FUN TIME, FINITE TIME:

Temporal and emotional dimensions of grandtravel experiences

Abstract

This paper explores distinctive temporal and emotional dimensions of grandtravel, when grandparents and grandchildren spend time together on holiday. Drawing on interviews with 43 grandparents and grandchildren from Denmark and New Zealand, this interpretive study explored each generation's experiences of grandtravel. Grandparents described these trips as special and life-affirming, and being more time-rich than parents, could enjoy being in the moment with grandchildren rather than seeking "own time". Grandchildren enjoyed the playful togetherness and felt valued. Underpinning these shared experiences of fun was grandparents' (and older grandchildren's) understanding that the time for grandtravel was finite. Ultimately, grandtravel facilitated playmate bonds, poignant bonds, and continuing bonds, contributing to intergenerational wellbeing and generativity.

Keywords: grandtravel; family holidays; family time; family emotions; intergenerational family bonds; interpretive research

INTRODUCTION

Holidays are not necessarily an escape from the familiar, mundane, or routine; as Edensor (2007, p.200) notes, 'tourists carry quotidian habits and responses with them along with their luggage'. Families holidaying together, then, do not leave their everyday relationships, emotions and practices behind at home, although they may find fresh, more intense ways of interacting (Mikkelsen & Blichfeldt, 2018; Morgan 2013). Thus, as a subject of study, family holidays open a window on what it means to be a family (McCabe, 2015) and on 'the relation between tourism, thick sociality and domesticity' (Obrador-Pons, 2012). Although the tourism literature has explored intergenerational relationships on family holidays, it has generally focused on parents with children, neglecting other family members and configurations (Heimtun, 2019; McCabe, 2015). This paper addresses this gap by exploring grandparents' and grandchildren's experiences of holidays together. Specifically, it draws on an interpretive study undertaken in New Zealand and Denmark to explore how both generations experienced this form of together time, and interactions between temporal and emotional dimensions of grandtravel.

Critical tourism scholars have called for greater attention to subjectivities and to silent voices (Prichard & Morgan, 2007), and a wider range of voices, perspectives and family roles should be examined in studies of intergenerational holidays (Heimtun, 2019). Relational blindspots are evident in studies of younger and older tourists. Although children are increasingly seen and heard in tourism research (Small, 2008; Rhoden, Hunter-Jones & Miller, 2016), little is known about their tourist experiences *as grandchildren*. Similarly, while senior tourists are receiving increasing scholarly attention (Huber, Milne & Hyde, 2018), the focus tends to be on their travels as individuals or couples rather than *as grandparents*.

This research gap is significant. Grandparents are often intimately involved in family life and leisure time (Marhánková, 2015; Hebblethwaite, 2017) and extended family and multi-generational holidays and outings are increasing (Mikkelsen & Blichfeldt, 2018; Hebblethwaite, 2017). In particular, grandtravel - family holidays including grandparents, sometimes without parents present – is a growing phenomenon (eDreams, 2017). Thus, tourism research's privileging of nuclear families with young children limits the discipline's contribution to knowledge regarding joint travel experiences, family relationships and social identities over the lifecourse (Hockey and James, 2003; Hockey, 2012).

Overlooking grandtravel experiences neglects a rich site of emotions in tourism. Although tourism research has long been underpinned by a rationalist philosophy, tourism itself is suffused with emotions including anxiety, fear and disappointment as well as joy, pleasure and love, all playing a role in 'processes of becoming, being, doing, performing and recalling' (Robinson, 2012, p.37). Noting geography's "emotional turn", Lipman (2006) highlights increasing recognition that emotions do not just concern psychological states, but are also social and relational, and she calls for greater attention to mundane, subtle and ambiguous emotions. Grandparenting can involve deep bonds with grandchildren but also conflict and anxiety around "interfering" (Marhánková, 2015; Hebblethwaite 2015). Given the heightened reflexivity associated with tourism (Edensor, 2007), not least in relation to values and morality (Caton, 2012), we may expect grandtravel to encourage reflection and stir emotions concerning intergenerational identities, roles and relationships.

On holiday or at home, family life is bound up with time as well as emotions (Mullaney & Shope, 2015). As Adam (1995) reminds us, time is social and linear, subjectively experienced and externally controlled, and understood, synchronised, and negotiated by families. Much research has examined the idealized togetherness of 'family time' (Daly, 1996), including tensions during family holidays when parents and children have different views about appropriate amounts of 'together together time' or different needs for 'own time' (Heimtun, 2019; Gram, Therkelsen, & Larsen, 2018; Schänzel & Smith, 2014). Given differing temporal needs and orientations between parents, grandparents and grandchildren (Adam, 2008), grandtravel may involve distinctive time-related emotions.

This paper seeks to enhance understanding of grandtravel, from both grandparent and grandchild perspectives, and of the temporal and emotional dimensions involved. We define grandtravel broadly as grandparents and grandchildren on holiday together, with or without the middle generation. Following Heimtun's (2019) approach in her study of single women holidaying with aging parents, we define holidays as travelling together for pleasure on day trips or taking longer trips together with overnight stays.

FAMILY TIES, FAMILY TIME AND HOLIDAY TIME

Reflecting the increasing complexity of family structures, conceptualisations of family have moved beyond ties of blood and marriage towards the 'doing' of family through shared practices, routines and activities (Morgan, 1996; McCabe, 2015). Infused with emotion and imagining, family relations develop through 'sociability, intimacies, close contact, shared memories and shared biographies' (Smart, 2007, p.79) and are also shaped by socio-cultural norms and discourses (Morgan, 1996; Chambers, 2012).

