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FAMILY TOURISM EFFECTS FOR LOW-INCOME FAMILIES – PAST REALITY FOR FUTURE INSIGHTS

Abstract

Although the benefits of tourism are recognized, there are still doubts about the potential effects of family tourism for specific types of families. This qualitative study aims to characterize past family tourism practices of a sample of low-income families with children and examine its effects. Interviews were conducted, including adult(s) and children of each family. Results reveal that families reported important benefits and that differences between the perceptions of mothers and fathers exist. Further research is needed to consider different subtypes of families. Reflection on challenges faced by initiatives and research targeting this segment are presented.

Keywords: family tourism; low-income families; tourism effects; social tourism; social innovation; Portugal

FAMILY TOURISM EFFECTS FOR LOW-INCOME FAMILIES – PAST REALITY FOR FUTURE INSIGHTS

Introduction

COVID-19 is expected to have a significant impact on global poverty, which could increase for the first time since 1990, representing a setback of a decade of progress in reducing world poverty (Sumner et al., 2020). Households have experienced significant consequences from the global economic recession after 2008 and, more recently, the COVID-19 pandemic situation that must be borne in mind when reflecting on tourism, particularly for low-income groups. The intensity of the pandemic's effects on poverty will depend on how national governments and the international community react to this situation (Sumner et al., 2020), but unemployment is one effect that will certainly impact millions of families around the world (and indeed is already visible) (ILO, 2020), with several negative effects on people's mental health, family income and social isolation (Paul and Moser, 2009). When considering families with children, the psychological impacts of unemployment on parents can also have a negative impact on parenting and on children's well-being and social participation (Gray et al., 2009). In this context, low-income families (families with levels of income below the minimum considered appropriate to live without social support in their country of residence) are expected to have even more difficulties in accessing tourism as they won't have the financial means, in addition to a potential increased fear of travelling as consequence of the pandemic.

Since the 1990s, studies have concluded that holidays outside the usual environment contribute to personal and social development, family cohesion and the general well-being of individuals (e.g. Lehto et al., 2009; McCabe et al., 2010; Minnaert et al., 2009; Smith and

Hughes, 1999; Lima et al., 2012, 2019; Pyke et al., 2019; Wu et al., 2019; Miyakawa and Oguchi, 2022). These authors consider that tourism should be accessible to all who want to practice it and it should be a responsibility of the agents of supply (public sector included) to guarantee this equal access to tourism. These concerns were the basis of the social tourism concept, understood as the practice of offering programs, events and activities to enable disadvantaged population groups to enjoy tourism (Lima & Eusébio, 2021a). More recently, the inclusion of holidays in measures of poverty (e.g. material deprivation rate) and the results of studies like Cracolici et al.'s (2014) reinforced tourism as a dimension of today's lifestyle.

In this context, tourism for families with low-income levels (FLI) seems to be a contradictory thing. On the one hand, low-income limits access to non-essential goods/services and on the other hand tourism should be accessible to all and is assuming a greater importance for today's personal/social development. In the present study, and using a technical definition, low-income is that do not allow families to live with minimum dignity without social support (see https://dre.pt/dre/detalhe/lei/53-b-2006-197489 for more information) in their country of residence. This is still an important constraint to the practice of tourism, limiting the right of social participation of an important number of people in the world (even considering just the developed world). Therefore, it is of utmost relevance to examine the tourism practices of FLIs and analyze its effects, particularly when there starts to exist real awareness regarding social sustainability. However, the literature in this field is limited. To extend knowledge in this area, this paper intends to characterize past family tourism (FT) practices of a sample of FLI with children, as well as to identify the individual and collective perceived effects arising from it. As Khoo-Lattimore (2015) highlights, previous studies have focused mainly on parents' viewpoints on FT, and Fitzpatrick et al. (1999), pointed out that including children's view may provide an important additional perspective. Our study innovatively considers perceptions of both parents and children.

The analysis presented in the following sections aims to reflect on the existing literature on FT and its effects, to present the methodology chosen to collect data from FLI with children, and to characterize their past tourist practices and its perceived effects. Some reflections about the implications that these findings for tourism initiatives targeted to this segment in the future are also presented. It is important to highlight that, similarly to other qualitative exploratory studies (Minnaert et al., 2009), the objective of the study is to provide an in-depth view of the complexity of family holidays away from home for FLI, analyzing the perspectives of parents and children. In this study family holidays away from home (FH) will be used as a synonym for family tourism (FT) (see Table 2).

Literature review

Family Tourism

Major changes in families have occurred in modern society: the number of marriages is decreasing, while divorces more than doubled from 1964 to 2019 (Eurostat, 2021a); the number of children born outside the marriage increased (Eurostat, 2021b) and the share of single parents was higher in 2019 than in 2009 (Eurostat, 2021b). However, 28.8% of all households in the EU-27 still include children in 2019 (Eurostat, 2021b) and the different types of families continue to be dynamic entities, with their own identity, composed of members united by biological and/or emotional ties, living together for a certain period of time, during which they build a unique and irreplaceable bond (Agate et al., 2007). The family continues to be a fundamental agent for societies and economies; it shapes the individuals' perceptions and behaviors being the major reference in individuals' identity construction and development (Hayta, 2008).

Marketing began to look at the family as an important social unit of consumer behavior in the late 1950s/60s (Wolgast, 1958). Here, the family is considered essentially as a

unit of consumption and decision-making, with the dominant themes in the literature being travel motivations, roles in decision-making and satisfaction (Schanzel, Smith and Weaver, 2005). However, Gram (2005) and Obrador (2012) point out that although families form the consumer base for many tourism services/products, tourism research hasn't often considered family (parent and child) holidays. Obrador (2012) added that although tourism is mainly a group activity, in the literature there are, above all, theories about the tourist experience that emphasize a solitary and detached object of study (the tourist), without family or friends. Only in the last five years a more significant volume of research has been published on FT (Qiao et al., 2022).

Given this context, studying the family as a tourism segment seems to be complex as the very definition of family is not universal, even when we consider the literature on family leisure and tourism (Schanzel et al., 2012; McCabe, 2015). However, the concepts of close interaction and relationship between its elements are present in the different definitions in the literature (Schanzel et al., 2012). In this study family is considered to be the group consisting of parent(s) and children in their daily care, as it allows a better operationalization of the concept in the empirical study.

In the EU-28, 16.8% of European families were considered to live below the poverty line in 2019 (Eurostat, 2021b). Therefore, there is a high number of families living in economic contexts conducive to social exclusion, a concept well summarized by Silver (2022) as "the incapacity to participate in normatively expected social activities and to build meaning full social relations" (p. 159). Schanzel (2021) recognizes that, with the identified benefits from FT, "there are social justice and equity questions to be raised about what it means for families for whom holidaying together is simply not possible" (p. 123). Additionally, today's society has set social sustainability as an important dimension to be considered in development processes and social innovation in tourism may be an effective instrument in

pursuing sustainability. Social innovation is defined by OECD (2000) as new solutions that imply some kind of change which aim to improve the welfare and wellbeing of individuals and communities. This reality accentuates the need to study the effects that can derived from FH, particularly for FLI and potentially as a social innovation instrument to change behaviors, combat social exclusion and contribute to social sustainable objectives (see https://www.un.org/development/desa/dspd/2030agenda-sdgs.html).

