can affect the eventual performance – even if this is only one among a

range of relevant forms of learning. In order to understand more in detail what the notion of normativity might mean in the context of learning – and, in particular, learning in relation to the climate crisis – the literatures of ESE and Bildung are surveyed in the following.

3.2.2. Environmental and sustainability education in practices

The field of Environmental and Sustainability Education (ESE) dates back at least to the late 1980's when the environmental, sustainability, and climate change agendas started gaining widespread traction (Scott & Vare, 2021; World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987). Sometimes referred to as environmental education (EE) or education for sustainable development (ESD), ESE as a field is concerned with how education can equip people and societies better to deal with increasingly grave environmental, sustainability, and climate issues. As the differing names suggest, the ESE field compiles diverse scholarships that explore the connections between these issues and learning in varied ways and with different emphases (Vare & Scott, 2007).

Compared to many other subjects, learning about climate, environmental and sustainability issues has a highly normative dimension—it involves an inherent imperative to understand the severity of the global situation and, particularly, to motivate immediate action based on such an understanding (Mogensen & Schnack, 2010). A key discussion in the field is what the purpose of learning about such abstract and often challenging themes is. This discussion has given rise to a fundamental distinction between two forms of education for sustainable development – ESD 1 and ESD 2 (Vare & Scott, 2007). While ESD 1 represents what could be described as single-loop learning, i.e. learning what the correct behaviour or solution is, ESD 2 represents double-loop learning, i.e. fostering critical thinking and enabling people to analyse new situations and make their own informed decisions about what action is most sustainable in the given context (Vare & Scott, 2007). An influential Danish tradition within the latter strand is concerned with the seminal term *action competence*, which highlights the importance of enabling people to reflect critically and act accordingly on environmental problems on both a societal and an individual level (Jensen & Schnack, 1997). This current within the ESE field shares practice theories' critical stance towards an individualised and overly simplistic focus on behaviour modification, highlighting the ineffectiveness of such an approach and its inherent risk of fostering less sustainability, as it does not enable people to adjust their actions to new situations. Instead, action competence and ESD 2 approaches emphasise the need to develop skills for critical thinking and reflexive action, enabling ongoing

adjustments in light of new developments (Jensen & Schnack, 1997; Vare & Scott, 2007). This contention shares traits with Schatzki's description of normative learning pertaining to articulating acceptable and prescribed forms of a given practice (Schatzki, 2017). The underlying understanding is that rather than seeking to teach young people what is expected to be useful knowledge in a given societal context, education should be concerned with "what children and young people must learn in order to be able to shape their own and others' future" (Kristensen, 1987, as cited in Lysgaard & Bengtsson, 2022, p. 109). Action competence is intertwined with a strong focus on Bildung [*dannelse*], which is central to the ESE field in general and the action competence literature in particular (Carlsson, 2024; Lysgaard & Bengtsson, 2022). In this context, it is understood as the formation of people through the acquisition of knowledge, engagement, visions, abilities to participate, and competence to put all of this into action (Læssøe & Lysgaard, 2024).

However, action competence entails additional assumptions that differ from practice theoretical understandings. Most centrally, action competence is closely tied with personal emotions, values, and intentions, and the approach therefore aims to help people "acquire the courage, commitment and desire to get involved in the social interests concerning these subjects" (Jensen & Schnack, 1997, p. 164). From a practice-theoretical perspective, courage, commitment, or desire to get involved is at best an inadequate account of what matters in fostering practice change. Similar criticism has also been raised within the ESE field – for instance from the perspective of dark pedagogy (Lysgaard et al., 2019), which highlights the need for recalibrating understandings of learning in a context where "notions of 'intentional action' and perceived insight into the consequences of spatial and temporal perspectives, clash with the immense complexity, intertwinement and weird relations imbued in the idea of the Anthropocene" (Lysgaard & Bengtsson, 2022, p. 122). While the underlying ontological assumptions differ, this observation resonates with a practice-theoretical understanding of people's intentions as an inadequate explanation of social activity.

As this discussion reflects, much ESE scholarship discusses how to translate learning into action. As the critique above shows, a practice-theoretical perspective aligns with some ESE approaches, but differs from others in emphasising that there is rarely a straight line from learning to practice change – in many cases, there is perhaps not even a connection. In the ESE context, this is an important point highlighted by Van Poeck and colleagues (2020) who warn against conflating learning processes with their outcomes based on a review of ESE

literature about learning in sustainable transitions. Their review highlights the need for "deeper insight in the role, place, potential and limits of learning in relation to societal transformation" (Van Poeck et al., 2020, p. 307). This is particularly relevant in the context of this study, where the interest in learning revolves around its possible connections with practice change. Their study thus highlights that learning processes should be analysed without assuming that they necessarily amount to practice change – and, correspondingly, that practice change does not necessarily reflect that learning has occurred.

Another contribution of relevance for this study is Verlie's Learning to Live with Climate Change (2022), which explores how people in high-carbon societies can learn to 'live-with' climate change by cultivating the emotional capacities needed to respond to the climate crisis. Verlie describes climate change and human emotions as deeply entangled, pointing out that learning "about" climate change overlooks the embodied and affective dimensions that are necessary to "live with" climate change in ways that enable collective action and systemic transformation. Learning to live with climate change involves attunement to "how the planetary and epochal phenomenon of climate change is metabolically, emotionally and politically enmeshed within our everyday, mundane, inter/personal lives" (Verlie, 2022, p. 5). Based on this description, Verlie emphasises the "need to transform ourselves and our affective norms and repertoires" into forms of being that "consider the 'self' to be dispersed in-between and across, and constantly emerging with ('trans'), its relations with others" (Verlie, 2022, pp. 8-9). Verlie ontologically draws on critical feminist posthumanism, affect theory, and indigenous philosophy, but bearing the ontological difference in mind, valuable points can still be drawn from her work in this study. Most centrally, it conceptualises climate change learning as something which at the same time relates to the individual and is inevitably enmeshed with interpersonal, societal, embodied and more-than-human relations, as well as with mediatised representations of different sorts. Learning to 'live-with' climate change thus seems like a useful concept for grasping forms of learning involved in climate-friendly practice change.

As this account highlights, ESE scholarship sits at the intersection between individual learners and collective or societal dynamics, emphasising the need to consider both, and providing conceptualisations of how the two can be related in the pursuit of climate-friendly practice change. Ontological differences aside, the ESE field thus informs our conceptualisation of normative learning in the context of climate-friendly practice change. This can be elaborated by incorporating the concept of Bildung, which in many ways informs the ESE field.

3.2.3. Bildung as normative learning

Bildung, and its Danish counterpart *dannelse*, constitute central concepts in Danish, Scandinavian and German education research and practice, also in the ESE field (Læssøe & Lysgaard, 2024; Sjöström & Eilks, 2020). Originating from the German verb *bilden*, which means to shape or (give) form, Bildung can be said to denote "an ideal picture of desirable knowledge and skills, and free learning processes" (Sjöström & Eilks, 2020). Bildung thus refers to both an end goal of personal development and a process of development – a process which is lifelong but which often refers to youth and the transition into adulthood. This dialectic between end goal and process involves a possible gap between the ideal picture of Bildung and its ongoing practical emergence.

Much Bildung literature refers to Wilhelm von Humboldt, according to whom Bildung is about the interaction between a person's inner capabilities and the surrounding world. In this interaction, the person should "reflect back into his inner being the clarifying light and comforting warmth of everything that he undertakes outside himself" (Humboldt 2000, p. 58, in Løvlie & Standish, 2002). Both the end goal of Bildung and the ongoing process of being *gebildet* thus involve both a personal and a societal dimension (Jobst, 2023). In his influential conceptualisation, Wolfgang Klafki describes Bildung as the capacity for self-determination, participation, and solidarity with those who do not have the former two (Graf, 2018; Klafki, 1964). All three capacities are understood in the context of a free, democratic, and social society. Self-determination refers back to Kant's ideals of enlightenment as a person's emergence from self-imposed immaturity (Kant, 1992), denoting the courage to use one's reason to develop a stance and defend it – but doing so with a sense of responsibility for the greater good (Graf, 2018). Participation develops the notion of responsibility for the greater good, highlighting that self-determination must coexist with the self-determination of others, and entailing a democratic objective of developing society and culture by counteracting war, injustice, inequality, and exploitation (Graf, 2018). Solidarity, third, means working for or collaborating with people who do not have access to self-determination and participation. Bildung thus entails a normative goal of both self-development and societal development, and understands the two as related. In Germany, where the concept developed, Bildung has also historically been connected with attempts to form a national identity (Horlacher, 2012). The same goes for dannelse in a Danish context (Jacobsen & Korsgaard, 2017). As such, Bildung has political and societal underpinnings, connecting personal and societal development.

While Bildung is closely intertwined with education, it is generally understood as something which cannot be taught, though educational efforts can support students in their own efforts of developing Bildung (Sjöström & Eilks, 2020). Somewhat in line with a practice-theoretical understanding of learning, Bildung is thus about acquiring or developing skills and capacities rather than about learning facts and other forms of propositional learning (Sjöström & Eilks, 2020). In contrast with practice-theoretical understandings, however, the skills and capacities implied are generally reflexive rather than practical, e.g. building critical consciousness, discovering the self, forming one's character, and finding meaning.

Apart from its strong ties with educational settings, Bildung is also strongly tied with travelling – a connection that dates back to the Grand Tours and journeyman years described in the literature review. In a Danish context, the phrase *dannelsesrejse* (formative journey or, literally, "Bildung journey") is an ingrained cultural trope dating back to the 16th century (Jakobsen, 2017). As the analysis will show, the phrase also transpires strongly in the contemporary vacation practices of young adults. Bildung and travelling have thus long been connected. This is also evident in the prominence of travel as a motif in the *Bildungsroman* – a genre characteristic of the Sturm und Drang movement in which the protagonists were liberated "from confining social and moral contexts through self-reflection, travel, and manifold experiences in "real life" that contributed to the creation of a new self" (Horlacher, 2016, p. 4). This idea of travelling as an ideal arena for self-development through the encounter with the foreign persists today in a widespread understanding of Bildung as "horizon expansion in the encounter with the foreign" (Læssøe & Lysgaard, 2024, p. 134) – an understanding which, as we will see, permeates the young adults' practices. Bildung, it seems, is broadly understood to occur in relation to travelling. As such, it is a relevant concept both for grasping climate-friendly practice change in general and young adults' vacation practices in particular.

Solvejg Jobst has done helpful work in theorising what Bildung might mean and represent in a "praxeological" perspective (Jobst, 2023), bringing the concept into the realm of practice theory, although applying a slightly different practice theoretical lens than this dissertation. While many Bildung understandings place the individual's reflection centrally and in some cases even see Bildung as prevailing through a "withdrawal from everyday practice" (Marotzki, 1990 in Jobst, 2023), Jobst locates Bildung in practice, emphasising that Bildung relates to what has been experienced and "can have different modes of existence in relation to the respective, situated practice in which it is conducted" (Jobst, 2023, p. 281). Bildung is

conceived of as "the transformation of a (conjunctive) knowledge that guides actions and is relevant to practice" (Nohl, 2006, in Jobst, 2023). While Jobst does not make this connection, her description seems compatible with Schatzki's normative operability, which entails "stating and defending what rules call for and what is acceptable or prescribed" (Schatzki, 2017, p. 33). For Jobst, "the potential of Bildung lies in the creation of a new practice," which can happen "when the previous practical rationality is interrupted and falls out of use. Only then can emancipatory Bildung unfold as a long, open and unpredictable process" (Jobst, 2023, p. 284). As such, Jobst's conceptualisation of Bildung can elaborate on normative operability by explaining how new practices emerge in situations where habitual ways of engaging in practices are disrupted, for instance because contradictory considerations appear either within a practice or across practices within the same trajectory.

Bildung's reference to both a personal and a societal dimension thus elaborates on the potential of normative learning to spark change, not just in the practitioner, but also in the practices that make up society. And the Bildung literature's preoccupation with travelling suggests that vacation practices might be a generative location for normative learning dynamics. The analysis of young adults' vacation practices will show whether travelling does appear to entail special potential for transgressing existing practices through negotiations of what is acceptable and prescribed, and if such normative learning appears particularly connected with climate-friendly practice change.

3.2.4. Partial conclusion: Climate-friendly learning in practice

How can we conceptualise climate-friendly learning in practice based on these different accounts, then? Based on the work of Lave & Wenger (1991), Schatzki (2017), and Dreier (1999), we can define learning in practice according to seven central features: learning is social, practical, it forms trajectories, it happens along the way, it is personal, it is variable, and it is, at least partly, normative. Together, this describes learning as occurring through practice but resulting in changes for the individual who acquires augmented operability in the practice. The definition points out that learning happens in relation to the situated community of practice it occurs in, but that it also follows the practitioner in and across practices through a personal learning trajectory – often unfolding over time and without the practitioner's awareness. These learning trajectories across practices entail potential for cross-pollination between practices, potentially leading to practice change. Importantly, the definition also highlights the varying forms learning can take. It connects learning dynamics with the different

organising elements in practices, emphasising that learning can relate to one or more of the organising elements of a given practice. Learning can thus relate to the materiality, teleoaffective structure, competences, and regulation of a given practice. This is important in the context of practice change, where changing the organising elements plays an important role. Finally, the developed conceptualisation highlights that learning in practice can also concern normativity. This feature builds on Schatzki's contention that becoming better at stating and defending what is acceptable enables practitioners to determine the normativity that governs practices, thereby affecting the evolution of these practices (Schatzki, 2017, p. 33). Incorporating insights from ESE and Bildung scholarship, this normative form of learning is defined as referring both to the person and the practice and entailing a strong potential for change, even if there is no inherent correlation between the two. While learning to make reflexive judgements about acceptable practice is not the only, nor necessarily the most important, form of learning, it is nevertheless a relevant form, also within a practice-theoretical framework.

This section has thus equipped us with thorough concepts of different forms of learning as they can be understood and identified in relation to practice. This conceptual work will guide the analysis of learning in young adults' vacation practices in Chapter 6. Before that, the next section of this chapter will describe how representations play a role in the performance, reproduction, and potential change of vacation practices.

3.3. Theorising social media content and practices

In the context of vacations, literature indicates that mediatised representations play an important role in both the performance and shared imaginary of vacation practices and therefore might usefully be included as a conceptual and analytical focus. And, as outlined in the beginning of this chapter, media of communication have been described as a potential but underconceptualised avenue for practice change. As such, there is ample reason to include media in the conceptualisation of practices.

Observing that media should play a part in the conceptualisation and analysis of practices is, in principle, neither novel nor controversial, nor does it immediately appear that special conceptual development is required to account for them in a practice-theoretical framework. As mentioned, Schatzki's definition of practices includes both the doings *and sayings* constituting a practice, conveying that practices are made up of discursive and non-discursive actions

alike (Schatzki, 2002, p. 77). Invoking Schatzki's definition, Warde highlights that "practices consist of both doings and sayings, suggesting that analysis must be concerned with both practical activity and its representations" (Warde, 2005, p. 134). This definition equates sayings not just with discourse, but with representations of practice. It thus seems uncontroversial to argue that representations – whether in different kinds of media content, verbal articulations, text, photographs, or other forms – are part of practices just as much as embodied doings are.

Yet, representations – and discursive aspects of practices more broadly – rarely play a substantial part in analytical conceptualisations and empirical descriptions of practices; perhaps as a relic of practice theories' origin as a corrective to poststructuralism, cultural consumption studies, and other approaches (overly) fixated on representational, discursive and symbolic aspects of social life (Reckwitz, 2002; Welch et al., 2020). As Halkier observes, concepts such as discourse, cultural representation, and symbolic elements of consumption were "thrown out like babies with the bathwater" (Halkier, 2020, p. 400). This dissertation joins the efforts of other practice theorists to reintroduce these aspects conceptually, as they appear too important to be left out altogether, perhaps particularly in the context of young adults' vacations. In this pursuit, the dissertation focuses on mediatised representations of vacation practices on social media and their roles in maintaining and potentially changing the practices.

3.3.1. Theorising media content in practices

Existing practice theoretical scholarship has studied the role of media, discourses, and representations in practices in different ways. Halkier (2010a) describes the ways media are intertwined with everyday consumption and the contestation of it, describing that people's understandings of the practices they take part in are in many ways based upon representations in media, which amount to "medialised knowledges, medialised experiences and medialised discourses" (Halkier, 2010a, p. 1). These medialised – or mediatised – knowledges, experiences, and discourses thus help people understand, recognise, and perform practices in similar manners to practice performances of people they know personally. Promising as this line of argument is, the book mainly engages with mediatised discourses and does so in a relatively abstract form as part of the broader societal context for the studied food consumption practices.

Keller & Halkier build on this work by conceptualising media discourses as "symbolic

resources for carrying out everyday practices" (2014, p. 36). This understanding follows Giddens' structuration theory (1984) and defines media discourses as among the social resources and rules that constitute the structuring characteristics of the situations, practices, and contexts through which agency processes are produced and conditioned (Keller & Halkier, 2014, p. 39). As such, media discourses both constitute symbolic resources in their own right and condition the symbolic resources available in a given practice and context. This approach integrates media discourse into the analysis of different practices instead of approaching media consumption as a discrete activity in itself. For Keller & Halkier, media discourses thus become relevant to practices through the way practitioners can draw on them to position themselves and others through the practices they perform or in relation to particular practice elements. In the context of contested consumption, discourses can thus be used as a resource to consolidate the existing practice, or they can contradict existing ways of doing things and either be adopted and engaged in practice change or resisted (Keller & Halkier, 2014, pp. 43-44). This conceptualisation is useful and compelling, but it raises the question of whether media discourses and other practice-relevant representations only relate to the practice indirectly – as resources to be drawn on in situated performances which can thereby play a role in practice maintenance or change – or whether they might in themselves connect more directly with the practice entity, working to maintain or change it.

With an approach that seems to presuppose the possibility of a more direct connection, Jack (2020) analyses the interaction between media representations, conventions, and everyday practices. The study investigates the role of representations in constructing conventions, contending that representations have the potential to normalise more or less sustainable forms of consumption by settling into common-sense ideas that organise social reality (Jack, 2020). As such, the study seems to suggest that representations in various types of media have something of an effect of their own – an effect which plays in on situated performances, but which is not integrated into the practice through these situated performances alone, but also as a more direct effect on conventions that help organise practice entities.

A similar, and more explicit, understanding of media content as directly relevant to practices transpires in a study by Petersen (2020), combining a primary actor-network theory perspective with practice theories to conceptualise media content as articulations that interact with performances of social practices. This conceptualisation extends the ANT category of inscriptions – "the outcome of any process through which substances and dynamics are formed into

signs" – to a broader category of in-text, non-human actors which includes meaning units in media content (Petersen, 2020). These meaning units remain the same over distance and time and as such constitute actors of their own. Yet, perhaps due to the main emphasis on an ANT framework, the analysis only approaches them as actors in connection with elements in practitioners' situated performances. While this conceptualisation of meaning units as in-text, non-human actors usefully assigns a more active role to the media content, it still seems that this role only connects to elements in situated performances, not to the practice entity. As such, the media content's relation to the practice entity again seems to be indirect and realised through people's situated performances.

As described in this chapter's previous section, Laakso and colleagues (2021) have also studied social media content in a practice theoretical context, looking particularly at social media fora and conceptualising them as communities of practice that enable social learning processes that can facilitate climate-friendly practice change. In this conceptualisation, the media content is understood more directly as intertwined with practice, constituting communities of practice where practitioners engage with each other and learn new practices. However, the conceptualisation of the studied media content remains unclear, leaving some uncertainty about whether the studied discussions are understood as performative, e.g. as sayings involved in the social media users' performances, or, in similar terms as Keller & Halkier (2014), as more passive discursive resources to be drawn on in these performances.

The question remains, then, whether media content and other representations can in themselves be approached as something that actively relates to the practices – perhaps as a particular form of situated performance which thereby relates dialectically to the practice entity. Such an understanding resembles Petersen's conceptualisation (2020), but it conceptualises it more principally in a practice-theoretical framework and expands the conceptual reach to consider not just aspects – meaning units – of the representation. Instead, it posits that media representations can amount to situated performances of a practice as such, which relate to the practice entity as well as to practitioners' situated performances.

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, Schatzki describes media of communication as phenomena which "often decisively mediate changes in practices", constituting a dynamic for practice change in themselves (Schatzki, 2002, p. 250). His account of this dynamic is brief and not particularly operational, but it allegedly pertains to the wider context of connected practices – what he calls bundles, orders, and complexes – rather than changes in a single

practice, let alone a situated performance of one (Schatzki, 2002, p. 246). As such, his conceptualisation is not incompatible with an understanding of content in media of communication as having the potential to mediate changes in practices more actively than as a resource that can support changes in situated performances.

Social media content as performances

The media content this dissertation engages with can be described as a different kind of representation than those analysed in existing studies. It is, of course, different in the sense that it is content from social media rather than more conventional media – a point which will be addressed separately later in this section. But it is perhaps also different in the sense that it can be argued quite directly to depict or focus on the practices it relates to. It is not e.g. newspaper articles or documentaries describing the climate crisis, which give rise to climate change discourses that might then become integrated into performances of vacation practices. Rather, it is pictures, videos, and/or text that depict vacations more directly. Such kinds of representations are not particular to social media – in the context of vacations, they might e.g. also feature in travel sections of newspapers, in TV documentaries about the world's most scenic railway journeys, or in shows featuring a host travelling in particular locations. The content included in Jack's study (2020) belongs at least partly to the same category, as it includes magazine representations of activities and objects allegedly associated with cleanliness practices. These kinds of representations appear to have a closer relation to everyday practices. As such, it seems reasonable to consider whether they might articulate more than discourses which people can draw on in their performances – ultimately, whether such representations can amount to situated practice performances in themselves. This dissertation seeks to make this argument with a specific focus on social media, which have perhaps already blurred the distinction between situated performances and media representations, as capturing and sharing photos or videos is often part of both vacations and other practices.

Building on insights from existing practice-theoretical scholarship, this dissertation thus approaches social media content as a relevant resource for situated performances, but also as accomplishments that amount to performances of the practice in themselves. Just like the embodied performances that practice theoretical studies are usually concerned with, these mediatised performances must be approached and understood in their situated context – in this case, the environments of specific social media platforms with their characteristics, as well as in a broader ecology of media platforms and practices. And, again building on existing

understandings, the performances that these representations amount to can helpfully be understood through the ways they are engaged with in other performances, in similar manners as embodied performances can. The dissertation's approach thus shares the interest of existing approaches in studying how mediatised representations relate to situated performances – in this dissertation's context, how mediatised representations of vacations relate to young adults' situated performances of vacation practices. As such, it shares the pursuit of describing "through which specific processes and with which specific consequences such media discourses become, and remain, a part of consumption activities in everyday life" (Keller & Halkier, 2014). But in seeking to grasp these processes, it adds an additional dimension by also conceptualising representations articulated in media content as relating more directly to the practice entity, in the same dialectical manner as embodied situated performances.

As such, the dissertation conceives of social media content as a particular, situated performance of vacation practices. These performances are said and done in visual and discursive ways, and they need to be understood in terms of their context, i.e. the sociotechnical environments of social media platforms that they are intertwined with. But, similarly to other situated performances, they amount to nexuses of doings and sayings organised by materiality, teleoaffective structure, competences, and regulation – and analysing these doings, sayings, and organising elements as they transpire in the media content thus might provide insights into the practice as such.

Representations: A debated term

Mediatised representations are thus conceived of as a particular, situated form of performance of a practice, while it is at the same time a product of other and previously performed practices, e.g. a vacation practice of snapping a photo while lying on a bounty beach, an influencer practice of posing and taking a selfie in front of a splendid view, and media practices like editing the captured imagery, writing a caption, and uploading it to the given platform, perhaps including a few well-chosen hastags to help the algorithm pick it up. As such, the term *representations* does not imply that they are direct depictions or imprints of phenomena in the real world. Rather, it is a pragmatic umbrella term to capture different kinds of media content in which performances transpire. This explanation might seem superfluous, but it is worth highlighting since the question of representation has been raised in discussions of the visual in relation to material, digital, and other more-than-human aspects of visual technologies (Rose, 2022, p. 26). The understanding of representation that this critique challenges is

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connected with the 'cultural turn' that practice theories also emerged in reaction to. In this tradition, representation refers to an understanding of culture as a set of practices concerned with the production and exchange of meanings that structure people's everyday lives– and representation thus implies a cultural constructivist understanding of social life (Rose, 2022, p. 17). A representational understanding thus presupposes that images make some kind of reference to a world that pre-exists its picturing (Rose, 2022, p. 19). In contrast, approaches that reject representational perspective on images often rely on more-than-human perspectives inspired by Deleuze or Latour. Such approaches highlight the varied material and technological capacities and actions that underlie images and visual culture and which even saturate the visual to the point where an image "cannot be seen by an observing subject but rather is enacted via observation events distributed throughout and across devices, hardware, human agents and artificially networked architectures" (McKenzie & Munster, 2019, in Rose, 2022, p. 28). In approaching social media content as representations, this dissertation is thus not ascribing to a cultural approach to visuality. Despite its specific connotations in debates in visual research about the ontological character of images, the phrase "representations" is employed here as a more practical term embracing different kinds of social media content that has come into being in relation to vacation practices, or which is engaged in performances of such practices. Taking informed cues from more-than-human critiques of the notion of representation, the concept is employed in this dissertation's context to refer to mediatised content understood as both produced in and made relevant through social practices. As such, the meaning of a given photo or video – as of other aspects of social practices – is altered with context, circumstance, and changing events rather than fixed (Schatzki, 2002, p. 76).

To grasp more robustly the situated performances to which these representations amount, there is a need to conceptualise the interconnectedness of visuality and tourist practices and the social media platforms with which the representations are intertwined, respectively. As Warde contends, "there are many things that a theory of practice cannot do, or cannot do as efficiently as other approaches", which calls for practice-theoretical analyses to "re-engineer connections with other complementary accounts" (2014, p. 296). This dissertation thus invites complementary accounts which can conceptualise the interconnected and mutually constitutive relation between vacation practices and representations – namely the concept of the tourist gaze – and which conceptualise ontologically the social media platforms that constitute the situated context of these practice representations – namely literature conceptualising social media platforms in a sociomaterial framework.

3.3.2. The tourist gaze

The concept of *the tourist gaze* (Urry & Larsen, 2011) highlights the socially organised, systematised, and often very visual ways in which tourist experiences and places are constructed, imagined, performed, and reproduced. With its emphasis on discursive, visual, and networked representations of tourist places and phenomena as intertwined with tourism practices, it provides a good framework for the mutually constitutive relations between mediatised representations and vacation practices, and for the potential for change they might entail.

Drawing on Foucault's conceptualisation of the medical gaze (Foucault, 1976), gazing in Urry & Larsen's framework "refers to the 'discursive determinations' of socially constructed seeing or 'scopic regimes'" (2011, p. 2). Spanning more than just seeing, the tourist gaze also entails the ways tourists perceive, interpret, and engage with places, people, and experiences – all through a lens shaped by cultural expectations, media representations, and institutional discourses. The tourist gaze thus makes it clear that tourist practices are not just about travelling and leisure, but also about how places and experiences are perceived and produced through specific, socially constructed ways of seeing, which constitute this tourist gaze. As such, the tourist gaze emphasises how tourism is permeated by socially patterned and learnt ways of seeing – tourist gazes which are "tied to, and enabled by, various technologies, including camcorders, film, TV, cameras and digital images" (Urry & Larsen, 2011, p. 2). The tourist gaze thus highlights how tourism – or, in this dissertation's context, vacation practices – is both highly socially constructed and mediatised. The tourist gaze, they argue, is "constructed discursively and materially through images and performances of photography, and vice versa" (Urry & Larsen, 2011, p. 155). The technology and practice of photography are assigned a particularly central position in the development of the tourist gaze and the practices with which it is intertwined. Tourism and photography are described as "assembled together and they remake each other in an irreversible and momentous double helix" (Urry & Larsen, 2011, p. 165).

In a practice-theoretical framework, the tourist gaze in some ways resembles the teleoaffective structure of vacation practices, as it relates clearly to the orientations involved in a practice, the aesthetic and affective dimensions of it, and the social significance of participation in a given (vacation) practice at a certain point in time. At the same time, the tourist gaze is also described interchangeably as a performance, a learned ability, a set of practices, an embodied social practice, and as highly materially configured. As such, it does not sit straightforwardly

within one single practice-theoretical element or concept. I conceptualise the tourist gaze as a genealogy of how connections have been formed between elements of vacation practices – a genealogy which can account for some aspects of vacation practices and point out their sociocultural and historical development, and which points out in particular how differences and places are produced in practice, and how visual representations play an essential part.

In line with the dissertation's understanding of visuality, Urry & Larsen reject a representational understanding, highlighting that photographs are "performative objects" which have temporal and spatial duration, and thus constitute "'blocks of space-time' that have effects beyond the people or place or events to which they refer" (Urry & Larsen, 2011, p. 155). As such, photography and other forms of representations do not reflect or distort a pre-existing world but can rather be seen as a "technology of world making" which partly creates that which is photographed – culturally, socially, and materially (Urry & Larsen, 2011, p. 167). In making this world, it also makes difference or otherness – an effect which is central in tourism practices generally and which can particularly be seen in the historical construction of the Orient by western photographers (and, writers, politicians and scientists, creating a wider discourse of orientalism) (Said, 1978).

As the history of orientalism reflects, the tourist gaze is frequently directed towards the Global South, where local cultures and environments are positioned as objects of Western consumption. This has implications for representations of cultural heritage, authenticity, and identity, raising ethical concerns about the often-asymmetrical relationships between tourists and the visited host communities, and challenging narratives about cultural encounters which permeate at least some tourist gazes. Where the object of the tourist gaze is to observe the private lives of local people, e.g. Masai or Inuit people, it causes intrusion, objectification of hosts as part of the scenery, and, potentially, ensuing social conflict (Urry & Larsen, 2011, pp. 61-64). At the same time, Urry & Larsen emphasise that the tourist gaze is not only forced upon local people without agency; both local people and local organisations and companies also contribute to shaping the gaze through different forms of engagement or resistance, e.g. constructing sites of 'staged authenticity' (MacCannell, 1973) which accommodate the desires of tourists while protecting the locals from intrusion into their private lives (Urry & Larsen, 2011, p. 10).

The tourist gaze is not a singular or static phenomenon but manifests in multiple forms depending on the context and social dynamics at play. Urry and Larsen name various specific

types of tourist gazes. Apart from the broader, otherness-oriented tourist gaze described above, a specific gaze that transpires as relevant in the social media content is *the romantic gaze* which emphasizes solitude, natural beauty, and individual reflection, idealizing the serene and private experience of a specific place (Urry & Larsen, 2011, p. 19). The impact of this gaze in producing certain kinds of places through certain practices can, e.g., be seen in a viral Reddit post about "the social media queue" as seen at an outlook over New Zealand's Lake Wanaka (Aurify, 2018; Smith, 2021). The post juxtaposes a picture of a solitary silhouette posing in a presumably serene natural setting with a behind-the-scenes picture of the queue of people waiting to pose – alone – in similar pictures (Aurify, 2018). The juxtaposed pictures highlight both the produced character of the places associated with the romantic and other tourist gazes, their strong and socially shared significance in configuring and reproducing certain tourist practices, and the essential roles visual representations play in producing these places.
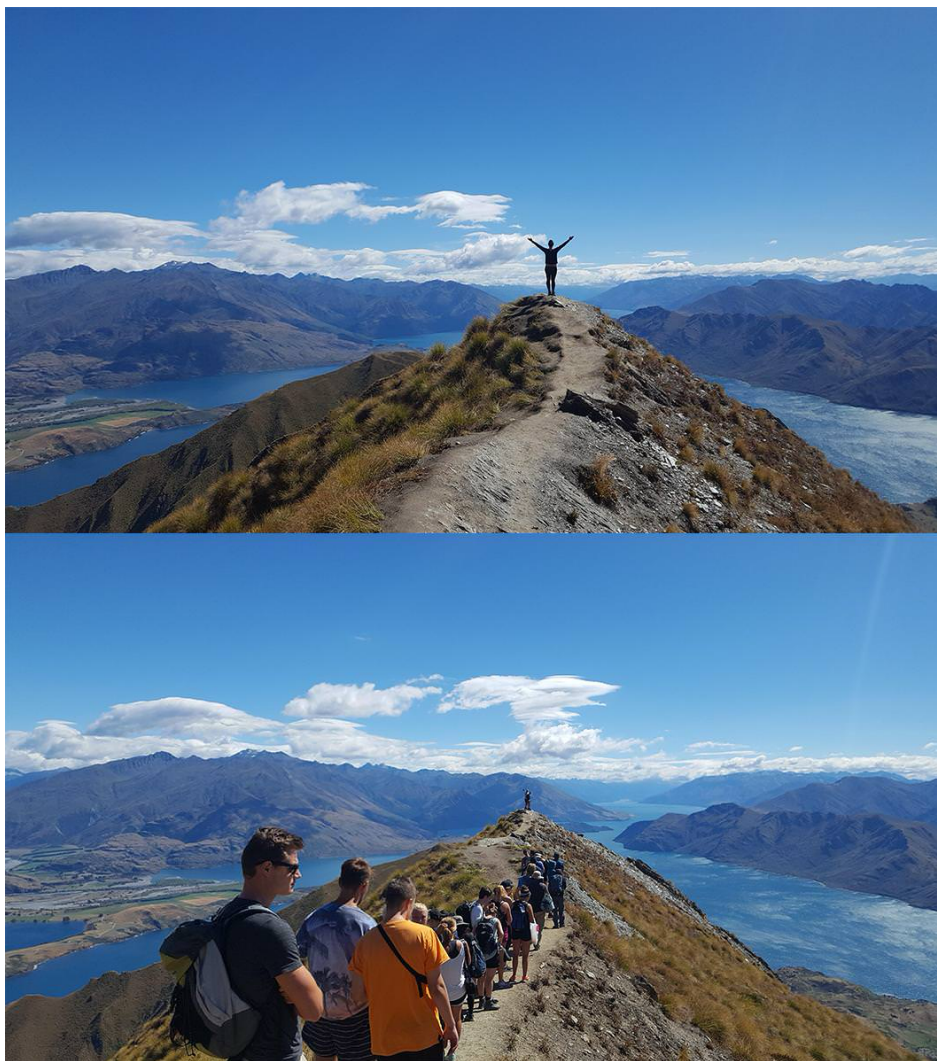

Figure 3 "The social media queue" as captured and posted by r/Aurify on Reddit (Aurify, 2018)

Across its different forms, Urry and Larsen argue that the tourist gaze is directed towards features and signs which work to construct and differentiate the tourist places and experiences in different ways – features which are often viewed with much more careful sensitivity than those available in the everyday context. Apart from being performed in the moment, the tourist gaze is often also "visually objectified or captured through photographs, postcards, films, models and so on. These enable the gaze to be reproduced, recaptured and redistributed over time and across space" (Urry & Larsen, 2011, p. 4). Social media content seemingly contributes to this dynamic, as a number of studies have described how vacation desires and experiences of the destination are influenced by social media content (Arts et al., 2021; Asdecker, 2022; Narangajavana et al., 2017).

In what makes for an interesting parallel to contemporary selfies, Urry & Larsen describe the use of one of the objects that have contributed to the development of the tourist gaze, namely the Claude glass; a pocket-sized mirror that could frame the scenery at hand: "The gazer stood with his/her back to the scene and consumed it through the petite mirror in which the reflected landscape was neatly trimmed and recomposed" (Urry & Larsen, 2011, p. 158). This practice co-evolved with a gaze in which nature was framed as a landscape picture – a dynamic which can be said to parallel contemporary dynamics in which particular conventions have also been found to transpire in how scenery is photographed, edited, and shared on social media (Arts et al., 2021; Smith, 2021).

The tourist gaze thus describes the processes and dynamics through which difference is produced in vacation practices. In particular, it highlights how these differences arise from the practices and objects of photography that vacation practices are intimately intertwined with, highlighting how representations of vacation practices are performative, world-making objects, not imprints of a pre-existing world. While the book does include a brief section on "digitisation and internetisation", it does not provide much insight into the ways these dynamics are affected by the contemporary landscapes of social media platforms. The next section surveys research on social media to conceptualise them and outline the kind of context they constitute for these performative, world-making representations of vacation practices.

3.3.3. Social media as a situated context

In some ways, social media resemble more traditional media and cultural curation forms, e.g. in formats resembling well-known video and text formats and in its function as a gatekeeper

which curates and circulates certain content to an often large and both temporally and spatially dispersed audience (Gillespie, 2016; Morris, 2015). But in other ways, it is very different; it is allegedly more democratic and pluralistic (Turner, 2010), it allows "ordinary people" to participate (Turner, 2010) and to perform and be (self-) portrayed in similar ways as celebrities (Marwick, 2015), and, as mentioned above, it is increasingly intertwined with a range of everyday practices (Burgess et al., 2018; Pink et al., 2015). At the same time, social media platforms are run commercially by large multinational corporations and gathering large volumes of information about users (Zuboff, 2019), relying on black-boxed algorithms which circulate context based on opaque codes (Christin, 2020), and home to a large range of influencers who resemble 'ordinary' consumers, but also feature commercial content to earn income (Duffy, 2020; Giles & Edwards, 2018). Thus, social media platforms are not a straightforward environment to research, and a clearly defined ontological and epistemological understanding of them is thus essential.

Social media as heterogeneous sociotechnical accomplishments

In the pursuit of studying vacation practices through performances conveyed in social media content, it is necessary to understand the situated context in which these performances occur – much as is the case with more classic embodied performances surveyed via participant observation, interviews, or other methods. This section describes the particular features about social media that can be expected to affect the kind of content that prevails here. As such, it seeks to conceptualise and describe the context that social media constitute for the practice performances of social media representations. The conceptualisation of social media here are mainly directed towards Instagram and TikTok, as they transpire as the most relevant platforms in the empirical data. As such, it focuses mainly on photo and video sharing platforms rather than e.g. texting and forum ones like Slack, WhatsApp or Reddit (Burgess et al., 2018).

As noted by Marres & Gerlitz, social media platforms "constitute a socio-technically heterogeneous phenomenon made up of technical and social entities *and* they enable the organisation and analysis of classic social formations such as community and society" (2018, p. 257). This definition provides a good starting point. Social media – and the content that prevails and circulates through them – are made up of a range of elements and actions; from the large data centres where data is stored and processed to the social uptake and engagement with these different platforms, the algorithms that curate and circulate certain content, the smartphone technology equipping everyone with a pocket-sized high-quality camera, the

platform-specific features that afford certain actions, the high-speed connections making platforms available even in remote areas, and the influencers and everyday people who create content that reaches smaller or larger volumes of users. All of these features shape the environments of social media and the kinds of practice they afford (Bucher & Helmond, 2018).

Social media representations are partly accomplished by the people – content creators and others – who perform the practices shown in the content, and who also perform the media practices involved in filming or photographing, editing, uploading, and circulating the content, as well as possibly engaging with user comments etc. (Couldry, 2012). But the representations are just as much achieved by the social media platforms and infrastructures that host, convey and circulate them; the different social media platforms as such with their interfaces, affordances and limitations for the content's formats and users' interactions with it; and the algorithms that underpin the circulation (or lack thereof) of different content (Pearce et al., 2018; Rogers, 2017).

These heterogeneous elements that make up the platforms must be considered to some extent to get a proper grasp on dynamics related to these platforms. In the context of this dissertation, where the aim of approaching social media content is to access the parts of everyday practices that play out on or in relation to these digital media and technologies (Pink et al., 2015), it is vital to understand the media platforms' impact on the content and the way young adults engage with it to determine which aspects of the representations are features of the vacation practices represented, and which are features of digital media practices, algorithmic dynamics, platform infrastructures, or other elements of the context social media constitute.

Conceptualising algorithms

Looking at the more technical-leaning side of the heterogeneous socio-technical phenomenon of social media platforms, an essential feature of the ways practices are represented and circulate via social media is the algorithms that underlie the platforms' operations and in many ways are their core infrastructure. Algorithms like those underlying social media are often described as "black boxes" due to the opacity of the data and code underlying these complex systems, which are kept secret by the companies that have developed them and for whom they constitute a valuable resource and a central part of the business model (Burrell, 2016; Christin, 2020; Pasquale, 2015). Furthermore, the workings of the codes and computations underlying algorithms constitute further sources for opacity, making them incomprehensible

to people without special insights – and even to single persons *with* insight into programming due to the vast scale and specificity of machine decision-making processes (Burrell, 2016). Critical social theory scholars have pointed out different ways these algorithmic logics reinforce problematic dynamics pertaining to race, surveillance, and neoliberalism (Benjamin, 2019; Pasquale, 2015; Zuboff, 2019). These studies point out important connections between algorithms and social organisation, highlighting the need to consider the influence and workings of algorithms and the platforms they underlie. However, they tend to consider these dynamics in rather general terms, and as such, situated and practical dynamics often escape the analysis. Ethnographic approaches have described these aspects, including from an everyday life perspective, studying how algorithmic systems interact with the practices and representations of people engaging with them, often including social media such as Facebook. Such studies e.g. explore and describe *algorithmic awareness* – users' awareness of algorithms' effect on encountered content (Eslami et al., 2015) – an *algorithmic imaginary* – "ways of thinking about what algorithms are, what they should be, how they function, and what these imaginations in turn make possible" (Bucher, 2016) – and *algorithmic gossip* – "communally and socially informed theories and strategies pertaining to recommender algorithms" (Bishop, 2019). All of these concepts highlight that algorithms are not a uniform, bounded entity with causal effects on people and practices, but rather a dynamic element in an ongoing accomplishment and negotiation of more or less digitised practices. Rather than understanding algorithms as black-boxed dynamics affecting representation, circulation, and performances of practices, I thus understand algorithms as complex sociotechnical infrastructures consisting of sequential, coded processes of computational data operations which are constantly interacting with practices – digital and otherwise – as well as with social imaginaries, materiality, competences, and other elements in and beyond the digital realm.