Many researchers highlight temporal dimensions of family sociality, even arguing that family practices are '*about* time' (Morgan, 2013, p.79). The concept of timescapes captures the

multiple, interconnected dimensions of time, including timeframe, duration, sequence, temporal processes, timing, tempo, and the modalities of past, present and future (Adam, 2008). Family members are embedded in complex collective timescapes that include but are not limited to the synchronization of schedules based on seasons, clock or calendar time, or the rhythms and cycles of particular practices; they also engage with the biographical time of individual lives, the generational time connecting kin from different generations, and the historical time in which their lives are located (Adam, 2008). For Morgan (2013, p.76), imaginative family practices include 'constructed pasts and imagined or hoped-for futures'. More concretely, Southerton (2006) sees family practices as organized according to their duration, timing, sequence, tempo and periodicy.

Considering family beyond the nuclear configuration foregrounds particular aspects of time in family life. Over the lifecourse, and as bodies experience illness, perceptions of time and orientations towards the past, present and future change (Adam, 1995). For children, future trajectories generally involve physical, emotional and cognitive development, whereas their grandparents face declining health and abilities (Burton-Jeangros et al., 2015). Later life, and transitions such as retirement, can lead to 'life review' and a desire to transmit wisdom, stories and values to younger generations (Bertaux & Thompson, 2005). Over time, the lives of previous generations 'become sedimented into family stories and traditions and even ways of knowing and seeing' (Smart, 2007, pp.86-87), colouring family understandings of past, present and future.

Time and emotions are closely connected in family life (Mullaney & Shope, 2015). Lois (2010) explores busy mothers' complex 'temporal emotion work' including *sequencing* and *savouring practices*: drawing on nostalgia for earlier phases of their children's lives, mothers projected themselves into a future beyond current commitments, helping them appreciate the present and act *now* to evoke *future* nostalgia rather than regret. Much research has focused on time-poor parents worrying about the limited quantity of time they spend with their children, leading to an emphasis on 'quality' or 'family time' (Kramer-Sadlik, Fatigante & Fasulo, 2008). An ideologically-loaded term, 'family time' evokes togetherness, positive engagement and child-centeredness, with discrepancies between expectations and lived experiences potentially leading to disillusionment, frustration or guilt (Daly, 1996; Kremer-Sadlik et al., 2008). Parental assumptions that quality time requires the planned co-presence of the whole family may be misplaced however; 'quality moments' of spontaneous playfulness, joy or affection between individual family members also foster family togetherness (Kremer-Sadlik & Paugh, 2007).

Tourism offers many opportunities for family time. Indeed, the social tourism movement highlights the role of family holidays in strengthening family bonds and contributing to wellbeing and resilience under conditions of poverty, disability and other challenges (Minnaert et al., 2009; McCabe, 2009). Trips may be planned as family reunions (Kluin & Lehto, 2012) or visits to relatives (Backer, Leisch, & Dolnicar, 2017), and some may help families come to terms with the darkest and most extreme emotions: for adult children of Holocaust survivors, travelling together to sites of atrocity and hearing parents voice their testimony filled gaps in family history, helping them understand how past trauma had pervaded family life (Kidron, 2013).

Returning to more mundane and ambigious emotions (Lipton, 2006), actual experiences of family holidays often fall short of 'family time' ideals (Gram, Therkelsen & Larsen, 2018; Obrador-Pons, 2012; Schänzel & Smith, 2014). Tensions can arise from conflicting preferences, such as children seeking fun whilst parents seek relaxation (Small, 2008; Gram

et al., 2018), or adult children struggling to balance filial duty with their desire for 'me-time', privacy and agency (Heimtum, 2019). Thus, 'own time' can supplement and even enhance 'together together' time on holiday (Mikkelsen & Blichfeldt, 2015, 2018), offering respite from the obligations, over-intimacy, and intensity of family time (Backer & Schänzel, 2013; Gram, 2005; Hall & Holdsworth, 2016; Schänzel & Smith, 2014). Little is known, however, about experiences of time in relation to grandtravel.

INTERGENERATIONAL RELATIONS AND HOLIDAY TIME BEYOND THE NUCLEAR FAMILY

Family tourism research has traditionally prioritized the nuclear family (McCabe, 2015). Parent-child or spousal dyads have dominated, alongside parental/maternal perspectives (Schänzel & Carr, 2015). Relatively few studies have examined family holidays 'through the eyes of a child' (Rhoden et al., 2016; Poria & Timothy, 2014). Emerging research indicates that while children enjoy relaxed times and shared activities with family members, they particularly value fun, excitement, freedom and interaction with other children (Small, 2008; Rhoden et al., 2016; Mikkelsen & Blichfeldt, 2015, 2018). Hebblethwaite (2017) laments the virtual invisibility of grandparents in family leisure research. Clearly, grandparental situations and dynamics can differ greatly (Moore & Rosenthal, 2017), but as many people live longer, healthier lives, as family sizes become smaller, and as both parents increasingly work outside the home, there is greater potential for stronger, sustained grandparent-grandchild bonds (Marhánková, 2015), even if these weaken as children become teenagers (Antonucci et al., 2004).

Regular childcare is part of many grandparents' lives (Glaser et al., 2013), as is leisure time with grandchildren (Hebblethwaite, 2017) and grandtravel is increasingly common (eDreams, 2017). Several of Nimrod's (2008) Israeli retirees referred to holidays with children and grandchildren, while Mikkelsen & Blichfeldt (2018) found that Danish family holidays in caravan parks allowed grandparents to interact more intensively with their grandchildren. Exploring family leisure among three-generation families, Hebblethwaite (2015) notes that alongside the pleasures found in shared experiences and passing on skills and values, tensions could arise from different generational priorities, and grandparents' efforts not to 'meddle'. Beyond such glimpses, little is known about how grandparents and grandchildren experience holidays together.