Effects of Family Tourism

Smith and Hughes (1999) developed the first found empirical study on the effects of FT on the family (FLI, for instance) and only six years later a new study was published on this topic by Gram (2005). Recently, more empirical research has been undertaken and published on this topic (e.g.: Lima et al., 2019; Pyke et al., 2019; Wu et al., 2019), particularly analyzing Asian families. One conclusion that can be drawn is that these effects of FT have been analyzed using two main units of analysis: effects on individuals and on the family (Table 1).

Insert Table 1 here

Confirming the theoretically recognized effects, most of the analyzed empirical studies reported positive effects of FH on individuals (Table 1). The reduction of stress, change in behavior and attitudes as a result of learning in new situations (e.g. contact with other people), and opportunity to increase social participation, promote individuals' personal and social development as well as their physical and mental health. This results in improved well-being and increased overall life satisfaction (Table 1).

Literature also reported positive effects of FH on families' behavior and learning. FH allow temporary disconnection from families' daily contacts, which usually implies a new configuration of the mental and physical space between family members (Letho et al., 2009).

Consequently, the main effects of FH on families are related to interaction between family members and family cohesion (family bonding), improvements in the relationship between parents and children, a break from routine and release from stressful daily lives (Table 1).

It has been found that studies refer to few possible negative effects (Table 1), which should not be neglected in research, as increased level of stress, imbalance in the family budget for LIF (Minnaert, 2012; Smith and Hughes, 1999), and additional tiredness due to concern/obligation felt to fulfil children's needs/wishes (Gram, 2005).

If analyzing specific types of families, such as families with additional economic and social stress (Cracolici et al., 2014), literature shows that benefits from FH may be of higher intensity because the opportunity for taking a holiday is harder to get (Minnaert et al., 2009; Smith and Hughes, 1999).

On examining the existing literature, it can be concluded that, despite an interesting evolution in the empirical research regarding FH, there is still a gap in research evaluating the effects of FH and analyzing the relationship between FH and social inclusion of FLI. The gap is even more evident if considering the determinants of the effects of FH on FLIs. Despite this, some studies refer that the effects of tourism for tourists are highly dependent on the specific circumstances of each tourism practice (Alexander et al., 2010; Dolnicar et al., 2012 and Moscardo, 2009). Dolnicar et al. (2012) and Moscardo (2009) also argued that the intensity and type of effects of tourism are different according to the characteristics of each experience and certain personal/social characteristics of the individual. The present research, although exploratory in nature, set out to contribute to knowledge in this field by characterizing the past tourist practices of a sample of FLI with children and by identifying the individual and collective perceived effects of FH, trying to establish some links between the effects of FH and the characteristics of the lived tourism experience.

Methodology

Qualitative methodology is particularly indicated for exploratory studies, to complement studies that need more detailed understanding, and/or for studies with a population which is difficult to access (Creswell, 2009; Yin, 2011; Kastenholz et al., 2012). Additionally, Agate et al. (2007) emphasize the need for qualitative studies specifically to understand the phenomenon of FH. In this context, and guided by a phenomenological approach (Creswell, 2009), semi-structured interviews were conducted with a sample of FLI residing in the municipality of Covilhã (Portugal) . In-depth interviews allow the researcher to become conscious of how participants interpret their past and current tourist experiences and what their perspectives are effects arising from their participation in FH.

Non-probabilistic sampling, namely the snowball technique, was the chosen sampling method, as it is one of the most used in qualitative studies with populations about which there is scarce information on their profile and difficulties in obtaining contact details (Kastenholz et al., 2012; Yin, 2011). Schools were contacted in order to identify families that meet our criteria for being interviewed (Table 2). Five families were identified. After interviewing those 5 families, each one of them was asked if they knew other families, with the same characteristics, that could participate in our study. A total of 15 families were interviewed. Data collection followed the principle of theoretical saturation, implying to add new interviewees to the sample until the responses added make no further significant contribution to the already identified patterns. However, due to limited resources (human, time and financial) of the study, the type of population under analysis and the need for the school collaboration, not all the new insights brought by some participants could be further explored.

Considering the need for some definitions to select the families for interview and for using a term that could be easily understandable by the interviewees as FH, the definitions presented on Table 2 were adopted.

Insert Table 2 here

The guidelines for the interviews were based on previous literature, particularly the concepts operationalized by Gram (2005), Alexander et al. (2010), Backer & Schanzel (2012) and Minnaert (2006). Those guidelines were refined in group discussions amongst researchers involved in the study, particularly focused on adapting the questions to the specific analyzed population (Figure 1 and Appendix).

Insert Figure 1 here

The interviews were conducted face-to-face by one of the researchers, a trained interviewer, with one of the parents and at least one school-aged child (6 to 17 years old). While parents were interviewed, children under 12 (n= 13) were asked to draw a picture of their favorite moment during the last FH (those children who could not remember drew the best moment of the holidays at home). Those over 12 (n=4) were invited to participate in the interview with their mother/father. This approach was designed in order to introduce children as research participants, contributing to overcome a research gap recognized by Li et al. (2020), Wu et al. (2019), Khoo-Lattimore (2015) and Schanzel (2012). Each interview lasted 60 to 90 minutes and took place at the children's school, during the summer break (July-August) of the 2014/2015 school year.

All interviews were transcribed and subject to content analysis following Creswell's (2009) five phases of the content analysis technique. In this study, most of the data preparation and organization phase was carried out with the support of a computer tool, WebQDA – Web Qualitative Data Analysis. In qualitative approaches, the use of a computer tool allows for a simpler and safer organization of the collected data (Schanzel, 2010) and will not compromise the "connection to the data" (a fear pointed by Minnaert, 2006), as one of the researchers conducted all the interviews and transcribed it. Then, the same researcher coded all the interviews. Similar to Minnaert (2006) and Kastenholz et al. (2012), the process of

identifying the categories was initially deductive, being the initial categories created based on the literature review, and then categories emerging from the data (inductive process) were added and validated by the senior researchers after the coding process.

Results and Discussion

Sample Profile

Thirty-two individuals (fifteen adults and seventeen children), corresponding to fifteen FLI, were interviewed. The adults interviewees were all Portuguese, mostly representing traditional families (father, mother and biological children), with at least one school-age child . Four of the families were single-parent families (three divorced and one widow). Twelve of the interviewed adults were women, twelve had educational qualifications at levels below higher education (mostly six/nine years of schooling) and corresponded mostly to "personal service, protection service and sales workers" professions (Portuguese Occupation Classification 2010 – INE, 2011) (Table 3). The interviewed children were seven boys and ten girls (Table 3).