What does the infrastructure of algorithms mean for representations of practices in general and vacation practices in particular, then? Well, these algorithms seem to be a further source for the reproduction and routinisation of certain practices and their representations. As has been noted in other studies, algorithmic dynamics entail a strong degree of reproduction of already existing and widespread representations (Gillespie, 2016). This means that certain representations – certain forms of content, motifs, aesthetics, colours, frames, hashtags, etc. – are more likely to circulate and gain traction through these algorithmic platforms. This can be expected to further expand the dynamic of reproduction and routinisation of certain representations and practices. As it happens, vacation and travel content appears to be among the most

popular forms of content uploaded and circulated on social media platforms (Smith, 2018). On Instagram, the travel-related hashtag #wanderlust e.g. has more than 155 million hits, and on TikTok, a search for #traveltok yields almost 440 million posts.

While algorithms can thus be conceptualised according to these fundamental ontological and technical descriptions, they are at the same time constantly evolving phenomena where approaches and analyses can be outdated from day to day. Based on both this contention and the complexity and ambiguity of the sociotechnical infrastructures they constitute, it is helpful to supplement the conceptualisation of social media by considering empirically the platforms' *vernacular affordance* – the ways "people themselves understand affordances in their encounters with technology" (McVeigh-Schultz & Baym, 2015, p. 1). Such a perspective highlights how social media algorithms, platforms, and practices are not fixed and delimited but rather experienced and employed in relation to a complex ecology of other tools with other affordances – or, in the terms of this dissertation, in relation to other everyday life practices that partly take place via or interact with social media platforms and actions. A vernacular affordance perspective on social media thus posits that the affordances of a social media platform cannot be determined once and for all, but instead must be informed by users' perceptions and experiences (Bucher & Helmond, 2018) – or perhaps rather, the social practices in which the platform is engaged. As such, considering the particular practices and social understandings that relate to the social media in question is an important aspect of grasping the relational and multi-directional character of the sociotechnical assemblages that social media platforms constitute (Bucher & Helmond, 2018). To empirically anchor the conceptualisation of social media platforms in practice-theoretical terms provided here, the dissertation employs digital ethnography to survey the roles social media play in the young adults' vacation practices and thereby sharpen the understandings of the situated context the social media constitute for representations of vacation practices. But to get a proper grasp of the vernacular affordances of social media, they should also be conceptualised according to another important form of practices that they are permeated by, namely those of social media influencers.

Conceptualising influencer content

The social media content featured in the dissertation's sample is created mainly by social media influencers. Such influencers – or the practices of social media influencing – thus constitute another relevant aspect of social media as the situated context for mediatised performances of vacation practices.

Social media influencers can be described as a specific form of content creators on digital media who are discernible due to their "significant online following, distinctive brand persona, and patterned relationships with commercial sponsors" (Duffy, 2020, p. 1). The communities and practices of influencers vary widely. Many produce their content and personal brand across the wider social media ecology, while others focus on one or few selected platforms, with Instagram in particular seeming to afford influencer marketing (Duffy, 2020; Giles & Edwards, 2018). Typically, influencers derive their popularity through crafting an image as "ordinary" persons and consumers, which contributes to their credibility as a trusted source of advice – a feature which has made them central figures in marketing (Giles & Edwards, 2018; Gretzel, 2017). As such, influencers are often described as establishing their value through authenticity and connectedness, as opposed to traditional celebrities whose celebrity builds mainly on exclusiveness (Gretzel, 2017). At the same time, the commercial aspect of their prac-

Instagram: Visual and widely used

Instagram was launched in 2010 as an app for sharing pictures with friends and has since grown to one of the world's most popular social media platforms, owned today by Meta (Laestadius, 2016). It is the second-most used social media among Danes, used by 86% of 20-24-year-olds (Danmarks Statistik, 2023b). Apart from uploading and editing photos and videos, the platform's features include comments, searchable hashtags and location tags, direct messages, and *stories* – ephemeral, or temporary, posts that can only be seen by other users within 24 hours after posting (Bainotti et al., 2021; Laestadius, 2016). Instagram is particularly popular with teenagers and young adults (Duggan, 2015, in Laestadius, 2016). Instagram has been described as intertwined with influencer practices and "selfies" due to its visual focus (Giles & Edwards, 2018). The platform's rich and very visually focused data necessitates research approaches combining visual imagery with captions, hashtags, and comments (Laestadius, 2016).

tices is an equally central characteristic of influencers, and there is often no attempt to disguise the fact that these practices have a commercial component (Giles & Edwards, 2018). The content also intersects with a range of other, less media-specific practices, from fashion and beauty to health, food, lifestyle, and even rock climbing (Giles & Edwards, 2018, p. 159). Influencers have also gained a notable position within travel and tourism, particularly on Instagram (Gretzel, 2017).

Influencers' practices and content thus differ from that of "ordinary" people in certain ways, and they are sometimes criticised for providing highly staged and "inauthentic" reflections (Giles & Edwards, 2018). This is connected with careful practices of curation, editing, and staging, and while these are perhaps particularly salient for influencers, they also pertain more broadly to platforms like Instagram (Duffy, 2020). As the dissertation's conceptualisation of social media as complex sociotechnical assemblages makes clear, it does not expect social media content to provide a neutral peephole into real-world practices. They are more

complex accomplishments, and as such, the question of their authenticity becomes redundant. But their relation to the practices young adults participate in is important if they are to be approached as performances which can provide additional insight into the embodied practices performed by young adults. Considering these editing, staging, and curating practices that are part of the accomplishment of the content, is it then really vacation practices – and the same vacation practices as the young adults – this social media content is performing?

The distinction between influencers and "ordinary" people is blurry, and the sociotechnical assemblages that social media and Instagram in particular constitute afford similar forms of practice and content for celebrities, influencers, and "ordinary" people alike (Marwick, 2015). Many influencers themselves started out as regular users who then gained a larger traction (Gretzel, 2017), further blurring the distinction. And TikTok affords a different and more "entertaining and accessible" influencer persona rather than the "staging of an 'Instagrammable' lifestyle that was aspirational and pristine" (Abidin, 2020, p. 83), contributing to a further blurring of the distinction.

As such, this social media content must at least be approached as very particular kinds of performances. They have come into being in part through the described influencer practices of staging, framing, perhaps setting lights, and photographing, as well as of selecting, editing, and captioning the chosen image. To a large extent, they are likely to perform "an idealised reality" (Giles & Edwards, 2018). As such, their accomplishment

TikTok: Addictive interface and viral storytelling
TikTok was launched in 2017 as an international version of the Chinese short-video platform Douyin (Zeng et al., 2021). It merged with the popular app Musical.ly in 2018, helping it gain enormous popularity, particularly among youth in Europe and the US and UK – a popularity that was further boosted during the COVID-19 global pandemic (Zeng et al., 2021). The platform originally featured video content between 15 and 60 seconds, but content can now be up to 60 minutes (TikTok). The platform's algorithm has a strong focus on virality, and its main interface – the For You Page (FYP) – is "one of the most addictive scrolling experiences on the Internet" (Zeng et al., 2021, p. 3163). For this and other reasons, including concerns about its Chinese ownership, TikTok has faced controversy and been banned temporarily or permanently in several countries (Zeng et al., 2021). The platform is centred around single viral posts via the FYP rather than following particular accounts, leading content creators to adapt to trends and viral practices rather than maintain a coherent style (Abidin, 2020). It has reconfigured the roles of influencers away from "'picture perfect' content, and towards more personalized disclosures and storytelling, which highlights their continued role as opinion leaders alongside being amplifiers of sponsored messages" (Abidin, 2020, p. 84).

relies both on the social media platform infrastructures and on central influencer practices of e.g. "careful impression-management and deliberate acts of self-branding" (Duffy, 2020). Following Couldry (2012), these are the kinds of media practices that have helped produce

the content. However, my conceptualisation still maintains that while these practices are part of the accomplishment of the content, it is not necessarily these practices that the content *performs* upon circulation and encounters with users on social media. The content evidently makes for quite particular kinds of performances, but it can nevertheless still perform the same vacation practices that young adults participate in.

This conceptualisation may be criticised for naively taking the content at face value and being negligent of the stark commercial and capitalistic mechanisms that underpin these influencer practices and the content they produce. Such mechanisms are evidently part of the influencer industry and may validly be problematised, and this operationalisation does not seek to underplay this aspect. However, it also doesn't grant it sole priority but rather seeks to nuance it as one of several features that permeates the content and its roles in practices. Idealised, inauthentic, and permeated by capitalist logics as the practices underpinning its creation can be made out to be, the influencer content arguably still performs vacation practices in ways that relate both to ordinary young adults' performances and to the practice as entity. It is thus in this way that they will be approached in the following.

3.3.4. Partial conclusion: Social media content as practice performances

This section has argued for the general relevance of considering media content when studying practices and practice change, and for the particular relevance of considering (social) media content when studying young adults' vacation practices. In so doing, it has engaged with existing practice-theoretical conceptualisations of media discourse and other forms of mediatised content in relation to practice reproduction and change. Based on these efforts, it has pointed out the relevance of media discourses and meaning units as a resource in situated practice performances.

Building on this insight, it has further argued that mediated representations do not only convey discourses or meaning units that can become relevant to practices by being engaged in situated performances, but that they can also amount to performances of practices in their own right. This argument has been made with particular focus on vacation practices and social media. This conceptualisation helps to operationalise potential dynamics through which media of communication can "decisively mediate changes in practices" (Schatzki, 2002)

Engaging with the concept of the tourist gaze, this conceptualisation argues that practices and objects of photography and other forms of representations are intimately intertwined with the

development, performance, and social understandings of vacation practices, and that representations have thus already been found to play an important role in not only maintaining and circulating particular vacation practices, but also in (re-)producing them. Based on Urry & Larsen's (2011) genealogy of the tourist gaze, this interconnection seems to emphasise the role of difference in vacation practices.

Directing the conceptualisation of representations as performances specifically to the context of vacation practices and social media, this section finally conceptualised social media platforms as the situated contexts of these mediatised performances and sought more particularly to characterise and outline what kind of a situated context they constitute. Acknowledging the complex composition of social media, it conceptualised them as sociotechnical accomplishments which involve both particular material and digital infrastructures and processes, a range of different media practices, and complex interplays between the two. Considering in particular the sociotechnical infrastructures of algorithms and the media practices of influencers, it described the situated context of social media as a highly particular context which favours practice reproduction and idealised representations. While this context makes for particular kinds of performances, it is still argued that the representations that prevail here can be said to perform vacation practices in ways that have impacts on the situated performances of young adults and on the practice entity more directly. Grasping these performances in themselves can be supported through the ways they relate to young adults' situated performances, which the dissertation will explore. But they can arguably also be analysed by considering the doings, sayings, and practice elements that transpire in the content itself. Based on the conceptualisation here, the dissertation will pursue both approaches through digital ethnography. This analysis will be folded out in Chapter 7. Before that, the conceptualisation of learning in practices that the middle part of this chapter amounted to will form the basis of an analysis of learning dynamics on the young adults' trajectories in Chapter 6. And, as the first analysis chapter, Chapter 5 outlines the vacation practices according to the practice-theoretical conceptualisation that started out this chapter. But first, the methodology that underlies these analyses will be described in the following chapter

4. Methodology

This chapter describes the research design and methodology on which the study is based. It starts by outlining the research design broadly, describing the roles and purposes of the study's different parts, how these parts are related, and in which ways they supplement each other. After this outline, the chapter describes the approach and methodological choices pertaining to each of the study's empirical parts. It describes the criteria and approach for recruiting participants and the characteristics of the sample, outlining its impact on the generalisability of the findings. Afterwards, it moves on to the interview approach, describing the longitudinal qualitative design and detailing how interviews were conducted. The following section describes the focus groups and the way they were approached. Then, the digital ethnography approach is described. And finally, ethics and data management considerations are described. The second part of the chapter outlines how the analysis and coding of the produced empirical data have been conducted. The approaches are described in detail, as are their advantages and limitations. Finally, the third part of the chapter describes and discusses what the research design and methodological choices mean for the validity and generalisability of the study's results. Here, my positionality and its role in the study are also discussed.

4.1. Research design

Practice theories have served as the guiding framework for the research design of this study and have been integral both in the selection of methods for producing data and in the development of the conceptual framework that transpired in and through the coding and analysis of data. While a practice theoretical approach does not entail specific methodologies (Shove, 2017), it nevertheless involves certain foundational epistemological understandings which have important consequences for the research design. Most centrally, a practice theoretical approach inherently means that the analytical gaze is directed towards social practices rather than, e.g., the reflections, justifications, or phenomenological experiences of individuals, or the quantifiable impacts of certain structural factors. The effect of this epistemology is pronounced in studies of consumer culture, which have otherwise often focused on consumers' choices, values, self-identities, or positions within fields (Halkier & Jensen, 2011). Placing practices at the centre of scientific enquiry leads to different forms of questions. It has also directed the choice of methods and the research design, as the following sections will reflect.

Overall, the project is based on an abductive, ideographic research design (Blaikie, 1993; Halkier, 1998; Thomas, 2010). Abduction as a research logic suggests "leading away" in the sense of producing new theoretical insights based on surprising empirical findings, thus leading the researcher away from old theoretical insights and into new and more attuned ones (Peirce et al., 1974; Timmermans & Tavory, 2012). An abductive research process is characterised by recurrent dialectic iterations between theory and data to generate the best possible account of the empirical findings, while concurrently adjusting theoretical understandings and concepts to provide the fullest account of the encountered empirical context. This recursive process pushes data against existing theories and often points out additional dimensions, misguided preconceptions, and the need to adjust or further conceptualise aspects of the theoretical descriptions (Timmermans & Tavory, 2012). The findings are thus the outcome of ongoing movements between theoretical and empirical material, which inform one another in the search for analytical, exemplary knowledge.

Such an abductive approach has characterised the relation between the study's theoretical underpinnings and the different methods for empirical data production and analysis. Throughout, the project's practice theoretical ontology and epistemology have informed and helped structure the approach and thus the data production. At the same time, the emerging findings have led to adjustments in the theoretical framework and conceptualisations.

The research design is based on a combination of three different methods for data production: longitudinal semi-structured interviews, focus groups, and digital ethnography involving social media content sampling. These three methods have served each their purpose in the study, but they also overlap, inform and provide correctives to one another and push against the theories in different ways. Each will be described in more detail in later sections, but their purpose and internal relations are outlined briefly in the following.

Briefly put, the longitudinal interviews serve to get a thorough grasp of situated performances and possible changes in vacation practices by surveying them closely with the young adults across two temporal points. They have been conducted in a longitudinal design with one round set during spring 2023[5] and a second round set during autumn 2023. The purpose was to have a high likelihood of at least one vacation in between the two rounds, enabling the interviews both to approach the practice *prospectively*, grasping the planning process and

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[5] Two of these interviews were conducted in autumn 2022 as a pilot study.

expectations for the summer vacation beforehand, and *retrospectively* to look back at the practice as it played out (Neale, 2016). This way, the interviews served to generate thorough descriptions of practice performances which could help elucidate the practice as entity as well as showcase situated variations. In addition to getting a closer grasp of the practice, this longitudinal design enabled possible learning processes, practice trajectories and changes to transpire in the data – a purpose for which longitudinal qualitative interviews are particularly useful (Hermanowicz, 2013).

The focus groups served a separate but related purpose. Whereas interviews focused on situated practice performances as they temporally unfold and change, the focus groups served to capture socially shared understandings and imaginaries of vacation practices more broadly. The purpose of the focus groups was thus to give insight into the practice-as-entity of vacation practices as represented in discourse, shared understandings, and archetypical configurations recognisable to all or most practitioners. Furthermore, the focus groups served to elicit possible negotiations of socially acceptable practice – particularly with a focus on acceptable practice in light of climate change, but also more broadly about what kinds of vacations are socially desirable, what requires explanation, and which forms of explanations are valid. Focus groups are a beneficial method for elucidating such negotiations (Halkier, 2010b).

The digital ethnography again served a separate, but related purpose to the two former methods. Digital ethnography is a useful approach to grasping the ways digital media and technology are embedded in the routines and practices of everyday lives, as well as in social and cultural life more widely (Pink et al., 2015). Constituting a separate part of the interviews and focus groups, the digital ethnography focused on grasping how social media platforms and content form and make up part of young adults' vacation practices. The digital ethnography sought to elicit descriptions of social media use connected with situated practice through the interviews and, more broadly, social understanding and acceptance of social media use through discussions and articulations in the focus groups. In addition to the young adults' accounts, the digital ethnography compiled specific content that the young adults engaged with and were inspired by, which was subject to multimedia analysis, supplementing the young adults' descriptions with mediatised representations of vacation practices.

Some might argue that practices are more helpfully grasped through observations of actual practice than through the methods applied in this study. However, this assumption conceals the entangled nature of social life and the interpretation involved in making sense of it,

regardless of whether through participant observation, interviews, focus groups, or other methods (Atkinson & Coffey, 2003). Observing practices might conceal as much as it hides without explanation or context provided by the participants in the practice. Furthermore, it can be argued that both observations, interviews, and focus groups generate social action, but in different contexts and thus of different forms (Halkier & Jensen, 2011). As such, both focus groups and interviews require attention to the data's socially produced, co-constructive character and its impact on the conclusions that can be drawn about the investigated practices. However, when approached and analysed accordingly, they are every bit as helpful in studying practice as participant observation, depending on the research question (Halkier & Jensen, 2011; Kvale & Brinkmann, 2015). Following this understanding, I have understood and approached the empirical data as something generated through these methods in interaction between the researcher and the participants, rather than as collected bits of reality. This way, the generated data is approached as socially constructed – a feature which is not considered a methodological error, but rather an inevitable feature of social science, calling for appropriate methodological and analytical precautions.

The concrete employment of each method is described in more detail shortly, and the second part of the chapter describes the approaches for analysing the empirical data generated by these methods. First, the criteria and approach for recruiting participants are outlined, along with descriptions of the underlying rationales and the informant composition in the eventual sample.

4.1.1. Recruitment and informant composition

The project's sample consists of 36 Danes between the ages of 18 and 29 from different parts of Denmark, who exhibit varied backgrounds in various ways. The group of informants have been purposively sampled for maximum variation according to gender, age within the selected span, urbanisation, geography, educational background, current occupation, ties abroad, and degree of climate concern. All of these criteria have been observed to ensure broad variation on variables which are likely to have an impact on vacation practices and the ways they might be affected by climate change, increasing the likelihood that the vacation practices and change dynamics identified are shared by young Danes beyond the sample.

Gender is consistently found to affect the degree of climate concern (Ballew et al., 2023; Elert & Lundin, 2022; Gundelach et al., 2012), and educational background and urbanisation

have been found to affect climate concern and carbon emissions from traveling (Czepkiewicz et al., 2018; Weckroth & Ala-Mantila, 2022). In practical terms, occupation impacts the framework surrounding vacations, e.g. the possible length and timing of time off from work or studies, and the economic basis for vacations. Having family or other ties abroad will also likely affect patterns and frequency of trips abroad. Young adults with children were excluded, as becoming a parent has been found to affect mobility and holiday practices and would therefore constitute a possible source of distortion of the results (Falk & Hagsten, 2021; McCarthy et al., 2021).

Variation on the degree of climate concern was pursued through the above attributes. The variation in the sample was assessed based on the informants' own descriptions of their climate concern in interviews and focus groups. As the sample turned out to reflect less climate-friendly practice change than expected, an additional focus group was conducted, consisting of young adults engaged in climate activism. This focus group served as a critical case to test that the emerging patterns were not caused by a lower degree of climate concern in the sample than assessed, but rather reflected dynamics in how the climate crisis relates to vacation practices. The dynamics transpiring in this focus group were consistent with the broader sample, contributing to a sense of saturation in the data (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

The recruitment itself happened as purposive sampling through a combination of channels. Informants were mainly recruited through varied and geographically dispersed educational institutions, which were identified and selected based on their expected correspondence to the criteria described above. In a direct sense, different forms of education were targeted, including high schools, folk high schools, vocational education, and universities. The specific institutions of each type were selected to ensure geographic variation, with different parts of the country, varying degrees of urbanisation, and municipalities with lower and higher average disposable incomes represented (Danmarks Statistik, 2023a; Engmann, 2019).

Sampling based on educational institutions was particularly employed for focus group participants, as it allowed for network focus groups of people who shared a frame of reference (Halkier, 2018). Contact mostly happened through a gatekeeper, e.g. a teacher or administrative officer. Such reliance on gatekeepers has the disadvantage of reducing control over the project's framing. Generally, the vacation focus of the study was emphasised while downplaying or omitting the climate focus to avoid recruitment bias towards climate-engaged individuals, except when purposively sampling for it. However, some gatekeepers highlighted the

climate aspect to potential informants. While this might have skewed the sample towards more climate-concerned informants, varying degrees of climate concern transpired in the interviews and focus groups, indicating that this effect was limited.

Additional informants were recruited through extended network, a Facebook group, and a climate activism movement, as some perspectives appeared underrepresented. As mentioned, one focus group (focus group six) consisted of climate activists and was recruited to ensure that the emergent lack of climate-friendly practice change did not reflect an under-representation of climate-concerned young adults in the sample. Another, focus group five, targeted a specific type of high school, HF, with a generally higher share of people from homes with lower education and migrant backgrounds (EVA, 2024). This context was targeted to ensure variation in family ties abroad and sociodemographic background. Furthermore, one informant from Northern Jutland was recruited to include this geographical perspective, and an informant with train travel experience was purposively sampled. Based on these efforts, the sample varied on all of the abovementioned variables. While the sample is evidently too small for any talk of representativity to be relevant, the variation nevertheless supports the analytical generalisability of the findings to Danish young adults more broadly, as will be discussed in the end of this chapter. The informant composition can be seen in table 1.

TABLE 1. INFORMANT COMPOSITION

Pseudonym	Interview/ focus group no.	Age	Gender	Education	Region of residence*	Urban/ rural setting**	Additional relevant variables
Jens, Mikkel	FG1	21-23	M	Folk high school 1	Central Jutland	Rural	
Jasper, Simone, Frederik	FG2	20-22	F + M	Folk high school 1	Central Jutland	Rural	
Lina	IW1	21	F	Folk high school 1	Central Jutland	Rural	
Emil, Laura, Ditte, Kamma, Mathilda	FG3, IW2 (Emil), IW3 (Laura)	19-24	F + M	Folk high school 2	Capital	Rural	Climate concern (climate-focused course)
Tenna, Christine, Rasmus, Jack, Nicklas, Theo, Mia	FG4	17-26	F + M	Vocational school	Southern Denmark	Rural	
Flora	IW4	28	F	University college 1 (graduate)	Capital	Urban	
Simon	IW5	25	M	University college 2	Southern Denmark	Urban	
Alfred	IW6	23	M	University 1	Capital	Urban	
Julija	IW7	19	F	High school 1	Northern Jutland	Urban	Family ties abroad
Stella	IW8	23	F	University 2	Central Jutland	Urban	
Isabel, Lærke, Silvia, Stine, Tina, Sophia, Esther, Yrsa, Malthe, Nikolaj	FG5	18-22	F + M	High school 2 (HF)	Capital	Urban	Educational background + family ties abroad
Vera, Caroline, Maria	FG6	19-20	F	Gap year	Southern Denmark	Urban	Climate concern (climate activism)

* Denmark consists of five regions: Capital, Zealand, South Denmark, Central Jutland, and Northern Jutland.

** Urban settings are defined as cities with >20.000 inhabitants; rural settings are towns or areas with < 20.000 inhabitants (Danmarks Statistik, 2023a).

4.1.2. Interview methodology

A core component of the research design has been in-depth, semi-structured interviews with young adults to explore their situated practices. This method is commonly employed in empirical practice-theoretical studies exploring social practices generally and vacation practices specifically (e.g. Halkier & Jensen, 2011; Petersen, 2013; Randles & Mander, 2009b; Volden & Hansen, 2022). Interviewing was deemed suitable in this case not just because it was impossible, or at least highly demanding for both me and the participants, to observe actual vacation practices, but because interviews enabled grasping more fully the vacation practices' configurations, including the meanings, orientations and affectivity involved and the ways elements connected in the young adults' situated contexts. Furthermore, it enabled tracing trajectories and dynamics of e.g. learning, inspiration and planning, which are often spread out in time and place (Schatzki, 2017).

As mentioned, the interviews were conducted in a longitudinal design spanning two interview rounds with each participant, with a period of 6-12 months between – a window of time which coincided with the summer vacation. In longitudinal research designs, the same or compatible forms of data are collected about the same object of study across two distinct periods or more, and the analysis involves comparison of data across time periods (Hermanowicz, 2013, p. 189). Qualitative longitudinal research can be designed in different ways, with various methods employed for data production and different temporal intervals in between data points according to the research questions and context (Saldaña, 2003). Their overall usefulness is in giving insights into change processes and dynamics in people's lives through temporal shifts (Thomson & McLeod, 2015). A common defining characteristic of qualitative longitudinal research is that it "provides access to the 'interior logic' of lives, discerning how change is created, negotiated, lived and experienced" (Neale, 2016, p. 9). As such, qualitative longitudinal interviews are essential for studying how people experience, interpret, and respond to change (Hermanowicz, 2013). It was therefore found valuable for grasping potential practice changes or learning dynamics. While a longer interval between interviews might have showed larger changes and learning processes, the interval of 6-12 months between the two interviews was chosen because it allowed for at least one vacation in between the two rounds, enabling change and learning dynamics to transpire while also being feasible within the three-year timeframe of the PhD.

The longitudinal design in this case entailed two somewhat different question guides for the

two rounds. For the first round, a uniform, semi-structured question guide was employed for all informants, spanning four themes with sub-questions to generate in-depth accounts of situated practice and trajectories (see Appendix 1). The four themes corresponded with the theoretical and thematic outset of the study, while the semi-structured format enabled openness to other possible themes or aspects that emerged from the participants' different perspectives. The four themes pertained to the informant's most recent vacation practice, learning dynamics, media content, and climate considerations. It was a conscious methodological choice to place questions about climate concern towards the end of the interview to minimise potential social desirability effects (Holden & Passey, 2009), seeking a more balanced impression of climate concern's role in the practice configurations. Furthermore, introducing climate considerations earlier might have led to rationales and justification not inherent to the practice's configuration. As such, prioritising more practice-oriented questions was a way of exploring embodied, routinised, material, and socially situated performances. As such, it allowed their central features – including climate concern, if relevant – to transpire from the participants' perspective without forcing climate considerations on them a priori. Introducing the climate crisis as a theme towards the end enabled me and the participants to explore possible connections that participants might not have been aware of. Furthermore, it generated arguments and rationales that could elicit sayings, meanings and orientations inherent in the practice, but ensured that other aspects also received due attention.

In the second interview, some questions remained the same as in the first round, allowing for comparison between the two data points. In addition, it included questions about each participant's particular planned vacation and the themes most salient in the first interview. Additionally, the informants were asked what they thought explained a finding from the CliFVac project's survey, which was conducted between the interview rounds and showed that many young adults generally want to take climate considerations, but not particularly in their vacations (Petersen et al., 2024). This question served to qualify the interpretation of the survey results, but also provided a salient opportunity to relate the participants' own performances to wider practice entities amongst young adults. An example of a second-round interview guide can be seen in Appendix 2.

As such, the first round of interviews allowed for analysis across the different participants, while the second round was intended more specifically for comparison with the first interview to illuminate the practice trajectory and learning dynamics as they occurred in each

participant's situated context. Such flexibility is one of the advantages of qualitative longitudinal interviews (Hermanowicz, 2013, p. 198).

Apart from grasping change dynamics, the longitudinal design also served as a valuable way of grasping vacation practices, which, as noted in the definition of vacations as practices in section 3.1.3, are comprehensive and unfold over a relatively long time. The longitudinal design meant that the interviews could capture both the planning and anticipation of the vacations, which might in hindsight have been overshadowed by the vacation itself, and that they also captured the ways young adults narrated memories after the vacation. As such, the longitudinal design enabled what Neale (2016, p. 5) describes as oscillating between a prospective temporal perspective, following "the same people in 'real time' capturing changes and continuities as they occur and anticipating them in the future", and a retrospective perspective, which "explores dynamic processes through hindsight". This aspect of the design had the further advantage of enabling me to capture changes between planned practice and how it turned out, providing a better grasp of the dynamics of coordination, improvisation, and more or less routinised responses to unpredictable or unforeseen events.

Both rounds of interviews were conducted in keeping with the constructivist approach described above, taking the participants seriously as co-creators of knowledge while remaining conscious of my role in this process (Holstein & Gubrium, 2003; Kvale & Brinkmann, 2015). Observing the inherently constructed character of interview data, the employed approach included open questions and active listening. I actively sought to achieve a common understanding and test emerging interpretations in an open manner to minimise misinterpretation and take informants seriously as co-creators of knowledge (Holstein & Gubrium, 2003; Kvale & Brinkmann, 2015; Louw et al., 2011; Sayer, 1992). Conscious of the asymmetrical dynamics between interviewer and interviewee, it was a conscious strategy to explain the interview's form and purpose to make participants understand the interview setting and feel at ease. On the other hand, the introduction and the question guide were set up not to reveal specific interests, such as social media and climate concern, from the beginning, thus working to counteract expectations of normativity or special focus from the informants to minimise social desirability effects (Holden & Passey, 2009). Instead, the open-ended and explorative form sought for more open co-explorations of issues and aspects that emerged from the participants' experiences. When a common understanding seemed to appear in the interview, I attempted to summarise it and test my interpretation in the interview to minimise

misinterpretation and practice active listening (Louw et al., 2011). In correspondence with the study's practice theoretical ontology, questions were oriented towards descriptions of practice rather than explanations of rationales and considerations. As such, questions sought to focus on concrete instances and activity, e.g. asking "What was your most recent vacation like?", and following up with questions intended to provide more details, such as "What did you do?", "How did you get there?", and "How did you plan it?". These lines of inquiry produced detailed descriptions of practice, including the elements entailed, the ways they were connected, and the connections to previous and adjacent practices in the participant's trajectory.

I conducted all interviews – two of them with a colleague from the project as a second interviewer. In the first round of interviews, all but two interviews were conducted face to face. Face-to-face interviews were favoured to build rapport with the participants, but online video interviews were employed when preferred by participants. The locations of the face-to-face interviews were chosen depending on the participants' preferences, with the standard criteria that they should be quiet spaces convenient for the participant without the risk of interference from others. Some interviews were conducted in the participants' homes, while others were conducted in separate rooms at their educational institutions.

For the second round, all interviews were conducted via online video services in agreement with the participants. These interviews were shorter, lasting between 25 and 45 minutes, and due to the shorter time frame and because rapport had previously been established, online video interviews were deemed appropriate. The employed platforms were Microsoft Teams or Zoom, depending on the participants' preference and familiarity.

4.1.3. Focus group methodology

In addition to the longitudinal interviews, six focus groups were conducted, constituting another central source of empirical data. Focus groups were useful because they allow for studying how people engage in collective sense-making (Wibeck et al., 2007). As such, they were employed to elucidate how young adults collectively make sense of vacation practices, including their relation to the climate crisis. The focus groups were thus designed and conducted with the aim of elucidating descriptions of emblematic, socially recognisable practice entities, of eliciting expressions of the socially shared meanings, understandings and imaginaries organising these practices, and of generating negotiations of acceptable and expectable practice (Halkier, 2017). This way, the focus groups supplemented the interviews by

generating descriptions of the practice entity and showing ongoing negotiations of socially acceptable practice (Halkier, 2010b). Two focus group participants also participated in interviews, which supported analytical connections between understandings and negotiations expressed in focus groups and the situated practices that transpired from the interview data.

The focus groups were aimed at around five participants, which has been proposed as an optimal number to promote group discussion and provide all participants with opportunities to participate (Wibeck et al., 2007). However, due to reliance on gatekeepers and the often-unpredictable realities of the young adults' everyday lives, participant numbers varied between two and eight. The focus groups were constructed so participants shared a frame of reference, varying from being roommates or friends to taking the same courses or having met in the same educational institution. This was deemed a good way to ensure a certain extent of shared experiences, which is described as enhancing the exchange of ideas and thoughts in focus groups (Jarrett, 1993). At the same time, this level of relation allowed for a degree of heterogeneity among participants, enabling observation of "not only how people theorize their own point of view but how they do so in relation to other perspectives" (Kitzinger, 1994, p. 113). As such, the focus groups aimed at enabling arguments and counter-arguments to be elaborated on and co-constructed by the participants (Wibeck et al., 2007).

Semi-structured question guides were employed, which aimed at bringing out socially shared understandings and normative orientations and showing the degree to which the practices were recognisable to other practitioners (Warde, 2013), as well as dynamics of negotiation and normative positioning (Halkier, 2010b). Parallel to the interviews, the question guides comprised four overarching themes: *defining vacations*, *learning new vacation practices*, *social media*, and *climate concern*. The questions were open, allowing participants to imbue the discussions with their perspectives of relevant aspects and considerations. The opening question was simply "what characterises a vacation?", followed by "What makes a vacation good?", and these two questions often generated long and fruitful discussions, which participants carried on with little or no intervention from me as facilitator. I intervened when discussions got off track or seemed exhausted, if follow-up questions were relevant, or to probe potentially relevant aspects which had not come up on their own. If some participants talked remarkably more than others, I sought to create space for less vocal participants to be heard. In many cases, only one or two questions were posed within each theme, but follow-up questions were applied to the extent they were relevant. Follow-up questions often worked as

probes to help the participants challenge each other and elaborate their accounts (Wibeck et al., 2007). The semi-structured question guide can be seen in Appendix 3. Focus groups lasted between 45 and 80 minutes. I facilitated all focus groups, one of them along with a colleague from the project.

4.1.4. Digital ethnography

Like the interviews and focus groups, the digital ethnography was informed by the project's practice theoretical approach. Based on existing research showing that tourism and travel practices are connected with digital practices and content, digital ethnography was employed to include the aspects of the young adults' vacation practices that relate to social media platforms and the content circulated here. In alignment with other approaches to digital ethnography informed by practice theories, the employed approach was non-media-centric, privileging practices rather than platforms based on an understanding that "digital media and technologies are part of the everyday and more spectacular worlds that people inhabit" (Pink et al., 2015, p. 7). As such, the digital ethnography is connected with the broader exploration of the young adults' practices both methodologically and analytically.

The foundation of the digital ethnography is accounts from the young adults of the ways social media are part of their practices in a broad sense, which were generated as part of the interviews and focus groups. This part of the digital ethnography established in which ways and to what extent social media play a role in the young adults' vacation practices. In addition to their accounts of their ways of engaging with content and platforms, the young adults were encouraged to share any specific social media content that they had engaged with, been inspired by, or which had otherwise had an impact on their vacation practices. This social media content constituted a second aspect of the digital ethnography, providing a sample of how vacations are represented in content that young adults engage with.

This sampling method provided varying types of data. In some cases, the young adults had saved or downloaded a specific post or reel they could share. Other times, they mentioned names of social media accounts or websites that they followed and were inspired by without pinpointing specific content. And yet other times they described their ways of using certain platforms in relation to vacations, but couldn't specifically name content or accounts. This diversity illustrates how the content should be understood in light of the young adults' descriptions of their practice and how the two parts of the digital ethnography are intertwined.
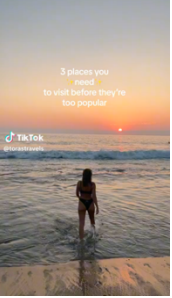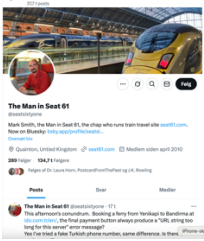
Altogether, the young adults' accounts resulted in a social media sample compiling a total of 10 Instagram accounts, 1 X (formerly Twitter) account, 1 Facebook profile, 1 YouTube account, 1 TikTok account, 4 Instagram posts, and 7 TikTok videos. All the content was publicly available and produced by either commercial actors or influencers with a minimum of 14,000 followers. In some cases, both the account as such and specific content from it was shared. Accounts by the same creator on different platforms were also mentioned. An overview can be seen in Table 2, which features each account and when relevant the specific content shared, the relevant social media platform, the account's bio (description), number of followers, as well as the participant(s) who have shared each account.

This sampling approach evidently covers only a fraction of all content that interacts with young adults' vacation practices. As the young adults explicitly say, their practices are affected by social media content in many ways, which they do not necessarily notice, and the sample only captures content they have noticed and perhaps even saved for late use. A relatively large share of the participants couldn't mention any specific content, meaning that the sample relies on a smaller share of the participants and therefore risks overemphasising some features and omitting others. Even for those who can point to specific content, there is likely much other content which they have encountered and possibly been affected by but not consciously engaged with, which therefore escapes the sample.

These methodological limitations were sought mitigated in an initial design, which turned out not to be viable in the pilot round conducted in autumn 2022. Here, informants were asked to participate in a digital ethnography in the following weeks, sending 2-5 screenshots or links to encountered content along with 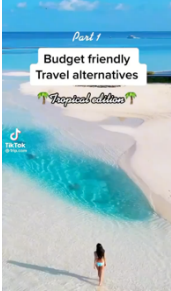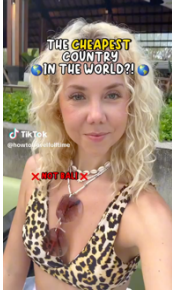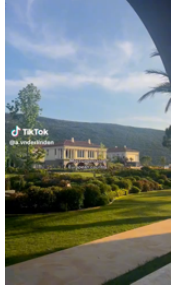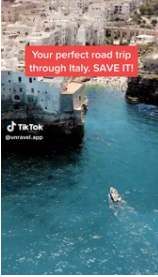a brief description of their immediate impression of the content, either as text or a voice message. The information handout for this approach can be seen in appendix 4. However, this approach was unsuccessful despite initial consent from the young adults. Two reminders were sent out to the participants via text message, but without response. Instead, it was decided to sample content during the focus groups and interviews. The fact that the young adults were unresponsive to the "digital diary" methodology is relevant for future endeavors in digital ethnography with young adults. It is particularly noteworthy because the participants were willing to participate in a second round of interviews, indicating that the failure of the digital method was not due to a lack of engagement or willingness from the participants. This highlights that despite careful considerations, research involving digital methods and young adult informants requires flexibility and improvisation.

	Account 1/post 1	Account 2	Account 3	Account 4, post 2	Account 5	Account 6, post 3	Account 7, post 4	Account 8, post 5	Account 9
Screenshot of account/ post									
Account name, handle, and post link	Helene Moo @helenemoo Post link	EarthPix Travel @earthpix	Somewhere I Would Like to Live @some- whereiwouldliketolive	Hand Luggage Only @handluggageonly Post link	Indlandsbanan @inlandsbanan	Paluch og Momme @paluchogmomme Post link	Mads Gdahl @mads_gdahl Post link	Drew Binsky @drewbinsky Post link	National Geo- graphic Travel @natgeotravel
Plat- form	Instagram	Instagram	Instagram	Instagram	Instagram	Instagram + YouTube	Instagram	Instagram	Instagram
Bio/description (August 2024)	**Helene Myhre** Norway 🌲🦋🍦🍎🐝 Outdoors, adventure & road trips Maps • Presets • Knit • Travel guides ↓	**EarthPix 🌍 Travel** Sharing the world's most unforgettable ex- periences, food, and cultures. Get instant access to 30% to 50% discounts on hotel 🏨 click link below ⬇️	**Somewhere I would like to live** Cura tors @rubenortiz & @kattyschie- beck Founders of Katty Schiebeck interior de- sign studio. Barcelona	_Instagram:_ 👩‍🦰Travel diary by Yaya and Lloyd 🏡 Home: @Home- WithHLO ⬇️ Find us everywhere _TikTok:_ The best places to visit in the world! By Yaya 👩 + Lloyd 👨 📍 U.K.	**Inlandsbanan** Längs Inlandsbanan finns mängder av äventyr. Tagga med #mittiäventy- ret och #Inlandsba- nan för att dela med dig av dina!	🌊Business: Palu- chogmommebusi- ness@gmail.com KØB BILLET TIL VORES SHOW HER⬇️	🌍:Eventyr,kultur og religion 📷:Portrætter og wildlife 📺:50% af Mads til Grænsen på TV2 play 🎤:Foredragsholder 📧:Booking: Stine@oym.dk	🌍 Visited 197/197 Countries & 50/50 States 🎥 Documentary Filmmaker on YouTube 🧑 Stories About Humanity & Cul- ture 🙏 15M Commu- nity | Golfer ⛳	**National Geo- graphic Travel** It's a big world. Explore it through the lens of our photographers.
Follow- ers*	902t	24,4M	843t	Instagram: 391t TikTok: 1,2M	5,3t	89,9t	24,7t	1,1M	46,6M
Shared by	Laura, Simone	Lærke	Lærke	Lærke + Julija	Alfred	Simon	Simon	Simon	Lærke

	Account 10	Account 11/post 6	Account 12	Account 13	Post 7	Post 8	Post 9	Post 10	Post 11
Screenshot of account/ post									
Account name, handle, and post link	Endnu Et Eventyr @endnueteventyr	Toras Travels @torastravels Post link	The Man in Seat 61 @seatsixyone	Togrejse.dk https://www.face-book.com/togrejse.dk	Roxadventure @roxadventures Post link	Trip.com @trip.com Post link	Casey ☀️| Digital Nomad | @howtotravel-fulltime Post link	Arthur Van der Lindn @v.nderlinden Post link	Unravel🏖️ @unravel.app Post link
Plat-form	Instagram	TikTok	X + website	Facebook + website	TikTok	TikTok	TikTok	TikTok	TikTok
Bio/description (August 2024)	Tandem biking from Denmark to Australia without flying ❌✈️ 📍Sulawesi 🇮🇩·🇩🇰🇩🇪🇨🇿🇮🇹🇸🇮 🇧🇦🇦🇱🇬🇷🇹🇷🇬🇪 🇩🇪🇦🇲🇰🇬🇰🇿🇨🇳🇱🇦🇲🇾 🇹🇭🇲🇾🇮🇩🇧🇳	Welcome👋 Follow for travel in-spiration 🌍🌻 Collabs: toralo-vise@hotmail.com	Mark Smith, the Man in Seat 61, the chap who runs train travel site http://seat61.com.	Vi formidler billige togbilletter til hele Europa.	I help you travel more for less ✈️ solo travel 👜 ❤️ rox@contrastad-ventures.com	✈️Code "TRIPUK8" & "TRIPEU8" Hotel | Flights | Trains | Tickets & Travel Guide	i work online🏠 DITCH THE 9-5✈️ Live your dream life☁️ Guide below ⬇️❤️	19 London/Antwerp Ig: Ar-thur_vanderlinden	Watch, Plan and Book your dream vacation in minu-tes! Download our iOS app👇
Fol-low-ers*	14,2t	65,6t	134,9t	5,1t	71,7t	1,5M	75,8t	124,9t	200,8t
Shared by	Vera	Julija	Alfred	Alfred	Alfred	Julija	Julija	Julija	Julija

* Number of followers as of August 2024

Methodological weaknesses aside, the chosen approach was nevertheless deemed valuable. Due to the black-boxed dynamics of social media algorithms, the content young adults are likely to encounter can't be credibly accessed directly via the platforms. And while the collected data is a relatively small sample and relevant content undoubtedly escapes this data collection, there are examples of informants from different contexts referring to the same accounts, giving a sense of saturation and suggesting that the included content might also have reached other young adults.