There are several reasons to expect grandtravel to facilitate close connections and intense emotions. Marhánková (2015) suggests that the contemporary cultural script for grandparenting, particularly in middle-class families, revolves around being a 'sensitive companion and friend', while other studies refer to 'friend/playmate' or 'magic maker' roles (Godefroit-Winkel, Schill, & Hogg, 2019; Moore and Rosenthal, 2017). For grandparents, intimations of mortality may evoke poignancy, the sense of loss or sorrow (Flaherty, 2012), but can also foster generativity, the desire to nurture, guide and contribute to new generations (Erikson, 1950). This can lead to grandparents playing roles such as 'kin keepers/value transmitters', 'mentors/teachers', and 'nurturers/supporters′ (Moore & Rosenthal, 2017). Grandtravel then, offers opportunities for transcending individuality (Caton, 2012) by passing on knowledge and skills to grandchildren, sharing stories from the past, generating positive memories and creating a family legacy (Hebblethwaite & Norris, 2011; Hebblethwaite, 2015; Kastarinen, 2017). Since reflexivity is 'part of the normative performance of tourism' (Edensor, 2007, p.202), grandtravel may intensify generative practices and evoke distinctive patterns of emotions.

Overall, as grandparents become increasingly important to the 'doing' of family, and as multigenerational holidays and grandtravel become increasingly popular, greater understanding of intergenerational relationships beyond the nuclear family is needed, and a wider range of family roles, relationships and perspectives need to be explored (Heimtun, 2019). This suggests that there is scope for exploring the relational, emotional and temporal terrain of grandtravel, which may involve fleeting moments of joy in shared pleasures, frustration at different generational interests, pace and rhythms, or more profound, sustained feelings of love, belonging, loss or regret.

METHODOLOGY

This paper draws on a broader interpretive study exploring grandparent-grandchild relationships. The study's exploration of grandtravel was contextualized by the accounts of regular routines and interactions, acknowledging the porous boundaries between tourism and everyday life (Crouch & Desforges, 2003; Edensor, 2007). It adopted a weak constructionist perspective, seeing meanings as 'inherited, maintained and shared through activities, traditions, languages, and symbols' (Pernecky, 2012, p.1128). For Pernecky, constructionist studies can generate new knowledge concerning the collective generation and transmission of meaning in tourism, including the experiences and performances of various actors and roles. Forty-three semi-structured interviews were conducted with grandparents and their grandchildren, among eleven Danish and seven New Zealand [NZ] families. Both are small, relatively affluent countries with life expectancy of over 80 years.[i] While the grandparenting role is therefore likely to extend over many decades, time spent with NZ grandchildren typically includes more routine childcare than in Denmark. Danish state-funding allows many mothers – and grandparents – to remain active in the labor market, resulting in less than 1% of Danish children receiving informal childcare (OECD, 2016). In NZ, where the level of state-supported childcare is significantly lower, one in four children receive regular care from grandparents (Stats NZ, 2017).

In both countries, participants were recruited primarily through a local Facebook group, supplemented by approaches to senior sports organizations in Denmark, and snowballing from personal contacts in NZ alongside posters in public places. Institutional constraints limited NZ recruitment to a shorter period, resulting in fewer families and a narrower grandchild age-range than the Danish sample. The sample was restricted to families where grandparents and grandchildren had travelled together to generate many accounts of this form of tourism. Hughes and Emmel (2011) note that grandparents in low-income areas had little time for "leisure and pleasure" styles of grandparenting, so recruiting in middle-class areas was deemed appropriate for this exploratory study. All participants were Caucasian and none identified themselves as LGBTQ. Some families had encountered divorce, separation or death, with some grandparents bringing new partners into their families. Although the study's small, bounded sample cannot reflect the diversity of contemporary families, small-scale qualitative studies can still add value by illuminating under-researched areas of family life (Poria & Timothy, 2014).

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 23 grandparents and 17 grandchildren aged 6–28 (Tables 1-2). Reflecting the harried nature of family life (Southerton, 2006), arranging interviews at times that worked for everyone required considerable researcher flexibility. All interviews took place in the grandparents' homes to create a comfortable, informal atmosphere. Clearly there are challenges in engaging children in research, particularly at the younger end of the age-range (Canosa & Graham, 2016; Mikkelsen & Blichfeldt, 2015). Aided by a research assistant, the interviews were undertaken by two authors with extensive

experience of informal, child-centred research (Rhoden et al., 2016). As Pritchard et al. (2007) remind us, researchers cannot separate themselves from research contexts or their own embodied social positions, so researcher positionality should be acknowledged and incorporated reflexively as a resource. In this case, the interviewing researchers' positions as middle-class Caucasian mothers negotiating their own relationships with children and grandparents helped build rapport with participants and offered an experiential resource in probing emergent issues in the interviews. The study received ethical institutional approval, and consent was obtained from all participants and the children's parents. Grandparents remained in adjacent rooms while the children were interviewed. Anonymity and confidentiality were assured.

Interviews explored the meanings of being a grandparent/grandchild; the nature of their relationship and its place within broader family dynamics; and how they spent their time together. Perhaps because recruitment questions had referred to travelling together, grandtravel often arose in response to broader questions about time together. All participants were asked open questions about daytrips and longer holidays spent together. Probes typically explored locations, durations, family members involved, and experiences of planning the trip and being away together. In order to explore individual and collective understandings of intergenerational family practices (Schänzel, 2010), grandparents were interviewed first (average 60 minutes), then grandchildren (average 26 minutes), and, in 12 cases where this was possible, they were interviewed together (average 22 minutes). Most detailed accounts came from the individual interviews, although joint interviews allowed interviewers to observe warm interactions between grandparents and grandchildren as they discussed activities they would enjoy doing together.

Research on family relatedness clearly elicits 'motivated narratives' (Hockey, 2008), informed by ideological dimensions of family life (Morgan 1996, 2013). Despite invitations to discuss less positive experiences, narratives foregrounded harmonious relations, with less discussion of tension than might be expected based on the rich tapestry of the researchers' own family lives. Particularly towards the end of the individual interviews, however, grandparents often acknowledged less straightforward aspects of family life, with allusions to divorce, tensions with in-laws, and intergenerational conflict around "treats", screen time, and levels of risk or supervision.