Insert Table 3 here

Three of the interviewees represent families with, at least, one parent in an unemployed situation. Seven of the families reported not having taken a FH in the four years before the interview, and three of these reported never having taken a FH since they had kids.

Perceived General Importance of the FH

All interviewees emphasized the time spent together as a family, time away from the daily contexts and pressures and in which all family members can socialize together, without schedules, as the discourse of Father2 ("It's to be just us, as a family") illustrated when talking about the importance and what "FH" meant to them. There is also frequent reference

(n=8) to the importance of parents relaxing to transmit well-being and balance to their children.

Children also reported this same meaning, as Child12 stated "It is a time to be all together, without work pressures," as occurred in Wu et al.'s (2019) study regarding children's perception of FH. This child also highlighted the easier communication between the family as very important in FH. She also mentioned the importance of the family being able to share meals, what does not happen on a daily basis due to the schedules of the family members.

The concept of "extraordinary ordinariness" (Haldrup & Larsen, 2003) thus appears associated with FH in all the interviewees discourses, directly or indirectly). This means the importance of FH lies in spending time together, with common activities, but out of the daily routines and in different places, which allow for the creation of good memories. The "post-experience" has been recognized by academics as an important phase of the tourist experience, since memories of the experience will remain in the families' minds for a period of time, and can also influence the families' lives. Recalling good experiences can be a form of daydreaming, contributing to increased feelings of well-being and overall life satisfaction (McCabe et al, 2010; Minnaert et al., 2009). One interviewee explicitly mentions that FH provide the opportunity to create good memories among family members in common situations and that, because they take place outside the usual environment, "allow us to give value to life."

In addition to the time together and out of routine, two of the interviewees also mentioned negative moments of family conflicts. Mother5 referred to the fact that they usually stay at relatives' homes and some conflicts occurred: "I come from a problematic family, (...) So it's not a relaxing environment (...) But we try to make the most of it because we are fifteen minutes' walk from the beach and we can't have a holiday any other way."

Mother12 associates this more negative meaning to moments within the family when children get into conflict. This result reinforces the results obtained by Gram (2005).

Some families experiencing poverty at the time of the interview had previously been living on higher incomes some years ago and were considered middle-class families (e.g. with higher education and occupational categories, or simply families that were previously unaffected by unemployment or wage cuts). For families (n=4) in these "new kind of poverty" circumstances, FH are seen as even more important, as they remember when they had it without so many restrictions and the positive effects of such holidays. A greater "sorrow" can be clearly noticed in the interviews of these families than in families that always had greater difficulties in taking holidays, as the following discourse illustrates:

Then they [the children] complain that we never go anywhere... And do you know how stressful it is for a person to be hearing this?... Because it's anguishing to want to give them something and not be able to do that anymore... (Father14)

This result needs to be highlighted, as currently it is expected that more families will face financial problems and become this type of family as a consequence of the COVID-19 pandemic (ILO, 2020; Sumner et al., 2020) and because of the armed conflicts taking place, particularly the ones in Europe.

These interviews show the importance of FH is very much associated with the characteristics and effects of FH, which are explored in the next sections.

Characterization of the FLI's Past Tourism Practices

When asked about why they usually go on FH, the adults referred mostly to two major types of motivations: to spend more time with the family (quality time) and to relax, break from routine and relieve stress. This result corroborates the results of Minnaert (2006) and is

partially in line with studies conducted by Schanzel (2012) and Shaw et al. (2008) in which FH were found to be primarily motivated by quality time with family, participating in activities that are fun, different from normal and create positive memories, rather than the much-mentioned "escape or break from routine" of other types of vacations. In the present study, the families refer to these two groups of motivations, apparently on an equal level of importance and in a complementary way – being with family but out of the usual routine. Comparing the perspective of mothers and fathers, fathers mentioned breaking routine and resting before the motivation of spending time together with their children. Mothers mentioned both motivations, always reinforcing the aspect of quality time with their children.

The mentioned secondary motivations were associated with a stronger need, almost obligation (visiting relatives and taking care of the children's physical health), rather than a will/desire, and often appear as the justification for "having to" go on holiday. This result reinforces the idea that in families with a low annual income, leisure activities and tourism may be considered as activities to be consumed only when there is a stronger justification, almost of obligation, for these activities to take place and consume part of the scarce financial resources.

The destination for most families was the beach, in the home-country, since the usual place of residence is a small city near the mountains. Only one family mentioned the mountains as a destination, due to health problems of the children. One week was the most frequent duration of the stay and it usually occurred during the summer (school vacations), particularly in July/August.

The accommodation used were houses of relatives or friends (n=6), rented houses (n=5) or camping sites (n=4). The main source of information was previous experience or recommendations from family and friends. Families reported planning little in advance, very

much related to their financial constraints, which do not allow to know much in advance whether or not they will be able to have a FH.

The activities at the destination were common activities, mostly going to the beach and "going for a walk at night." Some families also mentioned visiting attractions (e.g. caves, historic towns, animal parks) or different events (e.g. festivals or shows). The activities that adults reported enjoying the most were being at the beach (n=6), visiting attractions and events (n=2) and other family bonding moments (n=3). As for the activities they liked least, domestic chores were the most frequently mentioned, tasks that still exist as a result of the accommodation used. The answers given by the children show a clear preference for activities at the beach (n=4) and visits to attractions and events (n=3). Regarding the activities they liked least, all stated that they had enjoyed everything at the destination, a result that shows the relevance that FH assumed for them.

When asked about the best moment of those FH, the adults referred to moments of family sharing at the beach, particularly socializing with their children, and having meals together. Two mothers highlighted the moment of leaving home as the most remarkable. The children mostly referred to the moments of playing with their families (parents, siblings or cousins) at the beach, particularly swimming in the sea, as emerged in the study conducted by Wu et al. (2019). Water appears in all the interviews as a great source of pleasure and joy for the children, a result which is reinforced by the analysis of the drawings that children made, representing moments experienced at the beach (seven drawings out of twelve) (see some examples in Figure 2). This result shows that for adults and children the moments spent at the beach seem to be a very good memory, although the adults add some other moments not so remarkable for children (meals and leaving home).

Insert Figure 2 here

The presence of the human figure in most drawings (n=7), always with a smile, refers to the importance of the family and other children for the joy and well-being felt during the activity portrayed in that moment of the FH (Foley and Mulis, 2008). Also, the drawing always shows the difference from the children's place of residence (a mountain area), mostly portraying the beach and/or swimming pool (Figure 2), consistent with the parents' interviews, pointing to the moments at the beach or leaving home as the best moments of the FH.

Regarding the colors used, a predominance of brighter colors is observed (blue, yellow, pink, red, green), generally associated with positive emotions (happiness) (Boyatzis and Varghese, 1994) and also associated with the elements that predominate in the drawings – water, sun, sand, grass. The predominance of blue (only three drawings do not include this color) is mostly associated with water, a fact that reinforces the positive association that children make with this natural element (Figure 2).

