

**THE SOCIALIZATION OF FAMILIES AWAY FROM HOME: Group Dynamics and
Family Functioning on Holiday**

Heike A. Schänzel

School of Hospitality & Tourism, AUT University, Private Bag 92006

Auckland 1020, New Zealand

Karen A. Smith

Victoria Management School, Victoria University of Wellington, P.O. Box 600,

Wellington 6140, New Zealand

THE SOCIALIZATION OF FAMILIES AWAY FROM HOME: Group Dynamics and Family Functioning on Holiday

Abstract: The focus on individuals in tourism research has led to limited and fragmented research on family groups and their leisure experiences away from home. This article extends conceptual and theoretical understandings within family tourism research by offering a three-dimensional framework inclusive of group perspectives. A whole-family methodology was used with 10 families (10 fathers, 10 mothers and 20 children) in New Zealand as a more critical and holistic approach to tourism concepts. Empirical findings illustrate group dynamics along with the underrepresented generational perspectives of children and gender perspectives of fathers to provide insights into family functioning. This resulted in a three-layered model of family holiday experiences inclusive of group sociality. The collective intentionality of family togetherness on holiday is contrasted with more balanced modes in own time, highlighting the complexity of socialization within tourism theory and practice.

Keywords: family holidays, leisure experiences, sociality, group dynamics, fathers, children

1. INTRODUCTION

Families must be seen as a distinctive focus of study. Several characteristics and conditions reflect the unique nature of families as social groups: privacy; a collective consciousness not readily available to others; permanent relationships; shared traditions; intense involvement; and a collage of individual interests and qualities (Daly, 1992). Family members are connected to one another, and they are also separate from one another. Every family must work out a pattern of separateness and connectedness by dealing with this dual condition of inevitable individuality and inescapable connection (Hess & Handel, 1959). A multitude of theories indicate that well functioning families spend leisure time together and this demonstrates meaningful interaction (Lehto, Choi, Lin, & MacDermid, 2009). Leisure travel is often the only time the whole family spends together for an extended period. However, the attention in the academic literature and popular media is predominantly on leisure time together rather than time away from the family.

Families travelling with children represent one of the largest and most constant markets for the tourism and leisure industry and yet research has rarely taken notice of children's and families' holiday experiences (Carr, 2011; Obrador, 2012; Schänzel, Yeoman, & Backer, 2012). To date, quantitative research has predominated in tourism resulting in mainly individual interpretations of group behaviour unsuitable to account for the sociality present in the collective experience of family groups (Schänzel, 2010). Additionally most family tourism research is market- and consumer-driven (Lehto et al., 2009; Schänzel, Smith, & Weaver, 2005) with less focus into broader experiential dimensions and group dynamic perspectives. This resulted in limited understandings of family functioning, described by Olsen & Gorall (2003) as the delicate balance between family cohesion and family adaptability, away from home.

In tourism research, the meaning of holidays for children is underrepresented (Carr, 2011; Small, 2008) and fatherhood is absent (Schänzel & Smith, 2011a) despite traditions of research with children and fathers in other disciplinary areas, such as leisure (Buswell, Zabriskie, Lundberg, & Hawkins, 2012). There are increasing voices in the social study of childhood to reintegrate children within families as competent social actors (Seymour & McNamee, 2012) a call which is yet to fully eventuate in tourism studies (Carr, 2006). Family structures and societal values have changed substantially in recent decades (Carr, 2011) which can have strong influences on family behaviour on holiday. This study focuses on two-parent families which is the dominant form in New Zealand but acknowledges the need to capture the increasing diversity of families in tourism research, such as single-parent families, gay and lesbian families (Schänzel et al., 2012) and disadvantaged families (McCabe, Minnaert, & Diekmann, 2011). There is increasing research on everyday family leisure life, diversity and ideological influences (Shaw, 2010; Shaw & Dawson, 2001), yet this has not followed suit within an away from home dimension. These omissions are a reminder that tourism research is not only lagging behind other social research but that the literature on family tourism is fragmented, individualized and incomplete.

The purpose of this paper is to expand on the conceptualization and theorization of family tourism research through emphasizing group sociality and family functioning. It introduces a conceptual framework of the three-dimensional family group. A grounded theory methodology culminates in a model of family holiday experiences centered on group dynamics and sociality. This is based on a whole-family study within different holiday situations in New Zealand inclusive of the perspective of all family members. As it is overly ambitious to cover all aspects in a family in one paper, the empirical findings illustrate group

dynamics along with the underrepresented generational perspectives of children and gender perspectives of fathers. Generation here designates the parent-child or kinship relationship within the family rather than the often used synonymous term implying a birth cohort or social generation. This study fits with those who argue that tourism can act as a social lens on the family (Lashley, Lynch, & Morrison, 2007) and provide insights into family functioning. This paper then responds to calls for the inclusion of rich sociality into tourism theory (Obrador, 2012). Family holidays involve leisure travel away from home for more than one day taken within the context of a family group (at least one child and one adult) (Schänzel et al., 2005). The contribution of this paper is the critical and holistic approach to tourism and leisure concepts taken, revealing that family holidays are a more complex mix of collective and individual experiences and interrelationships than previously recognized.

2. THE CONCEPTUALISATION AND THEORISATION OF FAMILY TOURISM RESEARCH TO INCLUDE GROUP DYNAMICS, GENERATION AND GENDER

Although the concept of families is changing, studies reveal that family life continues to be important and includes family leisure experiences that positively influence family functioning (Lehto et al., 2009). Family holidays, family leisure and family outdoor recreation are identified for their positive contributions to families but also face real challenges to achieve engagement with all family members (Minnaert, Maitland, & Miller, 2009; Reis, Thompson-Carr, & Lovelock, 2012). Despite the importance of the family market, relatively little research has been conducted on the social significance of holidays that involve parents and children (Carr, 2011; Schänzel, Smith, & Weaver, 2005). Most family tourism research is concerned with marketing and decision-making processes and roles (Bronner & de Hoog, 2008; Lehto et al., 2009; Nichols & Snepenger, 1988). These provide insights into the social group roles of families useful for the conceptualization of family holiday experiences

(Crompton, 1981). Research has been carried out at family centered tourism attractions (Hallman, Mary, & Benbow, 2007; Johns & Gyimothy, 2002; Turley, 2001) which are important as enablers of quality family time. There is however less research into broader experiential dimensions of family holidays that take into account the perspectives of all family members and include group dynamics and family functioning. Family holidays form the balance part of the 'core and balance' model of family leisure functioning (Zabriskie & McCormick, 2001) where core or everyday leisure provides familiarity and greater family cohesion while balance or away from home leisure is related to family adaptability (Buswell et al., 2012). This model can be extended into family functioning on holiday requiring both family cohesion (togetherness) and family adaptability (flexibility) as part of family systems theory (Olsen & Gorall, 2003).