All interviews were recorded and transcribed verbatim, yielding 18 hours of Danish recordings, and 10 hours of NZ recordings. Transcripts were subjected to thematic analysis, an approach compatible with constructionist research (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The NZ transcripts were analysed independently by all authors and the Danish transcripts were analysed in detail by the first author, with co-authors using detailed summaries of the interviews and translations of particular extracts. Thus, as with Kremer-Sadlik et al. (2008) the unavailability of fully translated transcripts for part of a cross-cultural dataset is clearly a limitation, although additional Danish material was translated as the analysis progressed.

An inductive approach to analysis was undertaken, focusing initially on the data and emergent themes related to time and the emotional dimensions of grandparent-grandchild relationships and interactions. Subsequent iterations of the analysis related data to literature on family relationships, family tourism, time and emotions. The process of writing, sharing and commenting on drafts was an important part of the analysis. The international composition of the research team, together with the range of intergenerational family dynamics experienced by team members, encouraged the questioning of assumptions and contexts as the analysis developed. Understanding gradually moved from more descriptive

codes (such as having fun together; teaching and learning; and thoughts about the future) towards the overarching themes of fun, finite and legacy times and conceptualisations (Gioia, Corley & Hamilton, 2012) about the nature of the bonds underpinning these.

FINDINGS

As Robinson (2016, p.23) observes, there are challenges in separating the 'being-ness' of tourists from that of everyday life. For the grandparents and grandchildren in this study, holidays together appeared to offer a heightened form of 'family time' (Obrador-Pons, 2012). At the same time, even for the NZ families where grandparents were generally more involved in regular childcare, everyday time together was still considered special, particularly when parents were not around. Therefore, key qualities of regular time together are highlighted before exploring how these were amplified by grandtravel.

Although parents typically spend considerable time with their children, the tempo of family life can be hectic and harried (Southerton, 2006), with 'family time' competing with work, chores, and parents' desire for time to relax alone or as a couple (Daly, 1996; Kremer-Sadlik et al., 2008). For this study's participants, the pattern was one of occasional co-presence (Morgan, 2013), and this seemed easier for grandparents to savour, even when providing childcare: as NZ grandfather Dennis put it, 'It's the old story. Spoil them rotten and send them back'. Having 'own time' (Schänzel & Smith, 2014) when the grandchildren were not around seemed to make it easier for grandparents to focus on the grandchildren's desires and preferences while they were together, on holiday or otherwise.

Understandings of biographical time (Adam, 2008) seemed to inform grandparents' enjoyment of time with grandchildren. Notwithstanding the irreversibility of aging, New Zealand grandmother Elizabeth linked her "unconditional love" for her grandchildren to how '[t]hey keep you young, they make you laugh'. John, who was visiting his New Zealand family from the UK, reflected on how he had changed from being a parent to being a grandparent:

> But grandchildren are a joy. We're older, we're more responsible, and we have a different outlook on life somehow I think than when you're bringing a child up. You're worried about your future and things like that [as a parent].

Elaborating on the joy of grandparenting, John commented that:

> I pull their legs sometimes terrible. I love it, 'cos they're still gullible at this stage. It's all good fun. It's a lovely relationship.

This sense of enjoyment was echoed by the children in the study, who appreciated their grandparents making time for them, joining in their activities, and having fun together. Jokes and laughter featured frequently in their stories, including those from John's granddaughters:

> Emma: […] Grandpa tells stupid jokes that are actually funny because he laughs at them.
> Rosie: And then we start laughing 'cos he's laughing.
> Emma: And I laugh at them because they're so stupid that you shouldn't laugh at them. But I do laugh at them anyway. (Emma, 10, and Rosie, 7, NZ)

The benefits of the limited duration of together time with grandparents was also highlighted by some of the children. Iris described time with grandparents as 'funner' than being with parents:

Iris:	[…] they don't have to be as strict with you, and they give you more treats. And, yeah, you get spoilt more.
Interviewer:	Why do you think that they are less strict with you?
Iris:	Maybe because they don't have you the whole time. So when they perhaps have you the whole time, they see how naughty you are and everything. When you're with a grandparent you're quite good, 'cos you know that they'll spoil you 'cos they don't see you as much as your parents. (Iris, 12, NZ)

Thus, the limited duration of together time made it special, allowing both generations to focus less on rules and discipline, and more on enjoyment. This created a virtuous circle: grandparents could focus on entertaining the children, while grandchildren responded positively to the attention and sustained good behavior more easily than they could in "the whole time" spent with parents.

Strikingly similar stories emerged from both countries about the special relationships and times involved in grandtravel. These holidays appeared to heighten experiences of fun, finite times together, with implications for individual and collective well-being, relational identities and generativity (Carr, 2011; Hebblethwaite & Norris, 2011; Lehto et al., 2009).

Fun time

Participants told many stories about going to museums, parks, art galleries; city, fishing or sailing daytrips; and holidays with or without parents. Like some of Nimrod's (2008) retirees, grandparents often paid for trips and holidays with grandchildren, even when the parents accompanied them. One Danish grandmother had treated her daughter, son-in-law and three grandchildren to holidays in Norway and China, for example, and taken two grandchildren on individual European holidays. Across the sample, the pleasures of such trips were recalled. For example, Anders, a 15-year-old Danish boy, talked about how he and his grandmother enjoyed walking 'miles and miles' together on family holidays. Reflecting the blurred boundaries between holidays and everyday times (Edensor 2007), fun often began even before the destination was reached. Seventeen-year-old Karen described a special weekend with her Danish grandparents to plan the European city break she was given as a confirmation[ii] gift, while another grandchild talked about the simple pleasures of driving to their destination. Asked why she found car journeys with grandparents 'way more fun' than with parents, she explained:

Julie:	Different music styles in the car. Just laugh more. More jokes. That's basically it.
Interviewer:	What else? What makes it more fun?
Julie:	There are a few more things. Sometimes my poppa tells some stories about his past. And then we all laugh. We stop off at like an ice-cream shop and get ice-cream on the way. Like a little treat. Might stop off at a beach and have a little – like wash our feet in the water, and walk across the beach with [dog] if we have – if she's in the car with us. That's basically it. (Julie, 11, NZ)