The moments that parents emphasize are those related to sharing, socializing and observing their children, while children value this sharing, but with a more active aspect associated with playing with their parents and other children, as mentioned in the literature (Gram, 2005; Schanzel, 2012).

Positive Effects of Family Tourism

When asked about the positive effects, a clear difference was observed between respondents who have taken a FH longer ago and those who have taken one more recently: respondents (even children) who have taken a FH within the last four years are able to better detail the type of effects they felt from it, while those who have taken holidays longer than four years before the interview reported more general benefits related to the motivations for taking holidays (relaxation, breaking routine, and greater family togetherness). This group of

respondents also showed more difficulty in identifying specific individual and family benefits. Fathers also had more difficulty in describing the effects of holidays than mothers; fathers mostly mentioned the benefits of relaxation and regaining strength. Another important aspect is the fact that the interviewees recognized a series of benefits from holidays, but with a limited duration in time, i.e., they perceive that holidays have effects, which are often felt beyond the holiday period, but it is a temporary effect, which passes after some time in the usual environment, as Mother6 explained: "Because then you go back to the routine; it breaks the effect...." However, the respondents who reported learning benefits seem to feel more lasting effects over time. The following sections present the obtained results organized in two main groups: effects on individuals and effects on the family.

Effects on individuals

The vast majority of interviewed adults reported that FH had important benefits in terms of stress relief for themselves and their children. The concept of stress adopted in this research will be, as in Minnaert's study (2006), not in the medical sense, but, for example, the daily pressures associated with schedules to be met and problems to be solved. Three mothers refer to the fact that recovering strength, associated with the effect of relaxation and recovery of energies, allows them to face the problems of everyday life with more strength and confidence (Mother9: "I think we come with all renewed strength, to face what comes").

Another mentioned benefit was the improvement in mental well-being and regaining energy/recharging batteries. This effect may be especially important for FLI, as they face a greater amount of challenges on a daily basis, stemming from scarce financial resources.

Many adults mentioned this benefit, as Mother6: "As tiring as the trip is, and since we were with relatives we have to be constantly available, it's a different kind of tiredness. There is a relief of the mind...."

In this context, another benefit which was mentioned frequently and is in line with the literature, mentioned by adults and children, is the positive feelings and happiness (and associated memories) that FH provide. Several interviewees (n=10) made comments such as "I like to remember the different moments we had there" (Child6).

Benefits in terms of children's physical health were also mentioned by two mothers who noted significant improvements in their children's respiratory problems as a result of the holidays, referring to decreased hospital visits and decreased need to take some types of medication.

Several interviewees mentioned learning about new places and new people, as one child mentions "it's good to see new things. It's interesting – we see that there are different things after all" (Child1). The benefit in terms of knowledge of new cultures was also frequently mentioned, particularly by and for the children (Child3: "You learn the habits of other places(...) It's interesting to see people doing things differently.")

Different situations from everyday life experienced on holiday are also mentioned by adults as important opportunities for learning and overcoming challenges as Mother1 and Mother15 pointed: "having to do and organize new things for the holiday "; "There are situations that arise, different from everyday life and we learn from each other. We are family at home and there, but there are other situations that are solved more easily than at home..."

This type of effect is often mentioned in association with the organization of the trip and other practical situations when there is a higher level of difference between the place of residence and the visited destination (e.g.: mountain/beach).

Holidays are also mentioned as important for their children's good behavior, as Mother5 highlights: "Most of all, I get to know [my son] better at different times (...) to get his attention because we are in a neutral environment, (...) I talk in a more assertive way."

The oldest child (17 years old) interviewed and three mothers emphasize an aspect in line with the Minnaert's (2006) results: holidays away from home allow us to learn through the experience of new situations and associated reflection and to adopt new behaviors in everyday life:

Child12: "it would be different because I could start doing different things, which I learn there and bring to my life."

Mother13: "even ways of being in life and thoughts and situations that we see in other people and there we can stop to reflect and think 'that has already happened to me' and the other person did like this or like that..."

This effect seems to have some link to the characteristics of the FH undertaken, as it was frequently mentioned by families whose destination was the beach (more contrasting with the residence area) or by those who reported to stay at parents'/friends' houses or camping sites (accommodation that implies more socialization opportunities).

Finally, the practical learning of things that are taught in school or being able to talk about what children experienced on holiday when they return to school were mentioned, both by adults and children, as important effects. Contrasting to the practical learning and returning to school, Mother9 mentioned the negative effect of not being able to go on FHhad on her son "when they return to school they always have things to talk about. It's not like this year that he didn't have anything to talk about...."

Associated with the learning benefits were the benefits related to changing attitudes/behaviors towards problems and the relationship with others in everyday life when they returned from holiday, as can be seen in Mother1 discourse: "And we think there are problems and we have to solve them, but more calmly. It seems we come with another soul; we seem to deal with everything differently." Some adult and child interviewees (n=5), also

reported the benefit of increasing their social network or contacts. This benefit stems from socializing with different people at the destination, which seems to be easier because it has a temporary nature, as mentioned by Child 1: "I met other kids on the beach and I think they are different because they had other ways of being there, for example they were more adventurous in the sea..."; and Mother9: "I think it's much easier to deal with people because it's only a short period of time and we're not under the pressures of everyday life." Mother 7 explained that "they are people from different places, and whether we like it or not, even though we are in the same country, each region has its own culture and we always learn...sometimes just because of knowing another point of view about things," presenting the social contacts as the main basis for the mentioned changes in attitude and behaviors. This link was only mentioned by women. Again, this effect seems to have some relation with the characteristics of the holiday undertaken, as it was often mentioned by mothers whose destination was the beach or by those who stayed at camping sites.

Also associated with the benefits of learning in new situations, the benefit of improved self-confidence emerges. FH are often seen as opportunities to overcome different situations, which are seen as challenges and which, once overcome, contribute to increasing the self-confidence of these individuals. This is evident in Mother3's discourse: "we are always worried about organizing what's needed, the trip, the costs...it's different and we have to overcome it."

Effects on the family

Strengthening emotional bonds between family members (family cohesion and strengthening the family relationship) was another benefit widely recognized by the adult respondents, similarly to previous studies (e.g. Minnaert, 2006, 2012; Gram, 2005; Letho et al., 2009 and Wu et al., 2019). Several parents mentioned the strengthening of bonds with

their children as an effect of their holidays (Mother13: "We came closer, more intimate, there is more closeness.... there is more bonding when we return after the holidays"). More specifically, this benefit can be particularized into two subtypes – the relationship and communication with the children and the family sharing/union.