Research on family holiday experiences is largely informed by feminist gender representations rather than examinations of femininities and masculinities. There have been studies on family holiday experiences that are mainly informed by feminist perspectives and thus focused on mothers (Anderson, 2001; Davidson, 1996; Deem, 1996; Small, 2005b). These studies highlight the never-ending physical and emotional work of motherhood both at home and when travelling. While more research is needed on mothers, little is known about fatherhood on holiday apart from joint parenting voices (with little gender considerations) (Gram, 2005; Schänzel & Smith, 2011a; Shaw, Havitz, & Delamere, 2008) emphasizing that fathers focus on escape from work commitments while mothers seek escape from family responsibilities. This is in contrast to research traditions and debates on masculinity in other disciplines more inclusive of fathers, including fatherhood in leisure (Jeanes & Magee, 2011; Kay, 2009) and in family research (Fagan, 2003). Kay (2009) argues that leisure-based activities (such as sport) are potentially more prominent in fathering and allow fathers to show emotional connection to their children (Harrington, 2006), including for non-resident

fathers (Jenkins & Lyons, 2006). Father's involvement in family leisure can be the strongest predictor of all aspects of family functioning (Buswell et al., 2012). The absence of fatherhood in tourism is a reversal of the predominance of the masculine, solitary voice in tourism studies as discussed below.

Few studies investigate the family holiday experiences of children that treat children as active agents (Carr, 2006, 2011; Hilbrecht et al., 2008; Small, 2008). These studies suggest that for children holidays are about physical activity, being socially involved and having fun rather than relaxing. Within family tourism marketing and decision making there are increasingly studies that actively include children (Gram, 2007; Nickerson & Jurowski, 2001; Thornton, Shaw, & Williams, 1997) highlighting the under-representation of children in extant theory (Blichfeldt, Pedersen, Johansen, & Hansen, 2011). In the social sciences (more broadly) children have increasingly been repositioned as subjects rather than objects of research (Farrell, 2005; Greene & Hogan, 2005) which is part of the new paradigm of the social study of childhood (James, Jenks, & Prout, 1998). However, the more active involvement of children is largely driven in the public/policy arena and there is an apparent invisibility of children's voices in the private sphere (Seymour & McNamee, 2012), such as children's everyday home lives (McNamee, 2000) and leisure participation (Thompson, Rehman, & Humbert, 2005). Seymour and McNamee (2012) argue for a reintegration of children within families taking a whole family approach which has yet to fully translate into family tourism research. More attention is also needed to the meaning of family holiday experiences to parents (Blichfeldt, 2006; Lehto et al., 2009; Shaw et al., 2008) and especially the family group (Gram, 2005), leading to a lack of insight into group dynamics.

This review highlights several gaps in the understanding of family leisure travel: first, virtually nothing is known about the gendered perspective of fathers' experiences; second,

little is known about the generational perspective of children's experiences; and third, very few studies focus on the experiences of different family members together on holiday, or how group dynamics can inflame or heighten the individual holiday experience (Pritchard & Havitz, 2006) and provide insights into family functioning. Turley (2001) and Carr (2006) recognized that a more comprehensive and conceptually complex approach to tourism research was needed for family groups that triangulate the views of children and adults but have offered no such conceptualization. This paper extends the argument by Obrador (2012) for a re-socialization of tourism theory by offering a conceptual framework that is inclusive of the social dimension present on family holidays as a more critical and holistic approach to tourism.

2.1 Conceptualization of group sociality

The fragmented and limited research on family tourism might explain why there is no conceptual framework in the literature. Instead, many tourism studies that deal with tourism experiences discuss representations of the self (tourist) and the other (host) usually in an international (exotic) holiday environment (Suvantola, 2002; Wearing & Wearing, 1996). This corresponds with contemporary debates about hospitality provision focusing on host-guest transactions while neglecting guest-guest relations and social interactions (Lashley, et al., 2007). Yet, the host-guest structure that is applied to international tourism is not well suited to family groups because it neglects issues of group dynamics and sociality with "significant others" (Larsen, Urry, & Axhausen, 2007). Grafting theories about individual tourist behaviour onto group contexts may also not work (Yarnal & Kerstetter, 2005). This has led to a de-socialization of the tourism subjects rendering such research approaches unsuitable for families (Obrador, 2012). One way to "de-exoticise" and "re-socialize" tourism theory is by placing family and friendship relations at the centre of tourism research through

the social turn (Larsen, 2008). What is needed is a familial perspective (Smith & Hughes, 1999) which puts the social into tourism and is inclusive of the views of all family members.

Accordingly a conceptual framework is developed that centers on group dynamics and the holiday experiences of all family members. It moves from an individual mainly male perspective (one dimensional – flâneur) and a dyadic or gendered perspective (two dimensional - choraster) to a more inclusive triadic family group perspective (three dimensions of mothers, fathers, and children – family tourist gaze) with its implicit group dynamic, generation and gender perspectives. This means that the generational kinship perspective of parents – children must be considered alongside a gender role perspective (mother – father, daughter – son) and that individual family members must be understood as part of the group dynamics. The underexplored group perspective takes precedent and provides a more holistic and richer we-perspective (Tuomela, 2007). This means that the social and collective dimension of family holidays is no longer sidelined in favor of individual concerns.

While some of the ideas presented here are already established, they provide the basis for the family group perspective as a new way of thinking. The tourist experience is typically depicted as an obscure and diverse phenomenon which is essentially constituted by the individual consumer (Uriely, 2005). Much of the initial research on tourism was concerned with the individual tourist and the part that holidays play in establishing self-identity (Wearing & Wearing, 2001). The “self” is represented as male and tourism is seen in relationship to the workaday world (Wearing & Wearing, 1996), which objectified the destination as a place and presented it to the tourist for his gaze (Urry, 1990). Western philosophical discussion has been characterized by this rigid emphasis on the mind at the

expense of the body. The pure Cartesian mind *sees* how things *are* and the *sublime (male)* gaze became a lonely gaze rather than a social gaze (Veijola & Jokinen, 1994). The tourist became synonymous with the *flâneur* who is conceptualized as being at the centre of the phenomenon, observing passively on his terms (Wearing, Stevenson, & Young, 2010).

Poststructuralist feminist writers have criticized those historical masculine ways of thinking and knowing through the binary oppositions of mind/body, self/other, man/woman that have permeated philosophy and tourism theory (Fullagar, 2002; Irigaray, 1993). Pritchard and Morgan (2000) argued that this prevailing male bias in tourism research makes little allowance for gender difference and subsumes female experiences into those of the dominant male pattern. Thus, pluralizing depictions of the tourist experience which are sensitive to gender are needed (Uriely, 2005), which allow for a female tourist gaze alongside a male tourist gaze, just as in a *dyadic partnership*. Gender considerations gained attention in the tourism literature in the 1990s (Kinnaird & Hall, 1994; Swain, 1995) which attest to women's emphasis placed on family and kinship. In line with subjectivities and a feminized emphasis on interpersonal relationships, the idea of the holiday place as "chora" is suggested (Grosz, 1995). This points to a shift from holiday destination as a place to a more socially interactive space (Wearing & Wearing, 1996), and towards an embodied and interacting tourist or "*choraster*".