Although the embodied sociality involved in travelling is often taken for granted (Crouch & Desforges, 2003), there can be delight in sharing the tight space of a car, and even routine car journeys can be a time for 'doing' family (Laurier et al., 2008). Julie highlights the hedonism of car trips as part of grandtravel, and her enjoyment of treats and spontaneity along with more laughter and jokes than she would have with her parents. More profoundly, the car trip can be considered generational time (Adam, 2008): Julie's relationship with her grandparents deepens as she learns more about their music preferences and hears stories about her grandfather's past. This resonates with Podilchak's (1991) argument that it is not leisure activities themselves that are fun, but the reframing of them with others. He sees fun as social and egalitarian, characterized by a 'with-equal-other social bond' (p. 140). While Small (2008) suggests that 12-year-old girls experienced holiday fun in this way, this sense of being 'friends together' (Godefroit-Winkel et al., 2019) may also be an important feature of grandtravel. Danish 8-year-old Sander explains his love of family holidays:

> I love travelling with them [grandparents], and especially because me and my grandmother share the same room, because then we tell each other secrets at night.

This image of secrets being shared communicates a sense of reciprocity and curiosity, and highlights the importance of social identities across the lifecourse; as Kastarinen (2017, p.108) notes, 'For grandparents, it is important to get to know their grandchildren as they are, and in return, to be known by their grandchildren as they really are'.

Grandparents' reframing activities were also evident. Danish grandfather Eigil described his grandchildren's curiosity on seeing old typewriters and slide-projectors in an antique shop during a day trip. Although the activity itself would be boring on its own, '[…] when the kids are there, too, it suddenly turns exciting'. Seeing places and activities through children's eyes brought great pleasure to the grandparents: mundane days out became extraordinary, familiar museums felt fresh, and travelling was much more fun when experienced with grandchildren. For Danish grandmother Joan:

> […] it is so lovely to experience their interest for different things and their observational skills and their humour and their fun, also between each other because those two girls they have a lot of fun with each other […] And it rubs off on us old ones […] Well, it is life-affirming, as simple as that [laughs].

Such experiences were not only fun and rejuvenating at the time; they also became shared resources facilitating further bonding after the holiday. Danish grandmother Tine talked about staying in a hotel with her grandson:

> […] we share a lot of experiences and have a lot of memories to look back on, and we have a lot to talk about: "Do you remember when we were there, and we took the stairs running while the others had to take the escalator?" Then we have done some things together, which we can then recall.

Racing on the hotel stairs gave Tine more than the simple enjoyment of being playful with her grandson; it offered a sense of connection, both at the time and in reframing the activity together when back home. Her account highlights the thin membrane separating tourism from everyday life (Edensor, 2007): staircases amenable to racing on are not only found on holiday, although perhaps Tine may not have slipped so readily into 'playmate' mode outside of holiday time. This account also illustrates how a spontaneous, momentary experience such as this can be a 'future-creating action' (Adam, 2008, p.11), something that Tine and her grandson could look back on and savour later, in an act of co-memoration (Zerubavel, 2003).

Grandparents sometimes talked about feelings of pride on seeing grandchildren maturing and developing through holiday experiences. Danish grandmother Joan and her partner treat all their grandchildren to a European city as a confirmation gift. On such a trip to London with granddaughters, they went on an English-language guided tour of the Houses of Parliament:

Joan:	They [the granddaughters] listened and asked questions and afterwards […] You can feel that I am so proud of them…
Interviewer:	Yes of course.
Joan:	And then the guide says, 'It is absolutely fantastic with girls like this who are interested', and she then proceeded to invent some gift, found some papers and books and things like that for them which they got as a present because they had been so good at listening.

Joan's 17-year-old granddaughter Karen also took pride in remembering this trip, but for her the key story was that she had taken the lead, supported and 'inspired' by her grandparents:

Karen:	But we went out to see something every day, and it was me actually who had decided what to see. They had inspired me and told me what there was to see and so on.
Interviewer:	Yes, OK.
Karen:	And they had given me a guidebook, so that I could keep track of it.

Again, the actual holiday was part of a sequence of activities strengthening generational bonds: Karen had planned the trip during a weekend stay with her grandparents, who helped her work out what she would most enjoy in London. Those shared experiences in turn provided collective memories, contributing to the 'doing' of family through intergenerational intimacies and shared biography (Smart, 2007). Furthermore, the two accounts of the London trip illustrate the lived experience of generativity (Erikson, 1950), how it was recognized and valued by the grandchild as well as a source of pride for the grandparent, with the added pleasure of witnessing it in the present rather than only imagining it in the future.

Clearly, studies like this involve participants 'displaying' family to outsiders (Finch, 2007) making it more likely that they would highlight positive rather than negative aspects of grandtravel. Although these were only mentioned in passing, it was clear that shared holidays could also involve tension and emotions such as disappointment or frustration. Some grandparents mentioned raising their voices to keep children from squabbling or disagreeing with them about appropriate amounts of screen time. Discrepancies between idealized and actual leisure time together also arose (McCabe, 2015). For NZ grandmother Hannah, generativity involved passing on her love of books, music and art to her toddler granddaughter Annie. Their shared trips to an art gallery were generally characterized by differences in desired tempo: while Annie enjoyed the interactive playroom, viewing the art itself tended to be a 'fairly fast-moving' experience. One visit was particularly memorable. To celebrate Mother's Day:

> I went with the girls [Hannah's daughters] and Annie, and we attempted to have a bit of a look around. But she touched – there's a painting – a NZ artist […] who's probably one of the most valuable artists – and she just ran up and put her finger on this piece of art. Well, it really caused me to have to fill in a long form saying what had happened. So we left then and went to the café [laughs].