4.1.5. Ethics and data management

Throughout, the study has been conducted with careful consideration of standards for ethical sociological research practice (European Commission, 2021; ISA, 2001) and following Aarhus University's standards for responsible research practice (Aarhus Universitet, 2022). Data has been managed in compliance with the European Union's General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) (European Parliament & Coucil of the European Union, 2016).

Multiple steps were taken to ensure informed consent and secure management of personal data shared by interview and focus group participants (Traianou, 2014). Before each interview and focus group, informants were informed about the purpose of the interview, its themes, and the way it would be conducted. In addition, they were informed about the kinds of data that would be collected, how it would be handled and secured, and their rights in case they wanted to withdraw their consent. These matters were described orally in everyday language, and informants were then provided with a consent form (appendix 5) containing the information in more formal wording. All of these steps were taken to ensure informed consent. Participants were encouraged to read the consent form and ask questions before signing. They were furthermore encouraged to take a picture of the DPO's and the project leader's contact information in case they wanted to withdraw consent at a later stage or had concerns or questions. The consent form and data management followed Aarhus University's guidelines and data protection policy (Aarhus Universitet, 2025).

After this information, and before starting the interviews and focus groups, participants were asked for consent to record the interviews and focus groups. It was explained that recordings would be transcribed and used for analysis, and that transcriptions and recorded files would be stored and handled securely. Recordings were transferred to and stored securely on cloud services approved for sensitive data management by Aarhus University in compliance with

GDPR. Applications employed for transcription of the recordings were also ensured to comply with GDPR. Transcriptions were pseudonymised by giving participants other names and adjusting revealing information slightly to ensure that they could not be recognised. Information of relevance for the study's themes, e.g. age, occupation, geographic location, and other features potentially related to vacation practices, was not changed, as that would counteract the study's purpose and obscure the possible connection of these features with the vacation practices (Tilley & Woodthorpe, 2011).

The project's digital ethnography relied only on publicly accessible social media data. The social media data was collected and handled in accordance with Aarhus University's guidelines for using personal information from social media (Aarhus Universitet, 2023).

An ethics approval was not sought for the project, because it was not required by the project's funding or from the university when the study does not include human subjects as medical participants, which was evidently not the case in this study. While approval could be sought even though it was not mandatory, it was decided not to apply because the department does not provide access to a social science ethics committee.

After the interviews and focus groups, the informants were informed about how the study's next steps. In the case of the interviews, informants were asked if they were willing and available for a follow-up interview in the autumn, to which all informants consented[6]. Both focus group and interview participants were asked whether they wished to receive updates on the project, e.g. about publications based on their contribution. The informants who wished to were contacted via email or text message about published articles and reports, and the main findings and results were summarised in the email in less formal wording to improve the likelihood that they gained something from these updates. The emails included the option to opt out of updates and, if they wished, to withdraw their consent.

4.2. Analysis approach

Throughout the different parts of the study, the analysis process has reflected the research design's abductive approach. Overall, the analysis process has thus entailed revisiting the phenomenon, defamiliarisation, and alternative casing through iterative engagement with the transcribed data and social media content, all of which are central in abductive research

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[6] However, one informant could not be reached for the second round of interviews and therefore only participated in the first round.

(Timmermans & Tavory, 2012). The analysis has departed from an ontological and epistemological perspective informed by practice theories, but it has engaged with the empirical data in recurring ways in attempts to find patterns and results that might contradict or challenge the theoretical basis. Several rounds of data generation, analysis, and coding of the different forms of generated data have provided opportunities for revisiting the phenomenon in repetitive movements over time, allowing me to encounter parts that overflowed the initial perception (Timmermans & Tavory, 2012, p. 176). Furthermore, the practice-theoretical perspective worked as a means for defamiliarisation, "estranging the familiar" by approaching the young adults' accounts and the social media content shared through the lens of socially shared doings, sayings, and the organising elements that configure them as practices (Timmermans & Tavory, 2012, p. 177). This framework enabled the analysis to entail a loss of familiarity, thereby creating opportunities for revisiting the data in ways that recast everyday experiences as unfamiliar and bring out otherwise overlooked aspects (Timmermans & Tavory, 2012). Furthermore, the analytical process entailed alternative casing in thinking through different theoretical frameworks to find other ways of understanding and explaining the data. This has been done through iterations between the different fields that the project engages, but also by engaging other theories that prevailed as useful for understanding aspects of the data, e.g. semiology (Barthes, 1977), a Bourdieusian approach (Bourdieu, 2010), and a critical tourism studies approach (Putcha, 2020). These alternative casings have highlighted different aspects of the phenomenon, thereby contributing to a fuller description of the empirical findings, and at the same time, they have contributed to recasting the theoretical framework and pointing out avenues for theory development.

4.2.1. Interview and focus group data analysis

The study's abductive approach was reflected strongly in the interview and focus group data analysis, as described above. The analysis and coding were ongoing processes occurring over a long time, alternating between the project's different themes and theoretical lenses which informed each other and provided new perspectives on the data, giving rise to processes of revisiting the phenomenon, defamiliarisation, and alternative casing (Timmermans & Tavory, 2012). Through these engagements, patterns and insights emerged in the empirical data, which concurrently pushed against the theoretical framework, calling for adjustments and fostering conceptual development.

In practical terms, the interviews were first transcribed in Word using the programme's AI transcription tool. Transcriptions were then thoroughly read through and adjusted while listening to the recordings. This process constituted a quality check and adjustment of the transcriptions, but it also served as an important step in the analysis, as the recordings constituted a separate form of inscriptions, and listening to them while adjusting the transcriptions thus worked as a process of defamiliarization (Timmermans & Tavory, 2012). After the transcriptions had been corrected and quality checked, they were read through again and initially coded using colour highlighting in Word. Colours corresponded to overarching themes; some were predefined based on the question guides and the theoretical and thematic outset of the study, and others emerged from the empirical data. Examples of these codes were *potentials for climate-friendly practice change* and *barriers for climate-friendly change*, *vacation vs. journey*, *learning*, *media,* and *relation to everyday life*. This initial colour coding provided an overview of the prevalence of certain themes in and across interviews and focus groups. After this process, the coded sections were compiled in new documents according to three overarching themes: a) *practice configuration and climate-friendly change dynamics*, b) *learning dynamics*, and c) *media content and inspiration*. After reading through all the content pertaining to each overarching theme, more specific codes were developed, and quotes were distributed in emerging code trees. When applicable, new sub-codes were added. This process generated a coding tree of theoretically informed, but empirically emergent codes. The transcripts and code trees were then transferred to NVIVO, which provided a better overview of the full volume of data. Here, the content was coded anew, again providing an opportunity for revisiting the phenomenon and defamiliarization (Timmermans & Tavory, 2012). An additional set of codes was added pertaining to social distinction based on a Bourdieusian perspective (Bourdieu, 2010), which transpired as an alternative casing (Timmermans & Tavory, 2012). An overview of the eventual codes can be seen in Appendix 6. Each overarching theme corresponded with an analysis chapter, except for the social distinction codes, which supplemented the theme of practice configuration and climate-friendly dynamics.

Throughout the analysis, I have paid attention to the variables participants were sampled according to in order to see if e.g. gender, family background abroad, or current occupation made a difference. Furthermore, I have sought to represent as many informants as practically feasible in the quotes and accounts referred in the dissertation to provide as full an account as possible of the data and the perspectives of the young adults.

4.2.2. Social media data analysis

As described above, the social media data was collected and analysed as part of the digital ethnography of young adults' vacation practices. As such, the analysis of social media data was not conducted in complete separation from the interview and focus group data; rather, the digital analysis was informed by the young adults' accounts of their digital media use and, when applicable, of their interpretation of the particular social media post or profile. The social media data analysis is thus inherently shaped by its position within a digital ethnography focused on "understanding how digital media are part of people's everyday practices" (Pink et al., 2015, p. 10). However, the visual, textual, and multimedia aspects of the social media data enabled a different kind of analysis than the recordings and transcripts of the young adults' accounts, and this required a specific analytical strategy for analysing the digital content. Following Urry & Larsen (2011, p. 3), the social media data provided an avenue for exploring the tourist gaze that is produced and reinforced by the circulating content, as well as for studying how it interrelates with the young adults' vacation practices.

In order to grasp these aspects in the analysis, visual methodologies were engaged and employed as a distinct part of the digital ethnography (Pink, 2012; Rose, 2022). While digital ethnography and practice theory are no strangers (Pink et al., 2015), there are no uniform or established ways to analytically and methodologically reconcile the two, and many digital ethnographies focus less on analysing digital content and more on ethnographically studying people's engagements with technologies and content (Pink et al., 2015). The analysis approach, therefore, emerged ideographically through iterations between the study's empirical data and theories, and existing methodological literature and empirical studies.

Following the study's purpose and its practice-theoretical ontology and epistemology, the focus of the analysis was to identify and describe ways in which vacation practices and practice elements were circulated, performed, and reproduced in the content, and whether there were similarities or differences between the ways these practices and elements were represented in the social media content and in the accounts of the young adults. As such, the analysis focused primarily on representations of doings, sayings, materiality, teleoaffective structure, practical understandings, and regulation in the content. Employing insights from the tourist gaze, it also considered how places were produced by the content (Urry & Larsen, 2011).

An initial analysis of the data was conducted informed by Roland Barthes' semiology, particularly relying on his concepts of denotative and connotative signs and anchoring (Barthes, 1977; Rose, 2022). This approach was later abandoned because the focus on signs in the content was deemed incompatible with the ontology and epistemology of the study. But in accordance with the abductive process of defamiliarisation, these concepts were helpful for steering the analytical gaze beyond immediate interpretations of videos, images, and their context. Barthes' concepts provide a useful framework for dismantling the apparent unit and devoting attention to its parts and their connections – somewhat similarly to what practice theories offer, but directed more explicitly and methodologically at visual data. In particular, this Barthesian analysis helped focus on the denotative level of the content, understood as signs describing something in more straightforward ways, e.g. a beach with turquoise water or a silhouette of a person in front of a mountain. Furthermore, this analysis employed Barthes' concept of anchorage, which is often found in text accompanying the visual content and helps choose between many possible meanings in the imagery (Barthes, 1977, pp. 38-41).

While the semiotic approach was a useful initial way of defamiliarising and revisiting the data, it was eventually abandoned. Rather than understanding the content as combinations of signs that signify something "in themselves" (Rose, 2022, p. 197), the study's ontology and epistemology construes the form and content of communicative media as inherently related to social practices, and this perspective required a different analytical strategy. As the conceptualization in chapter 3 described, the content was instead approached more directly as performances of practices, and as such, the analysis revolved around identifying practice elements and the ways they were connected in the representations. As such, the content was approached as performances of practices configured by elements in similar ways to performances of practices, but which must be understood according to the situated context in which they play out, namely their virtual environments (Marres, 2017; Rogers, 2017). The social media analysis thus sought to analyse the relationship between what is represented in the content, how it is circulated via digital infrastructures, and the social practices that both inform the content and are informed by it. The analytical strategy was underpinned by methodological insights from discourse analysis (Rose, 2022). While there are ontological differences, such an approach was found useful and sufficiently compatible with the practice theoretical ontology and epistemology to inform the analysis.

The discourse analysis relied on a basic understanding of discourse as "a particular knowledge about the world that shapes how the world is understood and how things are done in it" (Rose, 2022, p. 215). The conceptualisation of discourse in the study's context was particularly informed by the tourist gaze (Urry & Larsen, 2011) . Thus, it sought to analyse and describe "ways of seeing" vacation practices as they transpire in social media content (Urry & Larsen, 2011, p. 2). In this pursuit, discourse was understood as articulated multimodally through images, videos, sound, and text and voiceovers, both in the visual content and in captions. For videos, the thumbnail – the illustrative image representing the video in the profile grid – was also included and received special attention due to its central role in the aesthetics and information architecture of digital platforms (Thylstrup & Teilmann-Lock, 2017).

The analysis was concerned with how vacation practices, doings, sayings, and elements transpire and are expressed in the content and with what effects, rather than attempting to "delve behind the surface meaning of things in order to discover their real meaning" (Rose, 2022, p. 218). While it did not employ critical discourse analysis (CDA) particularly, the approach was inspired by Milner (2013) and Kennedy, Meese & van der Nagel (2016) , who contend that "CDA focuses on the form and content of communicative artifacts […] and the social practices that inform them. CDA emphasizes the relationship between what is communicated and the social realities tied to that communication" (Milner, 2013, p. 2362). Based on this understanding, the analysis of social media content sought to identify patterns in how vacation practices and their organising elements were articulated and represented, and to relate this to the practices as they transpired through the young adults' accounts.

In practical terms, this was done by analysing the activities and different practice elements represented in each item in the sample. Through recursive engagements with the content in the sample, key themes emerged and were listed, and the content was coded according to the themes (Rose, 2022, p. 230). Salient features of the content were also noticed, e.g. recurring image compositions, video narratives, colours, or motifs. Iterations were made between the sample's different content and theories that could describe the emerging features, e.g. literature on orientalism (Said, 1978), colonialism in tourism (Putcha, 2020), and the aesthetics and impacts of Instagram travel content (Asdecker, 2022; Smith, 2021). Through ongoing engagement with the content in light of different literatures, key themes and features were adjusted and specified, revealing patterns such as a prevalence of turquoise water related to notions of luxury and relaxation, and representations of people and places from the global south

as foreign others. These key themes were related to the young adults' accounts in search for commonalities and contradictions. After these iterations, the different items in the content were analysed in light of the central themes and features, deviations from them, or other features of possible relevance for the young adults' vacation practices.

In accordance with the social media content's entanglement in the digital ethnography, the emergent findings were understood and described in relation to the young adults' accounts – at times constituting elaboration or illustration, at other times providing contrast. As such, in addition to the findings it generated, this part of the analysis also played a part in the wider abductive process, pushing against both the theoretical framework and the interview and focus group data analysis (Timmermans & Tavory, 2012).

4.3. Validity and generalisability

This last part of the chapter describes how validity and generalisability have been approached in this study and outlines the steps and considerations that have been taken to enhance the validity and analytical generalisability of the study's findings, as well as to consider my positionality in relation to the study.

In qualitative research, there is not full agreement on which criteria should be employed to assess the quality of the research design (Bryman, 2012, pp. 389-393). Citeria for reliability and validity are disputed, because they are often based on positivist epistemologies associated with quantitative approaches (Guba & Lincoln, 1994), and because qualitative studies are so varied that it is hard to formulate meaningful common core standards (Brinkmann & Tanggaard, 2010). This study employs a recursive, process-oriented view of validity as an ongoing, reflexive, and transparent accomplishment rather than something absolute (Cho & Trent, 2006). As such, the validity of this study is not sought through abstract concepts employed as "magical charms that are intended to drive away evil" (Maxwell, 1996, p. 88). Instead, it is sought through thorough, practical, and open descriptions of the research design, the connections between methods and theory, and the concrete ways that data have been generated and analysed (Järvinen & Mik-Meyer, 2020). As the sections above reflect, both the methodological choices, the ensuing processes, and my role in them as a researcher are described clearly and grounded in existing literature in an attempt to strengthen transparency about the study's quality as well as its limitations (Brinkmann & Tanggaard, 2010). As part of this transparency, I have sought to keep interpretations of the data closely related with the

empirical data also in the dissemination of results. As the upcoming analysis chapters will reflect, analytical interpretations are accompanied by empirical examples both to communicate the findings more clearly and to show how the analytical findings are empirically based (Brinkmann & Tanggaard, 2010; Järvinen & Mik-Meyer, 2020). As such, validity has been actively, recurrently and reflexively sought to be accomplished throughout the study's process and dissemination.

4.3.1. Analytical generalisation

As in many other qualitative studies, the small sample size of this study means that it is not meaningful to make generalised claims about the identified patterns in similar ways to statistical generalisation from representative sample to population. However, that does not mean that generalisation is impossible based on qualitative data (Flyvbjerg, 2006). Social scientific generalisation based on qualitative data can fruitfully be done in the form of analytical generalisation by making theoretically founded claims about patterns and dynamics in the material (Blaikie, 1993; Halkier, 2011). Analytical generalisation seeks to "enlarge" the significance of concrete empirical patterns in a case or small sample by applying theoretical concepts (Delmar, 2010). Generalisation based on such qualitative studies must necessarily be specific and context-bound (Halkier, 2011). The claims made in this study are thus also restricted to the specific context of vacation practices of Danish young adults, as both the national context and the life circumstances of the age group entail particularities that can reasonably be expected to impact vacation practices and thus challenge generalisation outside the context. As such, the study's approach to analytical generalisation reflects the contention that "generalizing on the basis of qualitative studies must recognize and try to represent the dynamisms, ambivalences, conflicts, and complexities that constitute various overlapping contexts and the knowledge-production processes in relation to these contexts" (Halkier, 2011, p. 788).

In practical terms, the analytical generalisation was accomplished in different ways, including ideal-typologizing and category zooming (Halkier, 2011, pp. 790-792). Ideal-typologizing consists in "condensing the coded data patterns into a relatively limited number of descriptions which one-sidedly underline particular characteristics at the expense of others" (Halkier, 2011, p. 790). As such, it follows Weber's definition of an ideal type as "formed by the one-sided *accentuation* of one or more points of view and by the synthesis of a great many diffuse, discrete, more or less present and occasionally absent *concrete individual* phenomena, which are arranged according to those one-sidedly emphasized viewpoints into a unified

analytical construct" (Weber, 1949, p. 90). The unified construct of the ideal type cannot, in its conceptual purity, be found empirically anywhere in reality, but helps draw out central features of empirical reality and contrast them with other ideal types. The two practices outlined in this dissertation's analysis, *vacationing* and *journeying*, are ideal types generated through analytical generalisation.

Category zooming, conversely, does not try to generalise on a more comprehensive and overarching level. Rather, it is a way of generalising by going into detail with a specific aspect of the study as it transpires across the empirical data (Halkier, 2011, p. 792). In the case of this study, category zooming e.g. consisted in comparing the different ways climate concern transpires in and interacts with different young adults' practices, and in exploring different representations of foreignness in different social media content.

While the study's analytical generalisation is characterised by contingency and instability rather than universalising, stable representations (Halkier, 2011), it nevertheless seeks to "enlarge" the significance of the theoretically conceptualised empirical findings beyond the 36 young adults in the sample (Delmar, 2010). It does so by employing the conceptual framework of practice theories to engage with the empirical data in the search for patterns in enacted social processes rather than patterns pertaining to individual people's characteristics (Halkier & Jensen, 2011). As described in the theory chapter, while practices are socially shared, they are not necessarily shared equally between people in different contexts. These differences have been addressed by seeking maximum variation in the sample's composition, but some features should still be considered in the analytical generalisation.

Though the study's sample expresses large variation, it has a relative overweight of young adults with high school and longer education. Of the 36 participants, 30 had completed or were in high school, compared to 63 percent of all Danish 18-25-year-olds (Danmarks Statistik, 2025a). Regarding age, most of the participants were between 18 and 25 years old. As such, the generalised practices are likely to be widespread among young adults within that age span, but other practices may prevail amongst young Danes between 25 and 29 and have evaded the study. Furthermore, the study includes too little sociodemographic information for detailed analysis based on economic and educational levels, limiting the strength of findings on social stratification. These limitations are observed in the analytical generalisation.

4.3.2. Positionality

As literature on abductive research highlights, abductive processes like the ones at the core of this study inherently depend on the researcher's position (Timmermans & Tavory, 2012). This observation calls on me as a researcher to consider which position I occupy in the research context and in which ways it colours my vision, affects my access to the field, shapes my way of interacting with the participants, and arms me with "ways to "case" the phenomena in front of [me] that are already deeply ingrained in the ways [I] perceive the world" (Timmermans & Tavory, 2012, p. 173).

My position in relation to the study is not fixed and generic, but complex and situated. It entails my position as a white, well-travelled and well-educated woman in an affluent, global-north, Scandinavian welfare-state context, but it is also shaped by my professional and academic training and the theoretical lenses I have developed throughout, as well as my familiarity with broader theoretical fields (Timmermans & Tavory, 2012). I have considered these aspects of my positionality in the research design and approach in several ways. Considering my familiarity with the Danish context and the experiences of young adults, I decided to delineate the population of the study to exclude myself from the age span. While good arguments could have been made to employ my own experiences and e.g. include autoethnography, I decided that positioning myself outside the group of study would contribute to a "de-familiarisation" with the subject, helping me enrich my understanding and think anew about something which at first glance seems familiar (Timmermans & Tavory, 2012, pp. 176-177).

But the question about positionality has not only been relevant in relation to my position in the world; it has also inevitably pertained to the ontological understanding that has guided the research questions and design. While there are scientific ways to assess whether an ontology is robust and useful in a given context, scientific reasons alone can rarely identify a single best ontology (Schatzki, 2016). As such, training and biography also inform the choice of ontology, even if they should only supplement scientific and empirical arguments (Schatzki, 2016, p. 31).

As the research question shows, this study seeks to contribute to climate-friendly practice change. It does not merely aim to describe the social dynamics entailed in climate-friendly practice change; it wants to explore and describe these dynamics in order to contribute to such a climate-friendly transition. Such an ambition is not uncommon nor particularly

controversial in scholarship concerned with sustainability, neither within practice theories, environmental sociology, nor more broadly (e.g. Norgaard, 2018; Shove & Spurling, 2013; Urry, 2011). This ambition thus positions the dissertation in line with widespread norms within sustainable transitions literature in seeking to understand and contribute to climate-friendly practice change (van der Hel, 2018). Nevertheless, it is important to be transparent about this normative ambition.

It has been an ongoing iteration to balance this normativity in every part of my research process – particularly with regard to its impact on the ontological stance. On the one hand, the project's ontology is explicitly opposed to individualising responsibility and blaming young people for lacking consistency or being selfish or immoral due to their ongoing participation in climate-damaging practices. On the other hand, the project is rooted in a firm understanding that what people do – in their social, situated contexts, as parts of a collective, and as carriers of practices with the potential that entails for changing them – matters. That practices, as locked-in and upwards-ratcheting as they may appear, are not structures, but ongoing social accomplishments. This entails the potential for social change to arise from slight variations in situated performances, which can spread and work back on the practice-as-entity. As such, while agency does not reside with individuals, it is located in the practices we all take part in, and taking part in these practices is hence being in an open space where changes can happen.

Considering the severity of the climate crisis and the persistent lack of sufficient political action (United Nations Environmental Programme, 2023), the study thus contends that resource-intensive practices should be changed through all available avenues – including change springing from situated performances. This is not the same as assigning responsibility to the individual, but it amounts to taking seriously the dynamics that play out in each person's situated performance and looking for ways to leverage changes here as one way of changing the wider practice entity. Throughout, I have worked openly and reflexively on balancing the project's normative imperative for change to neither over-emphasise the agency in people's situated practices nor the determining power of established institutions. This ongoing accomplishment reflects how I have sought to be reflexive and transparent about my normative position throughout the study to be aware of its impact and ensure the study's research integrity.

5. Analysis part I: Young adults' vacation practices in the climate crisis

This first part of the analysis surveys the young adults' situated vacation practices to understand which practice entities prevail amongst them and in which ways they are affected by the climate crisis. Surveying the doings and sayings involved in the young adults' performances, it explores the practice elements organising each prevailing practice and the ways they are connected, answering research question 1: *Which vacation practices transpire in young adults' situated performances, and what characterises these practices' configurations?* This part of the analysis thus aims to produce an ideal typology of vacation practices as they transpire across the situated performances of the young adults. It identifies two central vacation practices, *vacationing* and *journeying*, and outlines their central features; their doings and sayings, the elements organising them, and the ways they are positioned in relation to each other and the broader practice landscape of the young adults' everyday lives. Building on this ideal typology, the second part of the chapter relates the identified vacation practices more directly to the climate crisis, answering research question 2: *In which ways does the climate crisis interact with the configuration of these practices, and which elements of the practices support and challenge climate-friendly practice change?* This second half thus identifies ongoing dynamics of climate-friendly practice change, but it also takes a deeper look at the different elements organising the practices, exploring the potentials and barriers for climate-friendly practice change they pose. In so doing, it builds on the features outlined in the literature review as particularly relevant for the climate impact of vacations and the impediments and potentials for change identified in existing scholarship. As such, the chapter looks at young adults' vacation practices in their current form, analysing the elements that organise them, the ways they are connected, and their impact on the carbon intensity of the practices. It employs this analysis as a point of departure for exploring whether more climate-friendly practice forms transpire in situated performances, how these practices are organised, and which potential and impediments they entail for broader climate-friendly practice change.[7]

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[7] The findings in this chapter have been featured in a different form in an article published in Nordic Psychology (Fals, 2025).

5.1. Vacationing and journeying

The interview and focus group data reveal a clear distinction in the young adults' vacation practices, which amounts to two distinctive practice entities with different potentials and impediments for climate-friendly practice change. These two practice entities are described in the following as *vacationing* – referred to by the participants interchangeably as "a vacation" ["ferie"] or "going on vacation" ["at tage på ferie"] – and *journeying* – referred to by the participants in turn as "a journey" ["en rejse"] or "travelling" ["at rejse"]. The participants seem to distinguish naturally and intuitively between these two practices when talking about their vacations. This transpired particularly in the focus groups, where the young adults employed the different concepts for different situated or general practices without needing to justify or elaborate on them socially. While the respective features were not always immediately articulated, the young adults could collectively unpack the differences and agree on the defining characteristics of each. As Jasper (22) describes the distinction in one of the focus groups: "I feel like vacation is very planned, so you know that 'this is what will happen'. Whereas travelling is much more unpredictable, and that's what I like about travelling. You never know what is going to happen."

Vacationing and journeying each entail distinct challenges and possibilities for climate-friendly practice change. In the following, both practices are outlined, highlighting their respective configurations and delving into the ways the climate crisis interacts with them and the ensuing potentials and impediments for climate-friendly practice change. Despite their differences, however, vacationing and journeying share some fundamental characteristics, which are outlined here before delving into each practice's respective configuration.

5.1.1. General features of young adults' vacation practices

First and foremost, the two practices share a strong reliance on carbon-intensive infrastructure, epitomised by aviation as a central, and highly carbon-intensive, mobility form. As previous research has also shown, this central material element is underpinned by policy measures that favour aviation, making it advantageous both economically and through its position in the practice landscape. As such, aviation is rendered accessible due to its price, its temporal flexibility due to a large number of departures, and, in general, its preponderance.

In addition to these carbon-intensive infrastructures themselves, the practices are kept in their current, carbon-intensive forms by a central, socially shared and routinised understanding that "the flight departs either way", as Nicklas (20) says. Sophia (18) expresses the same understanding a bit more elaborately:

As an individual, I think it feels a bit useless to stop flying. Because if I don't sit there, someone else will take that flight seat. That ticket. Then you should do something as a country, asa society – then many people should make the decision that you can only fly once a year.

This routinised understanding expresses a sense of futility, structural inertia, and lack of agency, which connects with aviation infrastructure and helps keep the carbon-intensive vacation practices in place.

Related to the convenience and preponderance of aviation compared to alternative mobility infrastructures, there is also an uneven distribution of the competences entailed in climate-friendly vacation practices relative to those involved in carbon-intensive practices. There is a pronounced familiarity and engagement with competences like booking flight tickets, getting to the airport, checking in baggage (or avoiding it by abiding by carry-on luggage requirements), getting through security, finding the gate, and all of the other competences entailed in this form of mobility practice. On the other hand, competences pertaining to travelling by train, bike-packing, hiking in and outside of Denmark, and other climate-friendly alternatives are remarkably less readily available.

Furthermore, both practices involve notions or conceptualisations of foreignness as a central orientation. While the notion of foreignness takes different forms and connects with different other meanings, understandings, and orientations in the two different practice configurations, the notion of foreignness as such is a powerful common feature of the two practices.

Relating to the notion of foreignness, the different costs of living in different countries also play a part. As Ditte relates, "there is a reason that many people go to the same places, just pricewise it is relatively cheap to travel in South America and Central America." Particularly with the relatively low expenses of flying, it is practically intelligible for the young adults to travel to distant locations with lower living expenses. This is true both in the context of vacationing and journeying, as low prices play important roles in both.

The vacation practices thus share certain central features, but we will see that these elements work in different ways and in connection with different other elements in the respective

practice configurations. The following section first outlines the configuration of the first practice, *vacationing*, before turning to its counterpart, *journeying.*

5.2. Vacationing: A well-earned escape from everyday life

> Sunlust generates a special kind of travel which depends upon the existence elsewhere of different or better amenities for a specific purpose than are available locally. Obvious examples of sunlust are […] holidays in the winter on the Mediterranian by northern Europeans or the similar trek to the south in summer in search of a warmer and more reliable sun. Equally, the concept of sunlust could be extended to include any type of pleasure travel which requires a different set of amenities to be available at the destination than are available at home, but these amenities need not be different in culture or in kind from those available close by: a seaside vacation, a skiing weekend, or even a visit to a large city.
>
> - H. Peter Gray (1970)

Vacationing as a practice epitomises the stereotypical, emblematic vacation as outlined in Gray's classic account of sunlust tourism. Think sun, sea and sand; quality time with loved ones; and a relaxing, indulgent antithesis to the demanding treadmill of everyday life. Vacationing is in a nutshell about making a change of environment from everyday life to a comfortable, relaxing and, preferably, sunny place to recharge in the company of family of friends. As Caroline (20) describes:

> *It's sunshine and heat – at least if it's the summer holidays. Definitely. Preferably with a pool or beach. And really great food. And, you know, where my parents are present. And we are just, like... together. But very much the sunshine part, actually. If I'm being completely honest.*
> *– Caroline*

As a practice, it is centrally configured by a teleoaffective structure marked by notions of relaxation, quality time, and pampering; by competences and materiality that enable convenience and conviviality; and by tax regulation which renders some forms of mobility more intelligible than others. As these characteristics indicate, the configuration of vacationing is marked by its position as both intertwined with and opposed to everyday life practices – in particular practices of studying, working, and keeping a household running, which demand much time and effort of the young adults and create an experienced need for unwinding and recharging. As a direct antidote to these everyday life practices, vacationing is centrally configured by notions of relaxation and well-earned pampering after having worked hard.

Laura embodies and expresses these traits in her vacation practice. She leads a busy everyday life with many activities and a demanding studying practice, and both for her and her family whom she often spends vacations with, vacations thus serve as antidotes to everyday life for spoiling themselves and each other. As she says: "I grew up with both my parents working, so we have often had a really busy everyday life, and then when we were on vacation it's like, 'you deserve a nice steak'".

With its position as both opposed to and constituted by everyday life, vacationing as a practice resembles Urry & Larsen's description of tourism as practices that involve "a limited breaking with established routines and practices of everyday life and allowing one's senses to engage with a set of stimuli that contrast with the everyday and mundane" (2011, p. 4). As such, vacationing transpires as a practice of convenience, conviviality, relaxation, and, preferably, sun (or, for the purpose of skiing, snow) – a practice shaped by the everyday life practices it is positioned as an antidote to. These features transpire across the different organising elements, which are elaborated in the following sections.

5.2.1. The teleoaffective structure of vacationing

As the overview above highlighted, the teleoaffective structure organises vacationing in very pronounced ways. Notions of indulgence, relaxation, and convenience constitute central orientations in the practice, and they are intertwined with a strong sense of entitlement; you have worked hard, so you deserve a break from the demands and constraints of everyday life – and it is ok to choose the convenient options, do less and eat, drink, or spend more than you normally would. These notions come across in Laura's description of deserving a nice steak and are expressed in similar terms by 21-year-old Mikkel: "I think there's a bit of indulgence in it, you know, there's a bit more alcohol when you're on vacation, a bit more sweets". Just like the tourist gaze is constructed "through the contrasts implied with non-tourist social practices, particularly those based within home and paid work" (Urry & Larsen, 2011, p. 2-3), so vacationing is strongly configured by implied contrasts to everyday practices of working (hard), keeping a household running (smoothly), and keeping the body fed, fit, and dressed in clean clothes. As Mia (26) describes:

It's that thing about not having to get a whole lot of things done. You know when you're home that there is always a spot that needs painting, a fence that needs fixing, or grass that needs mowing. So, it is simply to get away from everyday life for a bit.

This sense of entitlement creates a remarkable connection between vacationing and everyday life practices. As we will see later in this chapter, it also has pronounced implications for the prospects of climate-friendly practice change.

Spending quality time together with family or friends transpires as another seminal orientation in the teleoaffective structure – and it is often connected with the notion of unwinding and relaxing, as expressed in Mia's description of the essence of vacationing:

It's simply about unwinding, like, spending time with my family. What we usually do is that when we're on vacation, the whole thing about phones, we only use them very little. [...] so, it is more about unwinding and being together.

Ditte (21) also points out the orientation towards conviviality and quality time as central in the teleoaffective structure, saying "I think a good vacation is quality time, and then it can be with yourself or with friends or family, but where you sort of… well, actively spend time together." As such, relaxation and quality time with loved ones transpire as central orientations in the teleoaffective structure, which play a pronounced role in organising the practice.

Finally, vacationing appears to be organised by an orientation towards making a bargain. It is important to have a notion that the vacation is worth more than what you paid for it, and this prevails as a symbolic feature rather than a material limitation, as is e.g. expressed in the practice of Julija (19):

It sounds funny, but I actually like to look at cheap plane tickets in my spare time. [...] I actually really like that. And when I hear people who pay 10.000 DKK for those, like, package travels, well… the things I could have made of 10,000 DKK per person, it's crazy to talk about.

It also prevails in the situated practice of Simon (25):

Simon: "I'm pretty much into flying, so I'm keeping an eye out along the year for when it's cheapest. And I'm also in on those emails, both from Kiwi, and from Momondo, and from Atlantis [names of flight companies, travel bureaus and ticket providers]. So there I'm keeping an eye out."

Interviewer: "Okay, so are you into flying and flight technology and such, or is it more that you keep track of where you can go and when, at a good price and such?"

Simon: "Yeah, that's it. What the prices are".

Both young adults express a thrill of making a good deal which is beyond purely economic considerations. These notions have significant effects on how it is meaningful for young adults to go on vacation in the current practice landscape. It is also a feature of the teleoaffective structure which has strong connections with the materiality of vacationing.

5.2.2. The materiality of vacationing

In connection with the notion of making a bargain, the perhaps most central forms of materiality organising vacationing are convenient and cheap transport and accommodation infrastructures. As outlined above, it is central that vacationing feels effortless, convenient, and as a maximum of relaxing quality time requiring a bare minimum of energy. This privileges certain means of booking, mobility, and accommodation, which are perceived as convenient and low-effort. As phrased a bit playfully by Maria (20): "when you're going on vacation, it's about relaxing, but at the same time you have to hurry to get there, so you have to find the quickest flight."

The arrangements of infrastructures render some forms of transport and accommodation more accessible than others for the young adults. Of particular relevance are entry points for booking or arranging the trip, e.g. travel agencies or websites for browsing plane tickets, accommodation options, or package tours. For Lina (21), such infrastructures – and the competences that enabled her to navigate them effortlessly – were exactly what facilitated planning a sunny all-inclusive winter vacation after an initial desire to go somewhere warm had been established: "I started searching a little bit, trying to look for where it's warm at that time of year and such… […] So I just started searching, and then I called that… what is it called… Tui, or whatever travel agency." As such, a combination of digital and commercial infrastructures rendered flying to Cap Verde for a week of all-inclusive sun and pool relaxation both practically intelligible and convenient.

The central infrastructures are, of course, far from only digital. Rather, these digital infrastructures serve as entry points – and gatekeepers – for intricate physical transport infrastructures which also organise vacationing. As the literature review showed, air travel is a dominant infrastructure in the current practice landscape, and its dominant position also underpins vacationing as a practice. Large, accessible, and well-linked airports with many daily departures to global destinations have a strong bearing on the feasibility of other mobility infrastructures in the young adults' practice. Laura (23), for example, describes how train travel comes to be positioned as troublesome in relation to flying:

I think I find it hard because it's even easier to do the other thing. That's where the hard part is. If there was only that option, I don't think it would be very hard. But when that entire super easy, like,' book, airport, bam' – well, when that's lying right there, then the alternative becomes a bit more troublesome.

A final central material element is the particular places where vacationing occurs. These places are not only material – they come into existence through practice in relation to people, objects, technologies, and myriad shared understandings, orientations, and "place myths" (Bærenholdt et al., 2017; Larsen, 2006). But in grasping vacationing, it is nevertheless helpful to approach the destinations (also) in terms of their materiality. In a wide sense, vacationing relies on beaches and other natural landscapes, hotel or resort settings, and, generally, warm and sunny environments, as we previously saw in Caroline's account. These destinations are often characterised by the features of "sunlust" travelling as described at the outset of this section (Gray, 1970, p. 13). As this description indicates, the places are not necessarily far away and exotic, but they offer slightly different amenities. The weather is consistently high-lighted as an attraction in destinations abroad, but many young adults also describe locations in Denmark, predominantly summer cottages, as emblematic of vacationing. One of them is Mathilda (23), who contends: "My family hasn't travelled an awful lot, so we go on vacation in Denmark a lot. So to me, vacation… where I relax the most is probably in our summer cottage." But even though the summer cottage is the emblematic vacationing place for her, Mathilda also expresses the centrality of sunny places in vacationing:

The weather is hard to compromise on. If you're staying in Denmark the whole summer and it's just one of those where it's pouring down, windy. Then I also think you can be like 'oh' after-wards, 'I need to get a bit of sun on my body'."

This highlights that vacationing domestically and abroad are not necessarily either-or, and as such, that there is both potential and impediments for more climate-friendly vacationing in locations close by. The important thing about the vacationing place, then, is that it affords re-laxation, access to scenery or sights of some sort, and that it is different from home – often in a different country, but also in a different place and setting domestically.

As such, vacationing is configured by both locations that foster relaxation and an experienced change of scenery, and of infrastructures that facilitate going to these locations, be they digi-tal infrastructures, mobility infrastructures, or travel agencies.

5.2.3. The competences of vacationing

At a glance, there seems to be a bare minimum of competences organising vacationing, as re-flected in the central notions of convenience and relaxation. Travel arrangements are often left partly or fully to travel agencies, digital tools, or friends or family, and convenience takes a central role in accommodation and means of transport. However, vacationing is

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nevertheless configured by many forms of competence and know-how, even if these do not immediately stand out. A lot of competences pertain to navigating such websites, knowing where to look, when to do it, and what to look for – even if these competences are often implicit for the young adults themselves. Laura (23) expresses this when discussing the differences between going on a skiing trip by train and by flight:

I've flown on a skiing trip once before, and that was very easy. I mean, I know how to do it. Like, it's just go find a flight departure and then go find a train departure from Zürich where I lived, so I'm used to that.

As she explicates some of the steps entailed in what is presented as the "easy" way of going on vacation, she illustrates – perhaps without much awareness – the competences involved in it and her way of accessing them. It shows how e.g. booking a flight ticket does not necessarily entail fewer competences than alternative modes of transport, but rather competences which, unlike e.g. going by train, have become embodied and thus inconspicuous through experience.

Similarly, a great deal of competence is involved in knowing how to go on when flying or staying at an all-inclusive resort. Just consider actions like getting to the airport and the gate at the right time, packing toiletries in the check-in luggage and storing small liquids in ziplock bags to abide by hand luggage restrictions – and perhaps knowing that you are allowed to bring an empty water bottle through security and fill it before boarding the plane. Or think of the foresight of "reserving" a sunbed by the resort's pool early in the morning with your towel – and the embodied know-how of sensing whether it is appropriate or not in the specific context. Relaxing as it seems, vacationing is by no means an easy feat!