The studies that analyzed the effects of FH (e.g. Gram, 2005; Letho et al., 2009; McCabe et al., 2010; Minnaert, 2012; Smith and Hughes, 1999), show that one of the most mentioned benefits of FH for families happens at the level of the relationship with children (being with children and the pleasure/joy/satisfaction received by parents through their children) which is often reflected in an increase in tolerance/understanding and communication between family members. This benefit was reported by several interviewees (adults and children):

Mother1: "It's easier for us to communicate. At home we bring a lot of problems from work and school (...) You always learn to communicate better with them [children]."

Mother7: "having more time and not being in that daily stressful ambience, we realize things that we were not aware of, other sides of each other."

Child12: " it's a way for us to stay there and for Mum to escape work and responsibilities and we are able to talk to each other more easily."

Changes in parenting styles as a consequence of FH was recognized by two mothers: [Mother7: "my behavior towards [my daughter]. (...) I think it has changed a lot and so has hers since that holiday(...) I think we get along better."].

The reinforcement of the feeling of sharing/union (sharing moments together and more good times in the family) associated with spending quality time with the family is highlighted by the majority of adults and children interviewed, as shown below:

Child5: "there I have Mum almost only to myself."

Mother11: "Family is composed by the people we trust the most and to whom we can say anything, and outside of the usual environment we have more time, we come more together."

Children reinforced spending more time with their parents and being able to have their parents available to play with them. The adults also mentioned spending more time with their children, but most of all the quality time outside of the usual pressures. Mother11 even points out that "Even there with the fights, it's different because we're all together; even without money, we were really there". This effect was frequently mentioned by families whose destination was contrasting with their residence area.

This sharing of bonding moments is the basis for many of the other effects identified, particularly communication and the strengthening of the emotional bond between family members. These results corroborate Minnaert (2006, 2012) and Minnaert et al.'s (2009) studies, which highlight the importance of this type of effect to enable FLI to minimize barriers that confront them in their lives and to increase their social inclusion.

Negative Effects of Family Tourism

When asked about the negative effects of FH, all the children and 13 adults said there were none. However, concern for the children (their wishes, their behavior, and their safety) is mentioned by few adults. Mother12 mentioned that the quality time spent on holiday is very dependent on the children's behavior. This result, although infrequent, is in line with the results of the studies developed by Gram (2005) and Backer & Schanzel (2012). Fathers

mentioned being afraid of something happening to their children, as Father10 explained: "We are there on the beach; we relax a little bit...what if they run away from me into the middle of the sea? Who will pick them up? There are more risks and much more responsibility." In a post-COVID-19 era this result may became more accentuated, both because of the general fear of the family members becoming infected and because of the decreased opportunities to get out of the home-work/school routines during the past two years. This was an effect exclusively reported by fathers and related to destinations with contrasting characteristics with the place of residence.

Mother4, who has not had a FH for many years, mentioned the negative effect observed in Minnaert et al.'s (2009) study: going on holiday can contribute to worsening the economic situation of families, as "They spend money that they don't have on holidays and during the year they miss it a lot".

Some adults also mention the fact that "it's very good to have a family holiday away from home, but also to be alone for a minute, in a relaxed environment" (Mother 5). For most of the interviewees, when referring to this aspect or to the fact that they continue having some house chores (consequence of the type of accommodation used) and that children imply some effort (which is seen as easier to manage during the holidays), they do not consider taking a holiday without the children ("we always took them with us; we didn't leave them with anyone else", Father 14). This shows the existence of contradictory feelings of parents who, on the one hand, wish for family unity and sharing opportunities, but on the other hand recognize the effort involved in having this type of holidays, a duality also mentioned in Gram's study (2005). However, the need for sharing and bonding opportunities prevails according to the interviewees in this study. In this case, the motivation seems also to play some role, as the families that mentioned the "relax motivation" seem to report more contradictory feelings.

Again, the features of the lived tourism experience seem to be decisive for the negative effects

perception, particularly if the type of accommodation used may alleviate some of the daily tasks (e.g. in a hotel there is no house chores).

Conclusions and Implications

Given the structuring importance of family union for societies and the evidence from existing research on the effects of FH for families facing some kind of social exclusion, this study reinforces the idea that social tourism programs (STPs) for FLI (with children) make sense as a strategy to promote what is considered a basic right of individuals and a dimension that characterizes today's society.

The results obtained confirm previous studies on the effects of tourism on families (Minnaert, 2006, 2012; Minnaert et al., 2009; Smith & Hughes, 1999), highlighting benefits in strengthening family relationships, changes in the way parents and children relate to each other, and improved communication between family members. The results lead to the conclusion that the importance of FH for FLI is mostly related to the opportunity to have quality time with the family, and this quality time is defined as time away from daily contexts, places and pressures and in which all family members can socialize together, a rare opportunity for these families, confirming previous studies conducted on this domain. The main individual positive effects reported were stress reduction, change in attitudes (promoting tolerance and understanding), increase different social contacts, promoting individuals' personal and social development, physical and mental health, and, as a result of all these effects, an improvement in general well-being.

Children and adults' views seem to be mainly coincident. However, the moments that parents emphasize are those related to sharing and observing their children, while children value this sharing, but with a more active perspective (playing with parents). Also, both recognize the learning effect but differences seem to exist regarding the type of learning

valued by adults and children: adults report learning in practical situations and children report learning about new places and people.

It is relevant to try to include more fathers in the samples of future studies, since an interesting result was the clear differences found in the perspectives of mothers and fathers, such as the fact that mothers (regardless the type family) refer to motivations related to the aspect of quality time together with children, and single fathers show more fear of going on holiday alone with their children. The inclusion of different types of FLIs, including different socio-demographic characteristics and different contexts of exclusion, will also be important to consider in future studies.

Although no truly negative effects were identified, few families mentioned some fear of new situations, an effect that is believed to become more present in a post-COVID-19 era. This fear may be attenuated by STPs that include not only financial help for FLI to travel, but that could help with having the appropriate clothing and other travel items, travel planning assistance and on-destination (social/psychological) support. Another reference, evidencing contradictory feelings, is the wish for time alone vs the desire to create good memories with the children. This result seems to bring the challenging issue of the importance for experiences of personalization and "separation from the family" to optimize the effects of FH, reinforcing the need to have a balance of interaction between parents and children (the majority) and activities only for children/"free" moments for the adults.

The results thus allow the conclusion that there is a need to adapt the type of holiday to each family (for example, to meet the needs of different family members – children vs adults, separation vs socializing – or to respond to the specific needs of single fathers) when the objective is to maximize the positive effects of FH for FLI, as recommended by Lima & Eusébio (2021b). This differentiation has at least one practical implication for agents who wish to design programs for these FLI: the need to have qualified human resources from

different areas (e.g. psychology, social work, management or tourism) working on defining the components of the STPs. Results stressed the need for careful design of the STPs to maximize the benefits for families and for society, be financially sustainable, and be attractive (and effectively respond to the needs) to families. Practitioners must bear this in mind and constitute multidisciplinary teams for designing truly meaningful, effective and financially sustainable STPs that minimize the potential negative effects on FLIs. Along with this and seeking to maximize the benefits of the STPs, seems to be important an effective networking between different social agents that work/contact with each family (for example, the STP promoter should network with schools, social security, or other associations that work with FLI). This will allow to truly understand the characteristics of each FLI, adapting the STPs to these families' characteristics.