Nonetheless, Hannah was pleased that at least Annie 'knows about the art gallery', and 'kind of has this concept of these places'. These trips could be seen as deliberate future-creating actions (Adam, 2008), bound up with imaginary family practices (Morgan, 2013). Despite challenging experiences so far, Hannah remains optimistic that Annie will come to share her interest in art, and looks forward to cultural expeditions with her as she grows older. Even though this particular visit to the museum was not fun, Hannah had reframed it as a funny story of togetherness with her granddaughter, which also highlighted her role as 'good' grandmother seeking to pass on cultural capital (Bertaux & Thompson, 2005).

Finite time

Some grandparents had already planned or imagined further trips with grandchildren. Danish grandmother Katrine recalled her 'fantastic' trip to China with grandchildren before anticipating a clash between her dreams and reality:

> Imagine if one could travel to the USA with them. But it has to fit in, and they do get older and one turns 18 and finishes secondary school and will start studying, and the third…you can't take anyone out of school anymore.

Resonating with prior research on sequencing (Lois, 2010) and Flaherty's (2012) account of social experience as 'saturated with provisional endings', grandparents expressed an awareness of finite, limited time for travelling with grandchildren on two levels. First, looking back – sometimes with regret - on their own experiences as parents, they remembered how quickly children grow up. NZ grandfather Dennis reflected that as a father he had been busy, even distant, but as a grandfather he wanted to be caring, attentive and loved. Second, looking ahead, some grandparents anticipated a time when their grandchildren would not want to spend time with them, or when grandtravel would no longer be possible.

Discussing visits by their 13-year-old grandson Mads to their holiday house, Danish grandparents Lisbeth and Henrik commented that 'we want to make him come as long as possible'. Respectful of his changing priorities and resigned to the weakening of his emotional ties to them (Antonucci et al., 2004), they did not push togetherness too far, giving him more independence and 'own time' (Schänzel & Smith, 2014) in his bedroom. Similarly, visiting his NZ granddaughters from the UK, John drew on his experience of parenting to acknowledge that they would become less enthusiastic about joint holidays:

> And I think we noticed with our son as well […] there comes a time when they don't particularly want you with them on holiday. They've changed, they're growing, and you've got to accept that.

Future grandtravel was not only threatened by changing grandchildren priorities. Some grandparents reflected on their own body time and biographical trajectories - of the 'transience, ephemerality and contingency of human existence' (Adam, 1995, 2007, p.120). For Heidegger (1927/2010), Being-in-the-world is fundamentally being-towards-death, but Being-in-the-world, or Dasein, involves accepting rather than being paralysed or terrified by this. Anticipating the end of grandtravel, John and Margaret were resigned to this, but planned to savour remaining opportunities (Lois, 2010):

Interviewer:	Do you think you'll keep going on holiday with your grandchildren?
John:	As long as we can. They'll decide.

Margaret: Well yes, until they suddenly decide – Granny and Grandpa aren't doing the things that they want to do. I think for the next few years they'll still want to come.

John: Provided I can still horse ride and cycle and things like that.

John's use of the conditional here ("provided I can still…") suggests some anxiety about the future. Several grandparents referred to ageing and age-related health issues as potentially affecting future trips together. NZ grandmother Sheila was philosophical about the contrasting trajectories facing her grandchildren and herself, joking about possible future infirmities:

> There'll come a time when Sven [grandson] will want to go and do other things […] So as long as they'll keep on having me, as long as I don't dribble or wet my pants [laughs] they'll still take me.

Some grandchildren offered their own perspective on future travel. While younger children simply anticipated more fun times together, some older grandchildren sensed a phase potentially drawing to a close, either because they or their grandparents were changing. Danish 17-year-old Karen, for example, spends a week each year in her other (paternal) grandparents' summer cottage along with siblings and cousins. Despite describing this as "nice", she noticed that these grandparents prioritized their own rhythms and routines rather than adapting to younger family members' interests. For her, the slower tempo made the week at the cottage drag: "nothing much happens" there, in contrast to "a lot of things happening at home":

> Well, they [paternal grandparents] are very much like: they take a walk every Monday, so they are a bit like everything happens as it usually does. […] At the beginning it was a whole week, but by now I think a week is a bit of a long time.

Asked about future travel with the maternal grandparents who had taken her on the London trip she loved, she said that while she would like to travel with them again, 'I would also like to travel with a friend or something […] It is perhaps not my highest priority with them'.

For Danish 15-year-old Anders, the intimacies established on previous holidays meant there would always be 'something insanely special' about travelling with his grandmother, but encounters with family illness and death constrained his future imagining:

> Well, both my maternal and paternal grandfathers have passed away and my paternal grandmother can't [travel], and then my maternal grandmother crashed on her bike on her way to Berlin and broke her collarbone […] She seems to have fragile bones, so it doesn't take much before suddenly then […] they will be getting old enough to die at some point in time, so…

Legacy time

Generativity has previously been identified as a grandparental concern (Hebblethwaite & Norris, 2011; Kastarinen, 2017). In this study, grandparents' acceptance that the fun times of grandtravel were finite appeared to encourage reflection on their legacy. Imagining a future beyond his own lifespan, NZ grandfather Dennis hoped he would be remembered as 'someone who gave very good advice. Who loved them. Who did things with them'. A future-focused, generative agenda is evident in his reflection:

> I think that's one of the best things you can give them into their development […] new experiences that will stay with them and give them confidence as they grow up. And also broaden their mind […] And hopefully a lot of these new experiences as they grow older will see them through in later life.

Such comments suggest that grandtravel offers opportunities for shared experiences that would benefit grandchildren in the long run, provide enduring emotional connections, and create fond, happy memories of themselves as grandparents and individuals with particular tastes, values and interests. Several grandparents talked about teaching grandchildren life skills and passing on practical knowledge. As discussed above, Karen's grandparents took pride and pleasure in her becoming a confident, curious tourist, while Hannah hoped to pass on her love of culture to her young granddaughter Annie. Although grandmothers and grandfathers alike sought to pass on skills and broaden grandchildren's horizons, the practices described in this study reflect prior research on gendered leisure and grandparental roles (Shaw, 1997; Marhánková, 2015). For example, Paul, a NZ grandfather, took his grandchild swimming in high surf and taught her about water safety, describing their outing as 'kind of educational'. In general, grandfathers seemed particularly invested in passing on practical outdoor skills and knowledge, such as sailing, swimming or fishing.