The objects of gender research to date have almost exclusively been women (rather than women and men) (Pritchard, Morgan, Ateljevic, & Harris, 2007). There is recognition that intersection between gender and other social roles is needed, or true gender scholarship (Stewart & McDermott, 2004) that is inclusive of femininities and masculinities. In a reversal to tourism theory based on male imaginaries, the gendered approach of fatherhood is much

neglected in family tourism (Schänzel & Smith, 2011a). Yet, even allowing for a more holistic appraisal of gender relations (Aitchison, 2001), the more two dimensional gendered approach of the choraster is unsuitable to account for the sociality and generational kinship perspectives in family tourism. Instead, Wearing et al. (2010) offered a new conceptualization that understands the tourist through the interpretative and sensory ‘thirdspace’ of both the flâneur and the choraster which points towards the needed *triadic family group* approach.

There is some research on groups in tourism such as tour groups (Tucker, 2005; Yarnal & Kerstetter, 2005) but research concerning group relations/dynamics while families are on holiday is neglected (Chesworth, 2003; Shaw et al., 2008). In effect, not much is known on how social interaction and travel party composition intersects with the holiday experience (Yarnal & Kerstetter, 2005). It is this additional social dimension that builds on the individualized male and feminized gaze by encompassing the whole interactive and embodied family group. Haldrup & Larsen (2003) introduced the notion of the “*family gaze*” that is concerned with embodiment and revolves around producing social relations. While much tourism research is drawn to the spectacular and exotic, the family tourist gaze is concerned with the “extraordinary ordinariness” of intimate family worlds (Bærenholdt et al., 2004) embedded in everyday patterns of social family life (Larsen et al., 2007). A focus on sociality in tourism experiences and the *family gaze* then shows how group dynamics along with generation and gender intersect in complex ways within the triadic family group.

In summary, group dynamics are underexplored in family tourism research which made a conceptualization of group sociality and focus on the family gaze necessary. Instead, research on family holiday experiences is dominated by women’s voices, speaking as mothers and

often representing the parental voice (Anderson, 2001; Schänzel & Smith, 2011a; Small, 2005b), rendering the father's and children's voices more silent. The purpose of this study on family holiday experiences then was to understand the perspectives of all family members, from their interactive family group perspective (we-mode) and individual perspectives (I-mode). This provides insights into degrees of connectedness and separateness in family relationships as part of family functioning. The study focused on domestic tourism in New Zealand which accounts for over half of all tourism earnings in New Zealand, of which families represent a major market.

2.2 Study methods

The study aimed to understand the collective and individual experiences and meanings of family holidays over time for all family members. Whole-family methodology was adopted from family research (Schänzel, 2010) and to integrate children within family life (Seymour & McNamee, 2012) on holiday. This involved interviewing at home, first, all family members together in a group interview and, then, each family member separately to capture their collective (we-mode) and individual perspectives (I-mode). This was repeated three times, once before (pre-holiday interviews), then straight after (post-holiday interviews) and half a year after their domestic summer holiday (final interviews) to capture their anticipation and short- and longer-term recollections of holiday experiences. The iterative approach helped in building up rapport with the families. Ten families were recruited through primary schools in the Wellington region of New Zealand. To maintain some homogeneity in terms of family life cycle stage (Shaw et al., 2008), only families with at least one child eight-12 years old were invited to participate. Ten fathers, 10 mothers and 20 children participated in the study (11 boys and nine girls, ranging from six–16 years). It is widely regarded that five/six is the youngest age at which interviews can be conducted (Matthews, Limb, & Taylor, 1998)

and children had the option of having a parent present. While the contributions of the children were not as profound as adults, the approach provided the children with an active voice that is not often heard.

In the latest recorded census, the majority of families with children in New Zealand were two-parent (68%) (Statistics New Zealand, 2010). To give a balanced gender perspective on parenthood and capture what is the dominant family form, only two parent/guardian families were selected. This allowed for step-parents, however, no blended families volunteered to participate, meaning the sample was made up of 10 sets of biological parents and their children (between one and three children per family). The participants were all white, New Zealand and middle-class, making the families relatively homogenous and not representative of the diversity of New Zealand families.

The choice of methodology was underpinned by the philosophical perspective of interpretivism with the goal of understanding the complex world of lived experience from the point of view of those who live it (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). A symbolic interactionist perspective was adopted which focuses on the connection between symbols (i.e., shared meanings) and interactions (i.e., verbal actions and communications) and also formed the basis for a grounded theory methodology (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) used for the analysis. This allowed a focus on inter-personal relations within the family group. The interpretive nature of this study not only qualifies as a more critical and reflexive path in tourism research but also invokes new ways of interpreting and expressing the multivocality, textuality and situatedness of its participants (Jamal & Hollinshead, 2001).

The three stages of interviews were all digitally recorded and later transcribed. The grounded theory methodology was carried out through manual coding in that data were initially coded by reading through the transcripts several times while making notes and then sorted into themes (Charmaz, 2000). A comparative analysis of the stages was conducted after which all emerging data fitted into the main themes of family time and own time and theoretical saturation was deemed achieved (Morse, 1995). The main themes centre on togetherness in family time and also needing own time, and the negotiation of the internal family group dynamics between the two. Full discussion of the methodology has been reported elsewhere including elaboration on the involvement of children in the research process (Schänzel, 2010) and through the use of auto-driven photo-elicitation (Schänzel & Smith, 2011b). The strength of grounded theory is that original theory and theoretical frameworks flow from the data analysis rather than guide or structure it (Pearce, 2012) which resulted in a model of the sociality of family holiday experiences. Selected quotes from the interviews are used to illustrate the key themes with common New Zealand birds (e.g. Pukeko and Tui) used as pseudonyms for family names.

2.3 Family group holiday experiences

One of the most central dialectical tensions embedded in family life is the pull between the collective condition and individual needs which is reflected in the ideological emphasis on family time that is in a continual struggle with the more mundane reality of domestic family living. A balance is needed between family time together and time apart on holiday.

According to Olson's circumplex model of family systems (Olsen & Gorall, 2003), cohesion (togetherness) is defined as the degree of emotional bonding between family members. A balanced level of cohesion indicates a healthy sense of both connectedness and separateness for optimal family functioning (Perosa & Perosa, 2001). This reflects the basic condition of

families (Hess & Handel, 1959) and addresses the inherent schism in family holidays (Gram, 2005) that a wish for togetherness (family time) and need for separateness (own time) must be worked out amongst the family members. This means that the navigation of time on holiday is subject to the dynamics of ideals, needs, negotiations and tensions within the family group. The literature is used here to support the discussion of findings by building on the concepts identified earlier but bringing them together in a more critical and holistic way.