A different inconspicuous, but impactful form of competence is the great deal of social discretion and effort that organises vacationing. Often performed in a social context with family or friends, vacationing – and its strong orientation towards quality time and conviviality – involves various social considerations. Tacit as they are, these efforts still show up strongly in young adults' accounts of their vacations in connection with the orientations towards quality time and conviviality, enforcing the centrality of seemingly effortless mobility and accommodation. For instance, Lina (21) describes considerations of maintaining the good ambience as part of the reason she and her family decided to go on an all-inclusive vacation:

I guess sometimes all-inclusive is easy to agree on, because then there isn't so much to decide. There aren't that many conflicts and such... I mean, the only thing you need to choose is which of the restaurants in the hotel to eat at [laughs].

The amount of competences required to get along, compromise and consider everybody's preferences is closely connected with the orientations towards both quality time and relaxation, and as seen in Lina's context, it reinforces the centrality of perceived effortless modes of transport and accommodation, thus often favouring carbon-intensive vacation forms. This kind of effort to avoid conflicts and maintain the good ambience is not only entailed when vacationing with family. With friends, it becomes clear for the young adults that their practice is shaped by the community of practice they are used to performing it in, namely their families, and this causes activity related to finding compromises, as seen in a focus group exchange between Mathilda (23), Kamma (19) and Ditte (21):

> Mathilda: "We're a group of five girls [sic] always travelling together, and it is very different how we have been, like, raised in terms of vacation culture. [...] We've had many conversations about how we have to do things half-half, because otherwise there's a part of the group who won't get to relax at all."
>
> Kamma: [simultaneously] "Yeah, you've totally been trained into how you like to go on vacation."
>
> Ditte: "Yeah, that thing about adjusting expectations when it's suddenly not with your family, I think that's one of the funniest things about vacations, because you can fight about something as luxurious as having time off together."

The role these – perceived minimal – social considerations and competences play in the practice's configuration thus connects strongly with both the orientations towards relaxation and conviviality and the materiality of seemingly effortless mobility and accommodation. It also connects strongly with the regulation that helps create the experienced need to relax, reconnect, and escape everyday life.

5.2.4. The regulation of vacationing

Following on from the competences outlined above, two different forms of regulation transpire as central in organising vacationing. One is uneven taxation and political prioritisation of different means of transport, which render flying cheaper and more convenient than its alternatives. The other is the broader regulatory layout of education and labour market demands that creates much of the experienced pressure, obligations, and lack of time in the young adults' everyday lives.

The most direct of the two is the economic and policy measures regulating the price and relative accessibility of different forms of transport. As the analysis shows, vacationing is organised by notions of convenience, by an experienced minimum of mobility effort and

competences, and by an orientation towards making a good deal, and in the current land-scape, this all connects with the availability and low price of flying compared to other means of transport. As Chapter 2 outlined, flying is relatively favoured compared to other means of transport due to national subsidies and lack of international regulation (Finansministeriet, 2022, 2024; Gössling & Dolnicar, 2022; Klimarådet, 2019), while Danish and EU initiatives to improve the competitiveness of railway traffic have been largely unsuccessful (European Court of Auditors, 2017, 2018; Fitzová, 2017; Nash, 2011). The advantage of air travel compared to other forms of mobility transpires across the young adults' situated practices, including for 20-year-old climate activists Maria (20) and Caroline (20):

Maria: "We were in Milan in September, Caroline and I, and we also flew there, but we looked into both bus and train. And it is just cheaper to take the plane. And then you're like, 'shit man'."

Caroline: "Also because if we had taken the train, we would have had to change five or seven times on the way there."

Their exchange illustrates how it is often more accessible for young adults to go by plane than by alternative means of transport due to the advantageous position air travel has in the current practice landscape – a position which is heavily influenced by regulation on both national and international level.

Vacationing is also organised by regulation of the everyday lives it constitutes a break from. A full analysis of these dynamics is beyond the scope of this dissertation, but it is clear that experienced demands stemming from education and labour market policy are part of the practice's configuration. This pertains to working hours, annual weeks of vacation in workplaces and educational institutions, and the effort required to meet demands, e.g. passing exams with sufficient grades. As such, it resembles the features of the "achievement society" as outlined in Chapter 2 (Petersen & Madsen, 2023). While this is not a matter of regulation alone, it is connected with regulatory demands of young adults. We saw this in Lina's experienced need for a relaxing all-inclusive vacation with her family, and with Laura and her family who lead busy everyday lives and therefore "deserve a nice steak" when on vacation. It also transpires in an exchange between high school students Isabel (18) and Lærke (19):

Isabel: "I also think it's that thing that in everyday life we constantly have a deadline to make. You constantly have to – you have a bus to catch, you have to be at class on time, you have to make it to…"

Lærke: "You have to make it to work, you have to make it to bed on time, it's that hamster wheel that just keeps going, going, going."

It is thus clear across the young adults' situated contexts that regulation contributing to everyday demands, e.g. working hours, annual weeks of vacation and grade requirements, have a bearing on the configuration of vacationing. As such, vacationing prevails as configured by the regulation of the demanding everyday lives it represents a break from.

5.2.5. Summing up vacationing

Vacationing thus prevails as a practice characterised by orientations towards relaxation and quality time, organised by labour market and education regulations that help create an experienced need to unwind from demanding and hectic everyday lives. The centrality of convenience connects with mobility and travel arrangements characterised by a minimum of apparent effort – even if they rely on many routinised and inconspicuous competences regarding how to go on when flying and keeping up the good ambience with fellow vacationers. While vacationing entails indulgence and pampering, the price also matters, and the regulation that makes flying relatively affordable thus plays a significant part. As such, several elements appear to reinforce vacationing in its carbon-intensive form and thus make climate-friendly practice change difficult. The prospects this involves for climate-friendly vacationing are outlined in the second part of this chapter. But first, we will take a closer look at its related practice, journeying, in the following.

5.3. Journeying: The Grand Tour of the 2020's

> Since time immemorial, there has floated around the word 'travel' a whiff of danger and adventure, a breath of capricious chance and engrossing precariousness. When we travel, it's not only for the love of far-off lands; we also want to leave our own area behind, our domestic world so well regulated day to day; we are drawn by the desire no longer to be at home and therefore no longer to be ourselves. We want to interrupt a life where we merely exist, in order to live more.
> - *Stefan Zweig (1926/2025)*

Journeying in many ways embodies centuries-old ideals of wanderlust and formative journeys. Much like Stefan Zweig's lofty description of travel, journeying is oriented towards adventure, wanderlust, unpredictability, and authenticity. Materially, it is organised by cheap transportation used by the locals, by backpacks and hostels, and to a vast extent by digital

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infrastructures for navigation and research. It relies on a wide range of competences, from navigating and planning a route to improvising when plans don't hold up, making new acquaintances, communicating, conducting oneself in different contexts, and narrating stories about the experiences entailed. As Jens (23) says: "The journeys I've been on – it's about going on an adventure. […] yeah, it's about trying yourself out." Journeying is thus a practice of adventure, cultural exchange, and challenging oneself, seemingly drawing on heritage from the Grand Tours and journeyman years of previous centuries.

Much like Stefan Zweig's travel, journeying thus has a whiff of adventure and far-off lands, as well as a strong orientation towards interrupting the safe and well-known day-to-day life to face challenges and learn from them. The elements that organise this practice are outlined in the following sections.

5.3.1. The teleoaffective structure of journeying

As mentioned, notions of adventure, wanderlust, and spontaneity are central organising elements of journeying. In essence, journeying reflects an orientation towards exploring the world and oneself in challenging, but rewarding ways. Thus, it entails classic orientations from the Grand Tours and journeyman years, particularly the significance of experiencing foreign places, cultures, and people. Briefly put, journeying thus reflect the same orientation as the Grand Tour, namely "to discover both the world and themselves" (Löfgren, 1999, p. 160). As phrased by 23-year-old Jasper:

> *To me, travelling is also about feeling that autonomy and getting to know myself, it sounds so corny, but – but I really feel that travelling means that I'm being put in some situations where I'm forced to do some things, make some choices and such. I feel like I learn a lot from that.*

This orientation resembles the understanding of "Bildung as horizon expansion in the encounter with the foreign" (Læssøe & Lysgaard, 2024). And as with other ideas of Bildung, it has a strong normative dimension which prevails both in the young adults' practice and in the questions and reactions they encounter from others, particularly from peers and older relatives. As expressed by Simone (21): "There really is this thing, like 'so you graduated high school, you should take a gap year, you should go see the world and get formative experiences and look beyond the Danish borders.'"

This routinised and socially shared orientation is often expressed in positive and aspirational ways, as in Jasper's account, but it can also appear as a pressure. This transpires in the

situated practice of Lina (21), who has booked a trip to Asia without particularly wanting to go:

It can easily become something you plan just because you feel like you should. I kind of feel that way about that trip to Asia, like it's not because I'm really hungry for it, but I feel like it's a "check", I need to get it off my list. I mean, it's a bit scary.

Journeying is thus organised by an orientation towards exciting and formative adventures, which is entangled with a socially shared norm that one should experience foreign places and cultures to evolve into an interesting and educated adult.

As such, notions of foreignness, culture, and authenticity are also central in journeying. These notions are intertwined with the orientation towards formative experiences, expressing a discourse of Bildung in the encounter with the foreign (Læssøe & Lysgaard, 2024). This discourse relies on notions of the local, authentic, and of culture and foreignness, often as a contrast to places and activities associated with mass tourism. This discourse transpires in the performance of Mikkel (21), who says about a trip to Central America he is planning with a friend: "We want to get there and then try to figure out some of the stuff that isn't on the websites, […], like finding some of the locals and seeing if you can do some cool stuff."

These notions of foreignness and authenticity are most commonly associated with distant cultures and destinations, as the examples of trips to Asia and Central America show. However, especially in the performances of experienced practitioners who have previously experienced faraway destinations, the same notions can apply to more nearby and even domestic destinations reachable by train or bus—a finding elaborated on in the second part of this chapter.

Journeying is thus organised by notions of foreignness, wanderlust, and locality, as well as of orientations toward adventure and challenging yourself in order to grow. These notions are often tied to distant settings, and this reflects the central connection between notions of foreignness and the materiality of journeying. The practice's materiality is described in the following.

5.3.2. The materiality of journeying

As the name indicates, journeying is very much a practice of mobility and travelling between places, and as such, mobility infrastructures are central in organising the practice. Contrary to vacationing, the critical feature for journeying is not that these infrastructures bring the young adults from A to B with a minimum of effort and time. Rather, transportation often takes up a

role as a part of the experience, and as such, the important thing is not so much that it is convenient, but rather that it is experienced as authentic, enriching, and cheap. This is e.g. reflected in the performance of Laura (23), who hitchhiked with three friends when journeying: "We were four people who went together, and then we were also kind of prepared that it was like, 'we're doing it for the adventure rather than for the transportation', right." She passionately describes people they met, the challenges they faced, and how they solved them, underscoring the connection between mobility infrastructures and the notions of adventure, foreignness, and formative experiences described above.

At the same time, journeying often entails travelling to very distant locations. These locations are usually reached by swift and predictable aviation infrastructure before venturing into more adventurous and local means of transport, as seen in a performance by Frederik (20) and his friends:

> I went to South America [...] and then we just took it from there. [...] We went by bus a lot, and like, took a 27-hour bus trip. And it was actually fine, like, you can handle that. And then once you're back in Denmark, it's like, you can reach almost all of Europe in 27 hours by bus, so...

As the last sentence shows, experiences with surface transport in distant countries can introduce alternatives to flying in ensuing vacationing or journeying performances. But even then, aeromobility is still central as a lifeline, enabling journeying's notions of adventure to prevail without causing feelings of unsafety. As Jasper (22) says: "I have never thought, like 'okay, it will go horribly wrong', because I could always book a ticket home or call my parents." As such, aeromobility plays an important role in organising journeying, even if other mobility infrastructures transpire more strongly through their connections with notions of authenticity and locality.

Journeying's notions of adventure and spontaneity also connect strongly with a different infrastructure organising journeying, namely that of hostel accommodation. Hostels transpire as an ecosystem for meeting fellow practitioners and figuring out what to do, where to go, and how to get there. As Simon (25) says: "I have just figured out that when you're journeying in hostels, that's really where everything happens."

Hostel and mobility infrastructures play somewhat similar roles in the practice. As Simon says, "It's in a hostel that you meet the fun people. Or by travelling around by bus instead of flying, you may also meet some people, get around cheaper, and get some experiences along the way." Both mobility and hostel infrastructures thus connect with the orientations of

journeying, and both are also infrastructures for figuring out the trip's next steps in themselves.

Furthermore, these material infrastructures are facilitated by digital infrastructures such as apps and websites that help practitioners find and make use of them. Examples of such digital infrastructures mentioned by the informants are Google Maps, Hostelworld.com, workaway.info, and Instagram's 'discover' feature. These digital platforms are often inconspicuous to the young adults, but they nevertheless play a central role in enabling journeying in its current form. The roles of these digital platforms are elaborated in Chapter 7.

As such, the central material elements of journeying are both hostels and mobility infrastructures that enable adventurous and spontaneous modes of travelling, a lifeline in the form of aero-mobility, and digital infrastructures that enable young adults to make plans as they go. A comprehensive range of competences is entailed in knowing how to go on with this materiality, as will be described in the following.

5.3.3. The competences of journeying

Journeying is organised by a large array of competences connected with navigating both the infrastructures entailed in the practice and the teleoaffectivity and notions of foreignness and culture at play in it. In many ways, journeying is all about mastering unpredictable situations and challenges, as reflected in Simon's (25) account of his first journeying performance at age 17: "I experienced some things that went wrong. And then I thought 'it's damn fun to try to figure out solutions'."

Figuring out solutions entails a lot of different competences which are generally not familiar from other practices in the young adults' trajectories. Many of these competences pertain to "knowing how to go on" (Schatzki, 2002) in journeying, e.g. knowing that hostels are a good place for meeting people and figuring out where to go next, knowing how to find the right kinds of hostels, knowing how to get in touch with fellow practitioners and local people, and knowing the balance between challenging yourself and putting yourself in danger.

As is often the case for understandings involved in knowing how to go on, the competences of journeying are subtle and inconspicuous for experienced practitioners, but they prevail clearly to less experienced practitioners for whom they are not yet embodied and routinised. Lina (21) e.g. realised on a train trip how many competences are in fact at play in journeying:

I actually thought it was really stressful that you were, like, on Interrail, where you constantly have to plan where you're going next time. and you haven't reserved a train ticket and stuff... [...] I thought that was pretty, well, difficult.

The competences entailed are also tangible for Laura (23), who dreams of hiking in Norway. While she has much experience with vacationing, she contends, "I simply don't know how you approach it with such a kind of troublesome trip."

These quotes reflect how journeying is not something you easily do. A lot of competences are part of the configuration, and this is perhaps even part of making journeying appealing to its practitioners, as it is intimately connected with the central orientation towards challenging yourself to learn more about yourself and the world. The competences also relate to the regulation configuring journeying, which is described in the following.

5.3.4. The regulation of journeying

The form of regulation that seems to most strongly organise journeying is perhaps also what connects the most with vacationing, namely tax regulation and other policies that affect the prices of different forms of mobility. However, price plays a somewhat different role in journeying, transpiring less as a notion of making a good deal and more as a practical restriction on the length and composition of the trip. Journeying usually takes place during long vacations from educational institutions or in gap years completely outside the usual vacation restraints of jobs or studies, and as such, the main limiting factor is money rather than limited and collectively timed vacation days or weeks. As Kamma (19) says about the relative price of train travel compared to flying, "that's exactly where the issue is. For me it is not so much the time anymore – I think it's the price. It makes such a crazy difference in your budget because you don't have very much money." This is a recurring pattern, showing that while spending more time on surface transport is not an issue when journeying, spending more money is. For Kamma, a half-price discount on interrail tickets made her and her friends travel by train instead of flying, reflecting her assessment that the difference in price, not in convenience, is the main impediment. In fact, the relative inconvenience of alternatives to flying connects with notions of foreignness and adventure. As such, the current lack of regulation streamlining international rail mobility does not necessarily affect journeying, but the regulation that positions air travel favourably in economic terms play an important part in reinforcing flight-based forms of journeying, which has implications for the prospects of climate-friendly practice change.

5.3.5. Summing up journeying

Journeying thus prevails as a practice characterised by orientations towards adventure, challenges, and formative experiences, organised by mobility infrastructures construed as authentic and troublesome, but underpinned by aviation as a lifeline for reaching distant destinations and getting home again. Often anything but convenient and effortless, the practice is organised by both competences and digital infrastructures that enable navigating, booking accommodation, and improvising along the way. The central notions of wanderlust, foreignness and formative experiences are often tied to foreign settings, reinforcing air travel's role in the practice. And while the relative inconvenience of alternatives to flying is not an issue, the price difference is, as money is often the constraining factor in journeying, while time is less of a restriction. For more experienced practitioners, however, the central orientations also connect with settings closer to home, pointing to a climate-friendly alternative practice, which is discussed in the chapter's second half below.

5.4. The climate crisis and vacation practices

The sections above have outlined the young adults' vacation practices, identifying two distinct practice entities, vacationing and journeying, which are performed and organised in different ways. This part of the chapter describes the dynamics of climate-friendly practice change that can be identified in current vacation practices, and discusses the potentials and impediments for climate-friendly practice change that transpire in situated performances and in the configurations of the practice entities. In so doing, it answers research question 2; *In which ways does the climate crisis interact with the configuration of these practices, and which elements of the practices support and challenge climate-friendly practice change?*

The section starts by outlining the ongoing processes of climate-friendly practice change that can be identified in young adults' performances of vacation practices. Finding that there are situated changes, but not broader change of the practice entities, the section goes on to consider the potential and impediments for change posed by each practice's organisation. In so doing, this part of the analysis builds on insights from the definition of climate-friendly vacation practices and the impediments for climate-friendly practice change outlined in the literature review in chapter 2.

5.4.1. Climate friendly practice change

While climate-friendly practice change is not a general pattern emerging in the data, there are examples that young adults' vacation practices have changed in relation to the climate crisis. The most tangible change is that a few young adults have stopped flying completely – a climate-friendly change that cuts across the two different practice entities. One of them is Simone (21), who describes the change as a combination of climate concern and the influence of the COVID-19 pandemic, which routinised different forms of vacations. She says:

> *The past five years I've had this no-fly principle, and that has definitely opened up my eyes to where I have been able to go [...]. I think that has made a big difference for the way I perceive, like, exciting countries, that there is a whole lot close by.*

Other young adults have not stopped flying, but express concern about the climate crisis, which impacts their vacation practices, e.g. by rendering air travel a less obvious and ingrained infrastructure. One of them is Jasper (22), who is in the same focus group as Simone and reacts to her account, saying:

> *Well… I'm not where you are yet. Hope to get there one day. I mean, where you can completely let go of flying. I think I will fly again. But definitely, it's part of my considerations. [...] For instance you can take domestic flights in South America or wherever you are, and then you could perhaps take a bus instead. I would definitely choose that instead of taking such a small flight. So, it is something I think about.*

As Jasper's example reflects, the climate crisis plays a role in some way in most of the young adults' vacations, and often it is connected with tangible experiences and media coverage of extreme weather, either at home or abroad. That is e.g. the case for Flora (28), who visited areas affected by wildfires in Italy during a summer vacation between the two interviews.

> *We drove around in places in the countryside and wanted to see different natural areas. And there was particularly one time where we simply couldn't get access to that place because there were so many fires in the area. And at that point I definitely thought, "okay, wow, that's…" Yeah, I thought about the climate, right?*

She describes how she also noticed that the summer in Denmark stayed warm for unusually long and that there were many news reports about abnormal weather in other countries. All of it made her think more about the climate crisis. However, for many – including Flora – climate concern does not lead to practice change when it enters into the practice, as it has in Simone's context. For Flora, it mainly introduces feeling powerless, as she describes in a powerful account that conveys a routinised shared understanding amongst the young adults.

In an ideal world, everyone would have changed their habits, and then we would all fly less and eat less meat and, uhm... yeah, live differently, because then we could, like, solve this problem collectively. So, if I think that everyone should do it, then of course I also ought to do it myself. But I have so little trust in everybody else doing it that I think, "well, but then it doesn't matter what I do." It doesn't make a difference anyway, or I'm not confronted with the consequences in my daily life enough for me to feel it on my own body.

As described in the introduction of the chapter, the shared understanding that "the flight flies either way" – or, here, "it doesn't matter what I do" – plays a central part in maintaining the current, carbon-intensive organisations of both practices, and this dynamic transpires clearly in Flora's performance.

In the cases where the carbon-intensive practice isn't maintained, one of the contributing factors seems to be that the alternative, climate-friendly practice is shared with others. Simone's (21) account reflects tangible experiences of climate change similar to what Flora expresses, but in Simone's context it has a different effect – both in her performance and for the people she shares it with:

It makes my stomach hurt that people just go to – like, fly to places in Asia and just have a luxurious time there. There are also floods and storms there caused in part by us flying. [...] That has definitely affected me and a lot of my friends. There is a bit of shame in saying "well, I'll just fly to Alanya over the weekend".

If other practitioners change their practices too, the saying that "the flight flies either way" it seems to lose its impact. This dynamic played out in the interaction between Simone and Jasper described above. It is also the case for Vera (19), who stopped flying together with her family – a collective practice change which was accompanied by an understanding that wat they do makes a difference:

I think we got an insight that told us that it might be that it takes structural changes. But the fact that we do... well, don't fly or eat meat or something like that, it makes some kind of difference in some kind of way. At least that we affect each other's habits somehow.

As these examples show, there are situated examples of climate-friendly practice change, but they are too dispersed to transpire as changes to the practice entity as such. Nevertheless, they amount to flickering signs of potential climate-friendly change. This potential takes different forms in the different practice entities, but the questions of flying and of whether what you do makes a difference are common features across both, as we will see in the next sections.

5.4.2. Prospects of climate-friendly vacationing

In vacationing, the centrality of convenience, relaxation and hard-earned quality time is the most central impediment for climate-friendly practice change. As Caroline's (20) situated practice illustrates, travelling to a sunny destination abroad appears as a bulletproof way of vacationing, whereas her recent summer vacation – a less-carbon-intensive stay in a Danish summerhouse – was not quite:

> *This year it was just something like 18 degrees and cloudy for three weeks. That wasn't really great. But that's just how it is sometimes. But it does feel a bit like a waste of vacation. Because it's not what we wanted.*

At the same time, Caroline describes a trip to Norway the previous summer as one of her best summer vacations:

> *I was in the fjeld for a week without internet […]. Just me and my dad in a tent. It was really fantastic. And it was sunny everyday, warm. And at night there was lightning and thunder every day. We were climbing on rocks and looking at rivers.*

A summer spent tenting and climbing rocks in Norway is not the archetypical form of vacationing, but it is clear from Caroline's account that it contained all the important features of a good vacation – perhaps somewhat to her own surprise. The sunny weather might have helped, and other central vacationing elements – i.e. quality time and unwinding from everyday life – were also firmly in place and helped configure it as a good vacation. In Caroline's trajectory, this constitutes a novel form of vacationing, but similar performances of vacationing in Denmark or neighbouring countries are widespread across the young adults' performances, showing that vacationing can take less carbon-intensive forms – and already does.

In general, a considerable part the young adults' vacationing takes place in more nearby destinations – especially in the form of summer cottage vacations in Denmark or camping or train trips in neighbouring countries. This represents ways of practising vacationing locally, but there is a lack of convenient, climate-friendly alternatives to flying for the still prevalent form of vacationing that involves travelling to more distant settings. As previously described, convenience and relaxation are essential notions in vacationing, and in most young adults' practice, these notions do not connect with international train or bus travel infrastructures – even if such transportation is intelligible for the same young adults when journeying. It clearly shows in the practice of Lina (21), who usually starts by looking for bus and train routes as a climate-friendly option but ends up buying flight tickets because "then at the end

you look at Ryanair and see that it costs 300 DKK return, and then you're like, 'rest in peace'." While the low flight fares play a role, it is mainly the relative layout of the different transport infrastructures that ends up rendering flying more attractive. As she says: "It's actually mostly because the alternative options are so miserable. I mean… that's actually the main reason, that it's just so troublesome." Broader climate-friendly practice change in the context of vacationing thus requires more convenient mobility options to replace flying.

It is worth highlighting that whether mobility options such as train traffic are convenient or not is not an absolute property of the infrastructure itself. As pointed out by Shove (2014, p. 422), the characteristic of a mode of transport "is instead related to the systemic configuration of this practice and of others in terms of which it is defined." Apart from the infrastructural layouts themselves, alternatives to flying are also defined by the competences entailed in them, which appear much less consolidated in the practice landscape than those entailed in flying. This is reflected in Laura's (23) observation that "if there was only that option [train travel], I don't think it would be very hard". This shows that while the relative inconvenience of climate-friendly transport alternatives is partly due to the layout of the infrastructure itself, it is also affected by the relative position of e.g. train travel in the practice landscape more broadly – for instance the level of experience with it and the distribution of the relevant competences in the practice landscape. In Hoolohan's study of employer-paid journey days for travelling on vacation without flying (2024), participation improved employees' ability to navigate complex surface travel and unsettled previously held ideas that normalised flying. As such, even within existing infrastructures, there is potential in rendering alternative mobility forms more convenient and accessible by increasing the young adults' relative access to and experience with them, e.g. through study or family trips by train or bus.

A final central element to note when discussing climate-friendly vacationing is the regulation organising it. As described, vacationing is organised by regulation of e.g. normal working hours, annual weeks of vacation, and grade or other requirements in the work or study practices central to many young adults' everyday lives. This connects strongly with the central orientations towards relaxation, convenience and well-earned indulgence in the practice's current, carbon-intensive form. Different regulation of working hours and number of vacation weeks might thus support a reconfiguration of vacationing with less centrality of convenience and effective relaxation – a point which is underpinned by the effects of additional paid leave for employees travelling on vacation without flying (Hoolohan, 2024). A clear example to

this effect transpires in the situated practice of Jens (23), who has shifted from a demanding full-time job to part-time work with more free time, which has rendered the relaxation and convenience of vacationing less necessary. As he puts it:

It doesn't have to be like you have an everyday life that you need to escape from. So I think I've tried to build an everyday life that works for me, and then I don't really need to get away.

The change in Jens' practice resembles the pursuit identified in the Swedish flight-free movement to reconfigure both vacations and the broader everyday lives that create a need for long-distance travel (Ullström, 2024). And it provides food for thought that such relatively wide-spanning practice change has occurred based on changes limited to Jens' situated everyday context. This goes to show that vacationing is strongly intertwined with other everyday life practices, and that fostering climate-friendly practice change also involves considering and reconfiguring these related practices. But it also shows that with such an approach, change *can* happen, even within the current practice landscape.

5.4.3. Prospects of climate-friendly journeying

The configuration of journeying entails somewhat different potentials and barriers for climate-friendly practice change than those concerning vacationing. A central first difference is that while the lack of convenient and relaxing surface transport impedes climate-friendly vacationing, this is not necessarily the issue for journeying. As previously described, journeying is configured by orientations towards adventure, unpredictability and mastering the unknown, and these can connect with the sometimes patchwork-like international train and bus networks. An example is Alfred (23), who experienced delays and cancellations when journeying by train in his summer vacation, but didn't mind the extra travel time and effort too much:

I think it was an adventure, really. Then I got to go with some other trains. And then I got... I got into Disneyland, where I changed trains. [...] I wouldn't have gotten that experience otherwise.

His situated practice illustrates how somewhat inconvenient transportation is not necessarily an impediment for journeying in more climate-friendly ways. It is, however, important to his experience that there was reimbursement for the delay, and this points to another central aspect that currently interferes with climate-friendly prospects, namely the prices of different mobility forms. As described, it is central in journeying that the transportation involved is cheap, and the relatively low air fares thus constitute a large impediment for climate-friendly practice change.

However, the perhaps largest impediment for climate-friendly journeying is the strong connection of the central orientations towards wanderlust, authenticity, and formative experiences with geographically distant locations. To experienced practitioners, these notions are not necessarily tied to very distant locations, as an exchange between experienced journeyers Simone (21) and Jasper (22) illustrates:

> Simone: "I think I have gotten much more of an, 'okay, there really is much more within Europe [...]. Because there is often that, like, mentality, that the further away, the more exotic."

> Jasper: "I don't have it anymore either, that one. It isn't necessary to go so far away. [...] like, 'maybe I don't have to travel that far away to find...' whatever it is you need to find.

Simone and Jasper's accounts reflect the practice's orientations towards adventure and foreignness, but in their performances, it is connected with less distant destinations. They both describe journeying in Denmark as well as Interrail in other European countries as nearby adventures which can compare with journeying in more distant locations. But they also both contend that they might not have seen it that way if they hadn't had embodied experiences of the distant adventure to compare with. This is consistent with other young adults' accounts and appears to be a common trait; notions of adventure, otherness, and authenticity only connect with settings closer to home once you have experienced them afar. If journeying in more nearby destinations is only practically intelligible once you've done it in distant corners of the world, it is a notable impediment to climate-friendly change. It also indicates that there is a certain form of learning involved in the long-distance trips – a finding analysed in Chapter 6.

The strong social significance of formative journeys seemingly expands this schism. The social valuation of experiencing distant cultures first-hand is pivotal in keeping journeying in its current configuration, and it would thus require a reorientation of this norm towards nearby cultures and adventures to enable climate-friendly practice change.

Social media content is one possible means for connecting these notions of adventure and wanderlust with nearby locations. Social media prevail in young adults' situated practice as impactful infrastructures for finding inspiration for their vacations, and content encountered here transpires as significant for practice changes in different young adults' trajectories, as Chapter 7 will show. Different practice representations in social media content are evidently not a quick-fix solution, but it is an avenue for reconfiguring the orientations that currently seem to maintain carbon-intensive long-haul travel as a central element in journeying. Chapter 7 will delve more into the ways vacation practices are conveyed in social media content

and the potentials and impediments it entails for climate-friendly practice change. As such, much still remains before these situated climate-friendly performances transpire as changes in the practice entity of journeying, but situated performances in some young adults' contexts reflect that there is potential for climate-friendly practice change, which still accommodates wanderlust and the central orientations towards formative experiences.

5.5. Partial conclusion: Young adults' vacation practices in the climate crisis

This first part of the analysis has identified and described two practice entities that transpire in young adults' vacation practices – *vacationing* and *journeying* – and the potential they each entail for climate-friendly practice change. These two practices share a reliance on aviation, which makes them carbon-intensive in their current form, and which is underpinned by the favourable position of flying in the practice landscape compared to alternative mobility forms, as well as by a strong common orientation towards foreignness and a saying that "the flight flies either way".

Vacationing is centrally configured by notions of relaxation and indulgence as an antidote to demanding everyday lives, creating an experienced need to leave the everyday context in convenient ways, entailing a perceived minimum of competences – all of which favours flying in the current practice landscape. Yet less carbon-intensive forms of vacationing also transpire, e.g. in summer cottages or on train and camping trips in nearby countries. And as Jens' powerful example shows, it is possible to reconfigure the carbon intensity of vacationing more broadly by building an everyday life that you don't "need to escape from".

Journeying, on the other hand, is oriented towards adventure, challenges and formative experiences, bringing a range of competences into play and making less accessible mobility intelligible – but also relying on strong orientations towards foreignness and authenticity, which direct it towards distant destinations. Climate-friendly performances of journeying do transpire, e.g. on Interrail and hiking trips. But it seems that it requires embodied, first-hand experience of distant locations to connect the notions of formative experiences with more nearby settings. This indicates that learning dynamics play a role in the potential for climate-friendly practice change. Social media content also seems to help forge connections between notions of foreignness and nearby destinations.

As such, this chapter has provided descriptions of traits in the two practices that impede and support climate-friendly practice change, but it has also outlined how these dynamics work in

the practice. As such, the description of vacationing and journeying contributes to understanding not just *what* inhibits and enables climate-friendly practice change, but also *how* it does so. This analysis indicates that tangibly sharing alternative practices with others makes a difference, and that there are important learning dynamics involved in climate-friendly changes. To get a fuller grasp on the dynamics involved in these change processes, the next chapter engages the framework of learning to delve deeper into the young adults' learning trajectories and the communities in which they perform and learn these practices.

6.   Analysis part II: Climate-friendly learning in vacation practices

The previous chapter outlined the young adults' vacation practices and their more or less climate-friendly configurations, pointing out the two prevailing practice entities – vacationing and travelling – and their respective organising elements. This chapter builds on that analysis, asking; *which dynamics of situated learning can be identified in young adults' vacation practice trajectories, and in which ways does this learning relate to broader climate-friendly practice change?* The analysis of learning in young adults' trajectories relies on the seven features of learning outlined in chapter 3.2, understanding learning as a social and practical process which forms trajectories, happens along the way and augments the practitioner's operability in practices in different ways, including through normative articulations of appropriate practice. The findings in this chapter build primarily on the interview data, as the interviews were designed to outline the young adults' learning trajectories. Focus group data is included as a supplement to the extent that it entails relevant findings, particularly to show examples of potentially ongoing social learning.

Seeking to relate learning to climate-friendly practice change, the chapter first explores learning dynamics related to the different organising elements, providing examples and analysing how they affect the potential for climate-friendly practice change. At the same time, the analysis situates these processes within the communities of practice in which vacations play out and in the learning trajectories of which they are a part.

The second half of the chapter focuses on normative learning as it prevails in the young adults' trajectories. It describes how normative learning relates to the practice, to other forms of learning, and to the broader community of practice, pointing out the particular potentials and dynamics of climate-friendly practice change that such learning entails.

6.1. Material learning

As described, material learning reflects Schatzki's observation that augmented operability includes learning to use and relate to a wider range of the "artifacts, organisms, and things in

the settings in which practices are carried out" (Schatzki, 2017). This form of learning can either arise directly from interaction with material objects or environments or enhance one's ability to employ or integrate material aspects – e.g. fiddling with a sunbed and figuring out how to adjust the backrest, or coming to seek vacation desires in settings not previously associated with vacations, either through direct interactions with such settings or through mediatised or discursive representations of them.

The young adults' trajectories reflect material learning in several ways. The most impactful form relates to the practices' broad material settings, namely the environments, sceneries, landscapes and localities where vacations occur. This form of learning involves sensory experiences of engaging with different environments and learning to pursue and perform central vacation desires and orientations in these settings. Such learning resembles the understanding of "horizon expansion in encounters with the foreign" described as a form of Bildung (Læssøe & Lysgaard, 2024), which transpired particularly in journeying. But, surprisingly often, this kind of learning occurs in settings that might not at first glance appear foreign, either in Denmark or in neighbouring countries. This e.g. transpires in Caroline's enthusiasm about her summer vacation in Norway, which not only showed her places she didn't think existed but also taught her that they can be found much closer to home than she expected: "It is this fantasy-like thing that only exists on the internet. But it is only like six hours' travel away by car. It was completely amazing to see that with my own eyes."

Several young adults express similar learning from engagement with material settings and objects, both as part of vacationing and journeying practices and from other practices that their trajectories also run through. Many of their common features can be illustrated in Laura's (23) trajectory.

Laura gradually acquires augmented operability in vacationing by using and relating to Danish landscapes, hiking infrastructures, and the tangible sensorial experiences they can afford. Her trajectory entails material learning already in the first interview in spring 2023, where she describes a development that particularly prevailed during her most recent summer vacation:

I have begun to think, after COVID I think, that it's much nicer to go on more local trips. And do it a bit more for the relaxation and the vacation in itself, and not the destination. So last summer, I was also on Bornholm, hiking around Bornholm. And I had a lot of friends who were actually also doing it kind of at the same time. And there were so many who talked about that it was just really lovely. And then I think, once you got past that unhygienic, "yuck, yuck" – it wasn't exactly

luxurious, you don't sleep super well when you sleep in a shelter like that. But it is just super awesome to be outside.

While Laura states that this kind of vacationing is not about the destination, her account reflects that the setting and its materiality have played a role in her learning trajectory. Her account reflects that she is learning to engage with and appreciate the materiality of shelters, camping hygiene, hiking trails, and the access to views, scenery and being outside they afford – and that she is perhaps still in the process of learning to wholeheartedly connect this materiality with notions of relaxation and quality time as much as with "yuck, yuck" and not sleeping "super well". The affordances of these forms of materiality reveal themselves to her through practice, and this learning clearly occurs together with peers. This community of practice transpires as important for her learning process, enabling not only her engagement with the material settings, but also the connection with notions of relaxation and sensorial pleasure that help integrate these materialities into her vacation practices.

Laura's learning trajectory reflects further material learning in the second interview, after she and her family have spent their summer vacation in a rented summer cottage in Northern Jutland. Laura talks enthusiastically about their engagements with the local environment:

They had all these little farm shops, which were amazing. [...] We also talked about that it's crazy that we have so many fields, but why do we never get things fresh? And then I had, for the first time in my life, I think, these potatoes that were completely new, and then I just thought "what?!", like, "is this what that tastes like?!". It was completely insane. But it was also, they had just been dug up from the field, so that was – I never think I've had them like that. I mean, had stuff that people simply just went out onto the field and dug up and then sold. It was really, really awesome.

The enthusiasm ingrained in Laura's experience is tangible, and her material learning expresses a clear sensorial component, stemming from her embodied experience with the fresh crops, their culinary affordances, and their connection with the surrounding landscape. She has evidently acquired a broader and more attuned operability in vacation practices from engaging with the fresh produce, the farm shops in which it was sold, and the embodied-sensorial experience of buying, preparing, and savouring it right by the field where it was grown. This learning seems to add to her already augmented operability, enabling her to perform vacation practices in more varied and attuned ways by engaging with local material settings.

It is also clear in this case that the community of practice has affected the learning process, as Laura's experience with the local produce evidently resulted from vacationing with her parents and their somewhat larger wallets. As she says about some artisan beverages they also

bought: "They sell it, totally overpriced. But then I really had my mom convinced that we had to try that, and then it just tasted super awesome". Based on this remark and the role of low prices in vacationing, it seems unlikely that she would have spent money on these "totally overpriced" food items herself or on a vacation with peers. This emphasises that certain experiences become accessible in some communities of practice and not others, and that certain forms of materiality, particularly of commodities, are not necessarily available or accessible to all practitioners.

Overall, Laura's trajectory reflects how learning can result from embodied sensorial experiences with particular material objects and environments, and how it can augment operability in vacation practices, which can enable practice changes. Such learning sometimes pertains to the sensorial experience of a wider material setting, e.g. the embodied experience that the scenery on Bornholm is pleasing, or that hiking in the Danish outdoors is enjoyable and relaxing. Other times, it pertains more directly to learning to use artifacts or objects – in Laura's case, e.g., learning to use shelters and other camping infrastructures or learning that potatoes dug right out of the soil taste heavenly.

As Laura's trajectory also illustrates, these forms of learning are not restricted to foreign settings, as the strong shared understandings of "horizon expansion in the encounter with the foreign" might otherwise suggest (Læssøe & Lysgaard, 2024). Rather, the young adults' learning often stems from interaction with settings closer to home. This goes to show that material learning is at least not restricted to foreign settings, and this is important for the prospect of climate-friendly vacationing.

Laura's learning from domestic settings should be seen in light of her longer trajectory, which has involved much vacationing abroad. As such, she seems to have learned to engage with foreign settings throughout her practice trajectory, while the domestic settings are less familiar. As she says: "When you can be explorative and get a bit lost abroad, then I also want to see if I can do the same thing in Denmark."

This finding reflects a central point. As described, Bildung has long been associated with "horizon expansion in the encounter with the foreign" (Læssøe & Lysgaard, 2024) – a shared understanding associated with the cultural history of the Grand Tour, the journeyman years, the canonical Bildungsroman, and other impactful descriptions (Horlacher, 2016). As the previous chapter showed, this understanding still shapes young adults' vacation practices. On the

one hand, the learning dynamics identified here show that such horizon expansion can also occur in settings closer to home. On the other hand, the trajectories of Laura and others indicate that the distant settings do perhaps enable a specific, and important, kind of learning – namely the embodied experience that these distant settings are perhaps not as foreign as expected, which appears as a prerequisite for reenchanting the vicinity. This learning transpires clearly in the trajectories of previously mentioned Simone (21) and Jasper (22), who have both learned that settings closer to home have much to offer after journeying in transcontinental destinations:

Simone: I really think I have just generally had my eyes opened to what everything nearby also has to offer. That you don't have to go to...

Jasper: (interrupting) Thailand.

Simone: Thailand, exactly, or something to...

Jasper: (interrupting) find happiness.

Simone: ... find that huge happiness, I can easily just go the North Sea and look at it, and be like, "yes, I get it."

Jasper: I can follow that.

Simone: […] Yeah, I think it has affected the way I perceive, like, exciting countries, that there is so much close by, too. That you haven't visited, or you don't know much about.

Jasper: […] I actually think it's pretty healthy. To like, find happiness in the nearby. And like, adventure, because that is what you're seeking, that sense of adventure. You can also find that nearby.

Simone and Jasper have acquired augmented operability, enabling them to perform vacations in nearby destinations that invoke the same notions of excitement and adventure. While their current performances show that nearby settings can entail similar experiences, their trajectories suggest that they have acquired the learning that enables it through their embodied encounters with distant settings. As such, their trajectories reflect a paradoxical point; namely that may be as much horizon expansion and learning to be gained from nearby settings as from distant ones, but that it takes an encounter with the foreign to learn that it is perhaps not as foreign as expected.