Stories shape tourists' memories, experiences and identities over time (Bosangit, Hibbert & McCabe, 2015), and positive tourism and travel memories can provide evidence of lives lived to the full and happy family times (Desforges, 2000; Shaw, Havitz & Delemere, 2008). In this study, doing things and going places together, and revisiting these experiences through stories, photos or videos allowed grandparents to weave themselves into grandchildren's futures as well as making connections to their past and enjoying the present (Smart, 2007). Eleven-year-old Esben's Danish grandmother, for example, always made him a special photo album after their holiday together. Family photo albums are sites of social memory, constitutive of 'a past that is not only commonly shared but also *jointly* remembered' (Zerubavel, 1996, p.294). Furthermore, the practice of taking holiday photos calls into being a 'future-perfect' by creating images to be savoured long after the holiday is over (Crang, 1997). As Julie's car story indicates, travelling together built grandparents' legacies by prompting storytelling at the time as well as being a source of future stories.

CONCLUSION

Nuclear families and parental perspectives have been privileged in the tourism literature on family travel (Schänzel & Carr, 2015), neglecting the roles, relationships and experiences of those involved in the growing phenomenon of grandtravel. Prior studies have offered valuable but limited accounts of family holidays in relation to emotions (Heimtun, 2019; Obrador-Pons, 2012) or experiences of time (Heimtun, 2019; Gram et al., 2018; Shaw et al., 2008). Drawing on interviews undertaken in Denmark and NZ, this exploratory, interpretive study contributes to critical scholarship on family ties and family tourism by exploring both grandparents' and grandchildren's experiences of grandtravel. It contributes to the tourism literature by showing how temporal and emotional dimensions are woven into the distinctive fabric of grandtravel experiences.

Resonating with arguments concerning the blurred boundaries between tourism and everyday life (Edensor, 2007), this study found that grandtravel represented an emotional and temporal intensification rather than a complete departure from routine time together. Both were marked by a child-centredness, which seemed easier to accomplish for time-rich grandparents than for time-poor parents (Gram et al., 2018; Southerton, 2006). Living apart from their

grandchildren, these grandparents had ample opportunity for 'own time', allowing them to focus more intently on simply being with their grandchildren in the moment. The limited duration of time spent together also made it easier for grandchildren to behave well, contributing to relaxed and enjoyable interactions.

Both generations described taking pleasure in doing things and going places together, and the treats, spontaneity and playfulness involved in daytrips as well as longer holidays, suggesting that staycations could also foster fun times. The fun they experienced together ran deeper than this, however, reflecting a 'with-equal-other social bond' (Podilchak, 1991). Grandchildren felt appreciated and valued, while grandparents enjoyed shared activities and reframing familiar places, artefacts and experiences by seeing them through their grandchildren's eyes. In this sense, grandtravel offered fun times, facilitating and deepening *playmate bonds* between the two generations. This form of bonding was not restricted to the trips themselves; particularly for longer trips, anticipating and planning beforehand, and sharing memories afterwards, deepened their emotional connection, offering opportunities for 'everyday moments of quality time' (Kremer-Sadlik & Paugh, 2007) and strengthening connections between generations and between the past, present and future (Adam, 2008).

Grandparents, and some of the older grandchildren, were aware of time for grandtravel as finite in a deeper sense. Looking ahead, a time was anticipated when grandchildren would no longer enjoy travelling with grandparents, or when grandparental health problems or death itself would force it to end. Resonating with Flaherty's (2012, p.91) notion of poignancy as 'a temporally induced sorrow…occasioned by our self-conscious perception of endings and finitude', it seems that the finite times of grandtravel are associated with *poignant bonds* between the two generations. Fear, anxiety, loss and regret may be experienced by tourists in later stages of the lifecourse increasingly aware that being-in-the-world involves being-towards-death (Heidegger, 1927/2010). Emotions such as these, however, are largely absent from the tourism literature (Robinson, 2012).

Rather than wallowing in sorrow at the prospect of endings, Flaherty (2012, p.101) argues that 'we must find meaning, beauty, and even joy in that which is only temporary'. In keeping with this, and with Lois's (2010) accounts of sequencing and savouring, grandparents appreciated the together time afforded by grandtravel in the present as well as imagining a future without it. This encouraged grandparents to contemplate generativity (Hebblethwaite & Norris, 2011; Kastarinen, 2017): consistent with Caton's (2012) exploration of moral dimensions of tourism, they reflected on how grandtravel could help their grandchildren flourish and help them pass on their enduring love, their particular knowledge, skills and values, and a sense of who they were as people. The stories they told about themselves and their past, and the memories, photographs and videos they created with grandchildren as they travelled together, allowed them to imagine a future in which they had left traces, 'exerting influences and changing lived experience' (Smart, 2007, p.188). In this sense, grandtravel facilitated the forging of strong, emotional and *continuing bonds* (Klass, Silverman & Nickman, 1999) with grandchildren.

While the tourism literature has not engaged sufficiently with complex emotions (Robinson, 2012), grandtravel offers a rich setting for exploring these and how they relate to time. *Playmate bonds* between the generations based on joy appear to be forged in the moment, although they can be sustained into the future by subsequent acts of co-memoration (Zerubavel, 1996). *Poignant bonds* connect an uncertain yet finite future to what can be savoured in the present. They touch on darker emotions and existential questions that may be amplified by the reflexivity associated with tourism (Edensor, 2007) but are likely to persist

on returning home. *Continuing bonds* may be forged through future-creating actions (Adam, 2008) as part of the grandtravel experience, yet ultimately, they transcend the touristic context, speak to the endurance of love and the role of emotions like love and grief in human flourishing (Nussbaum, 2003).