Family time is based here on the ideal of harmonious family togetherness whereas own time represents more the reality of needing freedom from family commitments. However, own time can be as much of an ideal as no family member can escape the collective intentionality of the group (Tuomela, 2007). Internal dynamics require the negotiation between the two. The focus here is on the group dynamics which sees all members interact as a family unit made up of individuals, mother, father, son(s), daughter(s) but functioning as a collective entity. A generational layer comes second where the family holiday experiences are viewed through the perspectives of parents and children. A gender layer comes onto this which goes beyond being a parent and recognizes the experiences of mothers and fathers, and similarly children's experiences as daughters and sons. This paper draws out the neglected family holiday experiences of children (generational perspective) and fathers (gender perspective). The findings culminate in a model of the sociality of family holiday experiences (Figure 1). In developing the model a broad range of themes were analyzed and some key themes are discussed here in more depth as illustrations of the wider analysis.

2.3.1 Group dynamic perspective

Sociality within the family group was expressed in many different ways on holiday. The we- or group perspective was involved both in the case of a family member's functioning as a

member for the group and in the case of a family member's functioning as an individual person in a group context. Family groups centered on the common core ethos (Tuomela, 2007) of spending time with each other on holiday as illustrated by Weka father in his post-individual interview: "*The most important aspect about this holiday and any other holiday is spending time with the family.*" This collective intentionality (or sociality) could result in positive and negative group dynamics which became particularly apparent in the family group interviews emphasizing highlights as well as stresses. Family holidays then provided opportunities for sociability and social connectedness but also resulted in enforced family time that led to intra-family tensions.

This sociability is illustrated by family leisure activities that were considered fun by all the participants, such as playing cricket in the evening, as demonstrated by the Tui family in their final family interview:

Mother: "<Daughter> *got the cricket game going.*"

Girl: "*Yes, that was so much fun. You guys didn't want to do it at first because I really like playing cricket especially when it is with family, not really competitive teenagers but just a nice relaxed game with everyone else...*"

Mother: "*But we enjoyed those.*"

Girl: "*I enjoyed the game of cricket more than the cards because you are actually doing something rather than sitting around.*"

The commensality of food experiences often provided the platform for conversations and storytelling which were perceived as memorable family highlights post-holiday. The sociability of family leisure activities and family meals on holiday then took on special significance as time rich for each other. Family members displayed collective or social

commitment to each other (Tuomela, 2007) providing the foundation for the social identity formation of the group.

The mention of car journeys brought out more negative family group dynamics in that fathers mostly liked driving, mothers were more pragmatic, and children resented it as the following exchange in the Pukeko family group interview post-holiday demonstrated:

Father: *“It was a good drive, I enjoyed it.”*

Mother: *“I thought it was beautiful.”*

Boy 1: *“I thought it was horrible, boring and I hated it.”*

Boy 2: *“The only reason why you [dad] like it is because you are driving and we are sitting in the back.”*

Car journeys highlighted how enforced family time over a prolonged time and in a confined space could lead to tensions, with parents acknowledging the stresses involved. All the children reported not liking the journey, finding it boring and tedious. Talking about enforced family time on car journeys within the family group revealed conflicts of interest or stresses which differ from the more positive portrayal of family bonding on long car travels when only relying on individual adult perspectives (Crompton, 1979; Lehto et al., 2009).

Other examples of negative group dynamics such as differences in interpretation of danger situations were demonstrated by this exchange between Takahe mother and her 12-year old son at the final family interview:

Mother: *“I didn’t really enjoy walking on Westshore beach which is very notoriously dangerous and I told the kids and so <son> had to go and have a try and walk right by the waves.”*

Son: *"I wasn't anywhere near the waves. I was the whole room away from the waves. You were having a panic attack."*

Including group dynamic perspectives can reveal more negative internal family dynamics or social tensions (Small, 2005a) and highlight individual differences with regards to safety perceptions on holiday. Despite the collective intentionality of holidaying together a family group is governed by individuals, thus illustrating the dynamics within the triadic family group.

2.3.2 Children as an illustration of generational perspective

Children's active voices have been less heard in tourism research than their parents, especially the mothers viewpoints tend to dominate, yet they illustrate an important generational kinship perspective. For children the primary purpose of family holidays was having fun (Hilbrecht et al., 2008), often positioned as a change from school routine. The essence of the holiday for children is exemplified by eight year old Hoiho boy in the pre-family interview: *"It is not a holiday if it is not fun. If it is fun then it is a holiday."* Fun was also about connecting with friends and relatives as illustrated by 12 year old Takahe boy in the final individual interview: *"Splash Planet [theme park] was probably the best thing we did because I had friends there as well. I could hang out with them and it was probably the funnest thing."* Fun for the children then reflects their self-interest and is fundamentally interactive. This supports Podilchak (1991) in that fun emphasizes a social emotional interaction process, implying that it is difficult for children to have fun by themselves. In contrast, the importance of fun on holiday is not as prevalent when only relying on the parents' perspectives (Gram, 2005; Shaw et al., 2008).

Other generational differences were that embodied and sensory experiences were particularly sought and remembered by children (Small, 2008) such as having novel taste sensations (i.e. unique ice cream flavor or curly fries) and interacting with animals. The holiday place becomes a more socially interactive space (Wearing & Wearing, 1996) with children sensing and therefore engaging with others and the chora. Children then mainly desired active fun, engaging senses and sociality which makes them embodied and interacting people or chorasters.

The quest for own time or time out from the whole family represents an important desire for parents and children that increases as children get older. For the children own time was about freedom from parental restrictions whereas parents perceived it as freedom from parental commitments which they found relaxing. This need for own time is recognized by children as illustrated by 12 year old Takahe boy in the final individual interview: “*We [children] needed our time away and they [parents] needed theirs. They just needed a break from us once in a while that was all good.*” Children’s need to escape time controlled by parents has been acknowledged in the social study of childhood (Seymour & McNamee, 2012) but has remained largely hidden in the family tourism literature (Gram, 2005; Shaw et al., 2008) as a more private component of holiday life. Own time is more about familiar experiences compared with the more novel experiences sought in family time but involved more social activities with peers for the children than for the parents.