Studying the determinants of the effects of FT for FLI's seems to be another important future research path, as some links seem to exist between motivation, type of destination visited, type of accommodation and sociodemographic profile of the interviewees.

However, it is essential to emphasize the exploratory nature of this research. In this context, it is important to recognize some limitations which require some caution in interpreting the obtained results, such as the pre-COVID-19 data collection, the relatively small sample size and the fact that the sample concentrated more on mothers than fathers. The integration of different families in terms of composition (traditional vs single-parent) and considering parents and children's perspectives are distinctive contributions of this study. Additionally, this study attempted to implement rigorous and original methodologies, namely the study of the effects of FT according to more than just the perspective of one family member.

The fact that data were collected in a pre-COVID-19 period is believed to have few implications on the interpretation of the results for future STP, as many European countries,

particularly Portugal, are close to the pre-COVID-19 reality now and the type of holidays under analysis are believed to not have many differences. Of course, holidays have changed due to sanitary measures imposed by governments and the potential additional fear of going on holiday, but the one big difference is that society will have many more FLI as a consequence of the current economic and social crisis. In that context, understanding the past tourist behavior of these families will provide knowledge on their previous travel experience and perceptions, allowing for comparisons between the samples and results of different studies and concurring on an experience design that better suits FLI's and societies' future needs.

The success of STP as a social inclusion strategy will depend on the ability to develop social policy mechanisms to take advantage of these effects, maximizing the policy returns to society (Lima &Eusébio, 2021b; Minnaert et al., 2009; McCabe et al., 2010). This ability will increase if similar studies could be replicated in order to investigate whether and how the integration of STPs for LFIs, as social innovation instruments, into countries' social policies could contribute to achieving social sustainability goals, increase the efficiency of these policies, and decrease expenditures by reducing social payments and health expenditure.

In this context, it seems pertinent to conclude this article with a question that emerges from the research presented and that may inspire future research: "To what extent can the promotion of tourism for FLIs be a social innovation strategy to be integrated into countries' social policies, comparing its efficiency in maximizing the benefits that may arise from it with other social innovation initiatives?"

Contribution of each author:

Joana Lima planned the study, conducted the data analysis, and wrote the article as part of her dissertation research. Celeste Eusébio and Celeste Amorim Varum supervised the planning of the study and data analysis, and contributed to revising the article for publication.