As highlighted in the conceptualisation in Chapter 3, learning is both varied and personal. This can be illustrated by following Simon's (25) learning trajectory, which reflects material learning from similar experiences but with a different effect. In between the two rounds of interviews, Simon went journeying in Central and Eastern Europe. Experiencing the urban and

architectural settings firsthand made him realise that they were less foreign than he expected – a form of learning that resembles what Simone and Jasper express. However, in Simon's case, this didn't make him reconsider what foreignness is and where it can be encountered – instead, it made him want to travel further in search of the kind of foreignness he had hoped for:

> I had hoped that the difference between Denmark and these Central-East-European countries was bigger, but it wasn't, and therefore I want to travel further east, where I have some expectation that I can experience a larger divide.

On the one hand, Simon's experience reflects that he has gained augmented operability in the form of a more excellent and attuned understanding of the material settings in the visited Eastern European countries. Contrary to Simone and Jasper, however, this has not adjusted the notions of foreignness and thus enabled him to perform vacation practices in more nearby settings. Rather than loosening the connection between distance and foreignness, Simon's material learning has seemingly reinforced it, relocating his notion of the foreign to more distant settings.

Simon's account thus shows how learning is variable and personal, meaning that different practitioners do not necessarily learn the same things from the same practice. But it also shows that it makes a difference whether the learning pertains only to one element or to several related elements in the practice. Simon's augmented operability relates to materiality only, consisting of a knowledge that the material settings in the visited countries were less different than expected. This learning was not accompanied by e.g. teleoaffective learning in the form of a more attuned or flexible notion of foreignness and difference, as it was for Simone and Jasper. In the context of climate-friendly practice change, this means that similar forms of material learning have opposite effects in the young adults' trajectories.

As such, these examples illustrate how the young adults acquire different forms of augmented operability from their interactions with material settings both near and far, and that this learning is often strongly sensorial and embodied. These kinds of learning make the young adults more capable of using and relating to objects and broader settings, allowing them to perform vacation practices in more elaborate and varied ways. Their trajectories show that material learning is not necessarily more prone to happen either domestically or abroad: it can occur in both kinds of settings and indeed does for most of the young adults. This challenges the widespread understanding that encounters with distant or foreign settings are necessary for

something to constitute a formative journey. However, it seems that a certain form of material learning can particularly be found in distant settings, namely an embodied realisation that these settings are not necessarily as foreign as widespread understandings suggest. While such learning causes some young adults to develop more attuned or flexible notions of foreignness, it does not involve such teleoaffective learning for other young adults. This has important implications for the potential for climate-friendly practice change, and it highlights both the situated, personal character of learning and the importance of its relations to different practice elements. In particular, it points to the significance of teleoaffective learning, which is described in the next section.

6.2. Teleoaffective learning

Teleoaffective learning occurs in pronounced ways in the young adults' vacation practices, and as we began to see in the previous section, this form of learning has important implications for the prospects of climate-friendly practice change. There are many and varying examples of learning that involve encountering and incorporating new orientations, affectivity, or meanings into the teleoaffective structure, or which amount to a reorganisation of the hierarchical organisation of the structure's different content as it is expressed in situated performances. Both kinds of learning can be said to amount to a form of *teleoaffective restructuring* of the practice and thus connect closely with practice change dynamics.

The most obvious form of climate-friendly teleoaffective learning involves engaging with climate concern and integrating it into the practice's teleoaffective structure. Such dynamics transpire in several young adults' accounts. Vera's (19) trajectory e.g. reflects such learning, which has readjusted the teleoaffective structure in her performance of both vacationing and journeying, giving climate concern primacy over central notions like quality time, adventure, and wanderlust. This learning occurred as climate concern was introduced via her older sister's learning trajectory, carrying it from a folk high school context and into the family's food and vacation practices. Vera describes how this entailed teleoaffective learning both for herself and for her parents, with her sister acting as the more expert practitioner in the community of practice:

[She] passed it on to us and taught us, first we began eating vegetarian. And then I think we got an insight that told us that it might be that it takes structural changes. But the fact that we do... well, don't fly or eat meat or something like that, it makes some kind of difference in some kind of way. At least that we affect each other's habits somehow. So it happened gradually, and then

now... well, I haven't said that I will never ever fly again, because it might happen. I think it will. But at least that it happens with an awareness that it's not something you just do.

For Vera, an orientation towards reduced climate impact was thus integrated into vacationing by the community of practice in which she performed it, namely with her sister and parents. Their shared practice evolved together, and the collective dynamic seems to have sped up the learning processes involved and enforced its impact, enabling climate concern to not just be integrated into the teleoaffective structure, but to obtain a dominant position in the hierarchy and thus change the practice fundamentally. For Vera, the accompanying learning took place quickly and forcefully, and the teleoaffective restructuring prevailed clearly, changing the practice, but also augmenting her operability in it. As she says: "As soon as I got that consciousness, I was like, 'I don't feel like it takes anything away from me that I can't fly to Bali, for instance. But I can easily take the train to Barcelona'." As such, Vera's practice illustrates the occurrence of teleoaffective learning as a new orientation was introduced, which fundamentally altered the organisation of the practice's teleoaffective structure. This teleoaffective restructuring resulted in climate-friendly practice change, and in turn, Vera learned to perform both vacationing and journeying in different, creative, and more attuned ways.

Other informants are currently in the process of teleoaffective learning pertaining to climate concern. An example is Stella (23), whose learning trajectory has carried climate concern from vegetarian food practices into vacation practices, similarly to Vera's learning trajectory. In Stella's performance, the teleoaffective structure has not yet settled into a new hierarchy, which causes ongoing negotiations of the practice's orientations and material forms. In the first interview, she describes how she has a form of implicit standard of how much she feels comfortable flying: "For instance, if I took one long trip, then I would perhaps only take one trip in a year. I think I have some form of calculation, some kind of line in my head somehow."

During the summer vacation between the two interviews, she flew to a European capital as part of vacationing, and while she considered the climate when buying her ticket, it didn't play a big role during her vacation. In the second interview, she describes an ongoing negotiation in her vacation practices between orientations towards foreignness and distant locations and consideration of the climate impacts. As she says:

I don't want to be some kind of extremist who is like "I refuse to fly. I want to be a vegan. I only buy used clothes" and stuff like that. But I mean, I don't eat meat, and I travel, but I don't travel all that much. [...] I mean, I do what I can. Without being kind of extreme.

In this negotiation of the teleoaffective structure, the previously described notion that "the flight flies either way" seems to play a part, keeping climate concern to a less dominating role and connecting instead with notions of wanderlust. As Stella says about herself and her peers:

We are not exactly those who are in the ministerial positions and that kind of stuff yet, right. When we get there, it might be that we will stop travelling and so on. [...] But yeah, it is still a dream. I mean, we want to see the world. And then we must take the climate crisis into, you know, what to consider.

As such, Stella's trajectory has introduced a new orientation into the teleoaffective structure of vacationing, which entails learning as well as complex, ongoing negotiations that both challenge and enforce existing connections between elements. While climate concern is gaining a position in the teleoaffective structure, it is not necessarily a determining role – and Stella is seemingly still in the process of acquiring the augmented operability to flexibly cope with its impact on the practice. This shows how teleoaffective learning and climate-friendly practice change are not necessarily connected, but can co-evolve in complex ways.

This point is underscored by Lina's (21) trajectory, which clearly illustrates that these learning processes and related practice change processes do not unfold in linear ways. Lina's trajectory involves a form of learning similar to Vera's: the introduction of climate concern into the teleoaffective structure, prevailing as the central orientation and prompting practice change in the form of an exclusion of flying. However, in Lina's case, this reorganisation did not last. As she describes it:

I've thought about [climate change] much more in the past. I had a period where I really cared a lot about the climate. [...] and back then I was like 'I am never going to fly again, it's the weirdest and stupidest thing to do, why does anyone...'. And then I simply think I ran myself tired. [...] because you don't feel like anyone else is doing anything, the politicians aren't doing shit, and then I get like – then there's no bloody point. Which of course is not true either, but – yeah, somehow I've probably just given up a little bit and thought 'what is it really I want to do', and then closed my eyes a little bit.

In Lina's account, climate concern is still palpable in the practice's teleoaffective structure, but it has not retained its position as the main orientation. Rather, the practice change entailed feelings of frustration, futility, and an experienced lack of agency. These feelings worked to renegotiate and reduce the position of climate concern in the teleoaffective structure in favour of orientations towards indulgence, relaxation, and adventures, underpinned by a sense of resignation. This effect seems to have been enforced by the absence of climate concern in the communities of practice in which her performances took part. As she says:

I've actually never really had kind of a social circle that cared about it like that. So in that sense, you didn't get – there wasn't really that kind of recognition of it. [...] I think I would have kept up the spirit a bit more – if you were with others who were the same, so that you could hype each other up instead of always just being the one who was most angry and then you had to try to convince the rest.

Lina's trajectory illustrates that teleoaffective learning is neither a linear nor a solitary process, and this is part of the explanation that climate concern and climate-friendly practice change do not necessarily go hand in hand. Rather, teleoaffective learning involves recurrent negotiations and adjustments – sometimes leading to lasting practice change, other times oscillating back and forth, and yet other times working to reinforce the existing practice configuration. In these ongoing negotiations, the community of practice seems to play a vital role.

This is not only the case in relation to climate concern, but also for teleoaffective learning more broadly. A new community of practice at a folk high school helped Kamma (19) learn new orientations and aesthetics relevant to vacation practices. She describes how she is learning to desire new kinds of vacation activities and destinations through course discussions and other interactions at the folk high school:

We've started talking much more about the alternative vacation, which could also be a hiking trip to Bornholm or Sweden or something, like, closer. I have at least started to really see the nice things in it. [...] I really think my eyes have been opened to something I wouldn't have thought was my kind of thing before I started here. [...] Then everyone starts talking it up so you're like "what, yeah, that could actually be super nice". Then you get really keen to do it.

As Kamma's example shows, the community of practice plays a seminal role in learning different orientations. This can take the form of learning from close relations in an immediately present community of practice such as family and friends – a form that resembles findings from Bartiaux & Salmón (2014) and Wendler (2023) about the impact of significant others on practice changes. But the community of practice can also be virtual rather than immediately present, as Laakso and colleagues (2021) have also pointed out. This e.g. shows in Laura's (23) trajectory, where Instagram constitutes a mediatised community of practice for learning new orientations and aesthetics – e.g. from an influencer's reel, which prompted Laura to dream of hiking in Norway:

I can sometimes be spellbound by, like, the local route. And then there was someone once who had made a map of the most awesome cabins in Norway and the most amazing hikes you could take, and then she sold it, and she had made this reel about it, and I just thought "okay, wow, that's amazing".

After seeing that reel, Laura has started planning a hiking trip to Norway, which is a new

form of vacation for her. As such, the influencer's post seems to have introduced new orientations into Laura's practice.

A significant community of practice where young adults learn orientations entailed in vacation practices is their families and family friends. Many of the young adults express how they are learning orientations from parents, grandparents, and other older reference persons. And these orientations are often toward more frequent trips to foreign and distant destinations. Jasper's (22) trajectory reflects this dynamic:

You feel some kind of expectation that "that's what you do". [...] I'm also from a family which has travelled a fair bit, and my siblings, who are somewhat older than me, have also kind of – they have travelled, so for me it has been pretty natural that because they have done it, I have thought "if they do it, then I'll do it."

Such accounts are frequent in the trajectories of young adults from across the sample, and they highlight that young adults learn a large share of meanings and orientations from families and other older reference persons, and that they often reinforce carbon-intensive forms of both vacationing and journeying. This pattern works to the opposite effect of Vera's older sister, who introduced climate concern into the family's shared practice, but both examples highlight the importance of understanding change dynamics, or lack thereof, in light of the relevant communities of practice. The centrality of notions, advice, and stories from family networks clearly shows that the teleoaffective structure in young adults' vacation practices are not isolated from those of other generations. On the contrary, they appear as highly intertwined with the orientations and shared understandings of other age groups. Climate-friendly practice change in young adults' vacations is thus intertwined with similar changes among other age groups, too.

The young adults' learning trajectories thus show that teleoaffective learning is both prevalent and pivotal in fostering climate-friendly practice change, but that it involves complex interplays with other elements in the teleoaffective structure as well as with the communities of practice it occurs in. This tangibly points out some of the dynamics that explain why the presence of climate-friendly orientations far from guarantees climate-friendly practice change.

6.3. Competence learning

As the analysis in Chapter 5 showed, climate-friendly practice change often requires learning new competences or mastering already familiar ones. In the current practice landscape,

carbon-intensive competences are often more familiar and intelligible, and therefore, it entails competence learning to participate in less carbon-intensive vacation practices.

As one of the most experienced climate-friendly practitioners, Alfred's (23) trajectory is a good illustration of the kind of competence learning involved in climate-friendly vacation forms. Alfred has travelled by train since childhood, so he is a seasoned train traveller. So much so that he actually finds air travel harder than train travel: "I just think it's super troublesome, the whole thing about how you need to go to the airport and through security and everything". In contrast, Alfred's learning trajectory has equipped him with a range of competences pertaining to train travel – from knowing to allow ample time for delays at Hamburg main station to being familiar with different train operators and having an overview of routes, directions and main interchange hubs in Europe. These learned competences enable him to plan and participate in train travel with augmented operability. In many ways, Alfred epitomises an expert participant in Lave & Wenger's account (1991), enabling fellow practitioners to be legitimate peripheral participants in train-based vacation practices. In fact, he suspects that he is perhaps almost too much of an expert:

In reality, I think I might be handling too much of it on my own for those I'm travelling with to gain experience. I mean, it almost becomes like, they follow me, and that is pretty natural for me. [...] but then sometimes they approach me, like, "oh, shouldn't we go on interrail together".

Alfred, in turn, relies on other experts to continuously augment his operability. These experts are encountered in a mediatised community of practice, which e.g. plays out on X (previously Twitter) and a Facebook page for a train travel company. While Alfred has already gained augmented operability, he is continuously learning more competences, in part via mediatised communities of practice.

Interestingly, a similar community of practice prevails in Laura's trajectory, but without the same learning effect. As described above, Laura is still a peripheral participant in vacation practices that don't entail flying, but she is learning the orientations entailed in such practices from an influencer's Instagram account. However, it appears that she is struggling to learn competences in the same way. Though she mentions that the influencer has created a (purchasable) map of cabins and hikes to experience in Norway, it seems harder for her to learn competences via such a media than orientations. Even though such a vacation looks appealing, she says, "it just seems completely unmanageable." While an experienced train traveller like Alfred is able to build on his already expansive competences in mediatised communities

of practice, Laura's trajectory indicates that it is harder for more peripheral participants who do not have much previous competence. As she says:

> *I think a lot of the friends I follow, they also go on the kind of easier vacations. If there was a whole lot of my friends who started being like, "it's like this, you just have to do like this", [...] then I think it would be much easier.*

The difference between Laura and Alfred thus indicates that competence learning works differently than, for instance, teleoaffective learning, with different effects for different participants. For less experienced practitioners, it might require face-to-face communities of practice to access and acquire competences entailed in climate-friendly practice configurations, even if such learning can occur in digital communities of practice for more experienced learners. Similar dynamics have been identified with regard to solar PV's, where practitioners' learning from apps depended on face-to-face interactions with fellow practitioners (Tellarini, 2025). Though mediatised communities of practice can entail learning in some instances, competence learning is seemingly harder to acquire without physical co-presence. As the competences entailed in climate-friendly vacation forms are not very widespread, this constitutes an impediment, as mediatised communities of practice would otherwise provide easier access to expert practitioners. On the other hand, it highlights the significance of more expert practitioners like Alfred who can help fellow practitioners learn and thus potentially help circulate climate-friendly vacation practices.

6.4. Regulatory learning

Regulatory learning is not the most pronounced form of learning in the young adults' accounts, but it turns out to play an important role in their trajectories. As the previous chapter showed, regulation plays a significant role in the vacation practices by rendering certain doings and sayings intelligible and hindering others, even if it is not the most conspicuous organising element, and regulatory learning seems to work in a similar way.

One of the tangible impacts of regulatory learning relates to ticket booking systems and consumer protection rules. The analysis in Chapter 5 pointed out how train travel transpires as difficult compared to flying due to complex and incongruent regulations across countries (European Court of Auditors, 2018). As such, train travel alone illustrates that more climate-friendly vacation forms require regulative learning in the form of "flexibly coping with rules – obeying them, interpreting them, ignoring them, and taking them into account" (Schatzki,

2017, p. 32). As described above, Alfred is the most experienced train traveller, and while he already has an elaborate learning trajectory, he still exhibits regulatory learning across the two interviews. As Alfred describes, after a summer of travelling by train both while journeying and as the leader of a children's football team, the poor administration and regulatory protection of consumers in train travel stand out. As he describes his biggest takeaway from his summer vacation: "You definitely have to be prepared that things can fuck up. To a larger extent than I was before."

Alfred experienced the consequences of the patchwork regulation as he had tickets to connecting trains from different train operators. When one train got so delayed that he missed his connection, he was only reimbursed for the delay on the first train and had to find a new ticket for the next stretch, because neither of the operators took responsibility for the missed connection. His description reflects his already high level of regulatory operability, but also that it wasn't sufficient to cope with the complex regulation and relative lack of consumer protection:

Deutsche Bahn took responsibility for me being late to Mannheim. And for that I also got, what is it, a 50 percent refund when you're two hours late. So I got that. But they couldn't take responsibility for me not making a train that was booked on a separate ticket with a separate company.

Alfred's trajectory thus shows that regulatory learning is demanding and underscores that it requires a certain level of regulatory operability to participate in such vacation practices, limiting some young adults' access to participation in the first place.

A different form of regulatory learning that transpires in the young adults' practice is learning from the covid restrictions. In this case, the young adults have learned as a reaction to the travel restrictions caused by the covid-19 pandemic. While restrictions on international travel have been lifted, they have resulted in a perhaps unexpected kind of learning for the young adults, namely coping flexibly with rules in the sense of trying to travel as much as possible now, in case similar regulation should be introduced later. While the travel bans in some sense introduced domestic destinations and experiences into the young adults' practice, it has not broadly led to practice changes. Rather, it has perhaps reinforced their existing carbon-intensive form by providing the young adults with embodied experiences that the freedom to travel can be restricted in swift and unpredictable ways, seemingly ratcheting up their frequency after restrictions were lifted. As Alfred says:

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That whole thing with covid is perhaps a bit of a "travel when you can" kind of thing. I mean, you never know what's gonna happen in one or two years. [...] So there's some kind of fear in the back of my mind that all of a sudden perhaps I can't travel again. Which means that I want to be abroad for a longer period of time.

Tina expresses the same kind of learning from the COVID crisis, which still shapes her practice in tangible ways:

I think I've almost gotten such a – that I need to hurry. I need to make it to see it all. That I constantly need to prioritise my time really well. I have to see everything. I can get a bit pressured sometimes. That thing that you don't want to miss anything, that FOMO you get because you also see it on the internet, all kinds of places.

While the regulation that gave rise to these feelings of urgency is no longer in place, the young adults have learned to cope with it in flexible ways. This augmented operability still affects their practices by ratcheting up the frequency of their trips abroad and generally adding to a high pace, favouring carbon-intensive practice configurations.

However, there is also an interesting example of regulatory learning to the opposite effect. As previously mentioned, Jens' (23) practice illustrates a different way of reconfiguring vacation practices by seeking to integrate them more fundamentally into everyday life. This practice change partly involved teleoaffective learning, as climate concern gained a more dominant position in his practice. But a central part of the learning that instilled this practice change occurred during COVID, where he had to cut an ongoing journey short because of the travel restrictions:

I had to go home because of that, and then I think, for the next while I felt like – "I can't really [travel] for the next while, that much is clear". So then I had to do something else. And then I did, I mean, I was just – yeah, in everyday life, I guess. [...] so yeah, I feel like it was easy enough for me to not do it. It was probably also that then I put myself in a situation where I wasn't working so much. Actually, I was earning just enough to get by, and then had a lot of free time, and then I hung out with my friends and started kayaking and so on, you know, did some other things instead.

Jens' learning from the COVID-19 restrictions started out as a way to flexibly cope with regulation impeding his vacation practice, but it turned out to constitute augmented regulatory operability in a wider sense even after COVID-19 restrictions had been lifted. Centrally, it enabled him to cope more flexibly with a different form of regulation that also bears a strong mark particularly on vacationing, namely the labour market rules and standards for workload, working hours and annual weeks of vacation, as pointed out in chapter 5. Jens' practice highlights how climate-friendly vacation practices might entail coping more flexibly with these

rules, at least in the current state of affairs. After COVID, he has continued to employ his augmented operability to cope more flexibly with labour regulation, making use of the possibility to work less, even though it is not the norm.

I have had a lot of part-time work, so I have had a lot of time on the side, so I don't think – vacation as a concept, I don't think it takes up a lot of space in my mind, it is not something I plan. [...] It doesn't need to be like you have an everyday life that you need to escape from. So I think I've tried to build an everyday life that works for me, and then I don't really need to get out. I think that wanderlust has kind of changed a bit for me, actually.

Jens' regulatory learning process initially started as a way of coping with COVID-19 regulations, but also came to entail coping more flexibly with labour market regulations. This learning has enabled him to integrate vacationing and journeying into everyday life practices, thereby reconfiguring not just the doings and sayings – e.g. making otherwise central long-haul transport superfluous – but also renegotiating some of the central organising elements – e.g. reconfiguring notions of wanderlust and foreignness and connecting them with different and less exceptional locations and activities. As such, what started as regulatory learning has also entailed learning pertaining to other practice elements, particularly the teleoaffective structure.

The young adults' trajectories thus show that while regulatory learning is a demanding form of learning with a high threshold for entering certain practices, it appears to be a kind of learning that enables wide-spanning practice change. Jens' and Alfred's practices each constitute emblematic examples of climate-friendly vacation practices, and it is remarkable that they have both entailed significant regulatory learning.

6.5. Normative learning

In addition to learning related to the organising elements of a practice, chapter 3.2 established that learning can also pertain to normativity – a form of learning that makes the practitioner better at "stating and defending […] what is acceptable or prescribed", thereby increasing "the contribution she can make to the determination of the normativity that governs the practice she carries on" (Schatzki, 2017, p. 33). Invoking insights from ESE and Bildung literature, normative learning is not a magic bullet for climate-friendly practice change (Van Poeck et al., 2020), but it can invoke a more attuned sense of 'living-with' climate change, developing both society and the self through entangled interpersonal, societal, embodied and more-than-human relations (Sjöström & Eilks, 2020; Verlie, 2022). Such learning occurs when

habitual ways of engaging in and understanding practices are interrupted, allowing new practices to emerge (Jobst, 2023) – something historically and socially related to travelling and formative journeys (Horlacher, 2016; Jakobsen, 2017). But to what extent do vacation practices give rise to normative learning for the young adults, and with what impact for climate-friendly practice change?

Several young adults' trajectories reflect normative learning, and it often appears as an extension to other forms of learning, which are amplified and articulated into more fundamental statements of acceptable practice. An example is Vera (19), who has gained augmented normative operability in connection with the previously described teleoaffective learning and concurrent climate-friendly practice change. She has learned to clearly state and defend acceptable and prescribed forms of practice, both for herself and to her surroundings, as she describes in the following:

> *I travelled to Barcelona by train this spring with my boyfriend. And it was – well, he's not as climate conscious as I am. So that was a conversation where he is like, 'but we can fly there for half the price and be there in three hours'. Where I was like, 'yes, but then it won't be with me, because I don't want to do that'. So I put up some kind of ultimatum there. And then we talked about what it means to me, and what it means for, well, the big picture. And talked about that it can easily be done. And then we ventured into it.*

In Schatzki's terms, Vera has clearly become better at stating what kind of vacation practice she considers appropriate, and her articulation contributes to determining the normativity of vacationing through discussions and shared performances with people around her. Her statement reflects a more attuned understanding of the relations between the practices she participates in, the communities of practice in which they occur, and the ways these are intertwined with societal dynamics. This articulation of appropriate vacationing reflects her previously mentioned reflection that:

> *It might be that it takes structural changes. But the fact that we do... well, don't fly or eat meat or something like that, it makes some kind of difference in some kind of way. At least that we affect each other's habits somehow.*

This normative stance shows an augmented capacity for reflecting on her practice and recognising its entanglements with the climate crisis and with people around her and their practices – a capacity which has led to a new form of vacationing.

This way, her trajectory entails "the transformation of a (conjunctive) knowledge that guides actions and is relevant to practice" (Nohl, 2006, in Jobst, 2023) and illustrates how such

learning can result in "the creation of a new practice […] when the previous practical rationality is interrupted and falls out of use" (Jobst, 2023, p. 284).

This description also applies to Jens' (23) trajectory, where teleoaffective and regulatory learning caused climate-friendly practice change. Along with these forms of learning, he learned to reflexively state what practice he considers acceptable, as previous practical rationality seemingly fell out of use:

I remember that I had started to think a bit about, "well, it's actually not great that I flew there to stay for three days and then fly back", right. And thought, "I won't do that anymore." And then it actually just turned into a decision that I wasn't going to fly anymore. […] So, I have chosen that I won't fly because of the climate.

In Jens' case, normative learning appears to have evolved in tandem with teleoaffective and regulatory learning, seemingly happening in concurrence with the practice change rather than causing it. It was the introduction of climate concern into the teleoaffective structure of vacationing that sparked climate-friendly practice change, and it was his regulatory learning from coping with COVID-19 restrictions that enabled a more fundamental reconfiguration of both vacation practices, everyday life practices and the ways they relate. With these changes, in Jobst' terms, previous practical rationality fell out of use. In that process, Jens gradually started to articulate a new form of normativity guiding vacationing, namely that flying is "actually not great" and, in turn, that he would not do it anymore. As he gradually learned to state this normativity both to himself and others, he became able to perform both vacationing and journeying more elaborately – and less carbon-intensely – but he was also able to negotiate the practice with other practitioners around him.

It's turning into something we articulate a bit, with my friends too, that it is perhaps not the greatest thing if you think – it doesn't have to be like you have an everyday life that you need to get away from.

As such, Jens' normative learning has augmented his operability in stating that frequent and habitual flying is not acceptable, supporting a practice change towards not flying and reconfiguring the need for vacations altogether, both for him and in his community of practice.

In both examples, normative learning transpires as coinciding with or building on other forms of learning. This underscores that while normative learning is expressed in reflections and articulation, it is essentially still acquired and developed through practice and thereby dependent on the practitioner's preconditions for performing them. As such, normative learning appears as a useful concept for understanding negotiations of acceptable practice and the

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possible amplification of practice changes from situated context to wider communities of practice. But in situated performances, normative learning appears as an outcome of changing practices rather than as a trigger for it. Normative learning can thus be identified in processes of climate-friendly practice change – not necessarily as the cause, but at least as a coinciding or concurrent dynamic. But does normative learning only occur when climate-friendly practice change also occurs – or do the young adults also learn to better articulate acceptable practice in ways that counteract climate-friendly practice change?

Lina's (21) learning trajectory provides a poignant challenge for the conceptualisation of normative learning in the context of climate-friendly practice change. As outlined, her practice previously changed to exclude flying or eating meat out of climate concern – an example similar to Vera and Jens' normative learning as described above. But these new practices entailed a sense of helplessness and disproportionality between her own efforts and the lack of action from politicians and others in positions of power, which eventually caused deflection from the climate-friendly practice. While she initially learned to articulate the normative statement that "I will never fly again, it is the weirdest and stupidest thing to do", her trajectory through the new climate-friendly practice eventually caused her to state that "because you don't kind of feel that anyone else is doing anything, the politicians aren't doing anything, then I get like – then it's no use".

Judging from her own account, she didn't unlearn the normative operability that caused her to find flying unacceptable in the first place. As she says about her engagement in the climate crisis: "I still feel like I have it inside of me, I mean. It is just a bit in hibernation." Her account doesn't indicate that she didn't properly acquire augmented normative operability, either. She describes that when she stated that flying and eating meat were not acceptable, it did have an impact – similarly to Schatzki's description that augmented normative operability increases "the contribution she can make to the determination of the normativity that governs the practices she carries on" (Schatzki, 2017, p. 33). Reflecting back on her previous practice during the second interview, Lina expresses that her normative stance did seem to contribute to the determination of the normativity governing vacation and food practices:

> I actually feel that, like, it made a difference. I mean, there were many, who – I feel like there were many in my group of friends who became vegetarian and so on, that it had some repercussions, that like – not because I did it, but then again, a little bit. That because I articulated it a lot in a kind of positive way, I feel like there was a lot of CO2 or meat that wasn't eaten those years which I'm – I'm proud of that, I think that was cool.

From her account, it seems like she did acquire augmented normative operability to an extent where she contributed to determining the normativity governing the vacation and food practices she participated in. But it appears that learning to make such normative statements did not exactly feel like her operability was augmented – on the contrary, her description of returning to the previous practice configuration appears as resignation from a normative stance that limited rather than augmented her operability in vacation practices:

I simply think I drove myself tired by doing it. [...] I got so tired of setting up restrictions for myself. [...] so I have probably just given up a bit and thought, "what is it that I actually want to do", and then closed my eyes a bit, perhaps. And that is really sad, but I guess that's what it's like.

Does Lina's trajectory back into the carbon-intensive vacation practices actually reflect augmented normative operability in the sense of a more flexible way of coping with the practice's normativity, then? Going back to the ideas of Bildung and action competence, it hardly meets the objectives of critically reflecting on environmental crises and acting accordingly (Jensen & Schnack, 1997), thereby fostering both personal and societal development (Graf, 2018). On the other hand, Lina has clearly gained a more nuanced perspective on the entanglement of her own actions with wider social practices and their material, symbolic and regulatory underpinnings. Those might not be the words she employs, but her practice and reflections reflect a nuanced recognition of the entangled dynamics of climate-friendly change.

Can we take Lina's resignation as an example of augmented normative operability, then? Does her trajectory mean that normative learning can amount to deflection from climate-friendly practices because the effort of negotiating normativity in the current practice landscape is simply too demanding? Or does it simply show that normative learning had no place in a practice-theoretical account of practice change in the first place – as many in the field would probably contend – because such articulations are at most outcomes of practice change, not possible causes for it?

Such an interpretation aligns well with the basic practice-theoretical understanding that practitioners' normative positions are not the place to look if you want to change practices. Lina's deflection from a climate-friendly practice that met resistance in her surroundings supports a widespread practice-theoretical understanding that policy-side interventions, infrastructures, and systems of provision are the main location of the impetus for change (Evans et al., 2012; Shove, 2010; Shove & Walker, 2010). From such a perspective, Lina's trajectory shows that climate-friendly practice change is not about single practitioners flying or not flying: it is

about high-carbon infrastructures and regulation beyond the realm of what practitioners can negotiate in the communities of practice they are part of – normative learning or not.

Such an understanding explains well why Lina's practice change did not last. But it struggles to explain how it occurred in the first place. And it seems to overlook that Lina's changed performances did in fact seem to have repercussions in her communities of practice. These aspects suggest that her practice change did entail augmented normative operability – and that it did have a transformative potential. When she describes how her normative articulations caused changes in the communities of practice of which she was part, it indicates that there is a potential for practice change in more or less reflexive everyday negotiations in communities of practice – determining, in Schatzki's terms, the normativity governing the practices these communities carry on. In Verlie's terms, this resembles learning to live-with climate change and the ways it is "metabolically, emotionally and politically enmeshed within our everyday, mundane, inter/personal lives" (2022, p. 5).

From such a perspective, Lina's return to aeroplanes and meat can be seen as a process where normative learning did occur and affected the practice, but where it was insufficient to overcome carbon-intensive infrastructures and ingrained shared understandings to foster lasting practice change. In communities of practice where Lina's normative stance was not collectively shared, negotiating – and performing – this normativity demanded too much effort of Lina as a practitioner. Still, Lina's trajectory indicates that the opposite might also have been the case, as it was for Jens and Vera, for whom this normativity was more collective. Such an interpretation does not position normative articulations as the main determining factor, but it recognises them as a possible lever for climate-friendly practice change, contributing to recent efforts to include ethical and reflexive aspects in practice-theoretical accounts (Askholm & Gram-Hanssen, 2022; Christensen et al., 2023; Gram-Hanssen, 2021; Halkier, 2020).

6.6. Partial conclusion: Learning in vacation practices

This analysis of the young adults' learning trajectories shows how learning plays varied, but important roles for the potential of climate-friendly practice change. A key finding is that learning occurs in relation to all different elements of the practice, but in different ways and with different effects on the possibilities for climate-friendly practice change. Furthermore, the analysis has shown that normative learning can play an important role in leveraging situated climate-friendly practice change within the community of practice in which it occurs.

However, negotiating the normativity governing a practice requires much effort of the practitioner, particularly in practice landscapes and communities of practice where the normative stance is not shared with other practitioners. Despite these challenges, it holds a potential, even in a practice landscape where the distribution of material, teleoaffective, regulatory, and competence elements does not favour climate-friendly vacation practices.

In such a landscape, however, there are also examples of climate-friendly learning pertaining to the different practice elements. Material learning e.g. occurs in different material settings, and there is a pronounced tendency for it to occur closer to home than suggested by the shared understanding that horizon expansion occurs through encounters with the foreign (Læssøe & Lysgaard, 2024). Particularly for young adults who are well-wandered abroad, domestic settings can broaden repertoires of vacation activities and destinations. Such learning dynamics can nuance the dominant tourist gaze (Urry & Larsen, 2011), directing it towards less distant material settings and more climate-friendly vacation forms. However, it seems to require embodied experiences with foreign destinations, highlighting that material learning holds an unevenly distributed potential for climate-friendly practice change.

Teleoaffective learning seems to entail a strong potential for climate-friendly practice change. Such learning transpires both in the form of introducing new meanings or orientations and as a reorganisation of the teleoaffective structure – often as climate concern is integrated or repositioned to a more dominant role in the hierarchy. Teleoaffective learning also transpires as the integration and performance of new aesthetics and orientations. Both peers, family and social media constitute important communities of practice for learning new aesthetics and orientations. In particular, family relations stand out as important communities of practice for learning orientations and meanings, carbon-intensive as well as climate-friendly, highlighting that young adults' vacation practices are not isolated from vacation practices more widely. Teleoaffective learning is thus prevalent, but it is an unpredictable and ongoing process that can also maintain carbon-intensive vacation practices.

In the current practice landscape, climate-friendly practice change often requires augmented competence operability, as carbon-intensive practice configurations are more familiar, accessible, and routinised. To some extent, young adults learn such competences through engagements with social media content, but it appears that climate-friendly competences are hard to acquire for practitioners without much previous experience – competence learning particularly seems to require a physically co-present community of practice. This hinders the

potential social media might otherwise hold for enabling climate-friendly competence learning.

Finally, regulatory learning might not be the most pronounced form of learning in young adults' practices, but it appears to have a profound impact on their trajectories. Learning from COVID-19 restrictions has, e.g., reinforced a sense of FOMO in the young adults' practices, urging them to travel while they can. On the other hand, augmented regulatory operability seems to play a significant part in climate-friendly change dynamics by enabling young adults to travel by train or reconfigure the relationship between everyday life and vacations. As such, regulatory learning holds an inconspicuous but significant potential for fostering change.

These findings underscore that while learning and practice change are not causally related, surveying learning dynamics sheds light on possible paths to climate-friendly practice change and, in particular, dynamics through which such change can spread and take hold of more practitioners and, potentially, the practice entity. These paths particularly revolve around, and make demands of, practitioners, though they also show potential avenues for planners, politicians, infrastructures, systems of provision, as well as educational institutions and other arenas for learning. This discussion of the roles of different actors in climate-friendly practice change is picked up in the discussion in chapter 8. As this chapter has shown, some of these learning dynamics rely on social media as mediatised communities of practice. The next chapter delves more into these and other roles that social media play in the young adults' vacation practices and their potential for change.

7.   Analysis part III: Social media and climate-friendly vacation practices

This part of the analysis explores the roles social media play in young adults' vacation practices and how vacations are represented in social media content, addressing research question 4: w*hich roles do social media content play in the circulation, reproduction, and performance of vacation practices, and how do representations on social media prevent and enable practice change?* This analysis thus points out the connections between social media content and the configuration, circulation, and potential climate-friendly change of young adults' vacation practices.

Empirically, this analysis builds on two different forms of data: transcriptions from interviews and focus groups, and social media content collected through these interviews and focus groups. Combined, these two sets of data give insight into the ways young adults encounter, produce, and engage with social media content in relation to their vacation practices, the forms of vacation practices that transpire in this content, and the implications this has for the prospects for climate-friendly practice change.

The chapter unfolds its findings in two parts. The first part describes how social media are involved in central activities that make up young adults' vacation practices and how social media platforms in themselves work as catalysts or upwards ratchets for often resource-intensive vacation practices, but also as potential circulation and recruitment channels for alternative, less carbon-intensive practices. This analysis builds on the young adults' accounts and points out the varying ways in which social media platforms are intertwined with doings, sayings, and elements in their performances.

This analysis leads to the chapter's second part, which concerns the representations of vacation practices in social media content. This part builds on the young adults' accounts by analysing the social media content they engage with, but it also treats the content as performances in their own right. This approach allows the analysis to explore the practice configurations represented in the social media content and the tourist gaze with which they are intertwined. Drawing on insights from the tourist gaze, this part of the analysis focuses particularly on the ways places and differences are produced in the content and the teleoaffective

notions that characterise them, relating them to the potentials and impediments for climate-friendly practice change in the practice configurations as outlined in Chapter 5.

Altogether, this chapter outlines important connections between social media representations of vacations and the configuration, circulation, and possible changes of vacation practices. These connections entail both impediments and possible avenues towards less resource-intensive vacation practices, which relate and add to the potentials and barriers pointed out in the two previous chapters. As such, it forms the dissertation's third and last analytical strand.

7.1. Social media activities in vacation practices

In the young adults' accounts, it is clear that vacation practices are not only made up of activities situated physically and spatially, e.g. physically moving to the holiday destination and spending time exploring and relishing the destination. A fair bit of the doings and sayings that constitute young adults' vacation practices play out, in one way or another, in mediatised, digitised ways – particularly in connection with social media platforms. Such digitised activities are interwoven into all phases of the vacation practices – from initial imaginaries and inspiration to the planning of the vacation, over navigating what to experience during it, to documenting those experiences and looking back on them through posts or stories on social media. Looking more closely at the ways social media afford, circulate, and intermingle with these activities can help uncover further aspects of the practices, including reasons why the practices are as durable as they appear, as well as possible avenues for climate-friendly practice change.

7.1.1. Encountering vacation content on social media

As mentioned in the previous analysis chapters, social media play important roles as practical tools or infrastructures for discovering vacation destinations and, perhaps especially, figuring out which sights, areas, foods, restaurants, or other local attractions to experience at the chosen destination. Several young adults mention this kind of research and inspiration activities, and they explain it in relatively similar ways. It most often occurs on TikTok or Instagram, and sometimes on Facebook, YouTube, Pinterest, or Twitter. It generally consists of searching for the name of a destination, sometimes in combination with phrases like "must-sees", "best cafes" or "hidden gems". The content that shows up is usually posted by strangers, often by influencers or other profiles run by users that the young adults don't personally know.

Several young adults compare these activities to using the review website Tripadvisor, but they find social media content more useful and easier to decipher and relate to. Julija (19), for instance, finds reviews and especially comments on TikTok more credible and helpful:

It's not quite the same as Tripadvisor. It may be that people can also write reviews there, but... it is perhaps a slightly different segment than me. I listen a bit more to TikTok and what people write in comments – if there's a video, like, 'we've been to Barcelona, this is what we did there', then someone will write, 'yes, good idea, I tried that too, that was really cool'.

Simon (25) similarly describes how he used Tripadvisor for many years but has now discovered that Instagram and TikTok are "the new hot thing in planning what to do". He now uses Instagram and describes his search activity like this:

So if you write 'Odense' on Instagram and go to 'places', then everyone who has tagged Odense – you can see those stories, but you can also see what people have posted. Then you can see what the trend is, if people sit in some particular park, or what they're eating, so you get an idea what the place looks like.

These search activities often happen as part of the planning before the actual vacation takes place, but they can also happen during the vacation upon arrival at the destination or from a previous destination during a trip with multiple stops. As Stella (23) recalls from a backpacker trip with a friend:

Every time we were going to a new country or a new city, we would sit and look around and get a bit of an overview. […] And otherwise, once we had arrived, we would sit in probably the same way and just, like, create an overview. That was mainly on Pinterest, I think.

The social media activities described here are deliberate, conscious research activities initiated as part of an already ongoing vacation practice with a typically established plan to visit a particular location. But other activities are less deliberately sparked and managed. Many young adults describe activities initiated by the social media platform's (algorithmic) infrastructures and affordances, which expose the young adults to a lot of travel-related content, cause further search activity, and seemingly lead to more vacations. The affordances of the platforms play a significant part, which the young adults are partly aware of themselves. As the description of the sociotechnical accomplishments of algorithms in Chapter 3 described, these algorithms transpire in the young adults' practice as black boxes, but at the same time, their practices reflect both algorithmic awareness (Eslami et al., 2015) and an algorithmic imaginary (Bucher, 2016), as the encounters with different kinds of content are intertwined with more or less conscious understandings of how this content relates to their situated practices.

The social media algorithms – and their intertwinement with the young adults' practices – can thus lead the young adults to encounter vacation-related content in different phases of their vacation practices.