2.3.3 Fathers as an illustration of gender perspective

Parents have previously been represented by the mother’s voice, so here the father’s perspective is used to illustrate the gendered role perspective on family holidays. The main gendered difference between parents was that fathers felt the expectation to take a more

physically active role as entertainer, with a focus on facilitating fun with the children. This was particularly prevalent when visiting attractions and activities, as illustrated below with regards to theme parks as part of internal dynamics and compromise. The on-holiday engagement of fathers in more active leisure behaviour with their children mirrors findings in the leisure literature (Harrington, 2009; Kay, 2009) and represents a continuation of the fatherhood discourse on holiday. This entertainer role has not been acknowledged in tourism (Schänzel & Smith, 2011a) but could be an indicator of family functioning (Buswell et al., 2012). The activities-based parenting of the fathers on holiday often meant that they were the facilitators of the mothers' own time. This meant that fathers were entertaining the children partly to enable the mothers to pursue their individual interests, for example reading or shopping. This facilitation role was highlighted by both Hoiho parents in their final individual interviews:

Father: *"I suppose at those campgrounds I would be happy to just sit in the chair and read but I realize that it is important for them [the children] particularly to be entertained and have fun with me and do these sort of activities when I would personally be just as happy sitting and reading because <wife> tends to spend time during the [school] term dealing with the children while I am at work."*

Mother: *"I really appreciate <husband> going off and doing things with the kids because that gives me a bit of time out when I am with them more the rest of the year."*

In their own time, fathers engaged in personal interests revolving more around independent physical and mental activities and challenges such as surf kayaking and Sudoku. Some of these activities fathers only undertook on holidays such as fishing and sailing. This highlights that only focusing on fathers' role with the children on holiday without an understanding of

their own pursuits away from the children would provide an incomplete understanding of the complexities and contradictions of fatherhood and masculinities in tourism.

Yet, even true gender scholarship that is inclusive of motherhood and fatherhood is not sufficient to account for the sociality present within a family group. The generational kinship perspective of children and parents is also two-dimensional, and instead what is needed is a three-layered model inclusive of group dynamics.

2.4. Model of the sociality of family holiday experiences

An analysis of the experience of family time and own time on holiday reveals that group dynamic, generation and gender perspectives make different contributions and play different roles which result in creating different social identities. The construction of family time is based on the principles of togetherness and mutual engagement which might be more reflective of an ideal than domestic realities (Daly, 1996). This is captured in a three-layered model of the sociality of family holiday experiences (Figure 1). Collective intentionality or sociality is expressed through the ideal of family togetherness experiences compared with the freedom sought from family commitments in own time, and the internal dynamics between the two. Group dynamics is the overarching perspective, within which the generational layer divides the family into parents and children, with the gender layer giving identity within the family as mother, father, daughter or son. The individual experience is a function of all these levels: their gendered role in the family (mother, daughter, etc), their generational role (parent, child) and their membership to the family collective. These layers intertwine and mutually influence the experience of the family holiday.

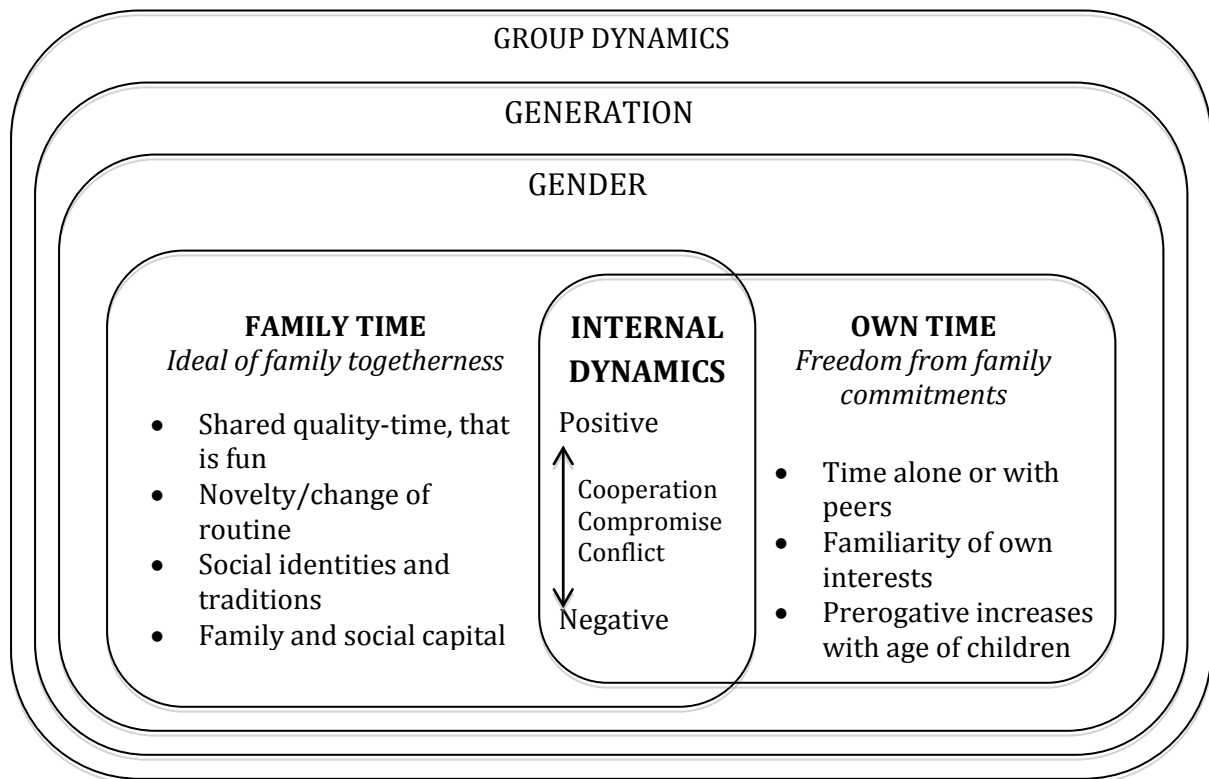


Figure 1. Model of the sociality of family holiday experiences

In family time shared quality time is sought that is fun and offers novelty or change from routine. It is about establishing social identities and traditions and engendering family and social capital in the children. Family capital is used here to reflect the strengthening of relationships between parents and children and the social identification that is facilitated on holiday (Minnaert et al., 2009). Own time is about time alone or with peers that is more concerned about familiarity of own interests. The prerogative for own time for both parents and children increases with the age of children.

2.4.1 Internal dynamics

Between family time and own time are internal dynamics. Essentially these are about striking a balance and facilitating own time: from positive facilitation through *cooperation* by social

relations, to *compromises* regarding the facilitation, to *conflicts* resulting from the lack of facilitation. *Cooperation* can be facilitated through the social support network of extended family as one way to allow parents and children to pursue their own interests independently from each other. The incorporation of other people was perceived as breaking up the intensity of the internal family group dynamics. This allowed for cooperation between the social relations and sharing of responsibilities which then freed up individual family members:

“We try and incorporate, especially if we are going away for quite a long time, we try and incorporate other people in some ways because it is too intense with just the family. Usually there is a combination of a bit of family and a bit of friends if we can.” (Hoiho mother, final family interview)

An example of cooperation between the extended family was given by Weka girl, eight, in the final individual interview: *“When we went to Hamilton zoo [with cousins and their aunt] dad stayed at home with uncle and mum went shopping.”* The cooperation provided by social relations has not been mentioned much within the tourism literature. Instead the focus has been on family holidaying involving connections with, rather than escape from, social relations (Larsen et al., 2007). Family holidays can be understood as more socially complex in that they involve escape *with* the whole family *to* social relations which allow for a personal escape *from* family commitments. A distinction can be made between freedom *from* and freedom *to*, and social identities can be differentiated on the basis of time *for* the whole family and time *from* various obligations and responsibilities that require negotiations of internal dynamics. Social identities are then formed on more collective and individual constructs but both are bound by the inescapability of the sociality of family groups.