Qualitative studies are generally based on a small number of participants, located in particular socio-cultural contexts. Therefore, we make no claims that these times or bonds are the only ones facilitated by grandtravel, or that they would be found in other family groups or contexts. In other words, our findings offer insights into the *existence* of phenomena rather than their *incidence* within the wider population (McQuarrie & McIntyre, 1988). Nonetheless, we believe that the *existence* of these times and bonds have implications for theory, policy and practice. In policy terms, we suggest that grandtravel can facilitate playful, poignant and continuing bonds between grandparents and grandchildren, making a potential contribution to intergenerational wellbeing and generativity, and to active, positive ageing agendas (Marhánková, 2015). This study was based on relatively privileged families, but previous research has highlighted the value of social tourism for economically disadvantaged older people (Morgan et al., 2015), and for families experiencing various forms of social exclusion (Minnaert et al., 2009; McCabe, 2009; McCabe & Johnson, 2013). Social tourism initiatives could perhaps enhance family bonds and wellbeing by including grandtravel – even in shorter forms - in holiday programmes, helping grandparents in difficult circumstances to build playmate experiences and generativity into relationships with grandchildren (Hughes & Emmel, 2011).

Several fruitful avenues for further research emerge from this study. The extent to which playmate, poignant, and continuing bonds are part of grandtravel experiences more generally could be examined in survey-based studies, and experiences of grandtravel among less privileged and more diverse family groups also merit attention. There is certainly scope for more detailed cross-cultural comparisons, and explorations of grandtravel in cultural traditions where intergenerational relationships may differ from those described here. Future studies could also focus on grandparents and grandchildren in different age ranges, and holidays with and without parents. Participants in this study described a range of travel experiences: packaged and independent holidays; long and shorter trips; and travels with and without parents. Furthermore, the relatively small sample included a wide range of age groups. Studies focusing on or comparing particular kinds of grandtravel could delve more deeply into temporal and emotional dimensions of different grandtravel experiences. While this study highlighted interactions between past, present and future, focusing on particular trips could allow more detailed examination of embodied experiences of time such as rhythm and tempo. Longitudinal studies could also offer further insights into the role of grandtravel in family dynamics, as could research exploring gender differences in grandtravel experiences.

While the interviews in this study allowed participants to reflect and remember their experiences, other methods such as surveys, participant observation, photo-elicitation, diaries and video diaries offer fruitful ways of engaging participants and illuminating this form of family tourism. Finally, as family holidays are prone to idealization (Obrador-Pons, 2012), there is scope to explore how grandtravel is presented in advertising and marketing materials, and how families respond to discrepancies between ideals and reality. Tense times featured only fleetingly in this study, and further research could explore this dimension further.

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Appendix: Grandparent and grandchild informants

Table 1. NZ informants (GC=grandchildren; GP=grandparents)

Family	Grandmother	Grandfather	Grandchild	Geographical distance	Frequency of contact	Grandtravel
NZ 1	Anne (75) (retired)	Divorcee	Iris (12) interviewed	Walking distance	Daily/ weekly	Domestic camping trips
NZ 2	Margaret (73) (retired)	John (74) (retired)	Emma (10) Rosie (7) interviewed	GP live in the UK	Annual extended holiday	Holiday in NZ/Greece
NZ 3	Jane (82) (retired)	Widow – remarried	Mia (10) Nathalie (6) Interviewed	Walking distance	Weekly	Day trips to the mall or museums
NZ 4	Dawn ("60s") (left work to help with childcare)	Paul ("70s")	Michael (11) Caroline (9) Interviewed	Walking distance	Daily	Holidays in Australia/NZ
NZ 5	Elizabeth (69) (retired)	Dennis (68) (working)	Julia (11) Interviewed	20 km apart	Weekly/ monthly	Special occasions to Rarotonga and Hawaii
NZ 6	Sheila (66) (working)	Divorcee, not living with partner	3 GCs discussed	Within 5 km	Daily/ weekly	Holidays in Australia/special occasion to Fiji
NZ 7	Hannah (64) (working part-time)	Married, husband working	2-year-old GC discussed	20 km apart	Weekly	Day trips to museum or on the ferry

Table 2. Danish informants (GC=grandchildren; GP=grandparents)

Family	Grandmother	Grandfather	Grandchild	Geographical distance	Frequency of contact	Grandtravel
DK 1	Janne (56) (works reduced hours)	Partner (age unknown)	-	International	Once/ twice a year	Travels to visit family
DK 2	Stine (65) (retired)	Gert (65) (retired)	Josefine (13)	20 km	Almost daily	Camping, summer cottage
DK 3	Tine (61) (working)		Sander (8)	20 km	Weekly	Package tours, Southern Europe
DK 4	Kristina (59)	Peter (57)	-	400 km	Every month	Small trips GC prefer staying at GP house
DK 5	Inge (71) (retired)	Eigil (73) (working)	Louise (8)	25 km	Weekly	USA with granddaughter
DK 6	Joan (66) (retired)	Partner (age unknown)	Karen (17)	30 km	Monthly	Cultural excursions, London and Vienna
DK 7	Katrine (72) (retired)		Anders (15)	2–3 km	Weekly	Barcelona with grandson, 3-generation holidays
DK 8	Lisbeth (69) retired	Henrik (63) retired	Mads (13)	30 km	Weekly	Yearly family trip, Disneyland Paris; 3-generation South Africa trip planned. Summer cottage
DK 9	Ragnhild (80) Retired	Widowed	Wilma (28)	Live in same city		Cultural excursions, South American cruise
DK 10	No grandparents interviewed		Carl (8)			
DK 11	No grandparents interviewed		Esben (8)	Live in same town/other GPs three hours away		Summer cottage, GP and cousins; Southern Europe

[i] https://countryeconomy.com/countries/compare/denmark/new-zealand

[ii] Religious ceremony