Such encounters can happen in relation to the ongoing planning of a trip that has already been broadly decided upon. When Kamma (19) was planning an interrail trip with a group of friends, her Instagram feed suddenly started to overflow with reels of "hidden gems" and European countries and cities to visit, which impacted the route they ended up taking:

> *There were just a lot of things showing up—probably also because I was searching for it on the internet, but that also inspired us, like, 'wow, Albania could be really nice' or 'this could be really nice', because you get quite inspired by it. There were several times when I then went, 'Oh, that looks really lovely. I should go and have a closer look at that online.'*

But algorithmic dynamics don't just expose young adults to content once they're in the process of planning a vacation. Encountering such content while scrolling through social media is often what inspires or initiates vacation practices. Several young adults describe how social media content instils in them an urge to travel more frequently and explore new destinations – an urge that can be vague and abstract, but which can also tangibly initiate vacation practices. Such inspiration or recruitment happens both through content from influencers or commercial accounts and from private profiles of people the young adults know personally. The sparked vacation practices can encompass both distant and nearby destinations, but they tend towards the former. Both aspects are illustrated in an account from Laura, who discusses how she sometimes finds herself in an "Instagram hole", coming across content from the Azores, Santorini, or from friends who have visited other appealing destinations, which prompts her to feel the urge to "book a flight ticket, or book something, or, like, buy something."

> *"Then I will sometimes just jump onto SAS [airline website] and be like, 'what does SAS say?' […]. So yeah, sometimes I'll say things can happen pretty quickly when you're lying there looking at what's going on around you."*

Even though algorithms are supposedly individualised, they seem to entail an increased standardisation and homogenisation of vacation practices. Within the limited sample of content referred to by the young adults, there are recurrent profiles and strong similarities in the content descriptions. Despite the variety of locations and representations, the young adults' accounts suggest that the content, and perhaps particularly the underlying algorithmic dynamics of circulation and engagement, lead to more uniform vacation practices, thus reinforcing specific, and often more carbon-intensive, configurations of vacation practices. For Simone

(21), this is so pronounced that she feels like she has already seen all the exact places on the itinerary for her upcoming trip to Asia. The volume of similar representations is so massive that it has actually reduced her excitement about the trip rather than inspired her to go:

I feel like I am saturated in advance. I think that's a bit strange, but I can actually feel it quite a lot. But I hope it's something else once you get there. Perhaps I should take a break from Instagram, so I could look a bit forward in real life.

From Simone's account, it is clear that the content works to reproduce and routinise vacation practices, sometimes with the effect of leading to fatigue or de-enchantment of otherwise socially coveted destinations.

As such, social media platforms constitute a practical tool for inspiration that young adults employ actively, intentionally, and extensively in their already ongoing vacation practice to plan their trips and discover the socially coveted attractions that the destinations have to offer. In this manner, the platforms and their content work to reproduce existing vacation practices and appear to lead to more uniformity in the performances of these practices, thus locking in dominant practice configurations.

At the same time, social media content and platforms play an equally important role as channels for circulating vacation practices to more practitioners – often reinforcing already widespread practice configurations, but also in some instances enabling differently configured vacation practices to recruit new practitioners. This dynamic has been mentioned in the previous analysis chapters, e.g. in the context of Laura (23), who was inspired to a less carbon-intensive and "kind of troublesome" vacation in Norway by content from an Instagram influencer, which seemingly established the connection between formative experiences and nearby destinations. As such, social media platforms also enable climate-friendly vacation practices to reach and potentially recruit young adults who would perhaps not encounter such vacation practices through other channels and social networks.

Furthermore, social media enable and amplify the circulation of and recruitment to alternative practices through existing social networks when the young adults encounter content shared by family or friends. An exchange between Caroline (20) and Vera (19) reflects how Vera's Instagram posts from a vacation in Norway inspired Caroline to plan her summer vacation in Norway:

Caroline: I remember, Vera, when you were in Norway last year for the first time, you posted something. And I thought that looked really exciting. I was really inspired by that.

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Vera: I influenced you.

Caroline: Really. Yes.

As such, social media appear to have a significant role in maintaining vacation practices broadly, seemingly leading to more frequent performances of vacation practices. They appear as a practical tool that supports the performance of vacation practices as such and mainly acts as an upwards ratchet for dominant carbon-intensive vacation practices. However, they also facilitate the circulation and recruitment of alternative, less carbon-intensive vacation practices. Social media thus appear to ratchet up the frequency of vacation practices, and while these dynamics also circulate less resource-intensive vacation practices, they seem to most strongly support the resource-intensive vacation practices that are already most widespread and thus fit most easily into the established tourist gaze. The character of this tourist gaze inherent in the social media representations will be unfolded in the second part of the chapter. But first, we will follow on from the exchange between Caroline and Vera to explore young adults' activities of posting content themselves as part of vacation practices.

7.1.2. Sharing vacation content on social media

As Vera's influence on Caroline shows, young adults' vacation-related social media activities involve not only encountering content but also different forms of content sharing. Posting photos, videos, and related text and sound is a relatively widespread activity in young adults' vacation practices, though not all informants share content themselves. An account from Simone (21) illustrates well what these sharing activities consist in, and which roles they play in the wider vacation practice:

Simone: "When I'm away, for instance on the Camino, I really like to do – on 'close friends' on Instagram – to do kind of an update on what you've done each day. And that's – because it's on 'close friends', I feel like it's pretty much for myself. I mean, it's not like 'everybody has to see how fabulous it is all the time'. I feel like it's actually something I enjoy looking back at – I'll go there and look at 'aw, how nice that was'."

Interviewer: "Okay, so it's almost like a photo diary?"

Simone: "Yes, it is a little bit. But of course you also post pictures for others to see that you're cool."

Interviewer:" Do you think that can affect that there are places you feel more inclined to go because there's good pictures in it, or you want to take your photo there or be able to post it?"

Simone: "Yes, probably, but... I don't 100% care very much about it, but like – if you are in a pretty place and just took a good photo, then you would probably post it. But it's not like I chase

the places, I wouldn't say that. In that sense I am pretty conscious about trying to relax a little bit (laughs). But yes, I can't pretend I'm free from it."

This exchange is emblematic of almost all characteristics of the young adults' sharing activities as they transpire across the young adults' performances. In general, the young adults express a relatively detached attitude towards their social media profiles. Most young adults stress that they rarely or never post content, that they don't have many followers, and especially that they wouldn't go out of their way to get 'the right picture' and post it on social media. Rather, they express a shared understanding that social media presence is supposed to be casual, and that making a lot of effort is awkward or uncool. Their activities thus express a strong social norm not to try too hard, as Simone's practice reflects. A similar example can be seen when Simon (25) is asked if there is value in having adventure tales to tell from trips. He replies: "Yes. 'Doing it for the glory, doing it for the 'gram' [Instagram]." When asked whether he sometimes does things for the glory and for the 'gram on his vacations, he denies it and explains thoroughly that he would never do something just for appearances, especially not just to be able to post about it. "That's a completely different way to travel, that one. I've met a lot of those. They spend almost their entire vacation taking pictures. That's completely insane", he says, reflecting a notion in the practice of distinguishing oneself from people who, seemingly, make too much effort to create good content for social media. The vacation practices and the activities involved in them are thus positioned in opposition to other kinds of social media practices, which entail the wrong motivations for doing certain activities and visiting certain places – even if the activities and places themselves are sometimes the same. At the same time, Simon describes that he does post content during vacations, and even details how he has both a private account and a public one and that he posts different kinds of content to the two different accounts. Other young adults similarly describe having both a public and a private account – even if they don't share much or any content.

Several other young adults similarly exhibit the shared understanding that you're not supposed to post content to achieve likes or recognition from others. In the previously mentioned focus group, Caroline (20) and Vera (19) also describe being inspired by Instagram stories that Maria (20) posted from a trip to England. Maria responds by downplaying her sharing activity, saying, in an ironic tone: "It is only if I'm travelling. If I do something like that, I'm like, 'okay, now I'm going to be a blogger. For my, like, four followers'." Posting activities may be part of performing the practice, but they are strongly connected with notions of nonchalance. As such, there is a certain ambivalence involved in posting vacation content, and

many subtle competences are involved in doing it in the right way.

Nevertheless, sharing content has a strong significance in at least some of the young adults' practice. This is reflected in Maria's practice, as she returns to the posting activity later in the focus group, this time saying without irony: "I definitely also made those stories just to be able to look back on it. Because I thought it was cozy to post pictures, but also just for myself." Several other young adults similarly describe posting from vacations as a way of keeping a "diary" that enables them to look back on and remember their vacations. As such, activities of posting content during the vacation are also connected with activities of looking back on the vacation afterwards.

While some of the informants explicitly state that they never post anything, several others mention that being on vacation and posting content are strongly connected—and a number of them describe how they only share content on social media when they're on vacation. One of them is Flora, who realises during the interview that she only shares content when she is on vacation. Asked why she thinks that is, she says:

> When I'm abroad, I'm bombarded visually with all kinds of impressions. So that's when I kind of feel like, 'okay, this is worth posting'. Whereas when I'm home in my day-to-day life, I don't really think there's anything as exciting as when I'm away.

Flora's account is an almost emblematic description of the tourist gaze, reflecting how vacation practices and their social media dynamics are intimately interwoven with the tourist gaze (Urry & Larsen, 2011). This gaze is at play when, as described above, young adults encounter social media content, implicitly interpret it, and are inspired to visit particular locations or travel in certain ways by the notions, understandings, and places represented in it. And it is at play again during the vacations when young adults gaze at and interact with their surroundings in specific ways that make them feel "bombarded visually with all kinds of impressions". Even when their practice is explicitly not altered to 'get the right photo', the tourist gaze inherent in the practice nevertheless shapes the activities performed, the locations these activities take part in, which meanings and orientations they carry, and which understandings and competences are entailed – in other words, the configuration of the vacation practice *as such*. As Flora's practice reflects, the tourist gaze itself becomes tangible in photography and social media sharing activities in the vacation practices, which enact, reflect, and reproduce the tourist gaze. Through these activities, the tourist gaze is thus both performed and reproduced in social media content which, presumably, feeds back into other young adults'

encounters with and potential recruitment to vacation practices.

The social media sharing activities entailed in young adults' vacation practices thus seem to support the dynamics described above of circulating vacation practices and enabling the recruitment of more practitioners. As Flora's performance shows, this often works to reproduce both dominant vacation practices and the tourist gaze they are intertwined with. But it can also work to the opposite effect. For Vera (19), whose content inspired Caroline (20), the potential impact of social media dynamics for changing broader social practices has reinforced and increased the sharing activities in her performances of vacation practices. As she says:

For instance, I posted from when we had travelled by train to Barcelona. To say that it is actually manageable. And that was just in the easter break. It isn't necessary to take that plane. That way, I hope to have some form of positive impact.

As such, the young adults' sharing activity reflects that being on vacation in a foreign setting conforms with socially shared conventions about social media content, underscoring the salience of the tourist gaze in social media content and the dynamics by which vacation practices are reproduced through social media activities. Often, these social media dynamics lead to the reproduction of already widespread practice configurations, but as Vera's example shows, sharing activities can also work to circulate alternative and less carbon-intensive practices.

7.1.3. Partial conclusion: Social media activities in vacation practices

The young adults' social media activities thus show that social media platforms play a significant role in the performance, reproduction, and potential change of vacation practices. Encountering social media content from influencers as well as personal relations plays a role both in instigating the performance of a vacation practice and as a part of the many activities of planning and deciding where to go and what to do throughout the vacation. Through these activities, social media content in many ways reproduces already widespread vacation practices, both by recruiting more practitioners to particular vacation practices as such and by leading the young adults to experience the same places and activities during the vacations. However, social media also constitute circulation and recruitment channels for vacation practices which might otherwise not have reached certain young adults, enabling more climate-friendly vacation practices to take hold.

The young adults' sharing activities emphasise both these aspects. While not all young adults share anything on social media, vacations appear as a widespread occasion for sharing

content – for many the main or even only occasion. This underscores the connection between vacation practices and social media activities, and it works to further reinforce existing vacation practices and the tourist gaze they are intertwined with. These sharing activities entail competences of navigating seemingly narrow conventions of appropriate social media conduct, e.g. involving a certain ironic distance to one's own social media presence. Nevertheless, sharing has significance for the young adults, particularly as a means for looking back at their vacations. This is another way the content works to reproduce a particular tourist gaze and the ensuing vacation practices. However, as examples like Vera's show, these social media activities also constitute potential amplifiers of alternative practices. As such, the young adults' social media activities show that representations circulated here relate to vacation practices and their potential for change in several salient ways. The second part of this chapter takes a closer look at these representations to better grasp the dynamics of practice reproduction and change.

7.2. Representing vacation practices and places on social media

As the first section of this chapter showed, social media platforms and their content are involved in the young adults' vacation practices in several significant ways. The ways vacation practices are represented and can be said to be performed by this content can shed additional light on how current and often carbon-intensive vacation practices are configured and reproduced. Furthermore, it can illuminate emerging or potential forms of climate-friendly practice change and highlight dynamics by which such change can come about. As the genealogy of the tourist gaze showed, such mediatised representations often work to produce places in certain ways, which concurrently produce certain vacation practices.

This second section of the chapter thus delves deeper into how vacation practices and places are represented in social media content, analysing the performances to which this content amounts and the tourist gaze inherent in them. Informed by the tourist gaze, it analyses the places that are produced through these mediatised performances and the vacation practices with which they are imbricated. These performances of places and practices are analysed with attention to the particular dynamics that pertain to social media as a situated context, as described in Chapter 3. The practice configurations that transpire based on this analysis are then related to the practice entities that Chapter 5 identified and outlined, exploring in particular the places with which these practices are intertwined, the aesthetics and orientations that permeate them, and the ways they relate to the young adults' situated performances. Altogether,

this chapter thus outlines the tourist gazes that young adults' current vacation practices are intertwined with, the ways in which it is reproduced and potentially reconfigured via mediatised performances, and the prospects for climate-friendly practice change it entails.

7.2.1. Sunny seaside settings in turquoise tones

Some very particular places feature prominently in the social media content shared by the young adults. From lush tropical forests to scenic mountain views and, not least, pristine beaches with crystal-clear turquoise waters, the social media content paints a clear picture of the places of the good vacation, and, as the tourist gaze argues, thereby produces these places (Urry & Larsen, 2011). These produced places often feature crystal-clear water illuminated by the sun and edited in highly colour-saturated tones of blue and turquoise. Turquoise waters are a salient and frequently recurring feature across the content that instantly stands out. Beach locations with crystal-clear water, rivers or lakes in lush forest settings, or tarns mirroring the sky from a mountaintop outlook all feature prominently in the content, assigning waterside locations a strong position in shared understandings of the good vacation. Such water views not only feature frequently in the imagery but also as thumbnails of the posts, stressing that they are central and emblematic of travel content – and of vacation practices.

Examples of this transpire in the TikTok profile Toras Travels, Instagram and TikTok account Hand Luggage Only, and Instagram and YouTube account Paluch Og Momme. These accounts have been shared by Julija (19), Lærke (19), and Simon (25), who perform both vacationing and journeying practices, and as such, the content appears to perform both. In a specific post shared by Simon from Paluch Og Momme, the clear waters are the very point, with images showcasing translucent turquoise waters and the caption saying, "If you one day get to The Dominican Republic, visiting Saona Island is a MUST 🏝 We have never seen such clear waters; it was magical 🪄". Seeking out places with particularly clear waters and seeing them with one's own eyes thus appears to be an essential feature, seemingly relating to both vacationing and journeying.

In much of the other content, water is not explicitly mentioned in the caption, but the visual composition underscores its central role. For instance, several posts feature hotel rooms, bars, pools, or other facilities with an ocean view. This is particularly characteristic of the TikTok and Instagram profiles Hand Luggage Only, which were mentioned by two different participants who mainly perform vacationing. According to the Instagram bio, Hand Luggage Only is a "travel diary by Yaya and Lloyd", and across the platforms, their profile conveys expensive experiences like eating gourmet meals on business class flights, travelling on exclusive trains or yachts, and, particularly, staying in luxurious hotels often overlooking the ocean. Their content thus connects ocean views and other water settings with notions of luxury and exclusivity, as well as with carbon-intensive material infrastructures and activities.
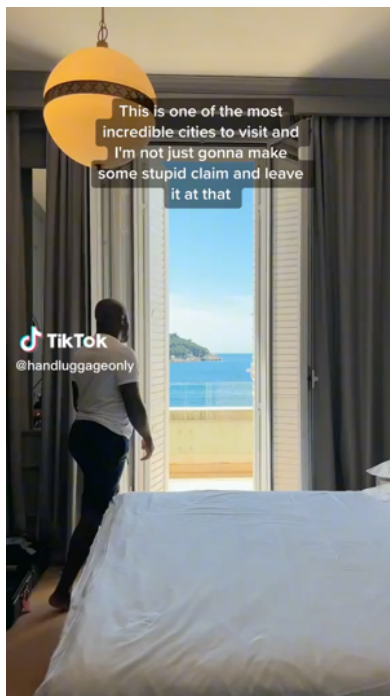

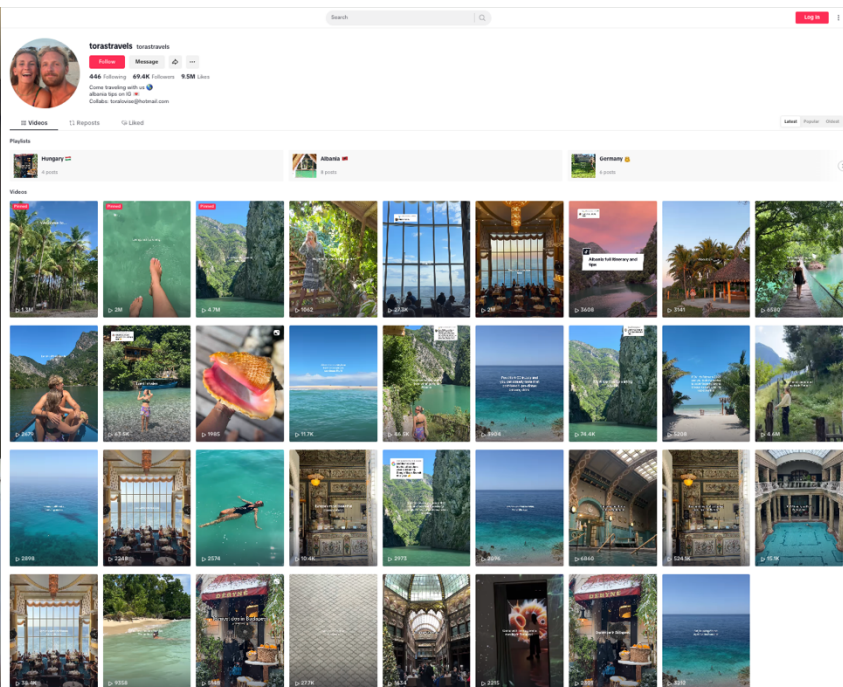Figure 4. An exclusive ocean view on Hand Luggage Only (2023b).

Figure 5. A turquoise aquatic theme prevails on Torastravels' TikTok profile.

While the influencers can sometimes be seen swimming in the ocean or in pools, most often the water is simply an aesthetically pleasing backdrop, gazed over or walked along. This pattern transpires in the particular TikTok video shared by Julija (19), which presents Dubrovnik as seen, in particular, from an ocean-facing hotel room (Hand Luggage Only, 2023b). Such content suggests that the importance of ocean views and lakes is not necessarily that they enable or afford sensory pleasures or doings like swimming, snorkelling, sailing, or hiking alongside the shore. Rather, the mere picturesque presence of water bodies to gaze over, live close to, or walk into in a carefully choreographed manner appears to *be* the purpose. Such

aestheticised water also transpires across the video thumbnails on the TikTok account Toras Travels, which was shared by Julija (figure 3). The profile is characterised by turquoise colours and oceanside or other aquatic settings, interspersed with pink and orange hues from sunsets, seashells, or the influencers' bodies. The waters are represented in ways that highlight their aesthetic affordances rather than the embodied doings they might enable – also in the particular video shared by Julija, showcasing "3 places you ✨need✨ to visit before they're too popular". The video features many shots of the influencer or her partner engaging with oceanside locations in aestheticised ways, e.g., slowly walking a few meters into the waves before turning to face the lens, walking down steps towards the ocean while running fingers through their hair, or waving their toes over the crystal-clear water without dipping them. The sensory affordance of the bright turquoise water remains as a colour-saturated backdrop for the influencers' bodies.

These findings underscore how beaches and turquoise water are important parts of vacation practices as performed on social media, adding an aesthetically – and, seemingly, algorithmically – pleasing backdrop for the doings of walking or posing. Based on the content, having an ocean view and using it as a backdrop for photos seems to be a value in its own right, and watery places are thus produced as sensory, aesthetic, and luxurious settings which epitomise vacation practices. The prevalence of water is perhaps not surprising, given the centrality of oceanside destinations in the development of mass tourism and thus in the tourist gaze (Urry & Larsen, 2011), as well as in the wider collective visual repertoire. In social media representations of vacations, these waters are reproduced as an emblematic vacation place as well as an ingrained element of vacation practices. The turquoise colour of much of this water appears as significant in itself, connoting luxury and relaxation and, often, tropical or other sunny destinations far from temperate climate zones like the Danish. Aquatic settings in turquoise tones thus appear to epitomise vacation practices, and both Instagram and TikTok's platforms seemingly reinforce the excitement and longing for these often-distant places.

When pristine beaches are essential places in both vacationing and journeying, and when their significance is reproduced via social media and thereby seemingly reinforced in the practice configuration, it has implications for the possibilities for climate-friendly practice change. It reproduces a teleoaffective structure in which orientations toward (particular) sunny and preferably warmer oceanside destinations prevail as a central element, thereby also reinforcing carbon-intensive mobility towards these often-distant locations. On the other

hand, aquatic destinations do not in themselves pose an insurmountable challenge to climate-friendly vacations, specifically in a Danish context. As a country with a large coastline, particularly compared to its size, Denmark has beachside and coastal locations that could potentially be produced as vacation places in a similar manner. This is underscored by the large influx of foreign tourists, especially to the west coast of Denmark (Regeringen, 2024), which reflects the existence (elsewhere) of a tourist gaze directed towards these kinds of water. The climate, on the other hand, constitutes a challenge, as temperatures are lower, and sunny days are less widespread than in the distant locations (as they are produced in the representations).

The turquoise colour hues prevalent in the content are perhaps less widespread in a Danish context, although it is worth bearing in mind that possible editing of the content has likely enhanced the colour saturation. However, similar turquoise hues transpire in content from Norwegian beaches created by Helene Myhre, which is described later in this chapter. This shows that the prevalence of emblematic bounty beaches and tropic-looking turquoise waters is not incompatible with more climate-friendly vacation practices. However, it currently seems to reproduce carbon-intensive practices rather than reconfigure them to less carbon-intensive alternatives.

7.2.2. Spectacular scenery and the wild outdoors

While aquatic destinations to some extent allow for climate-friendly alternatives along the abundant Danish and Scandinavian coastline, another characteristic of the featured places poses a bigger challenge to climate-friendly practice change. Parallel to patterns in the interview and focus group data, the shared content frequently represents mountains, lush nature areas, and other seemingly wild and spectacular locations. Such spectacular and wild sights transpire in most of the content and accounts, but they are particularly prevalent on the Instagram account National Geographic Travel, which was shared by Lærke (19). A travel-oriented franchise of the American magazine National Geographic, the account features high-quality photos and video by professional photographers mixed with promotional clips from different shows broadcast on National Geographic's YouTube channel. The account conveys many different destinations, but a common feature seems to be grandiose, spectacular, and archetypically iconic places, such as rugged mountains, penguins on a sculptural iceberg, giraffes on the savannah, or a llama in front of Machu Picchu. The representations are often artfully framed and composed, featuring flowers, animals, or sometimes a single silhouette in the foreground with a grandiose or iconic setting in the middle and background – often

spectacular scenery expanding like a landscape painting. The frames are wide, imbuing the places with a sense of vastness and splendour.

The wild and spectacular settings that this content produces connect with notions of foreignness, which, as described in the previous chapter, are a central teleoaffective element in the young adults' practices, particularly in journeying. Penguins on an ice sheet, giraffes on a savannah, or the ruins of Machu Picchu are all emblematic of particular places and landscape forms spread around the globe, and at the same time they are entangled with advertisements, postcards, guidebooks, and other representations of desirable destinations worldwide to see with your own eyes. As such, these representations of wild and spectacular scenery epitomise and reproduce a particular tourist gaze which has helped form and routinise the connection between notions of adventure and distant locations and thus produced a longing to visit iconic foreign places (Urry & Larsen, 2011).

As the framework of the tourist gaze emphasises, spectacular scenery or wild nature are not set attributes. The social media content currently produces mountains, rugged areas, vast nature reserves, and generally large phenomena like ice caps, cliffs, deserts, savannahs, and rivers as spectacular or wild places. The represented places partly reflect that National Geographic is based in the U.S., showcasing many American locations in addition to iconic places and phenomena from around the globe. While it also features European capitals such as Amsterdam, Rome, and Athens, as well as images from Swedish cabins and countryside, there was no featured content within the study's three-year period depicting destinations in Denmark. None of the other analysed social media accounts feature Danish destinations represented as wild or spectacular either. This underscores the contention that the gaze of spectacular or wild destinations does not currently apply to the landscape in Denmark, which is among the most intensively cultivated in the world (Klimarådet, 2024), and has a flat geology with a peak elevation of around 170 meters above sea level.

However, Danish areas seen as wild or spectacular are not absent in the interview and focus group data. Reference to spectacular and wild scenery, for instance, shows up in Laura's (23) descriptions of Jutland's rugged west coast, and when the young adults in focus group 3 discuss Bornholm as an attractive outdoor destination – a Danish island which has been produced as a tourist place through a particular tourist gaze (Larsen, 2006). Such wild and spectacular scenery is also associated with neighbouring countries like Norway and Sweden, and this transpires both in the content and in young adults' practices. The Instagram content of the

previously mentioned Norwegian travel influencer Helene Myhre, for instance, produces spectacular and wild Norwegian fjords and fjelds. The Instagram account of the Swedish train company Inlandsbanan similarly features glimpses of, if not spectacular, then at least scenic locations along its route through central and Northern Sweden. Both accounts are described more in detail in section 7.2.6, Mediatised alternatives.

7.2.3. Solitary spectators to exclusive experiences

Part of the production of these wild and spectacular places seems to be a performance that can be described as the solitary spectator. A composition featured in much of the analysed content, the solitary spectator continues a long tradition of the "Rückenfigur" – an image composition defined by a silhouette with its back turned to the observer (Schott, 2020). The solitary spectator resembles what has been described in a social media context as a promontory witness (Smith, 2021): a person, often an influencer, placed centrally in the photo's composition with their back turned to the camera, performatively gazing across a scenic view from an elevated position. It shares a strong resemblance with Caspar David Friedrich's iconic painting Wanderer above the Sea of Fog (Friedrich, 1818), i.e., a Rückenfigur composition with a (stylishly dressed) solitary silhouette in the front or middle ground and deserted, spectacular scenery in the background. Often, the background resembles the painting's rugged mountain cliffs and mystic clouds so much that it seems to reference the painting strongly, if not necessarily consciously.
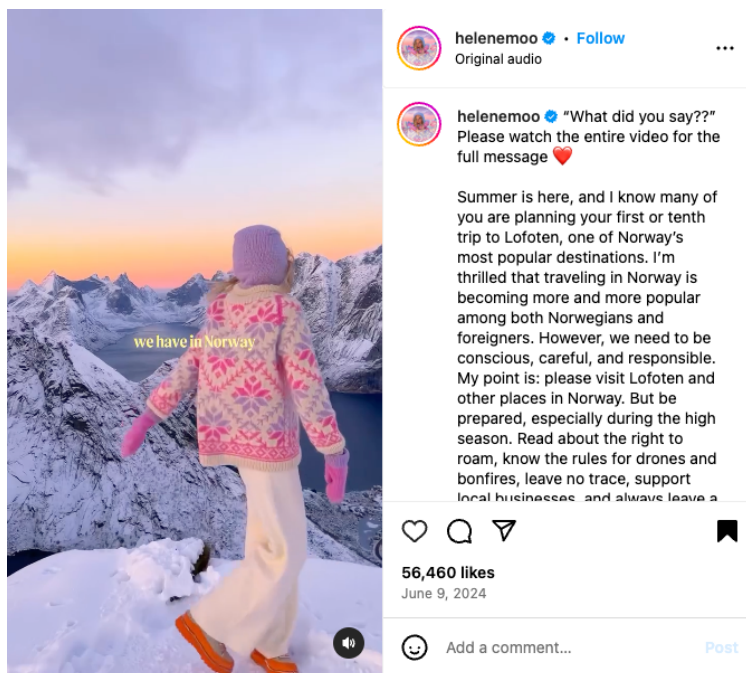

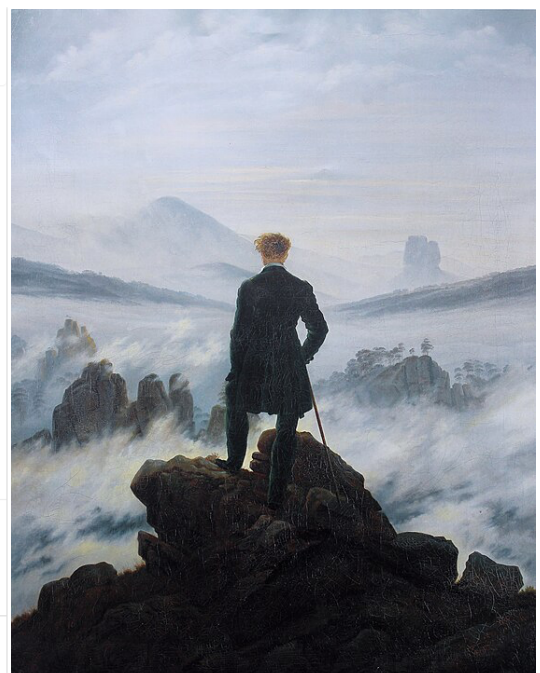*Figure 6 Instagram video by Helene Myhre (Myhre, 2024b)*   *Figure 7 Wanderer above the Sea of Fog (Friedrich, 1818)*

The characteristic features of the solitary spectator is, firstly, the embodied doing of gazing over a scenic view, often a place of spectacular natural scenery. Secondly, it is characteristic that these views transpire as deserted and untouched by humans; the influencers appear to have a pristine natural area completely to themselves, seemingly contemplating or taking in the beauty of the setting. The solitary spectator is thus intertwined with a romantic gaze, emphasising "solitude, privacy and a personal, semi-spiritual relationship with the object of the gaze" (Urry & Larsen, 2011, p. 19). This is emphasised by the performance's resemblance to Friedrich's painting, which epitomises the romantic period in Germany. The solitary spectator thus performs vacation practices as solitary, serene, and semi-spiritual, and in so doing produces the spectacular, wild, and pristine natural settings that the spectator relates to.

The solitary spectator prevails in a range of content in varied, but similar ways. It is frequently performed in content by travel influencer Helene Myhre, who often poses on a mountaintop overlooking Norwegian fjords and mountains. It is also performed by Tora Travels', e.g. in the reel showcasing "3 places you ✨need✨ to visit before they're too popular" – including the thumbnail and the opening 4-second sequence where the influencer walks away from the camera towards the waves and the sunset. While the solitary spectator in content from Helene Myhre and other accounts performs an outdoorsy, active practice that connects with the wanderer legacy from Friedrich's painting, content from e.g. Toras Travels does not involve doings and competences of hiking to a mountain top and taking in the view as a reward. Toras Travels' content mainly performs the solitary spectator in contexts associated with relaxation, e.g., on a beach. And the content from Hand Luggage Only performs it in contexts that imply luxury and exclusivity, e.g., on yachts or in lavish hotel rooms. The solitary spectator is thus not specific to a certain kind of practice or setting; rather, the solitary spectator seems to enable viewers to picture themselves in the influencer's place, similarly to the effects of the promontory witness (Smith, 2021) and the Rückenfigur (Schott, 2020).

This affordance is particularly interesting in the context of Hand Luggage Only, as the settings conveyed are often luxurious and expensive hotels, yacht cruises, business-class flights, or other exclusive contexts which are economically unattainable to most, including most young adults. Performances of the solitary spectator in such contexts, and the relevance of them to the young adults, suggest that the young adults' practices involve imaginaries of such settings, aspirations towards them, and possibly aesthetic and spatial inspiration, even though their performances vary from those performed by the content. This observation underscores

that the situated context of social media platforms makes for quite different performances than the young adults' situated contexts, but it also shows that these mediatised performances nevertheless seem to affect both the young adults' performances and the practice entities as such.
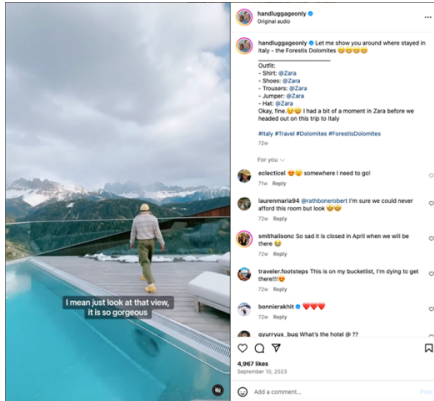

Figure 8 Touring the facility with Yaya as a solitary spectator (Hand Luggage Only, 2023a)
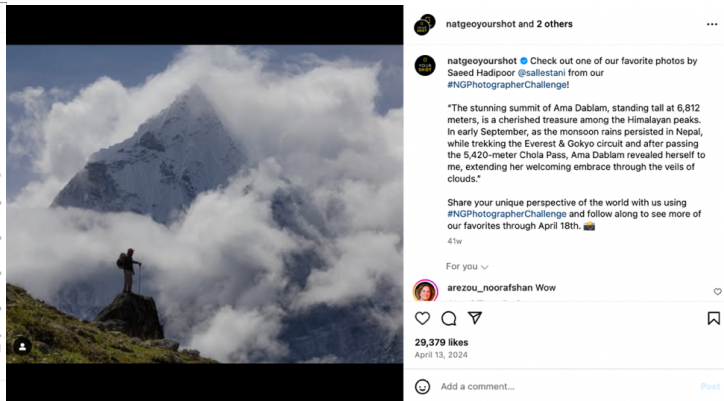
Figure 9 A classic solitary spectator on National Geographic Travel (2024)

While the places are different, exclusivity is also conveyed in the content of e.g. Helene Myhre. Here, exclusivity is not based on economy and access to commercial locations, as with the luxurious hotels and resorts showcased on Hand Luggage Only. On the contrary, the content from Helene Myhre explicitly stresses that there is a right to roam in Norway and that the views are free for everyone to visit. And yet the content performs exclusive vacation practices based on physical capabilities, embodied skills, and local knowledge. Much of the content presents the doings of, e.g., spectating in solitude, as a reward for getting up early, climbing mountains in the middle of the night, or trusting the weather to clear up, underscoring the need for both skills, perseverance, and physical abilities. And the views, of course, depend on insight into which mountains to climb to find such views, and when; an exclusivity based on local knowledge and know-how. The scenery depicted is referred to as the influencer's "back yard" [sic], and, as mentioned, a particular video shared by Laura (23) features a (purchasable) map compiling the influencer's favourite spots in her "absolute favorite area in Norway" (Myhre, 2023). The pristine, scenic places produces by these performances are thus exclusive in the sense that they require (the influencer's commodified) inside knowledge to be accessed, visited at the right time, and photographed in the right aesthetic – possibly including the influencer's presets for photo editing which can be purchased, and perhaps even wearing her signature colourful knitwear which is also advertised and sold via her account. The solitary spectator, then, strongly produces meanings of exclusivity and resourcefulness, which can pertain to having the finances or the inside knowledge to access the spectacular sights the performance is intertwined with – or to acquiring them through the influencers' business

models.

Building on a centuries-long tradition epitomised by the motif of a "Rückenfigur", and relying on contemporary affordances and features of social media platforms, the solitary spectator reflects an ingrained romantic gaze which emphasises notions of exclusivity, a serene and semi-spiritual personal connection with the scenery, and a shared orientation towards unique places far away from other tourists. As such, it both reflects and reinforces the centuries-old notion of Wanderlust described in Chapter 2 – a notion strongly intertwined with both the formative journeys of the Grand Tours and journeyman years and more broadly with romanticism, of which Caspar David Friedrich was one of the strongest exponents (Ziarnik, 1997). The parallels between his early 1800's paintings and contemporary social media content are hard to miss, as seen above in figure 6-9 and below in figure 10-11 (Friedrich, 1822). As such, the highly visual character of these social media performances reinforces the importance of wanderlust in the practice configurations.
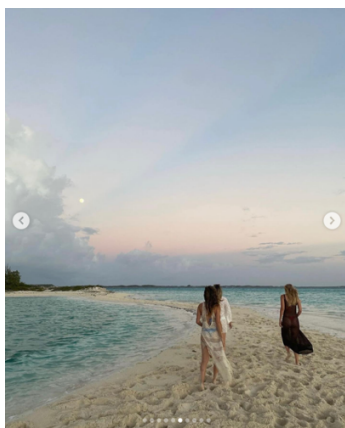

Figure 10 Wanderlust and solitary spectators anno 2023 on Somewhere I Would Like to Live (2023)

Figure 11 Wanderlust and solitary spectators anno 1822 in Caspar David Friedrich's Moonrise by the sea (1822).

In addition to enabling viewers to picture themselves in the place of the influencer, the solitary spectator thus references and reproduces meanings of wanderlust, which lead back at least to romanticism. This is part of a romantic gaze in the content, which emphasises "a personal, semi-spiritual relationship with the object of the gaze" (Urry & Larsen, 2011, p. 19) – a description strongly related to notions of Bildung and Wanderlust, which prevail in the hierarchy of particularly journeying's teleoaffective structure. As such, the solitary spectator embodies and reinforces some of the most central orientations that maintain current carbon-intensive practice configurations.

7.2.4. Plural places: FOMO and normalisation as upwards ratchets

While the section above show that certain types of places feature prominently, an equally noteworthy feature of the social media content is the *quantity* of places, which seems just as important as the specific places represented. Across the data, an astounding number of locations are represented, and visiting many places transpires as a central orientation. The large numbers of places are produced and performed in different ways, all reinforcing an already widespread notion of wanderlust and FOMO – fear of missing out – whose roles in the practices were described in the previous chapters. These performances, which could be described as FOMO performances, imbue the vacation practices with a sense of urgency in more or less direct ways, reinforcing an orientation towards visiting as many places as possible as soon as possible and thus ratcheting up carbon-intensive vacation practices.

In their most direct form, these FOMO performances directly entail sayings about visiting a certain place (soon) for a particular reason. A good example is the TikTok video shared by Julija, which presents "3 places you ✨need✨ to visit before they're too popular" (torastravels, 2023). Here, urgency is induced by sayings that configure vacations as a race against other tourists who will presumably flood the attractive destinations soon. The implied risk that the places will become "too popular" emphasises that exclusivity and visiting desired destinations before the majority constitute intrinsic values, as described above.

The video style is part of performing this haste. It features split-second glimpses of beaches, sunsets, idyllic streets, and the above-mentioned turquoise waters, while the names of the three locations flash across the top half of the screen. The whole video is eleven seconds long, and the intro clip setting the premise lasts four of them, leaving just over two seconds to show each destination. Unsurprisingly, it therefore takes a few replays to catch the three must-see destinations. The fast-paced edit underscores the sense of urgency, and as such contributes to making it a FOMO performance.

Other content does not instil FOMO as directly, but contributes to it by normalising a high travel frequency. When the influencer Drew Binsky explicitly states in his bio that he has "Visited All 197 Countries in the World" (2024b), it presents a high travel frequency as positive, coveted, and normal – a normalisation which can be seen reflected in the practice of Simon, who mentioned Drew Binsky as an inspiration and also keeps count of how many countries he has visited.

Another form of normalisation plays out in a TikTok video by Roxadventures shared by Julija, presenting "European cities to travel when ur [sic] young & broke" (Roxadventures, 2023). The caption reads "Can't miss it this summer!!", and the video shows glimpses of the influencer in Athens, accompanied by prices for specific accommodation, food, and activities. The video thus suggests that being young and broke is not a reason not to travel: rather, it is a reason to travel in particular ways and to specific destinations. The account presents itself in a similar manner in the bio, saying "I help you travel more for less". A range of other posts similarly showcase cheap destinations, underscoring that a lack of money is no reason not to travel. As such, the content performs and normalises frequent travel and suggests that everyone can, and should, travel much and often. The pattern also transpires in a different video, also shared by Julija, from an account run by "Digital Nomad" Casey (Casey 🌞| Digital Nomad |, 2024), with the handle @howtotravelfulltime. The account handle speaks for itself, and the video shows "THE CHEAPEST COUNTRY EVER", employing hashtags like #affordabletravel and #cheaptravel, and reflecting the same notion that everyone can travel. This notion is further supported by the bio, which says "i [sic] work online🧑‍💻 /DITCH THE 9-5✈️ /Live your dream life💭 /Guide below ⬇️❤️" (Casey 🌞| Digital Nomad |, 2024). Together, these features convey an understanding that the more travel, the better, while positioning this "dream life" as the antidote to "THE 9-5". As described in the previous chapters, a similar understanding transpires in vacationing, ratcheting up the experienced need – and entitlement – to take a break from everyday life by going on vacations more frequently and in more resource-intensive and indulgent ways. The content suggests that economic restraints are the only conceivable reason not to travel, and even this should not prevent vacationing.