Compromise signifies the relationship between the main themes of family time and own time in that both notions of time are regularly sought. Taking the children to theme parks involved compromises for the parents rather than necessarily reflecting their interests, as illustrated by the Hoiho family:

Father (post-family interview): *“I did a lot of rides [at Rainbow’s End] with the children. I was not a spectator so I accompanied the children on those rides. So I enjoyed those days as well because the children were enjoying themselves and just for their own sake. They were quite fun too.”*

Mother (final individual interview): *“And there are certain things that I don’t enjoy as much but I would do anyway. It is not that I hate them because if my kids are enjoying it then that is enough. Things like Rainbow’s End do not particularly appeal to me at all.”*

Compromise brought out the internal group dynamics of balancing different family members’ needs and desires, which could be aligned along generational and gender differences. It recognizes that parent-child and mother-father interactions are dynamic and negotiated between actors. Mothers generally saw theme parks as more of a sacrifice or penance (Johns & Gyimothy, 2002), valued because of the children’s enjoyment rather than their own. Instead, fathers took on more of an entertainer role of the children to allow the mothers some time to relax. Compromise is then associated with achieving a family balance between the we-mode and I-mode which had more neutral connotations.

Accommodating both notions of time and modes can lead to *conflict* if there is an imbalance for some family members, such as when own time is sought while being pressured by the

demands of the rest of the family. Negative internal dynamics are illustrated by an exchange between the Pukeko parents reflecting on their holiday:

Father: *“There were some tense moments but then again we are not used to living in close quarters to everybody for that many hours in a day every day of the week. Some of us escape to work or school.”*

Mother: *“That would be a fair comment. The half heart about a family holiday is that we actually get on really well when the boys go to school, <dad> goes to work and we all... but two weeks together!”*

Children also discussed conflict such as Tui girl, 14, reflecting on her two siblings in the individual interview:

“I don’t enjoy it. My brothers basically ruin it because youngest brother is always in a bad mood and grouchy and annoying. He actually kind of ruins it for me.”

From this follows that sociality can encompass negativity, i.e. concretely lived negative experiences that deviate from the ideal of harmony and unity within a family group. This means that the collective reason and the individual reason may be in conflict with each other, serving to create collective action dilemmas (Tuomela, 2007) or family group conflict situations. For optimal family functioning a balanced level of cohesion must be worked out on holiday which provides a sense of both connectedness (we-mode in family time) and separateness (I-mode in own time) in family relationships. High levels can lead to enmeshment (too much closeness) (Perosa & Perosa, 2001), which explains why an overemphasis on family time (cohesion) can lead to conflicts within group dynamics. Adding generational and gender layers to these negotiations of sociality explain why family holidaying differs from other holiday experiences.

3. CONCLUSION

Against a background of limited, fragmented and individualized tourism research on families this paper offers a more holistic and critical approach leading to the triadic conceptualization and socialization of family theory in an away from home environment. It has been argued here that families are different from individual (one-dimensional - flâneur) and/or dyadic (two-dimensional - choraster) tourists and require a conceptual framework that allows for the inherent complex social dynamics within the family group. Focusing research in family tourism on individual members, as is the predominant case, de-socializes the family group and lacks a triadic or familiar perspective that is inclusive of group dynamics and sociality. With the application of a triadic family gaze holidays emerge as complex, multi-dimensional and reflecting the various voices inherent in group dynamic, generation and gender perspectives within families. In this sense family holidays have multiple social meanings and purposes which are characterized by internal negotiations. However, the third dimension of the family group can be extended into other dimensions such as culture, class or sexual preferences as factors that shape family experiences of tourism that require further research.

The conceptual approach focusing on group dimensions within families led to the model of family holiday experiences that acknowledges sociality within the different levels of group dynamics, generation (kinship) and gender (roles) affecting the internal dynamics between family time and own time. Family time encapsulates the collective intentionality of togetherness with the immediate or extended family while own time encapsulates the need for freedoms from family commitments to pursue own interests. The relationship between these notions of time leads to the internal family group dynamics ranging from positive cooperation, neutral compromise to negative conflict that require constant negotiation. The model displays a more nuanced understanding of the sociality of family holiday experiences

that rises above dyadic gender and generational representations of femininities and masculinities, parents and children and acknowledges group dynamics. The underrepresented voices of children (generation) and fathers (gender) have been used to illustrate active and dynamic negotiations between actors but all family members were needed to account for group sociality.

The ideal of family time dominates the Western discourse on family life, especially on family leisure and family tourism. This, however, neglects issues of family functioning away from home that require balanced levels of family cohesion indicating a balanced sense of togetherness and separateness. A family holiday represents a group dynamic where the interactions of the travelling family members are an integral part of the holiday experience (Lehto et al., 2009). Holidays then must be considered as an entity in itself that requires its own theorization on family time and own time. A distinction is necessary here between thinking and acting as a family group member, the “we or collective perspective” in family time, versus as an individual family member in own time, the “pro-group I or individual perspective”. The central theory of Tuomela (2007) is confirmed that the “we-mode” is seen as primary compared with the “I-mode”, making family holidays about collective leisure experiences centered on sociality and togetherness rather than individual pursuits. In other words, it is we-mode collective intentionality or sociality that is ultimately needed for understanding social life on holiday.

This reflects an underlying assumption supported by society that family time experiences are qualitatively different from more individual time experiences and that family holidays are about social rather than individual identities. Taking this distinction for granted is inherently problematic and theorization between the two should not be treated as axiomatic. In many

ways, this distinction reflects the Cartesian dualism prevalent in Western society, such as the opposition of body and mind as argued for a male individual tourist perspective. It merely replaces an individual dominance in tourism research with a collective dominance. However, this is not just about individual versus family but can also be extended to other groups or couple compositions that require future research into their representations of sociality in tourism theory. Rather than treating family leisure experiences as superior to more individual experiences, they should be treated as unified, one should not be understood without the other, and family members should be encompassed in the wider family systems network. This would imply less conflict between the collective and individual leisure experiences of family members and requires a more holistic understanding of groups made up of individuals.

In this conception of leisure travel experiences, more individual experiences have no meaning if the other family members are not considered. Thus, without the recognition of the other family members (we-mode), one cannot arrive at a definition of one's own experiences (pro group I-mode). Sociality and individuality in this theorization are supportive rather than antagonistic in that social identities are about the individual, the family and society. What is needed then is recognition of social experiences that encompass collective and more balanced individual experiences (family time and own time), and social identities that encompass a collective identity based on family along with a more individual identity based on interests and personality. This is reflective of balanced levels of family cohesion that indicates optimal family functioning. While much tourism research is dominated by individual pursuits, most family research is dominated by collective pursuits, when both need to be treated as complementary to each other. A more holistic and critical approach in thinking and research is therefore needed to allow for a homeostasis or balance between social identities based on collective pursuits and on more individual interests within the sociality of family groups.