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 $Table\ 1-FT\ effects$

| Quality of Life Physical complaints/illnesses General well-being Individua ls Behavior (social) Earning Quality of Life Physical complaints/illnesses General well-being Attitude change Social participation Self-confidence Earning Quality of Life Knowledge Learning Quality of Life Access to increase Simth and Hughes, 1999; McCabe et McCabe and Johnson, 2013 Minnaert, 2006; Minnaert, 2006; Minnaert, 2006; Minnaert, 2006; Minnaert, 2009 al., 2019; Wu et al., 2019 Winnaert, 2006; Minnaert et al., 2009 al., 2019; Wu cet al., 2019 Winnaert, 2006; Minnaert et al., 2009 Minnaert, 2012; Smith and Hughes, 1999; Letho et al. WcCabe et al., 2010 Winnaert, 2012; Smith and Hughes, 1999 Pyke et al., 2019 Winnaert, 2006, 2012; Minnaert et al. WcCabe et al., 2019 Winnaert, 2006, 2012; Minnaert et al. Winnaert, 2006, 2012; Minnaert et al. WcCabe et al., 2009 Winnaert, 2006, 2012; Minnaert, 2012 Winnaert, 2006, 2012; Minnaert, 2012 Winnaert, 2009; Minnaert, 2012 Smith and Hughes, 1999; Gram, 2005 al., 2009; Minnaert, 2012 Smith and Hughes, 1999; Cram, 2005 al., 2009; Minnaert, 2006, 2012; Pyke al., 2019 Smith and Hughes, 1999; Letho et al. WcCabe et al., 2010 Winnaert, 2006, 2012; Pyke al., 2019 Smith and Hughes, 1999; Letho et al. WcCabe et al., 2010 Winnaert, 2006, 2012; Pyke al., 2019 Smith and Hughes, 1999; Letho et al. WcCabe et al., 2010 Winnaert, 2006, 2012; Pyke al., 2019 Smith and Hughes, 1999; Letho et al. WcCabe et al., 2010 Winnaert, 2006, Minnaert, 2006 Wi | 1 | Dimension | Perceived Effect | Type of Effect | Empirical Studies |
|--|--------|------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|---|
| Quality of Life Complaints/illnesses Com | | | Stress | decrease | Minnaert,2006; Minnaert et al.,2009; |
| Life Complaints/illnesses Gerease Minnaert et al.,2009; McCabe et al., | | | | increase | Backer & Schanzel,2012; |
| Attitude change positive Minnaert et al., 2009; Minnaert, 2006 Minnaert et al., 2009 Minnaert, 2006; Minnaert et al., 2009 Minnaert, 2006; Minnaert et al., 2009 Al., 2019; Wu et al., 2019 Minnaert, 2006; Minnaert et al., 2009 Al., 2019; Wu et al., 2019 Minnaert, 2006; Minnaert et al., 2009 Al., 2019; Wu et al., 2019 Minnaert, 2006; Minnaert et al., 2009 Al., 2019 Minnaert, 2012; Smith and Hughes, 1999; Letho et al., McCabe et al., 2010 | | | | decrease | Smith and Hughes, 1999; Minnaert, 2006; Minnaert et al., 2009; McCabe et al., 2010 |
| Individua Is | On | | General well-being | increase | , |
| Behavior (social) Social participation increase Minnaert,2006; Minnaert et al.,2009 al.,2019; Wu et al.,2019 Winnaert et al.,2009 Minnaert,2006; Minnaert et al.,2009 al.,2019 Smith and Hughes,1999; Letho et al., McCabe et al.,2010 Smith and Hughes,1999; Letho et al., McCabe et al.,2010 Minnaert,2012; Smith and Hughes,1999 Minnaert,2012; Smith and Hughes,1999 Minnaert,2012; Smith and Hughes,1999 Minnaert,2019 Minnaert,2006,2012; Minnaert et al., Minnaert,2006,2012; Minnaert et al., Minnaert,2009; Minnaert,2012 Minnaert,2006,2012; Minnaert et al., Minnaert,2009; Minnaert,2012 Minnaert,2006,2012; Minnaert,2012 Minnaert,2006,2012; Minnaert,2012 Minnaert,2006,2012; Minnaert,2012 Minnaert,2006,2012; Minnaert,2012 Minnaert,2009; Minnaert,2012 Minnaert,2006,2012; Minnaert,20 | - | | Attitude change | positive | |
| Self-confidence Self-confidence Confidence Self-confidence Experience Minnaert,2006; Minnaert et al.,2009 Minnaert,2006; Minnaert et al.,2009 Minnaert,2006; Minnaert et al.,2009 Minnaert,2006; Minnaert et al.,2009 Minnaert,2006; Minnaert et al.,2019 Smith and Hughes,1999; Letho et al., McCabe et al.,2010 increase Minnaert,2012; Smith and Hughes,1 MeCabe et al.,2010 Minnaert,2012; Smith and Hughes,1999 Pyke et al.,2019 Smith and Hughes,1999 Pyke et al.,2019 Smith and Hughes,1999; Gram,2005 Minnaert,2006,2012; Minnaert et al., Minnaert,2006,2012; Minnaert,2012 Minnaert,2009; Minnaert,2012 Minnaert,2012 Minnaert,2009; Minnaert,2012 Minnaert,2012 Minnaert,2009; Minnaert,2012 Minnaert,2012 Minnaert,2009; Minnaert,2012 Minnaert,2009; Minnaert,2006,2012; Minnaert,2019 Minnaert,2009; Minnaert,2006,2012; Minnaert,2019 Minnaert,2009; Minnaert,2006,2012; Minnaert,2009; Minnaert,2006,2012; Minnaert,2009; Minnaert,2006,2012; Minnaert,2009; Minnaert,2006,2012; Minnaert,2009; Minnaert,2006,2012; Minnaert,2009; Minnaert,2006,2012; Minnaert,2009; Minnaert,2009; Minnaert,2006,2012; Min | | | Social participation | | Minnaert,2006; Minnaert et al.,2009; Pyke et al.,2019; Wu et al.,2019 |
| Learning Social network/contacts increase Minnaert,2006; Minnaert et al.,2019 | | | | | Minnaert,2006; Minnaert et al.,2009; |
| On Family | | Learning | - | increase | |
| Quality of Life Access to information Increase McCabe et al.,2010 | | | | increase | al.,2019 |
| Contact Communication Co | | | Stress | decrease | |
| Charge in parenting (through socialization) Pamily Companies Family Learning Charge in parenting styles Communication Family Companies Companies Communication Companies Communication Commu | | | | increase | Minnaert,2012; Smith and Hughes,1999 |
| Pinancial situation positive Pyke et al.,2019 Relationship with children positive positive Minnaert,2006,2012; Minnaert et al. McCabe et al.,2019 Relationship with children positive Minnaert,2006,2012; Minnaert et al. McCabe et al.,2009 Minnaert,2006,2012; Minnaert et al. Minnaert,2006,2012; Minnaert et al. Minnaert,2006,2012; Minnaert et al. Smith and Hughes,1999; Minnaert,2 Letho et al.,2009 Communication increase Letho et al.,2009 Family cohesion positive Smith and Hughes,1999; Minnaert,2 Letho et al.,2009 Smith and Hughes,1999 Smith and Hughes,1999 Smith and Hughes,1999; Gram,2005 Smith and Hughes,1999; Letho et al.,2019 Smith and Hughes,1999; Letho et al.,2019 Gram,2005 Gram,2005 | | | | increase | McCabe et al.,2010 |
| Relationship with children Change in parenting styles On Family On Family Family Positive Relationship with children Relationship with children Change in parenting styles Attitude Dositive Attitude Dositive Attitude Dositive Smith and Hughes,1999; McCabe et al.,2009 Smith and Hughes,1999; Minnaert,2 and Hughes,1999; Minnaert,2 Letho et al.,2009 Communication Raising expectations Family cohesion Pyke et al.,2019 Smith and Hughes,1999; Gram,2005 Smith and Hughes,1999; Minnaert,2 and Hughes,1999; Minnaert,2 and Hughes,1999 Smith and Hughes,1999 Smith and Hughes,1999; Gram,2005 Smith and Hughes,1999; Gram,2005 Smith and Hughes,1999; Gram,2005 Smith and Hughes,1999; Letho et al.,2019 Smith and Hughes,1999; Letho et al.,2019 Smith and Hughes,1999; Letho et al.,2019 Gram,2005 Gram,2005 | | | Financial situation | | |
| Children Change in parenting styles On Family Change in parenting styles Change in parenting styles Attitude positive Minnaert,2006,2012; Minnaert et al. Minnaert,2006,2012; Minnaert et al. Smith and Hughes,1999; McCabe et al.,2009 Communication Raising expectations Family cohesion Family bonding Children Positive Minnaert,2006,2012; Minnaert et al. Smith and Hughes,1999; Minnaert,2 Letho et al.,2009 Smith and Hughes,1999 Smith and Hughes,1999 Smith and Hughes,1999; Gram,2005 al.,2009; Minnaert,2006,2012; Pyke al.,2019 Smith and Hughes,1999; Letho et al. McCabe et al.,2010 Gram,2005 Gram,2005 | | | | positive | |
| Learning (through socialization) On Family Family Family Family Learning (through socialization) Pamily Learning (through socialization socialization) Family Positive Smith and Hughes, 1999; McCabe et al., 2009 Smith and Hughes, 1999; Minnaert, 2012 Letho et al., 2009 Smith and Hughes, 1999 Smith and Hughes, 1999 Smith and Hughes, 1999; Gram, 2005 al., 2009; Minnaert, 2006, 2012; Pyke al., 2019 Smith and Hughes, 1999; Letho et al., McCabe et al., 2010 Gram, 2005 Gram, 2005 Gram, 2005 | | (through socialization | children | positive | Smith and Hughes,1999; Gram,2005; Minnaert,2006,2012; Minnaert et al.,2009 |
| Socialization) Tolerance/ understanding Communication Raising expectations Family bonding Smith and Hughes,1999; Minnaert,2 Letho et al.,2009 Letho et al.,2009; Minnaert,2012 Smith and Hughes,1999 Smith and Hughes,1999 Smith and Hughes,1999; Gram,2005 al.,2009; Minnaert,2006,2012; Pyke al.,2019 Smith and Hughes,1999; Letho et al. McCabe et al.,2010 Gram,2005 Gram,2005 | L | | | positive | Minnaert,2006,2012; Minnaert et al.,2009 |
| On Family Description of Pamily Communication Increase Letho et al.,2009 Letho et al.,2009; Minnaert,2012 | | | Attitude | positive | Smith and Hughes,1999; McCabe et al., 2010 |
| Family Family Family bonding Raising expectations Positive Positive Positive Accabe et al.,2010 Gram,2005 Gram,2005 Gram,2005 |) | | understanding | increase | |
| Family bonding Smith and Hughes,1999 | - | | | increase | Letho et al.,2009; Minnaert,2012 |
| Family bonding Family cohesion Positive al.,2009; Minnaert,2006,2012; Pyke al.,2019 positive positive positive depends on children's behavior Gram,2005 | Family | | | negative | 6 , |
| Family bonding Quality time and memories Quality time and depends on children's behavior Gram,2005 | | | Family cohesion | positive | |
| Family bonding memories depends on children's behavior Gram,2005 | | | | positive | Smith and Hughes, 1999; Letho et al., 2009; McCabe et al., 2010 |
| | | | | children's | Gram,2005 |
| intensity Gram,2005 | | | Sharing/ togetherness | depends on the intensity | Gram,2005 |
| Snaring/ Letho et al.,2009; McCabe et al.,201 | | | | • | Letho et al.,2009; McCabe et al.,2010; Minnaert,2006,2012; Minnaert et al.,2009; Wu et al.,2019 |