As such, the content contributes to a sense of FOMO already entailed in the young adults' vacation practices, furthering a shared understanding that it is not only desirable, but also normal to travel a lot, and positioning it as a contrast to the dull, humdrum mundanity of everyday life. This normalisation of frequent travel is as significant as the particular places represented in the content, and it seemingly works to routinise and ratchet up carbon-intensive vacation practices.

7.2.5. Performing vacations through culture, foreignness and authenticity

Another notable way in which the social media content performs vacation practices is through encounters with 'foreign' characteristics, local culture, and people. Much of the

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social media content represents authenticity, foreignness, and culture as values to seek out, encounter, and narrate stories about – traits which also transpire in the young adults' vacation practices, particularly in journeying. As described in chapter 5, these notions can seemingly play different roles in the respective practice configurations, but there are common traits that often ratchet up carbon-intensive vacation practices. A closer look at how these features transpire in the content can illuminate how foreignness, culture and locality are construed and negotiated in the practices – and how they might be reconstrued in more climate-friendly ways.

The centrality of foreignness and locality can be seen in most of the accounts shared by the young adults. It transpires in the bios of several travel influencers on Instagram, e.g. Drew Binsky and Mads Gdahl, who describe their brands with keywords like "👳 Stories About Humanity & Culture" (Drew Binsky, 2024b) and "🌍:Eventyr,kultur [sic] og religion" [adventure, culture and religion] (Mads Gdahl, 2024b). Both accounts contain 'culture' as a keyword, and the content shows the influencers engaging with places, people, and place-specific activities and delicacies which are presented as foreign and unfamiliar, reflecting and reinforcing the kinds of differences that are both constitutive of and produced by the tourist gaze (Urry & Larsen, 2011).

In much of the analysed content, culture and foreignness are represented by individuals in culturally specific attire and settings who appear as unnamed personifications of an entire culture or ethnic group – often through sayings centred around a "they". An example is a video by Drew Binsky showing how "In Tanzania's Maasai Tribe, *they* wash their hands with cow poop" (Drew Binsky, 2024a; emphasis added). The video features an unnamed person who is not introduced – he simply personifies "Tanzania's Maasai Tribe" and their practice. In the second part of the short video, Drew Binsky is suddenly sitting next to a different unnamed person, this time embodying how "they" brush their teeth with branches from acacia trees. The caption helps produce the notions of difference and foreignness and highlights an orientation towards cultural encounters, saying: "I just spent a day with the Massai [sic] tribe in rural Tanzania, what a wild experience! I also witnessed how they slaughter their goats and drink raw blood from the carcass (and I did it too)". The content performs journeying, reflecting orientations towards encountering foreign and authentic cultures and learning from the experience, but it also works to produce the notions of difference and foreignness it is intertwined with (Urry & Larsen, 2011). As such, the video constructs a binary between the encountering, global-North subject and the encountered, global-South object.

The composition in the second part of the video, where Drew Binsky is shown sitting next to the second unnamed Maasai person, is emblematic of this binary between the traveller and the foreign context. Similar shots of influencers posing with local people are abundant and frequently featured as thumbnails of the videos, underscoring their significance. Such images of (named, individual, global North) influencers posing with (unnamed, generalised, global South) people perform cultural encounters, producing a difference between the influencer and the visited context. But they also convey a striking contrast between the influencer, whose name is featured in the account name and, if reposted by others, in the image caption, and the 'local' people featured, whose names are rarely mentioned. These features also appear on other accounts; a video on the account EarthPix Travel, which Lærke shared, e.g. conveys un-named "Children of Himalaya", described as "little angels" with whom a named and tagged travel influencer "shared a special moment" (EarthPix Travel, 2024a). While this content per-forms cultural encounters and shared experiences, it also constructs and reproduces a foreign "they" and a binary between the influencers and the places and cultures visited.
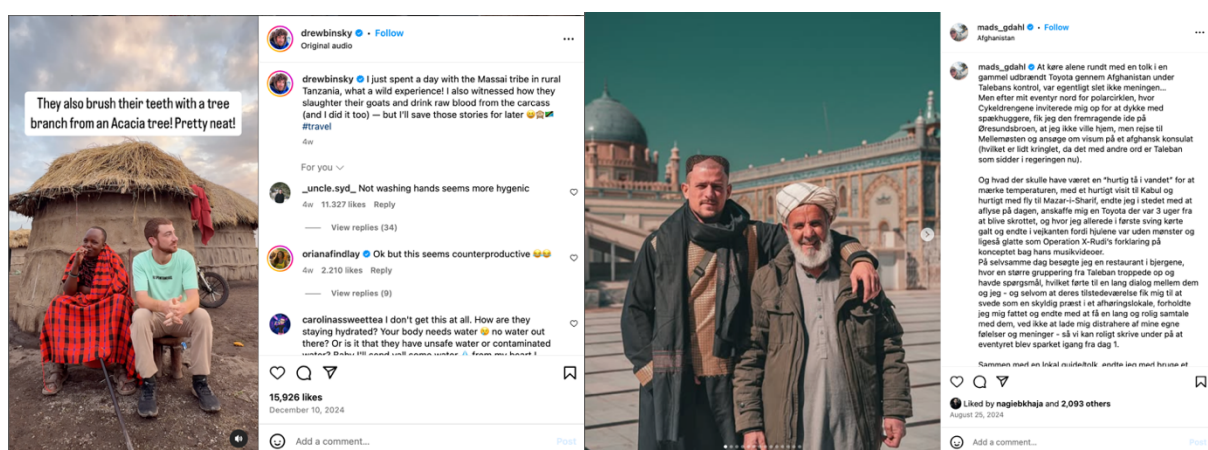

Figure 12 & 13 Drew Binsky (2024a) and Mads Gdahl (2024a) posing with unnamed people signifying foreignness.

Apart from signifying a foreign and authentic other, local people also appear to feature as an aesthetic motif in the videos. This can be seen in another EarthPix Travel video featuring Vi-etnamese people working in rice fields, sewing, sailing, and otherwise working in traditional trades; all filmed in smooth, symmetrical, and colour-saturated drone sequences (EarthPix Travel, 2024b). It also transpires in much of Mads Gdahl's content, often including photos and video clips of unnamed people from the regions visited. An illustrative example is a video captioned "Afghanistan ❤️", which compiles still-photo portraits of people, many of them children. The video is the first pinned item and the most viewed and liked post on the page, suggesting that it captures the sense of "Adventure, culture and religion" the account seeks to communicate to its followers.

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The photos can be interpreted in many ways, and the video provides little context to guide the interpretation. But given their motifs and aesthetic, and in light of the location, they seem to reproduce a similar gaze to that in Steve McCurry's famed – and problematised – photograph "Afghan Girl", canonised on the front page of National Geographic and later problematised for being taken without recording the girl's name, Sharbat Gula, and allegedly against her wishes (Putcha, 2020; Zeiger, 2008). The people in Mads Gdahl's photographs are also unnamed, and their circumstances are unknown. While some are smiling and appear to be acquainted with the photographer, many others are photographed outside buildings, along streets, or during manual labour or prayer, giving a sense of a by-passer's "intrusion into people's lives" (Urry & Larsen, 2011, p. 10). Not all of the persons appear comfortable being photographed, and some are holding money or chocolate, adding to uncertainty about the events leading up to the photos.
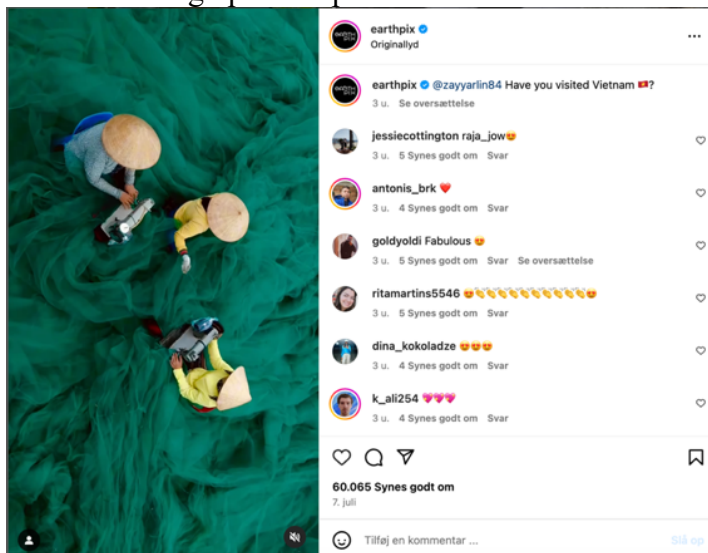

Figure 14 Vietnamese craft workers as represented on EarthPix Travel (2024b)

Figure 15 Afghan girls gazed at in a video from Mads Gdahl (2024b)

The content from Drew Binsky, Mads Gdahl, Earthpix Travel, and other of the analysed profiles thus reflects and produces a tourist gaze of foreignness and locality. As the examples illustrate, this foreignness is often produced through glimpses of allegedly traditional and place-specific customs, phrases, people, foods, crafts, and other practices which are seemingly encountered and gazed over and rarely engaged with over a longer time.

These representations of foreignness are significant from a climate perspective because they contribute to imaginaries of places and cultures that matter in practice. The content not only represents vacation practices entailing travelling far; it also produces idealised and often stereotypical representations of the visited places, highlighting difference, foreignness, and sensation. These representations contribute to a shared imaginary and desire for a particular form

of 'cultural' or 'local' experience, which is often set in distant locations, and which is ideally performed in multiple places. This dynamic is reflected in Simon's practice, as he mentions how Mads Gdahl's content reinforces his desire to "go to places where other people wouldn't go" and his understanding that "I get to know more about myself when I meet stuff I don't know anything about." As such, the content creates or reinforces a desire for foreignness in young adults' practice, which often connects with carbon-intensive long-distance travel.

At the same time, these representations contribute to a discrepancy in the young adults' practices where the idealised imaginaries of foreignness often contrast with the experienced place. This discrepancy transpires in Simon's practice, as we saw in the previous chapter, where he described his summer vacation in Eastern Europe which entailed strong orientations towards foreignness and cultural encounters that were not quite realised. In his situated practice, the imaginary of Central or Eastern Europe as a foreign place did not align with the places he experienced, contributing to an ongoing negotiation about what qualifies as foreign and where and how it can be encountered. The content contributes strongly to this negotiation, producing foreign places that require effort to reproduce in the young adults' performances, and which contribute to orientations towards more distant destinations.

7.2.6. Mediatised alternatives: Spectacular sights in unexpected settings

In the content described above, mediatised performances of the foreign, sensational, spectacular, or otherwise shareable vacation often reproduce carbon-intensive vacation practices and appear to function as upwards ratchets. However, as the analysis demonstrates, many of these features are continuously produced and negotiated in various ways, both across the content and in how the young adults' performances reproduce, contrast with, and otherwise relate to it. And as the previous sections have indicated, there is also content shared by the young adults that nuances shared understandings of the foreign and spectacular, produces different kinds of vacation places, and performs alternative practice configurations. Much of this content reflects practices and places imbued with similar notions and aesthetics, but engages elements or locations that implicitly or explicitly constitute climate-friendly alternatives.

A common alternative representation locates these spectacular sights, places and experiences in unexpected places or settings, paving the way for alternative and less resource-intensive vacation practices. These places and performances are often similar to those described above. Scenic ocean views, spectacular alpine outlooks, and other compelling places feature

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frequently, but are located in less distant destinations. Such alternative performances reach a large crowd of 1,1 million followers on the account of Norwegian travel influencer Helene Myhre (2025), who is mentioned as a source of inspiration by several participants. Her content reflects practices, elements, colours, and motives similar to those described above, but it ties them to locations in Norway. The images are highly colour saturated in hues of pink, turquoise, orange, and green, showcasing rugged, snow-clad mountains, crystal-clear fjords, picturesque sunsets behind mountains, and Northern lights – often with the influencer as a solitary spectator in the centre of the photo wearing knitwear or swimwear in matching bright colours. As such, it follows the conventions of social media travel content, but it transfers the motifs and features to Scandinavian locations. While the specific locations in Norway vary, there is some consistency, e.g. depicting the same spot in different seasons, which can work to re-enchant the vicinity, highlight how different sensorial experiences can be found in the same place, and produce a tourist gaze oriented towards place attachment, local knowledge, and more subtle and sensorial changes and differences rather than more different places. It thus shows how similar notions and orientations can be connected with more nearby and recurring destinations, working to produce different places and tourist gazes.

Figure 16 Picture-perfect, colour-saturated panoramas in Norway's "big backyard" (Myhre, 2024a).

Other content connects these notions with alternative and slower means of transport, e.g. trains or bikes. An example is the Instagram account Inlandsbanan, which Alfred (23) shared. The account is commercially managed by a train company which runs a train line from the south to the north of Sweden on commission of the Swedish state (Inlandsbanan). The

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account shares content in Swedish to its 5,800 followers, often featuring trains and locomotives, stations, and scenic stretches of the route alongside practical information about tickets and booking. The company's trains run on diesel, so the represented vacation practices are not intrinsically climate-friendly, but the content nevertheless contributes to climate-friendly tendencies in different ways.

For one thing, it contributes to a different and more local 'tourist gaze' by showcasing attractive destinations to a presumably domestic, Swedish-speaking audience. The relatively modest number of followers, views, and likes suggests that it has a limited scope, but it nevertheless represents an alternative gaze – and a gaze that reached Alfred. This gaze shares features with the content described above, e.g. picturesque scenery. But it points out these scenic views closer to home for its Swedish target group, as well as for Alfred and possibly other young Danes, contributing to negotiating the place of vacations.

Interestingly, the content conveys not only alternative vacation places but also alternative *temporalities*. The content represents train travel as enjoyable and cosy, conveying an understanding that also transpires in the young adults' practices, namely that being on the train constitutes quality time. Several posts imbue train travel with notions of cosiness and indulgence, e.g. connecting train travel with pastries and *fika*, a Swedish coffee break involving something sweet, or presenting the dining carriages as a space for "tågmys" – train cosiness (Inlandsbanan, 2024). These idyllic glimpses perform train vacations as a practice of relaxing, indulging, and cosying up while landscapes drift by outside the train windows. "See Sweden – take the train!" as it says in one of the pictures.
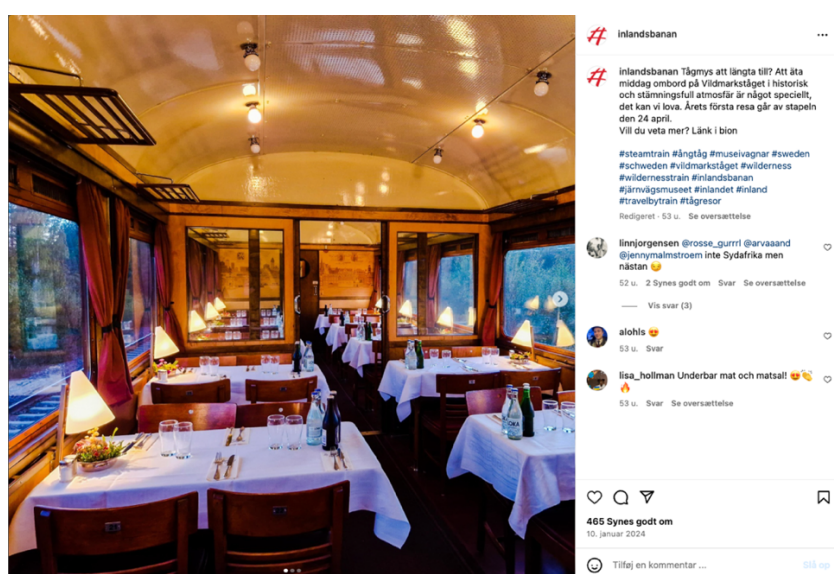

Figure 17 "Tågmys" in the dining wagon in an Instagram post from Inlandsbanan (Inlandsbanan, 2024)

A different kind of alternative time and place is featured on the Instagram account Endnu Et Eventyr [Another Adventure] (2025), which Vera (19) mentioned. The account follows the Danish couple Aske and Malene biking from Denmark to Australia on a tandem bike, show-ing places, views, experiences, and stretches of road along the way. Like much of the other content, the account features photos and videos of sunsets, spectacular mountain views, sce-nic waterfalls, beautiful beaches, and cultural sites along their route. But here, it is inter-changed with a loaded tandem bike ("the limousine"), camping equipment, roads, and bike helmets. The content shows how a slight twist on characteristic vacation elements can per-form alternative and less carbon-intensive ways of experiencing foreign and attractive places.

Figure 18 Solitary spectator on four wheels, screens-hotted from (Endnu Et Eventyr, 2025)

Figure 19 Social interactions and locality depicted on Somewhere I Would Like to Live (2024)

The content from Endnu Et Eventyr performs an alternative configuration of journeying that can potentially foster climate-friendly practice change. It entails meanings and competences supporting climate-friendly change, both by concretely showing what bike packing is and how it can be done, and in a broader sense by countering routinised connections between ad-venture, air travel, and distant locations. Instead, it circulates a performance that connects ad-venture and foreignness with biking. This negotiation is emphasised both by the account's bio and in several posts which explicitly mention the objective of reaching Australia without fly-ing. This effect is underlined in the focus group, as Vera mentions the account to the two other participants as an example that it is possible to travel to Australia without flying. As such, the account circulates aesthetic and embodied examples of alternative ways of journey-ing, negotiating current vacation practices while circulating meanings and competences that can support climate-friendly practice change.

A third form of alternative performance transpires on the Instagram account Somewhere I Would Like to Live, which was shared by Lærke. The account's content reflects a tourist gaze connecting foreignness with bonds between people and local places – features that are absent in much of the collected content and which imbue the content with a sensorial, affective sense of intimacy. This gaze can be likened to what Jørgensen and Larsen describe as "small encounters" (Jørgensen & Larsen, 2023): brief glimpses of local citizens' mundane everyday lives which can constitute big experiences for tourists. Similarly, the account's content conveys idiosyncratic details and interactions that appear like glimpses into other possible lives. These glimpses reflect an orientation toward locality and mundanity and connect it with notions of foreignness. A similar orientation is expressed by Stella (23), who describes how she orients herself towards the local, everyday lives being lived in the place she is visiting to "get a little sample of what it's like to live there, really." The content shared on Somewhere I Would Like to Live reflects and reinforces this orientation and provides it with a strong aesthetic, developing a tourist gaze which enchants otherwise easily overlooked details and aspects of the mundane, also in the vicinity.

The representations of interactions between people described here point out the contrast to most of the other social media content, in which social interactions and relations are remarkably absent. Considering how important social dynamics, quality time and togetherness are in the young adults' practices, it is remarkable that such interactions are almost invisible in the social media content. The representations of warmth and intimacy between people on Somwehere I Would Like To Live reflect something already central in the young adults' practices, but reinforce it by providing it with an aesthetic and performing it in content that can circulate via the platforms. As such, Somewhere I Would Like to Live represents an alternative tourist gaze oriented towards noticing, cherishing, and re-enchanting the local, emphasising notions of quality time, conviviality and intimacy, and downplaying the urge for distant paradisical destinations. While such a gaze is arguably more easily activated in foreign settings, it can apply to nearby places as much as to distant and stereotypically exotic locations. As such, it connects with climate-friendly practice configurations seen in the young adults' performances which also entail orientations towards conviviality, quality time, and beauty in the small things. Such enchantment of intimate moments e.g. transpires in Mathilda's descriptions of vacationing domestically in a summer cottage:

That tranquillity to be able to feel yourself. I think that means a lot to me, that you kind of take a breather and like, 'wow, that sunset is so beautiful'. It's not something you notice normally when

the daily grind is going. Or that you sit back in the chair when you're having dinner with your family and think 'wow, this is really lovely'. That feeling that there's time to think and enjoy the moment, because everyday life moves so fast, right.

The content of Somewhere I Would Like to Live represents a similar awareness of beautiful and precious glimpses hidden just below the surface of the mundane. It connects with notions of nostalgia, place attachment, and quality time connected with nearby locations and slower mobility in the young adults' practices, thus reinforcing more climate-friendly practice configurations.

Despite its different gaze, the content described here is not fundamentally different from other travel content in that it adds to the overload of impressions from around the world. The large volume of content is described by many of the informants as contributing to their appetite for travelling and experiencing more places – e.g. by Caroline (20), who says:

It's not our fault that we're bombarded on social media with lovely pictures from Bali, for instance, and Italy. And then we don't see any pictures from Denmark, for instance, where you can of course also spend a great holiday.

The content analysed here contributes to the bombardment of lovely pictures from a range of different places around the world and adds to the fascination of them, and as such, it reproduces and maintains the position of vacation practices as such. But it also conveys an alternative tourist gaze and a shared understanding that you can also spend a great holiday in places closer to home which transpires as a potential lever for climate-friendly practice change.

7.2.7. Partial conclusion: Representing vacation practices on social media

This second part of the chapter has thus shown how social media representations are entailed in young adults' vacation practices in significant and climate-relevant ways. Firstly, it illustrates how carbon-intensive practices are often reproduced through the production of particular vacation places. These places are usually sunny, spectacular, exotic, and exclusive, reflecting a particular and widespread tourist gaze and reinforcing orientations towards distant locations. These features connect with notions of FOMO, foreignness, and the semi-spiritual nature connection of the solitary spectator, all working to ratchet up frequent and carbon-intensive vacation practices. These findings underscore how social media content performs vacations in ways that reinforce carbon-intensive configurations – an effect furthered by the young adults' engagement with this content as part of their practice. As the chapter has shown, the analysed social media content thus mainly reproduces and ratchets up carbon-

intensive practice configurations, but there are also dynamics to the opposite effect. The tourist gaze inherent in the content entails particular aesthetic features and notions, and these features enable similar representations of places and vacation practices in nearby destinations that thus appeal to a similar tourist gaze. Such performances transpire e.g. in content from Norwegian travel influencer Helene Myhre which showcases desirable destinations in nearby locations, from tandem bike packers Endnu et Eventyr which features foreignness reached on two wheels, or on Somewhere I Would Like To Live, which reflects a tourist gaze enchanting small glimpses and intimate encounters – and, possibly, the vicinity.

7.3. Conclusion: Social media and climate-friendly vacations

Social media, as they feature in the vacation practices of young adults, thus play a significant role in circulating vacation practices and their elements – often reproducing carbon-intensive configurations, but also circulating and performing alternative practices. These findings show that social media content not only plays a significant part in young adults' current vacation practices but also holds considerable potential for circulating, negotiating, and contributing to changing these practices.

The exploration of young adults' social media activities showed that the young adults encounter representations of vacations in all phases of vacation practices, working to instigate the performance of vacation practices as such, to shape the destinations and activities of an already ongoing performance, or to reminisce about the practice after it has ended. Content from both influencers and personal relations impacts the practices, and while it often works to reinforce already familiar practice configurations, it also constitutes a circulation and recruitment channel for alternative practices to reach new groups of people. The young adults' sharing activities underscore the role of social media content in performing and, often, reproducing a particular tourist gaze, but it also reflects the potential for circulating alternatives.

The social media content itself provides further insight into the dynamics through which vacation practices are reproduced and potentially changed via social media platforms. The content often reproduces carbon-intensive vacation practices, particularly through a tourist gaze that works to produce particular vacation places. As is often the case with tourist gazes, these places are based on difference from the home context, and as such, they are connected with notions of foreignness and work to ratchet up the desire to go on more frequent and distant vacations. However, these places and the practices they are intertwined with are represented

in characteristic ways, which are also featured in representations of alternative and less carbon-intensive vacation practices. These representations perform alternative vacation practices in ways similar to the dominant configurations, thus enabling these alternatives to reflect and appeal to a similar tourist gaze. This entails a potential for reconfiguring vacation practices towards less carbon-intensive forms, maintaining similar orientations, aesthetics, notions, and activities and thus potentially fulfilling similar purposes in the young adults' trajectories.

As such, this chapter concludes the dissertation's empirical analysis. The analysis has outlined the practice entities that emerge in young adults' vacations, outlined their potential climate-friendly forms, surveyed the young adults' learning trajectories in these practices, and here, lastly, explored the mediatised representations and their potential roles in processes of climate-friendly practice change. Altogether, these three analysis chapters have thus mapped out the current state of climate-friendly practice change and the potential for climate-friendly vacation practices. The findings have implications both for the possible pathways to more climate-friendly vacation practices and for the ways practice theories can approach studies of practices and practice change. These implications will be discussed in the following chapter.

8. Discussion

In a context of intensifying climate and ecological crisis, this dissertation set out to expand our understanding of how climate-friendly practice change can come about and be supported. It did so by engaging with one of the most carbon-intensive forms of consumption that people in Denmark and other affluent countries frequently perform: vacation practices. Seeking to produce knowledge about both potentials and impediments for change, the dissertation homed in on Danish young adults, who have at the same time been described as highly climate concerned and prone to large emissions from vacations. With this purpose and focus, the dissertation asked: *how do Danish young adults learn, perform, and picture vacation practices in times of climate crisis, and which sociocultural and mediatised dynamics can support climate-friendly practice change?*

Revolving around this question, the dissertation's chapters have laid out a volume of contextual, theoretical, methodological, empirical, and analytical threads. Intricate and wide-ranging as they have been, all of these threads were laid out and engaged to braid a robust answer to that central question which weaves through all of the dissertation's parts. As the dissertation's structure has reflected, this braid – and the answer to the question – is made up of four strands, which each entail their theoretical and conceptual foundation, empirical analysis, and emerging contributions. These strands have followed four of the study's underlying research questions, which asked:

1. *Which vacation practices transpire in young adults' situated performances, and what characterises these practices' configurations?*

2. *In which ways does the climate crisis interact with the configuration of these practices, and which elements of the practices support and challenge climate-friendly practice change?*

3. *Which dynamics of situated learning can be identified in young adults' vacation practice trajectories, and in which ways does this learning relate to climate-friendly practice change?*

4. *Which roles do social media content play in the circulation, reproduction, and performance of vacation practices, and how do representations on social media prevent and enable practice change?*

Having empirically answered each of these four questions in the previous chapters, it is time

to retrace these strands, assess the insights they have produced, and discuss which contributions they make and which further questions they raise. In so doing, this discussion chapter addresses the fifth and final question of the dissertation, namely:

5. *How can the potentials and impediments for change in young adults' vacation practices inform practice theoretical accounts of climate-friendly practice change?*

The chapter starts by briefly laying out each strand and its findings, before their combined answer to the dissertation's question is braided together and discussed, first in terms of their empirical contribution and then in terms of their theoretical contribution.

8.1. The dissertation's empirical findings

The dissertation's first strand engaged practice theories in a classical form, asking, *which vacation practices transpire in young adults' situated performances, and what characterises these practices' configurations?* To lay the grounds for this endeavour, it reviewed practice theoretical literatures, particularly within consumption studies and environmental sociology. Based on previous scholarship, it produced an adjusted conceptualisation of practices as temporally unfolding and spatially dispersed nexuses of doings and sayings organised by materiality, teleoaffective structure, competences, and regulation – nexuses which refer to a generalised and dispersed entity, but which transpire as situated performances. This conceptualisation emphasised sayings and other discursive aspects of practices, which have been relatively overlooked in many accounts. Employing this conceptualisation, the empirical analysis constructed an ideal typology of two distinct practice entities transpiring in the young adults' situated performances: *vacationing* and *journeying*. These two practices share similar traits, particularly their reliance on carbon-intensive mobility infrastructures and the centrality of notions of foreignness. But their configurations also reflect key differences. Most centrally, vacationing is configured by notions of relaxation and indulgence, while journeying revolves around adventure, authenticity and overcoming challenges. This is reflected in the competences involved, the material underpinnings, and the different roles regulation plays in each practice.

Building on this ideal typology, the dissertation's second strand surveyed the practice configurations to point out central potentials and impediments for climate-friendly practice change. As such, it addressed research question 2: *In which ways does the climate crisis interact with the configuration of these practices, and which elements of the practices support and*

challenge climate-friendly practice change? To answer this question, this strand reviewed existing scholarship about the carbon emissions of vacation practices and potentials and impediments for climate-friendly practice change, pointing out flying as a central cause for emissions, and identifying four central factors maintaining current carbon-intensive vacation practices, namely regulatory and sociotechnical flight-centrism, low flight fares, a social desire for foreignness, and, particularly in the context of young adults, a strong social aspiration for formative experiences. Furthermore, it surveyed existing practice-theoretical conceptualisations of practice change, pointing out a prevalence of policy-oriented descriptions and a relative lack of descriptions of the dynamics by which changes become socially shared and circulated. Building on existing conceptualisations, it approached climate-friendly practice change by exploring how alternative, less carbon-intensive practice configurations can serve the same purposes as current vacation practices. Applying these descriptions to *vacationing*, summer house vacations and surface-transport trips to neighbouring countries transpired as already existing climate-friendly vacationing alternatives, while the patchwork network of international railway infrastructures and the connections with demanding everyday lives constitute the main impediments for climate-friendly practice change. Regarding *journeying*, the shared understanding connecting adventure, foreignness and formative experiences with distant locations transpired as a central impediment for climate-friendly practice change. On the other hand, demanding railway infrastructures are less of a hindrance – perhaps rather a potential for fulfilling the purposes of challenges and adventure. Potential alternative practices transpired in the form of adventures in nearby destinations or via challenging surface mobility, e.g. Interrail or hiking trips.

The third strand engaged with the notion of learning in practice theories and climate-friendly practice change, addressing research question 3, *which dynamics of situated learning can be identified in young adults' vacation practice trajectories, and in which ways does this learning relate to climate-friendly practice change?* Through engagement with practice-theoretical accounts of learning and literature on environmental and sustainability education (ESE) and Bildung, this strand outlined seven central features of learning in practice-theoretical terms, conceptualising it as social, practical, forming trajectories, happening along the way, personal, variable, and normative. Engaging this conceptualisation analytically, it found that learning occurs in relation to all the different practice elements, but in various forms and interplays with the community of practice and learning trajectory it is part of. Material learning occurring in nearby locations supports the climate-friendly practice configurations outlined

above, and so does teleoaffective learning of new orientations and aesthetics, as well as of climate concern as a defining feeling in the teleoaffective structure. On the other hand, competence and regulatory learning transpire as a prerequisite for climate-friendly practice change, and particularly competence learning is hard to acquire in the current landscape. Regulatory learning has a profound impact on young adults' current practice – mainly as an upwards ratchet, as the young adults have learned to cope with COVID-19 restrictions by travelling more often, but also as a central enabler for reconfiguring practices in the situated cases of climate-friendly practice change. This analysis also found that normative learning can play a vital role in leveraging climate-friendly practice change within a community of practice, even in a practice landscape where the distribution of material, teleoaffective, regulatory, and competence elements does not favour climate-friendly practice configurations. However, such normative learning and negotiations are demanding and risk leading to deflection from climate-friendly practices. As such, this strand contributed to knowledge about the potential for climate-friendly practice change based on social learning in communities of practice.

The fourth strand combined theoretical and empirical rationales to engage with the roles of mediatised representations of vacation practices, addressing the fourth research question; *which roles do social media content play in the circulation, reproduction, and performance of vacation practices, and how do representations on social media prevent and enable practice change?* This strand took its starting point in Schatzki's (2002) contention that media of communication constitute potential avenues for practice change. It engaged existing practice-theoretical accounts of media content to conceptualise the roles of social media in practice. Building on these accounts, it suggested approaching mediatised representations as situated performances of practices that relate both to other embodied performances and to the practice entity. Drawing on the concept and genealogy of the tourist gaze (Urry & Larsen, 2011), it outlined how media such as photography have been found to play an active and productive part in configuring and shaping vacation practices, underlining their historical and sociocultural relevance. Furthermore, it emphasised the relevance of considering the situated context for these mediatised performances – in the dissertation's case, social media platforms, which were understood as heterogeneous sociotechnical accomplishments compiling algorithmic infrastructures and social media practices. Applying this conceptualisation of media content empirically, it engaged in a digital ethnography of the roles of social media platforms and content in the young adults' situated performances. This digital ethnography showed that social media are important channels for encountering, circulating, and routinising vacation

practices, working mainly to reproduce vacation practices but also constituting potential recruitment channels for alternative, climate-friendly practices. Analysing the practice configurations performed by this content, it found that the content tends to perform carbon-intensive configurations that reproduce the dominant tourist gaze through representations of the pristine, spectacular and foreign. While this carbon-intensive gaze appears to be dominant, impactful performances of less carbon-intensive configurations do also transpire, reflecting similar notions and aesthetics but employing them to enchant small glimpses and local experiences and places, contributing to reconfigure – and, possibly, decarbonise – the tourist gaze.

Apart and altogether, these four strands have contributed with new insights to existing scholarship. As the dissertation's form and focus has reflected, it first and foremost sought to make an empirical contribution by advancing the knowledge about potentials and impediments for climate-friendly practice change as they transpire in young adults' vacation practices. As such, these strands amount to an empirical contribution by answering the central question, *how do Danish young adults learn, perform, and picture vacation practices in times of climate crisis, and which sociocultural and digital dynamics can support climate-friendly practice change?* The answer emerges through this summary of the dissertation's different strands. Together, they provide a thick description of young adults' current carbon-intensive practices, vacationing and journeying, and their central potentials and impediments for change – in particular, the relatively disadvantageous railway infrastructure, the strong social understandings of adventure, relaxation and quality time as located in foreign settings, the scarcity of the required alternative competences, and the lack of taxation and everyday life flexibility that render frequent, flight-based breaks from the humdrum meaningful and desired.

However, it has also shown that climate-friendly alternative configurations do prevail. Some are firmly established and widespread, such as vacationing in summer cottages or hiking in natural areas. Other configurations related more directly to the climate crisis were also found, for instance in the situated performances of Vera (19), Jens (23) and Simone (21), who exhibit practice configurations that actively exclude air travel and, in Jens' case, reconfigures the relation between vacation practices and everyday life practices more fundamentally. This description has shown that young adults learn vacation practices in deeply social and situated ways in communities of practice made up of family and friends which often reinforce existing, carbon-intensive practice configurations. However, these communities also entail

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potential for different forms of climate-friendly social learning, particularly as significant others introduce notions of climate concern into the configuration of the shared practice. Mediatised communities of practice provide further potential for climate-friendly learning, as influencers can serve as expert practitioners to learn from. Furthermore, the young adults' learning trajectories across practices enable cross-pollination between practices, e.g. carrying climate concern from food practices into vacation practices and causing potential practice change. Finally, the dissertation's chapters have shown how social media content performs and reproduces a carbon-intensive tourist gaze, but also how it enables less carbon-intensive vacation practices to emerge, circulate, and potentially lead to climate-friendly practice change.

In an empirical, practical sense, the dissertation has thus pointed out impediments and potentials for fostering and supporting climate-friendly practice change – from change dynamics in the situated and shared activity of practitioners to avenues for national and European policy actors, social media content creators, educators, and commercial actors to address. The learning and community of practice approach in particular points out the multitude entangled roles the young adults play in these vacation practices – as practitioners with trajectories in and across practices, as possible experts in a given community of practice through performances, as aesthetic and teleoaffective reference points through sayings and social media posts, as potential cross-pollinators of elements between practices through their trajectories, or as channels for circulation of and recruitment to alternative practices via their communities of practice. As the analysis also shows, the potential in these roles is not unbounded. On the contrary, they are limited in profound ways by the current practice landscape, the inadequacy of less carbon-intensive forms of transportation, the relative regulatory and economic favouring of aviation, and the ensuing dominant positioning of aviation-based practices as convenient, routinised, and affordable. Furthermore, they are limited by strong socially shared understandings of frequent and far travel as an ingrained part of the good life, as opposed to the (not so good) everyday life. Building on this effect, the desired goals of vacation practices – whether indulgent relaxation or challenging adventures – are connected with faraway destinations in the practice configurations. But, bound up as they are with current practice landscapes and all of the impediments they pose, the dynamic roles of practitioners nevertheless entail potential for fostering, supporting, and circulating climate-friendly practice change through situated performances and, centrally, through the communities of practice in which these practices are shared. In a contemporary context where immediate action matters and political action is lagging behind, the findings call attention to the fact that vacation practices

are not an arrow directed top-down from policy level to practitioners – they are suspended between policymakers, practitioners, organising elements, and other practices, and their shape and reach is thus formed by the full circle of actors. While policy actors might hold particularly influential positions for adjusting the organising elements, and while the current landscape of practices and elements might work to fixate it in a particular position, practitioners are also able to collectively influence the suspended practice, pull it in specific directions, adjust its shape, or cause it to fall. This has implications for the potential for climate-friendly practice change, in the context of vacation practices and in a wider sense.

Based on this empirical contribution, the research question then remains in a broader sense: *which sociocultural and mediatised dynamics can support climate-friendly practice change?* As the descriptions above indicate, this research question holds a more wide-spanning dimension, relating to general descriptions and conceptual development. Are there sociocultural and mediatised dynamics encountered in the young adults' vacation practices that can inform and expand theoretical descriptions of climate-friendly practice change more broadly? Do the young adults' practices reflect relevant dynamics that have not yet been pointed out as potentials for supporting or constraining climate-friendly practice change? Put differently, *can the potentials and impediments for change in young adults' vacation practices qualify practice theoretical accounts of climate-friendly practice change?* This fifth and final research question guides the remainder of this discussion, as the dissertation's strands are sought woven into existing practice-theoretical scholarship in a pursuit to strengthen and expand it.

8.2. The dissertation's theoretical contributions

The question of how the potentials and impediments for change in young adults' vacation practices can qualify practice theoretical accounts is not entirely foreign in the dissertation's context – it has transpired in different ways throughout the dissertation's chapters. The dissertation has aimed to produce the most attuned framework for its empirical pursuit, and it has recurrently engaged back with the ontological and conceptual basis of this framework to align its emerging empirical findings with the foundational theories – but also to probe whether these theories might expose room for adjustments in the encounter with the empirical data. As such, it has followed the abductive research cycle, pushing the empirical findings against existing (practice) theories and thereby identifying additional dimensions that have required tentative new theorising (Timmermans & Tavory, 2012). The empirical contribution above hopefully speaks to the analytical attunement of this tentative new theorising in the empirical

context of Danish young adults' vacations, but does it hold up as theoretically beneficial too?

The dissertation's theorising relates to practice-theoretical accounts of change in different ways. Foundationally, it rests on a contention that while much practice-theoretical work on practice change has been done (e.g. Schatzki, 2019; Shove et al., 2012; Strengers & Maller, 2014), there is still some conceptual unclarity about how change is instigated, disseminated, and integrated into people's everyday practices. These avenues for theoretical development were pointed out in the review of practice-theoretical scholarship in Chapter 3, which pointed out a relative over-emphasis on policy-related dynamics and a lack of descriptions of how practice changes take hold of more people or the practice entity. In existing conceptualisations, it pointed out Schatzki's description of media of communication as a potential change mediator (2002, p. 250), and Shove, Pantzar & Watson's (2012) description of the potential for social learning in communities of practice as two promising, but under-conceptualised avenues for change.

Addressing these avenues, the dissertation's tentative theorising adjusts the conceptualisation of practices to include mediatised aspects more fully. In addition, it develops and integrates a more elaborate learning perspective to describe practitioners' trajectories in practices and ensuing dynamics of practice maintenance and change. Each of these aspects of the dissertation's tentative new theorising is discussed in the following, before the chapter ends with a concluding discussion of the dissertation's contribution to practice-theoretical accounts of climate-friendly practice change.

8.2.1. Conceptualising mediatised dynamics in practices

As described above, one of the contributions this dissertation has made is to conceptualise how media content and mediatised representations might be considered in the analysis of practices in terms that are compatible with a practice-theoretical ontology and epistemology. Building on existing practice-theoretical scholarship about the relationship between situated practice performances and media discourses (Halkier, 2010a; Keller & Halkier, 2014), representations (Jack, 2020), and meaning units in media content (Petersen, 2020), this conceptualisation suggests a more direct relation between media content and practices. It suggests that media content can be approached as a particular form of mediatised practice performances, which relate dialectically to the practice entity in the same way as the embodied performances practice theories are traditionally concerned with. In such a conceptualisation, media

representations are not only relevant based on how they are engaged in performances; they are considered relevant performances of the practice themselves. Analysing the doings, sayings, and practice elements that are represented here can thus help to provide a fuller picture of the practice entity that all of these performances relate to – and it can shed light on potential change dynamics that are otherwise overlooked. As such, this conceptualisation engages with and explores the avenue for change that Schatzki describes as "media of communication" which often "decisively mediate changes in practices" (2002, p. 250), but which has not been conceptually elaborated.

In the context of young adults' vacation practices, this conceptualisation helps shed light on mediatised dynamics of both practice reproduction and change. As such, it provides a clear showcase of how connections are formed, reproduced, and possibly changed between elements that organise the practice. Engaging insights from the tourist gaze (Urry & Larsen, 2011), this conceptualisation helped identify and describe processes through which e.g. the central notions of foreignness and adventure are in different ways connected with distant destinations and thus with a carbon-intensive practice configuration. On the other hand, the specific situated context that social media platforms constitute seemingly enables mediatised performances of vacation practices which still entail the same doings, sayings, notions and orientations, but which directs this similar tourist gaze towards more nearby destinations and less carbon-intensive mobility forms. As such, social media platforms – and media content more broadly – seem to enable the emergence and circulation of more climate-friendly vacation practices, thus contributing to changes in the practice entity by providing alternative performances that entail different and less carbon-intensive elements.

As such, this conceptualisation has pointed out an important dynamic which often reproduces existing practices, but which also entails a potential for change as media content can contribute to the circulation and routinisation of alternative and less carbon-intensive performances of vacation practices. This constitutes a novel way of theoretically and empirically incorporating media content and mediatised dynamics into the description and analysis of practices and practice change. As such, it contributes to emerging practice-theoretical engagements with the role of media in practice change (Jack, 2020; Keller & Halkier, 2014; Petersen, 2020), and, with digital and social media (Laakso et al., 2021; Pink et al., 2015; Serafinelli & Villi, 2017) – a body of scholarship which will likely only become more relevant if the use of digital media keeps burgeoning (Danmarks Statistik, 2023b; Pew Research Centre, 2024).