REFERENCES

- Aitchison, C. (2001). Gender and leisure research: The 'codification of knowledge'. *Leisure Sciences*, 23(1), 1-19.
- Anderson, J. (2001). Mothers on family activity holidays overseas. In S. Clough & J. White (Eds.), *Women's leisure experiences: Ages, stages and roles* (pp. 99-112). Eastbourne: Leisure Studies Association.
- Bærenholdt, J. O., Haldrup, M., Larsen, J., & Urry, J. (2004). *Performing tourist places*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate.
- Blichfeldt, B. S. (2006). *A nice vacation* (8/06). Retrieved April 15, 2010, from University of Southern Denmark Web site: <http://www.sam.sdu.dk/ime/PDF/blichfeldt8.pdf>
- Blichfeldt, B. S., Pedersen, B. M. I., Johansen, A., & Hansen, L. (2011). Tweens on holidays. In-situ decision-making from children's perspective. *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism*, 11(2), 135-149.
- Bronner, F., & de Hoog, R. (2008). Agreement and disagreement in family vacation decision-making. *Tourism Management*, 29(5), 967-979.
- Buswell, L., Zabriskie, R. B., Lundberg, N., & Hawkins, A. J. (2012). The relationship between father involvement in family leisure and family functioning: The importance of daily family leisure. *Leisure Sciences*, 34(2), 172-190.
- Carr, N. (2006). A comparison of adolescents' and parents' holiday motivations and desires. *Tourism and Hospitality Research*, 6(2), 129-142.
- Carr, N. (2011). *Children's and families' holiday experiences*. London and New York: Routledge.

- Charmaz, K. (2000). Grounded theory: Objectivist and constructivist methods. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (2nd ed., pp. 509-535). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Chesworth, N. (2003). The family vacation: A double-edged sword. *International Journal of Consumer Studies*, 27(4), 346-348.
- Crompton, J. L. (1979). Motivations for pleasure vacation. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 6(4), 408-424.
- Crompton, J. L. (1981). Dimensions of the social group role in pleasure vacations. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 8(4), 550-568.
- Daly, K. (1992). The fit between qualitative research and characteristics of families. In J. F. Gilgun, D. Kerry, & G. Handel (Eds.), *Qualitative methods in family research* (pp. 3-11). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Daly, K. (1996). *Families & time: Keeping pace in a hurried culture*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Davidson, P. (1996). The holiday and work experiences of women with young children. *Leisure Studies*, 15(2), 89-103.
- Deem, R. (1996). Women, the city and holidays. *Leisure Studies*, 15(2), 105-119.
- Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (Eds.). (2000). *Handbook of qualitative research* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Fagan, J. (2003). Editorial. *Fathering*, 1(1), 1.
- Farrell, A. (2005). Ethics and research with children. In A. Farrell (Ed.), *Ethical research with children* (pp. 1-14). New York: Open University Press.
- Fullagar, S. (2002). Narratives of travel: Desire and the movement of feminine subjectivity. *Leisure Studies*, 21, 57-74.

- Glaser, B. G., & Strauss, A. L. (1967). *The discovery of grounded theory*. Chicago: Aldine de Gruyter.
- Gram, M. (2005). Family holidays. A qualitative analysis of family holiday experiences. *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality & Tourism*, 5(1), 2-22.
- Gram, M. (2007). Children as co-decision makers in the family? The case of family holidays. *Young Consumers*, 8(1), 19-28.
- Greene, S., & Hogan, D. (2005). *Researching children's experience: Approaches and methods*. London: Sage.
- Grosz, E. (1995). Women, chora, dwelling. In S. Watson & K. Gibson (Eds.), *Postmodern cities and spaces* (pp. 47-58). Oxford, UK: Blackwell.
- Haldrup, M., & Larsen, J. (2003). The family gaze. *Tourist Studies*, 3(1), 23-46.
- Hallman, B. C., Mary, S., & Benbow, P. (2007). Family leisure, family photography and zoos: Exploring the emotional geographies of families. *Social & Cultural Geography*, 8(6), 871-888.
- Harrington, M. (2006). Sport and leisure as contexts for fathering in Australian families. *Leisure Studies*, 25(2), 165-183.
- Hess, R. D., & Handel, G. (1959). *Family worlds: A psychosocial approach to family life*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Hilbrecht, M., Shaw, S. M., Delamere, F. M., & Havitz, M. E. (2008). Experiences, perspectives, and meanings of family vacations for children. *Leisure/Loisir*, 32(2), 541-571.
- Irigaray, L. (1993). *An ethics of sexual difference*. New York: Cornell University Press.
- Jamal, T., & Hollinshead, K. (2001). Tourism and the forbidden zone: The underserved power of qualitative inquiry. *Tourism Management*, 22(1), 63-82.
- James, A., Jenks, C., & Prout, A. (1998). *Theorizing Childhood*. Cambridge: Polity.

- Jeanes, R., & Magee, J. (2011). Come on my son! Examining fathers, masculinity and 'fathering through football'. *Annals of Leisure Research*, 14(2-3), 273-288.
- Jenkins, J., & Lyons, K. (2006). Nonresident fathers' leisure with their children. *Leisure Studies*, 25(2), 219-232.
- Johns, N., & Gyimothy, S. (2002). Mythologies of a theme park: An icon of modern family life. *Journal of Vacation Marketing*, 8(4), 320-331.
- Kay, T. (Ed.). (2009). *Fathering through sport and leisure*. London: Routledge.
- Kinnaird, V., & Hall, D. (Eds.). (1994). *Tourism: A gendered analysis*. Chichester, UK: John Wiley & Sons.
- Larsen, J. (2008). De-exoticising tourist travel: Everyday life and sociality on the move. *Leisure Studies*, 27(1), 21-34.
- Larsen, J., Urry, J., & Axhausen, K. W. (2007). Networks and tourism: Mobile social life. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 34(1), 244-262.
- Lashley, C., Lynch, P., & Morrison, A. (Eds.). (2007). *Hospitality: A social lens*. Oxford: Elsevier.
- Lehto, X. Y., Choi, S., Lin, Y.-C., & MacDermid, S. M. (2009). Vacation and family functioning. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 36(3), 459-479.
- Matthews, H., Limb, M., & Taylor, M. (1998). The geography of children: Some ethical and methodological considerations for project and dissertation work. *Journal of Geography in Higher Education*, 22(3), 311-324.
- McCabe, S., Minnaert, L., & Diekman, A. (Eds.). (2011). *Social Tourism in Europe*. Bristol: Channel View.
- McNamee, S. (2000). Foucault's heterotopia and children's everyday lives. *Childhood*, 7(4), 479-492.