Table 2 – Adopted concepts

| Families with low-income levels (FLI) | Family holidays away from home (FH) |
|---|---|
| . family with subsidized children in schools - in the considered school year (2014/2015), families with reference annual income up to €5,869.08, stablished by the Portuguese Social Services, using the reference of the Social Support Index. | . family holidays away from home = family holidays involving tourism practice = family tourism (FT) . holidays with a minimum duration of four nights away from home and that included at least one parent and the children of the family |

 $Table\ 3-Sample\ profile$

| Interview | Identification of the interviewed family members | Composition of the family |
|-----------|---|---|
| 1 | Mother (38 years old)+Son (11 years old) | Mother+Father+Son (11 years old)+Son (5 years old) |
| 2 | Father (47 years old)+Daughter (7 years old) | Father+Daughter (7 years old)+Son (>17 years old) |
| 3 | Mother (36 years old)+Daughter (6 years old)+Son (14 years old) | Mother+Mother's spouse (2 nd marriage)+Daughter (6 years old)+Son (14 years old) |
| 4 | Mother (30 years old)+Daughter (11 years old) | Mother+Father+Daughter (11 years old)+Daughter (16 years old) |
| 5 | Mother (44 years old)+Son (13 years old) | Mother+Mother's spouse (2 nd marriage)+Son (13 years old) |
| 6 | Mother (44 years old)+Daughter (10 years old) | Mother+Father+Daughter (10 years old) |
| 7 | Mother (43 years old)+Daughter (10 years old) | Mother+Father+Daughter (10 years old)+Son (4 years old) |
| 8 | Mother (34 years old)+Son (10 years old) | Mother+Father+Son (10 years old)+Son (1 year old) |
| 9 | Mother (42 years old)+Son (8 years old) | Mother+Father+Son (8 years old)+Daughter (3 years old) |
| 10 | Father (40 years old)+Daughter (10 years old)+Son (6 years old) | Father+Daughter (10years old)+Son (6 years old) |
| 11 | Mother (45 years old)+Daughter (11 years old) | Mother+Daughter (11 years old) |
| 12 | Mother (47 years old)+Daughter (17 years old) | Mother+Father+Daughter (17 years-old)+Son (>17 years old)+Daughter (>17 years old) |
| 13 | Mother (38 years old)+Daughter (6 years old) | Mother+Daughter (6 years old) |
| 14 | Father (44 years old)+Daughter (10 years old) | Mother+Father+Daughter (3 years old)+Daughter (10 years old)+Daughter (16 years old) |
| 15 | Mother (40 years old)+Son (15 years old) | Mother+Father+Grandmother+Daughter (7 years old)+Son (15 years old) |

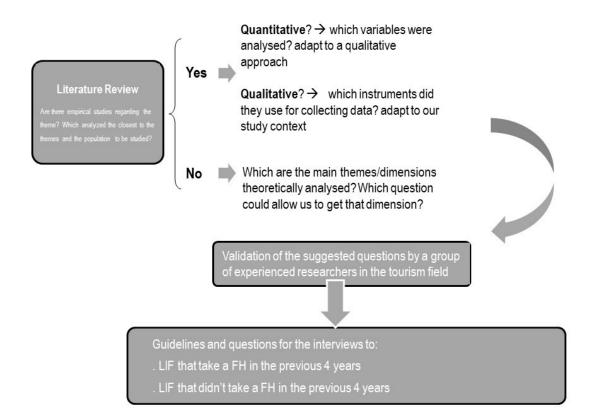


Figure 1 – Designing process of the interviews' guidelines



 $Figure\ 2-Examples\ of\ the\ children's\ drawings\ about\ their\ favorite\ moment\ on\ the\ last\ FH$

$Appendix-Interviews \hbox{' questions}$

| Number of the question | Question asked Did you take a Family Holiday (FH) in the last 4 years? | | | | | | |
|------------------------|---|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| | | | | | | | |
| 1 | If not, ask question 2a. to 9a. | | | | | | |
| | If yes, ask question 2 to 8. | | | | | | |
| 2 | i) Why do you usually take a FH? | | | | | | |
| ۷ | ii) Do you think it is important? Why is it important? | | | | | | |
| 3 | What obstacles do you encounter when going on a FH? | | | | | | |
| | Considering your last FH | | | | | | |
| | i) where did you go to, how, for how long, when, where did you stay at? | | | | | | |
| | ii) Did you enjoy it? Why? | | | | | | |
| | iii) Please indicate the activities you most and least enjoyed doing and why (including the plannin and implementation of the trip) | | | | | | |
| | iv) Describe your favorite moment of this FH and explain why you think it was the best | | | | | | |
| 4 | v) Describe your worst moment of your FH and explain why you think it was the worst | | | | | | |
| | vi) What effects (positive and negative) do you think this FH had on you? - And for your family? | | | | | | |
| | vii) Do you think you learned anything from this FH (for example, knowledge, attitudes, emotion behavior, etc.)?why?/what? - And the other members of the family, do you think they did learn something? | | | | | | |
| | viii) Do you do/do you do anything different in your daily life since you returned as a consequence of that holiday? If yes, what? | | | | | | |
| 5 | Do you have any other comments you would like to make about the FH? | | | | | | |
| | i) Please talk about your last FH (where did you go, how, for how long, when, where did you stay at, what activities did you engage in,) | | | | | | |
| 2a | ii) Did you like it? Why? | | | | | | |
| | iii) Do you remember of learning something new? | | | | | | |
| | iv) Did you do something different since you returned home, as a consequence of that FH? | | | | | | |
| 3a | To you, what does it mean "FH"? | | | | | | |
| 4a | When you stay at home, how do you usually spend your holidays? | | | | | | |
| 5a | How are FH away from home different from FH spent at home? | | | | | | |
| 6a | For what reasons have you not taken a FH in the last 4 years? | | | | | | |
| 7a | Do you think it is important to take FH? Why do you think so? | | | | | | |
| 8a | Do you think there are any negative aspects of taking a FH? What would it be? | | | | | | |
| 9a | Do you have any other comments you would like to make about the FH? | | | | | | |

Source: Adapted from Alexander et al. (2010), Backer & Schanzel (2012), Gram (2005), Minnaert (2006) and Quinn (2008)