8.2.2. Conceptualising learning dynamics of practices

As the strands above outlined, the dissertation has also made a contribution in the form of a more elaborate description of learning within a practice-theoretical framework. The description reviews existing theoretical accounts of learning in practice and synthesises them into a coherent, analytically applicable framework of seven defining features of learning in practice; namely that it is social, practical, forming trajectories, happening along the way, personal, variable, and normative. This conceptualisation elaborates on and operationalises Schatzki's conceptual definition of learning in practices (2017), providing an arguably more operational reading that contributes in its own right to the relatively limited pool of literature on learning in a practice-theoretical framework. In addition, it expands this reading with insights from the ESE and Bildung literatures (Jobst, 2023; Læssøe & Lysgaard, 2024; Van Poeck et al., 2020), which help to consider the relations between learning and climate-friendly practice change. These literatures contribute particularly to the conceptualisation of a form of learning which "concerns normativity" (Schatzki, 2017, p. 32), and which appears to hold particular potential for leveraging practice change within the community of practice in which it occurs. Additionally, the dissertation's operationalisation highlights that learning relates to the practice elements, providing a connection between practitioners' learning and potentials for practice change. It e.g. describes a dynamic of *teleoaffective restructuring* as new orientations, emotions, or notions are introduced into the practice's teleoaffective structure or through the reorganisation of their internal hierarchical positions. This constitutes a novel and analytically useful conceptualisation of change dynamics and the ways different orientations, shared understandings, aesthetics, and discourses can coexist in different forms to different effects. It highlights the importance of thoroughly grasping these different teleoaffective dimensions and the ways they are integrated and (re-)organised in the teleoaffective structure – from media content, fellow practitioners, and more broadly.

Furthermore – and as a somewhat untraditional suggestion in practice theories – it explored a form of learning which, according to Schatzki, "concerns normativity" (2017, p. 32). This kind of learning consists in becoming better at "stating and defending what rules call for and what is acceptable or prescribed", increasing "the determination of the normativity that governs the practices she carries on" (Schatzki, 2017, p. 33). Invoking insights from ESE and Bildung literature, normative learning is not a magic bullet for climate-friendly practice change (Van Poeck et al., 2020), but it can invoke a more attuned sense of 'living-with'

climate change, developing both society and the self through entangled interpersonal, socie-tal, embodied and more-than-human relations (Sjöström & Eilks, 2020; Verlie, 2022). Such learning occurs when habitual ways of engaging in and understanding practices are inter-rupted, allowing new practices to emerge (Jobst, 2023). As the analysis showed, normative learning transpired in the young adults' trajectories in various ways. It was found to hold a potential for leveraging climate-friendly practice change within the community of practice in which it occurs. But this potential was limited in communities where no other practitioners shared this normative position, as negotiating the normativity governing a practice demands much effort from the practitioner. Nevertheless, it constitutes a potential avenue for climate-friendly practice change, even within practice landscapes that do not favour climate-friendly practice configurations. As such, the conceptualisation of learning in practices constitutes a contribution not just to practice-theoretical literature on learning, but also to practice-theoreti-cal accounts of climate-friendly practice change.

Regarding practice change, this account elaborates on Shove et al (2012)'s outline of avenues for practice change, which emphasises communities of practice as relevant units for processes of social learning which may amount to practice change (Shove et al., 2012, p. 161). These dynamics are only described in rather broad terms and provide limited scope for addressing practice change through this avenue. Building on this contention that processes of social learning may amount to practice change, the dissertation's conceptualisation of learning and its ensuing analysis of the young adults' learning trajectories has thus contributed to opera-tionalising and conceptually expanding on this avenue of climate-friendly practice change, emphasising the large role communities of practice play in processes of change relating par-ticularly to teleoaffective, competence, or normative learning.

While learning can inform studies of climate-friendly practice change, the dissertation has also showed that it is not necessarily a bullet-proof way to practice change – rather, insights from both the ESE literature and the empirical analysis of young adults' trajectories highlight that, as many other dynamics related to practices, learning is open-ended and thus sometimes reinforces practices – also carbon-intensive ones. Nevertheless, the dissertation has conceptu-alised and empirically showed how learning entails potential for climate-friendly practice change through the integration of new elements via practitioners' learning trajectories, and for amplifying situated changes through these communities of practice. As such, learning ap-pears as a generative conceptual and analytical focus in accounts of climate-friendly practice

change. But it also raises questions about who can – and should – drive practice change. These questions are addressed in the following, which concludes this chapter's discussion of the dissertation's findings.

8.2.3. Recalibrating practice-theoretical theories of change

As the second part of this chapter started by remarking, despite the abundance of practice-theoretical scholarship on practice change, some dynamics in practice change have not yet been fully theoretically conceptualised, and others seem to have received the greater part of the attention. Most centrally, some conceptual unclarity exists about how change can be instigated, disseminated, and integrated into people's everyday practices. Engaging with this unclarity, the dissertation's tentative theorising has sought to develop a clearer description of ways in which practice change can happen and become socially shared, considering in particular dynamics as those laid out by Schatzki (2002) as media of communication and by Shove, Pantzar & Watson (2012) as social learning in communities of practice. This last part of the discussion engages with these conceptualisations to discuss the usefulness of focusing on change dynamics in practitioners' situated performances rather than in a more policy-oriented perspective.

In its pursuit to understand how practice changes can be instigated and amplified, the dissertation has pointed out a somewhat paradoxical pattern pertaining to the practice theoretical studies of change, particularly in the context of climate-friendly or sustainable practice change. This literature theoretically conceptualises change as residing in practices – but, in practice, these same studies often end up implicitly ascribing the agency for instigating and disseminating change to policymakers and planners in their practice recommendations. This dissertation has argued that practice theoretical studies would benefit from a more developed and explicit theory of change – and especially from one that takes seriously dynamics of change that are neither instantaneous innovation nor top-down intervention, but which flow within communities of practices. While these dynamics are not theoretically unfamiliar, they have been neglected as salient avenues for more wide-spanning change when seeking to apply findings in practice. The dissertation has attempted to articulate such a theory of change both conceptually and empirically. It has pointed out the potential for change residing in communities of practice, neither individualising responsibility nor relying on implicit structural assumptions, in accordance with the ontological perspective of practice theories. Instead, it highlights an unrealised potential in dynamics similar to what Schatzki denominates

contagion and *media of communication*, and what Shove et al. (2012) call *social learning in communities of practice*, as changes in performances cause learning and ultimately practice change for other practitioners within a community of practice, be it physical or virtual. Reintroducing collectives of practitioners more directly as potential change agents, this recalibrates the understanding of change to include changing teleoaffective structures and practical understandings on a par with e.g. changes to infrastructure or regulation more broadly. As such, it responds to Gram-Hanssen's appeal for practice theories to be developed to "better include people", highlighting how "a sustainable future requires people because technology, infrastructure, and policy cannot achieve these alone (Gram-Hanssen, 2021, p. 11). This dissertation has sought to establish these potentials inherent in social practices more strongly in the theory of change, and as such, it has brought practice theories in more close dialogue with literatures on social tipping points (Lenton et al., 2022), sustainable materialism (Schlosberg & Craven, 2019), prefigurative politics (Ullström, 2024; Yates, 2015), and sufficiency (Lage, 2022; Sandberg, 2021). Empirically, the dissertation has found such dynamics to be emerging in relation to the teleoaffective structure of practices, giving climate concern a more pronounced position while introducing or reinforcing new aesthetics and orientations towards Scandinavian destinations. These dynamics are occurring via social media but competing with dynamics to the opposite effect – and, particularly, a strong social notion that "the flight flies either way". A stronger grasp of dynamics of social learning and practice change can help support such processes of change based on changing social norms and sociocultural understandings.

This line of conceptual development is not done with this dissertation alone. But the analysis and theoretical review has conceptually described and empirically showed how changes can happen and circulate in the form of sayings, representations, and teleoaffective and normative learning in communities of practice. This lays a path for more diverse understandings of social change, nuancing the inherent assumptions about agency and widening the playing field for possible solutions.

This argument does not neglect that policy solutions are crucially important, or that it would be both ontologically misguided and practically ineffective to reassign the responsibility to change to the practitioners alone. But it rests on an observation that despite excellent efforts within practice theories over 20+ years to adjust political understandings and interventions, much regulation, infrastructures, and supply-side mitigation of climate change is still, at best,

lagging behind. As frustrating as this observation is, it should not lead to a neglect of endeavours to find effective ways to create such changes. But it is worth noting that these are, at most, half the practice – there are also all of the practitioners who carry the practices on a daily basis and who are evidently capable of moving them into new shapes and directions through collective efforts.

Particularly at a time when political attention seems to be directed increasingly towards military, trade, and international security threats rather than intensifying threats to planetary systems, it is perhaps all the more relevant to consider demand-side, practical potentials for climate-friendly practice change. This dissertation has sought to open up the playing field for a theory of change that considers these dynamics more centrally and thoroughly, contributing to the conceptualisation and empirical description of such dynamics. While further work is needed to reach a more elaborate practice-theoretical conceptualisation of change, these efforts have pointed out a new possible avenue for grasping and supporting processes of climate-friendly practice change as they play out in people's everyday lives. An avenue that can be summed up by one of the young adults who embodies it. As Vera (19) has taught us:

It might be that it takes structural changes. But the fact that we do... well, don't fly or eat meat or something like that, it makes some kind of difference in some kind of way. At least that we affect each other's habits somehow.

9.   Limitations

Despite its best efforts, the findings produced by this dissertation have shortcomings. There are aspects of the research design, ontological and conceptual framework, methodological choices, and the focus applied that have limited the study's scope and robustness in certain salient ways. Though many of these choices were made either purposely to support other aspects of the dissertation or due to a lack of better options, they still require attention and open acknowledgement. This section outlines the dissertation's limitations, their effects on the findings, and the avenues they point out for further research.

As an initial and highly relevant point, the dissertation is evidently shaped by the fact that it is located at the intersection of rather heterogeneous scholarly fields, disciplinary traditions, methods, and empirical forms. Under different circumstances, each strand of the project's pursuit might have constituted a research question for a full PhD dissertation in itself. As such, they are evidently less elaborate and exhaustive than they might ideally have been. This is a result of choices made both in the overarching CliFVac project and in my PhD process. Doing research is always a matter of scale and of balancing the aim for in-depth knowledge of the studied phenomenon with the need to incorporate a sufficiently wide-ranging perspective to include all key aspects. The project reflects a contention that there is value in seeking out knowledge through different approaches and perspectives, and I hope the dissertation's argument and findings speak to this value. But I also acknowledge that the restrictions of a three-year PhD and the format of a dissertation – however expansive they may seem! – pose limitations on the depth to which I can expand these different perspectives and the traditions on which they are based. It can thus be argued that this dissertation has spread out its pursuits across too broad a range of aspects, leaving scope for tracing each of its strands more in depth and conceptualising them more thoroughly. As noted, choices of scale are inevitable, and whatever balance the project would have struck, there would have been further scope for breadth and depth. All in all, I hope the dissertation's findings bear testament to the usefulness of the chosen perspective. Nevertheless, certain limitations caused by it bear mentioning.

Studying social media is a burgeoning and wide-ranging field in itself, and more could have been said and studied about the cross-platform similarities and differences of the analysed content, the particular vernaculars that could be identified, the affordances of the respective

platform structures, their relationships with the media practices, etc. For the purpose of this study, as described, I chose to include them as part of the young adults' wider practices, focusing more on the aspects of practices that they could shed light on than on the platforms themselves and their differences and similarities. It would certainly have produced other results if I had engaged more thoroughly with the platforms from a more media-centric, platform-centric, or cross-platform approach (Pearce et al., 2018; Rogers, 2017). Other studies illustrate the usefulness of more thorough engagement with one or more platforms (Abidin, 2020; Zeng et al., 2021). It is likely that my analysis has overlooked the role of the platform structures and their particular features in shaping the content and, possibly, the young adults' practices. While I have made efforts to avoid being blind or naive to the black-boxed impacts of algorithms or the particular vernaculars, styles and practices that pertain to the different platforms, a stronger focus on them would undoubtedly have enriched the social media data analysis and strengthened the robustness of the findings. Furthermore, as the methods chapter noted, the intended digital ethnography approach proved fruitless, leading the sample of social media content to reflect certain limitations. Recruiting informants with a stronger emphasis on the digital ethnography would have enabled the analysis to paint a more elaborate picture of a fuller range of content which young adults encounter. In particular, the inclusion of young adults' own content would shed light on additional relevant dynamics.

The somewhat pragmatic practice-theoretical ontology and conceptualisations employed in the study also come with certain limitations. As Chapter 3 described, the study combined the framework of Schatzki (2002) with that of Shove, Pantzar & Watson (2012), comparing their conceptualisations of central dynamics and concepts, and drawing on the most useful conceptualisation for the study's purpose. This approach enabled me to abductively and pragmatically produce the most attuned analysis of the empirical findings, but as always with such pragmatic apporaches, it imposes a limit on the theoretical and ontological detail to which the concepts and findings can be discussed, and that is also the case in this dissertation. With a more limited focus on practices and practice theory alone, I would have been able to elaborate and discuss this synthesis more thoroughly. And with the choice of one on the approaches alone, I would have been able to make a more consistent argument. However, I would most likely also have missed some of the central dynamics that the analysis identified.

An aspect I would have particularly liked to devote more attention to is the social stratification of the identified practices and their carbon footprint. As noted in the introduction, much

research has pointed out how emissions vary largely with income, and how flying in particular is unevenly distributed (Büchs & Mattioli, 2021; Gössling & Humpe, 2020; Ivanova & Wood, 2020). Though the sampling strategy considered social stratification aspects like level of education and more or less affluent regions, the study design and the produced data made it difficult to assess and consider social inequalities properly. This is partly due to the ontology and epistemology of many practice theories, which emphasise shared social practices across contexts rather than variation based on contexts and personal characteristics (Gram-Hanssen, 2021). I did try to factor in social variation in my sampling strategy, and I have highlighted variation where it transpired in the empirical material. Asking participants approximately how many flights – and transcontinental flights – they had taken would have provided me with a more consistent baseline for assessing variations, as would asking them to account for their vacations within the last year. Aiming for more varied ideal-type practices might also have allowed differences to transpire more clearly. But the theoretical framework and the entailing methodology did not provide a strong framework for such an analysis. This emphasises the need for conceptualisations of socially stratified dynamics in practice-theoretical scholarship generally and in the context of climate-friendly practice change in particular.

Related to the issue of social stratification, the dissertation does not actively engage in discussions of climate justice and fairness in mitigation strategies. This is a pertinent issue to consider in light of the vast inequalities in both global and national distributions of emissions. As discussed in the literature review, the study's definition of climate-friendly vacation practices is not absolute, but relative to existing and highly carbon-intensive practices. It can be criticised that the alternative practices understood here as climate-friendly are potentially still beyond the fair carbon budget of each citizen globally (Minter et al., 2023; United Nations Environmental Programme, 2024). At the same time, the dissertation's approach could be criticised for implying that all young Danes should fly less, even though they likely have had different trajectories and thus account for uneven emissions (Kaslund, 2025). This limitation could be usefully considered in future research.

Finally, the definition of vacations employed in this study is rather broad and thus compiles practices as different as gap year travel, skiing holidays, long weekends trips to foreign capitals, summer cottage visits, sun, sea & sand tourism in Thailand, and "staycations" within the same conceptual umbrella. This has the advantage of allowing the analysis to include the many different forms vacations already take, find common elements (of which the analysis

shows there are many), and compare differences to identify potentials for reductions across them. However, it also involves a risk of of missing their respective central traits and thus misrepresenting their configurations and the potential for change. Careful considerations have been made to not pool together qualitatively different practices, but the broad definition might still have led to less specificity of the potentials and barriers for climate-friendly practice change.

These limitations have been sought addressed, remedied and considered to the widest possible extent, but they have nevertheless impacted the study's findings and robustness. As the accounts here reflect, they highlight the relevance of further practice-theoretical conceptual and empirical work, as well as efforts to integrate perspectives from different fields which can provide useful supplementary frameworks for studying dynamics of climate-friendly practice change.

10. Conclusion

This dissertation set out to explore young Danes' vacation practices in an ongoing and intensifying climate crisis. It sought to identify emerging dynamics of climate-friendly practice change and explore potentials and impediments for further change, asking: *how do Danish young adults learn, perform, and picture vacation practices in times of climate crisis, and which sociocultural and mediatised dynamics can support climate-friendly practice change?*

It explored these questions through a practice-theoretical lens, foregrounding young adults' socially shared practices, the elements organising these practices, and the potentials and impediments they pose for climate-friendly practice change. The dissertation explored these questions through different empirical data. Thirty-six young Danes between 18 and 29 participated in interviews and focus groups and shared social media content that had inspired their vacation practices or imaginaries.

The dissertation identified two practice entities: *vacationing*, characterised by relaxation and quality time, and *journeying*, characterised by adventure and formative experiences. Both practices are generally carbon-intensive, and climate-friendly practice change is currently too sparse to affect the practice entities. A key impediment is that the current practice landscape favours aeromobility through infrastructures, regulation, competences, and shared understandings, while train travel is positioned as troublesome and expensive. This effect is underpinned by a socially shared and routinised understanding that "the flight flies anyway", which takes up a central place in the teleoaffective structure of both practices and prevents climate concern from connecting with less-carbon intensive elements. However, both practices also transpire in more climate-friendly forms, indicating a potential for climate-friendly change: vacationing involving domestic summer cottages or surface transport abroad, and journeying as e.g. interrail or hiking trips.

Exploring the young adults' learning trajectories, the dissertation found that learning occurs in relation to the different practice elements, entailing a potential for practice change. Communities of practice constitute important arenas for social learning and potentially for leveraging it into practice change. Furthermore, it identified normative learning, which enables the

young adults to contribute to determining the normativity governing their practices. This learning holds particular potential for leveraging climate-friendly practice change in the community of practice, but it also demands much of the practitioner if the normative stance isn't shared with other practitioners.

Considering the roles of social media, the dissertation found that mediatised representations are strongly intertwined with a particular tourist gaze. As such, social media platforms and content play key roles in circulating, routinising, and reproducing vacation practices, but also enable alternative, less carbon-intensive practices to circulate and recruit practitioners.

Building on these empirical findings, the dissertation considered whether there were theoretical insights to gain about the dynamics of climate-friendly practice change. In light of existing practice-theoretical scholarship, it discussed the usefulness of considering media content as performances of practices as a way to incorporate mediatised dynamics into the analysis of practices. It suggested that this is a way to conceptualise the change dynamic described by Schatzki as "media of communication" which often "decisively mediate changes in practices" (2002, p. 250). Furthermore, it considered the usefulness of engaging learning perspectives in practice-theoretical analyses. Based on the analysis, it pointed out learning as a way of grasping important change dynamics which might otherwise be overlooked. Such an approach constitutes a more elaborate conceptualisation of the avenue for change described by Shove et al. as social learning in communities of practice (Shove et al., 2012, p. 161). Combining these two identified change dynamics, the dissertation discussed more broadly whether there is scope for recalibrating the theory of change implied by practice theories from ascribing agency for practice change somewhat one-sidedly to policymakers to considering the broader circle of actors, including practitioners and, in particular, communities of practices as essential collectives. Based on the empirical insights into young adults' vacation practices, this transpires as a significant potential for instigating and amplifying climate-friendly practice change – not as a replacement for policy initiatives, but as an equally essential avenue.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Interview Question Guide (English translation)

<table>
<tr><th colspan="2">Interview question guide</th></tr>
<tr><th>Question</th><th>Purpose</th></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2" align="center">The informant's vacation practice</td></tr>
<tr>
<td>
When was your last vacation? (not just summer vacation)
What was that vacation like/what kind of vacation was it?
Where were you? What did you do? How did you stay?
What was the means of transport, if you travelled?
Did you spend your vacation with someone? Whom?
Did you visit someone?
How did you plan your vacation?
Which factors affected that it turned out like that?
</td>
<td>
➔ Focus the conversation on concrete practice rather than general statements

○ Narrow down vacation forms, central activities and places, significant others and concrete activities in the practice
○ Plus situate the practice in the everyday life and identify central other practices playing in

</td>
</tr>
<tr><td colspan="2" align="center">Learning</td></tr>
<tr>
<td>
How did the desire or idea arise for such a vacation?
Had you been on such a vacation before?
Did something surprise you/was there something you hadn't foreseen?
Did something challenge you in relation to the vacation? (before, during or after)
    - How did you handle that?
Is there another vacation you can think of that stood out for you?
    - What was special/new/different about it?
</td>
<td>
➔ Concrete learning processes relating to the most recent vacation practice (practice rather than attitudes or thoughts)
</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>
Is there something in particular you feel has changed in the way you spend vacations or what you're pursuing in your vacations?
Have you travelled much?
</td>
<td>
➔ The broader career as a vacationer. Learing processes in a longer (life-) perspective
</td>
</tr>
</table>

Do you remember something specific – a story from a friend, an Instagram post, a documentary – that concretely inspired you to something in a previous vacation, or which made you want to do something particular?	
Did COVID teach you new ways to spend vacations that you will bring with you going forward? Did the energy crisis/other crises? - *If yes: what did you learn? How was the learning process?* - *If no: are there elements you can bring with you?*	➔ COVID/energy crisis as a learning process

Media content	

Are there any media that inspire where and how you want to spend your vacations?	➔ Pinpoint the role of media content in the configuration of vacation practices
	    o Which media forms and actors are (particularly) relevant
	    o Which elements in the practice do they relate to
	    o What is the dynamic (perhaps)
	    o Aspects that hamper and support climate-friendly practice change

Are there specific social media?	
Have you come across something that inspired you to spend your vacation at home?	
Do you use social media in relation to your vacation? ➔ *When? Where? As inspiration for vacation for/destination, to learn ways to get there/spend vacations, activities during the vacation, as a purpose for a specific vacation (creating content)*	

Climate concern	
Does the climate play a part in your considerations about vacations?	➔ The role of climate considerations in vacation imaginaries and plans
Has the climate concretely affected any of your vacations?	
Do you think about whether to fly on vacation or not?	
When is it hardest for you to reconcile climate consideration and vacation imaginaries?	➔ Barriers for more climate-friendly vacation practices
Do you have examples where climate concern and vacation imaginaries have been easy to reconcile/have worked in the same direction?	➔ Potentials for change to more climate-friendly vacation practices
If you take a moment to consider, are there aspects of your vacations that are climate-friendly which you hadn't thought of?	➔ Unintentional climate concern – easy gains in correlations between climate considerations and other considerations/pursuits
What could make you consider changing aspects of your vacations in more climate-friendly directions? ➔ *Could something make you abstain from overseas travel? Choose the train?*	➔ Triggers for changing practice (self-reported…)

Appendix 2: Interview Question Guide, Second Round (English translation)

Interview question guide – Round II	
Question	**Purpose**
Follow-up on the summer plans	
How did it go with… (recap plans from interview 1) Was there something that didn't go as planned? What was that like? How did you handle it? How did it end up?	➔ Focus the conversation on concrete practice rather than the planned – how did it actually turn out? What did you do? o Narrow down vacation forms, central activities and places, significant others and concrete activities in the practice
Learning from the summer '23	
There has been much talk about wild weather and climate this summer. Have you felt it personally in some way?	➔ Concrete learning processes in relation to the summer vacation practice + extreme weather and climate discussions
What will you remember most vividly from the summer 2023? - *What will you take with you from it?*	➔ What did you learn? Frm your own practices? From weather events/climate debate?
Media content	
Did any (social) media content inspire you since last time?	➔ Gather additional social media content
Climate concern	

CliFVac survey: young adults most frequently say that they want to take climate considerations, but not exactly on their vacations and travelling. Do you recognise that pattern? Why do you think that is?
   -   *Is it because vacations are particularly precious/central?*
   -   *Strcutural/political explanation? Responsibility of others (politicians etc.), structural criticism?*
   -   *Or simply unwillingness to compromise on vacations?*
	➔ Test/supplement own tentative explanation/interpretation
	
	 ➔ The role of climate considerations in vacation imaginaries, plans, and practice

Did you take climate considerations during your summer vacation?	
Did the interview affect how you've been thinking about you vacations or the climate?	➔ Influence of interview on participants?

Appendix 3: Focus Group Question Guide (English translation)

Focus group question guide	
Discussion questions (+ possible follow-ups)	**Purpose**
Defining vacations	
What characterises a vacation? - *Is it vacation when there's a break from study or work?* - *Do you have to be somewhere else than home for it to be a vacation?* - *Are there some kinds of vacation that are more "proper" vacations than others?*	➔ Narrow down definitions of vacations: relationship between vacations and travel, leisure, relaxation, tourism, etc.
What makes a vacation good? - *Is it about the place? (spatiality)* - *Who you spend it with? (sociality)* - *The length/timing? (temporality)* - *Where you spend it? (location/spatiality)* - *The activities, e.g. hiking, swimming, skiing, partying? (activity)*	➔ Identify ideals/normative understandings of vacations – broader narratives, collective 'reservoirs' of ideals to draw on
What are you aiming for or seeking to get out of it when you're on vacation?	➔ Move towards more concrete planning – ideal pursuit, success criteria, wishes and hopes from an everyday perspective
What factors come into play when you're planning a vacation? - *Which considerations do you consider? E.g. economy*	➔ Practicalities and competences – constraints and obstacles, considerations, overlaps with other practices, social coordination, reality creeping in
How important is it to travel when you're on vacation? Do vacations equal travelling, or are they two different things?	
What role do vacatoins play in your everyday lives?	
Learning new vacation practices	
Who or what inspires your vacations? - *The people close to you?* - *Your wider social circle?* - *On Instagram?* - *Travel companies?* - *Media? Travel journalism, tv shows, films?*	➔ The "experts" of vacation practices – who and what acts as reference points for participants in their vacation practices?

Have your ways of going on vacation changed in recent years?	➔ Broader trends and social learning processes
Did you learn new ways of going on vacation during COVID or the energy crisis, and will you maintain any of that going forward? - *What was it like to learn it? Were some things harder or easier than expected?* - *If no to maintain it: why not?* - *Are there elements you can bring with you?*	➔ Concrete learning process, social and situated learning
Social media	
Do social media affect where and how you spend your vacations?	➔ Social media's impact on social norms and the configuration of vacation practices
Do other people's posts influence your ideas about where and how you would like to spend your vacations?	➔ Learning (and resulting practice change) via social media
Do considerations about your own content affect the ways you spend your vacations?	
Do you discover new ways to spend vacations through social media? - *Are you learning more climate-friendly ways, or do you get inspired to go on less climate-friendly vacations?*	
Climate concern	
Does climate change affect the way you go on vacation? - *Have you changed your vacation practices or made other choices pertaining to vacations out of climate concern?*	➔ The impact of the climate crisis
What makes it hard to consider the climate in relation to vacations?	➔ Barriers for climate-friendly change
Are there aspects of your vacations where you consider the climate a lot? And are there others where climate concern doesn't weigh as much? - E.g. transport to the destination vs. accommodation, food, transport, consumption at the destination? When planning vs. during the vacation itself?	➔ Negotiating climate concern vs. vacations – what is it acceptable to compromise on? What is it acceptable to maintain (or even illegitimate to challenge based on climate concern)?
What would make you more likely to consider climate-friendly alternatives on your vacations? - Lower cost? Shorter travel time? More comfortable/convenient? Better overview of options and emissions? Changes from others to latch on to? - What are the pros and cons of the different transport options?	➔ Triggers for changing practice (self-reported…)

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Appendix 4: Digital diary call (Danish)

Socialt medie-indhold til projekt om ferievaner

Tusind tak for, at du har lyst til at hjælpe os med vores forskningsprojekt om, hvad der har betydning for menneskers rejsevaner og -drømme, og hvordan de kan ændre sig over tid!

Ud over interviewet håber vi, at du vil hjælpe os med at identificere indhold på sociale medier.

Det er hverken svært eller tidskrævende. De næste to uger skal du bare sende os 2-5 screenshots eller links til indhold, du ser på sociale medier, som får dig til at tænke på ferier 🏖️

Sådan kan du sende os indholdet:

🖼️ Opslag på Instagram, Facebook o.l.: Tag et screenshot og send til Katinka på 20575787 (gerne over Signal eller WhatsApp)

😍 Stories eller reels på TikTok, Instagram o.l.: Send til Katinka @katinkafals

🌴 Reklame-emails, artikler, screenshots eller billeder af fysiske plakater, aviser e.l.: Send på mail til katinka@envs.au.dk

Når du sender indholdet, vil vi også meget gerne høre, hvad det fik dig til at tænke på. Det kan bare være en sætning eller to om, hvilken betydning indholdet har for dig 💭

📣 Du kan sende begrundelsen som talebesked i iMessage, Signal eller Whatsapp til 20575787

🎙️ Du kan indtale den som lyd-memo på din telefon og sende den til 20575787 eller mail til katinka@envs.au.dk

📝 Du er også meget velkommen til at skrive det i stedet

Vi sender dig en besked hver uge for at hjælpe dig med at huske at sende billederne. Det er helt frivilligt, om du sender os noget, men vi vil være taknemmelige for hjælpen 😇

Hvis du bliver i tvivl om noget eller ikke længere ønsker at deltage i projektet, så ring eller skriv til Katinka på tlf. 20575787 eller katinka@envs.au.dk.

Bedste hilsner fra Jonas Andreasen Lysgaard og Katinka Bundgård Fals, Aarhus Universitet

Appendix 5: Consent form (Danish)

Samtykke til behandling af dine personoplysninger i forskningsprojektet på Aarhus Universitet

I forbindelse med din deltagelse i et forskningsprojekt på Aarhus Universitet har vi brug for dit samtykke til, at vi må behandle dine personoplysninger efter reglerne i databeskyttelsesforordningen.

Du kan læse mere om projektet og behandlingen af dine personoplysninger i oplysningsskemaet.

Forskningsprojektets titel: Towards climate friendly vacation practices

Dette samtykke gælder medvirken i interview eller fokusgruppeinterview til et forskningsprojekt om feriepraksisser. Projektets formål er at undersøge, hvad der påvirker menneskers ferievaner og -drømme, og hvordan de kan ændre sig over tid.

Interview og indsamlingen af dine oplysninger vil foregå via interview ansigt til ansigt og optages på diktafon.

Deltagelse i projektet er frivilligt. Det betyder, at de oplysninger, du giver, ikke lovligt kan anvendes uden dit samtykke.

De indsamlede oplysninger vil blive opbevaret forsvarligt og uden adgang for uvedkommende og i ***anonymiseret form***, så man ikke kan knytte dine oplysninger til dit navn og din identitet. Ved opbevaring på bærbare medier såsom computere, telefoner og harddiske vil data være krypteret efter en forsvarlig standard.

Jeg bekræfter at have læst og forstået indholdet af oplysningsskemaet som baggrund for mit samtykke til behandling af mine personoplysninger i projektet.

Jeg giver hermed samtykke til, at Aarhus Universitet må registrere og behandle mine personoplysninger i ovennævnte forskningsprojekt. Behandlingen må desuden finde sted på følgende måder:

☐ Jeg giver samtykke til, at mine personoplysninger må gemmes i en database med henblik på brug i nye forskningsprojekter efter projektets afslutning.
☐ Jeg giver samtykke til, at mine personoplysninger må indgå i en publikation i et videnskabeligt tidsskrift uden at være anonymiserede.
☐ Jeg giver samtykke til, at mine personoplysninger må indgå i en publikation i et videnskabeligt tidsskrift i anonymiseret form.
☐ Jeg giver samtykke til anden offentliggørelse af mine personoplysninger, hvor mine personoplysninger er anonymiserede.

Navn: _____
[Udfyldes med blokbogstaver]

Dato og underskrift: _____

Samtykket er **frivilligt**, og **du kan til enhver tid trække dit samtykke til behandlingen af personoplysninger tilbage** ved at kontakte projektleder Lars Kjerulf Petersen på lkp@envs.au.dk.

Hvis du trækker dit samtykke tilbage, påvirker det ikke lovligheden af vores arbejde med dine personoplysninger i projektet indtil dette tidspunkt. Dine personoplysninger vil således fortsat indgå i det arbejde, som er gennemført i projektet, indtil du har trukket dit samtykke tilbage.

Oplysninger om behandling af personoplysninger til deltagere i forskningsprojekter på Aarhus Universitet

Den dataansvarlige	**Aarhus Universitet** **Nordre Ringgade 1** **8000 Aarhus C** **CVR-nr.: 31119103** er dataansvarlig for behandlingen af personoplysninger i forskningsprojektet. Forskningsprojektet er ledet af seniorforsker Lars Kjerulf Petersen, som kan kontaktes på tlf. 8715 8575/93522780, e-post: lkp@envs.au.dk Lokale 133 i bygn. 142 (7407) Risø Campus – Frederiksborgvej 399 4000 Roskilde
Databeskyttelsesrådgiver ved Aarhus Universitet	Søren Broberg Nielsen Databeskyttelsesrådgiver/DPO dpo@au.dk
Forskningsprojektets titel	CliFVac – Towards Climate Friendly Vacation Practices
Formålet med projektet og behandlingen af dine personoplysninger	Formålet med projektet er at forstå og beskrive, hvad der former menneskers ferievaner og -drømme, og hvordan de kan ændre sig over tid. Personoplysninger behandles i forbindelse med interview og fokusgrupper, som udgør datagrundlaget for projektet.
Hvilke personoplysninger behandles i projektet?	I projektet behandles følgende oplysninger om dig som deltager: ☒Navn ☒Alder ☒Køn ☒Uddannelsesniveau ☐Indkomst
Anvendelsen af automatiske behandlinger (profilering)	Profilering er en automatisk behandling af dine personoplysninger, fx behandlinger, der er bestemt af en algoritme. Her kan du se, om der indgår automatiske behandlinger af dine personoplysninger. ☐Der anvendes automatisk behandling af personoplysninger. ☒Der anvendes ikke automatisk behandling af personoplysninger.
Hvor længe opbevares dine øvrige personoplysninger?	Vi kan ikke på nuværende tidspunkt sige, hvor længe dine personoplysninger vil blive behandlet. Dine personoplysninger behandles af Aarhus Universitet i personhenførbar form så længe, det er nødvendigt for forskningsformålet og reglerne om opbevaring efter ansvarlig forskningspraksis. Når dine personoplysninger ikke længere er nødvendige for behandlingen, vil de blive anonymiseret, overført til Rigsarkivet eller slettet.
Vil personoplysninger blive overladt eller videregivet til andre, fx forskere på andre universiteter?	☒Dine personoplysninger, som er indsamlet til projektet, vil ikke blive videregivet til andre. ☐Dine personoplysninger, som er indsamlet til projektet, vil blive behandlet af en eller flere eksterne databehandlere efter reglerne i artikel 28 i databeskyttelsesforordningen. ☐Dine personoplysninger, som er indsamlet til projektet, indgår i et forskningssamarbejde med forskere uden for Aarhus Universitet og vil derfor blive delt med dataansvarlige.

	☐Dine personoplysninger, som er indsamlet til projektet, vil med deltagerens samtykke blive anvendt i undervisningen af studerende.
Personoplysninger er indhentet fra	☒Fra dig ☐Fra andre* og dig ☐Fra andre*
Vi har ret til at behandle dine person-oplysninger efter regler i databeskyttel-sesforordningen og databeskyttelseslo-ven Vi skal oplyse dig om, hvilke regler, der gælder for vores arbejde med dine per-sonoplysninger.	☒Artikel 6, stk. 1, litra a), som giver Aarhus Universitet ret til at behandle ikke-føl-somme personoplysninger om dig på baggrund af dit samtykke ☒Artikel 6, stk. 1, litra a) og artikel 9, stk. 2, litra a), som giver Aarhus Universitet ret til at behandle følsomme personoplysninger om dig på baggrund af dit samtykke. ☐Databeskyttelseslovens § 11, stk. 1, der giver Aarhus Universitet ret til at behandle dit CPR-nummer med henblik på entydig identifikation. ☐ Databeskyttelseslovens § 8, stk. 5, der giver Aarhus Universitet ret til at behandle op-lysninger om strafbare forhold på baggrund af dit samtykke.
Deltagernes rettigheder efter databe-skyttelsesforordningen	Du har følgende rettigheder, hvis Aarhus Universitet behandler dine personoplysninger: • Ret til indsigt - Du har ret til at se de personoplysninger, som den dataansvarlige behandler om dig, og få en række oplysninger om behandlingen. • Ret til berigtigelse - Du har ret til at få urigtige/forkerte personoplysninger om dig rettet. • Ret til sletning eller "retten til at blive glemt". • Ret til begrænsning af behandling. • Ret til dataportabilitet - Du har i visse tilfælde ret til at modtage dine personoplys-ninger og til at anmode om, at personoplysningerne bliver overført fra én dataan-svarlig til en anden. • Ret til indsigelse - Du har ret til at gøre indsigelse mod en ellers lovlig behandling af dine personoplysninger. • Ret til ikke at være genstand for en automatisk afgørelse udelukkende baseret på automatisk behandling, herunder profilering. Du skal være opmærksom på, at dine rettigheder kan være begrænset af anden lovgiv-ning eller underlagt undtagelser fx i relation til forskning og offentlig myndighedsudø-velse.
Klagemuligheder	Hvis du ønsker at klage over behandlingen af dine personoplysninger, kan du rette hen-vendelse til tilsynsmyndigheden: **Datatilsynet** **Carl Jacobsens Vej 35** **2500 Valby**

Appendix 6: NVivo Codebook

Name	Description	Sources	References
Climate-related dynamics		22	313
Balanced approach - you also need to live		8	14
Barriers for climate-friendly practice change		22	198
Demands in everyday life	Vacation as antidote to demanding everyday lives	12	25
Experienced lack of agency	Structural inertia/feeling helpless as an individual	10	27
Family or other ties abroad		13	22
Flight shame or climate concern without effect		12	27
Generational unfairness		3	6
Ideal of Bildung or formation entailing formative journeys		12	36
Precious quality time		0	0
The flight will depart either way		5	8
Climate-friendly dynamics		16	101
Climate-friendly journeying		3	4
Climate-friendly learning from home		12	24
Climate-friendly practice change		8	20
Climate-friendly side effects		8	14
Climate-friendly vacationing		10	22
Continued climate-friendly practice		5	9
Learning dynamics		19	149
Bildung		6	12
Climate-friendly learning from 'bad' practice	Climate-friendly learning from high-carbon practice	4	8
Family learning		11	38
Bildung ideals from family		3	8
Reproducing family holiday practices		7	15
Formal education learning		5	7
Folk high school learning		4	6
High school learning		1	1
Other or general formal learning		0	0
Primary school learning		0	0
Vocational school learning		0	0
Learning between interviews		5	11
Climate-damaging learning		0	0
Climate-friendly learning		4	5

x

Name	Description	Sources	References
Learning from covid-19		11	23
Climate-damaging covid-19 learning		5	6
Climate-friendly covid-19 learning		6	11
Peer learning		13	50
Learning from peers' some content		7	13
Learning from travelling with peers		4	7
Safety and accessibility from others' experiences		6	8
Social distinction		17	91
Culture definition as a marker of distinction		10	30
High-capital culture understanding		4	11
Low-capital culture understanding		4	6
Reverse relation between climate concern and impact		2	3
Socially distinctive practices and elements		13	41
Bildung or formative journeys as high-capital orientation		10	21
Unequal previous vacation trajectories		7	15
Social media dynamics		15	87
Climate considerations and social media		8	23
Climate-friendly inspiration		4	6
Concern due to SoMe content		1	1
Overload of distant places due to social media		5	7
Own climate agency (or lack thereof) on social media		3	8
Practice elements and social media		2	2
Competences		2	2
Cultural knowing-how-to-go-on		0	0
Learning from social media		2	2
Materials		0	0
Regulation		0	0
Teleoaffective structure		0	0
Aesthetic orientations		0	0
Shared understandings of the good holiday		0	0
Social media and doings and sayings		0	0
Doings		0	0
Own social media practices while travelling		5	6
Social media as active research tool		7	10
Urge to travel less, differently or stay in the vicinity		0	0
Urge to travel more often		0	0
Sayings		0	0
Culture or foreignness		1	1
Hidden gems		1	1
Specific platform		9	27

Name	Description	Sources	References
Facebook		4	5
Instagram		6	7
Pinterest		1	2
TikTok		3	9
Twitter		1	2
YouTube		2	2
Vacation inspiration from social media		12	35
Content from vicinity vs. distance		0	0
Friends' content on social media		2	2
Influencer content on social media	Influencers or similar unknown/distant profiles	4	4
Inspiration for locations on social media		4	5
Overload of impressions and content		1	1
Vacation practices and their configuration		21	369
Distinction journeying vs. vacationing		1	1
Journeying		1	1
Characterizing Journeyning		6	21
Journeying doings and sayings		1	1
Journeying competences		13	44
Journeying materials		10	14
Journeying meanings		4	8
Journeying regulation		0	0
Shared or undetermined		21	204
Economic considerations		18	69
Relations with other practices		18	80
Everyday life connections		16	59
Hobbies and holiday connections		10	20
The authentic, foreign, cultural		16	54
Vacationing		20	163
Characterizing vacationing		11	44
Doings and sayings		1	2
Vacationing competences		17	51
Vacationing materials		15	51
Vacationing meanings		9	15
Vacationing regulation		0	0