- Minnaert, L., Maitland, R., & Miller, G. (2009). Tourism and social policy: The value of social tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 36(2), 316-334.
- Morse, J. M. (1995). The significance of saturation. *Qualitative Health Research*, 5(2), 147-149.
- Nichols, C. M., & Snepenger, D. J. (1988). Family decision making and tourism behavior and attitudes. *Journal of Travel Research*, 26(4), 2-6.
- Nickerson, N. P., & Jurowski, C. (2001). The influence of children on vacation travel patterns. *Journal of Vacation Marketing*, 7(1), 19-30.
- Obrador, P. (2012). The place of the family in tourism research: Domesticity and thick sociality by the pool. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 39(1), 401-420.
- Olsen, D. H., & Gorall, D. M. (2003). Circumplex model of marital and family systems. In F. Walsh (Ed.), *Normal family processes: Growing diversity and complexity* (Third ed., pp. 514-548). New York/London: The Guilford Press.
- Pearce, D. (2012). *Frameworks for tourism research*. Wallingford, UK: CABI.
- Perosa, L. M., & Perosa, S. L. (2001). Adolescent perceptions of cohesion, adaptability, and communication: Revisiting the circumplex model. *The Family Journal*, 9(4), 407-419.
- Podilchak, W. (1991). Distinctions of fun, enjoyment and leisure. *Leisure Studies*, 10(2), 133-148.
- Pritchard, A., & Morgan, N. J. (2000). Privileging the male gaze: Gendered tourism landscapes. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 27(4), 884-905.
- Pritchard, A., Morgan, N., Ateljevic, I., & Harris, C. (2007). Editor's introduction: Tourism, gender, embodiment and experience. In A. Pritchard, N. Morgan, I. Ateljevic, & C. Harris (Eds.), *Tourism and gender: Embodiment, sensuality and experience* (pp. 1-12). Wallingford: CABI.

- Pritchard, M. P., & Havitz, M. E. (2006). Ratios of tourist experience: It was the best of times, it was the worst of times. *Tourism Analysis*, 10, 291-297.
- Reis, A. C., Thompson-Carr, A., & Lovelock, B. (2012). Parks and families: Addressing management facilitators and constraints to outdoor recreation participation. *Annals of Leisure Research*, 15(4), 315-334.
- Schänzel, H. A. (2010). Whole-family research: Towards a methodology in tourism for encompassing generation, gender, and group dynamic perspectives. *Tourism Analysis*, 15(5), 555-569.
- Schänzel, H. A., & Smith, K. A. (2011a). The absence of fatherhood: Achieving true gender scholarship in family tourism research. *Annals of Leisure Research*, 14(2-3), 129-140.
- Schänzel, H. A., & Smith, K. A. (2011b). Photography and children: auto-driven photo-elicitation. *Tourism Recreation Research*, 36(1), 81-85.
- Schänzel, H. A., Smith, K. A., & Weaver, A. (2005). Family holidays: A research review and application to New Zealand. *Annals of Leisure Research*, 8(2-3), 105-123.
- Schänzel, H. A., Yeoman, I., & Backer, E. (Eds.). (2012). *Family tourism: Multidisciplinary perspectives*. Bristol: Channel View.
- Seymour, J., & McNamee, S. (2012). Being parented: Children and young people's engagement with parenting activities. In J. Walden & I.-M. Kaminski (Eds.), *Learning from the children: Culture and identity in a changing world* (pp. 92-107). Oxford: Berghahn.
- Shaw, S. M. (2010). Diversity and ideology: Changes in Canadian family life and implications for leisure. *World Leisure Journal*, 52(1), 4-13.
- Shaw, S. M., & Dawson, D. (2001). Purposive leisure: Examining parental discourses on family activities. *Leisure Sciences*, 23(4), 217-231.

- Shaw, S. M., Havitz, M. E., & Delamere, F. M. (2008). I decided to invest in my kids' memories: Family vacations, memories, and the social construction of the family. *Tourism Culture & Communication*, 8(1), 13-26.
- Small, J. (2005a). *Holiday experiences of women and girls over the life-course*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Technology, Sydney, Australia.
- Small, J. (2005b). Women's holidays: Disruption of the motherhood myth. *Tourism Review International*, 9(2), 139-154.
- Small, J. (2008). The absence of childhood in tourism studies. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 35(3), 772-789.
- Smith, V., & Hughes, H. (1999). Disadvantaged families and the meaning of the holiday. *The International Journal of Tourism Research*, 1(2), 123-133.
- Statistics New Zealand. (2010). National family and household projections: 2006 (base)–2031 update. Retrieved 8 November 2012 from <http://www.stats.govt.nz/>
- Stewart, A. J., & McDermott, C. (2004). Gender in psychology. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 55, 519-544.
- Suvarntola, J. (2002). *Tourist's experience of place*. Hampshire, UK: Ashgate.
- Swain, M. B. (1995). Gender in tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 22(2), 247-266.
- Thompson, A. M., Rehman, L. A., & Humbert, M. L. (2005). Factors influencing the physically active leisure of children and youth: A qualitative study. *Leisure Sciences*, 27(5), 421-438.
- Thornton, P. R., Shaw, G., & Williams, A. M. (1997). Tourist group holiday decision-making and behaviour: The influence of children. *Tourism Management*, 18(5), 287-297.
- Tucker, H. (2005). Narratives of place and self: Differing experiences of package coach tours in New Zealand. *Tourist Studies*, 5(3), 267-282.
- Tuomela, R. (2007). *The philosophy of sociality*. New York: Oxford University Press.

- Turley, S. K. (2001). Children and the demand for recreational experiences: The case of zoos. *Leisure Studies*, 20(1), 1-18.
- Uriely, N. (2005). The tourist experience: Conceptual developments. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 32(1), 199-216.
- Urry, J. (1990). *The tourist gaze. Leisure and tourism in contemporary societies*. London: Sage.
- Veijola, S., & Jokinen, E. (1994). The body in tourism. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 11, 125-151.
- Wearing, B., & Wearing, S. (1996). Refocussing the tourist experience: The flâneur and the choraster. *Leisure Studies*, 15(4), 229-243.
- Wearing, S., Stevenson, D., & Young, T. (2010). *Tourist cultures: Identity, place and the traveller*. London: Sage.
- Wearing, S., & Wearing, B. (2001). Conceptualising the selves of tourism. *Leisure Studies*, 20, 143-159.
- Yarnal, C., & Kerstetter, D. (2005). Casting off: An exploration of cruise ship space, group tour behaviour, and social interaction. *Journal of Travel Research*, 43(4), 368-379.
- Zabriskie, R. B., & McCormick, B. P. (2001). The influences of family leisure patterns on perceptions of family functioning. *Family Relations*, 50(3), 281-289.