Creation of family capital through life stages for middle income families in the context of the Irish holiday

Susanne O'Reilly

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of Bournemouth University for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

September 2021

Copyright statement

Abstract

Susanne O'Reilly: Creation of family capital through life stages for middle income families in the context of the Irish holiday

Research has established that the benefits of a holiday are short-lived, yet for many a holiday is a very important aspect of yearly activities. The commitment and effort to take a holiday are not fully reflected in tourism research, which has considered this aspect of tourism from various perspectives including holiday motivation and decision-making. Social capital within the family is a theoretical construct developed within the discipline of sociology, and using this lens, the role of the family holiday in the creation of family capital through life stages for middle income families, in the context of the Irish holiday was investigated.

Within a social constructivist paradigm, a whole-family research methodology was adopted to investigate the family holiday. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with middle-income families across nine stages of an established life cycle model. In total, twenty-seven interviews were transcribed. In conjunction with this primary research, extracts from oral history archives traced the development of the holiday experience throughout the twentieth century in Ireland.

Using a two-step data analysis approach the findings were established. The first step, inductive analysis, generated twelve themes across the various stages of the life cycle. The second step, deductive analysis, then explored the themes under the forms of social capital within the family, and tourism research, with a definition of family capital developed.

The use of archival data provides a methodological contribution to the disciplines of history, sociology, and tourism, and contributes an oral history account of the evolution of tourism within Ireland. The definition of family capital provides a theoretical contribution. The twelve themes offer fresh insights into holidaying across all life stages. The suppliers of tourism may consider the conceptual finding of space, facilitating room to contemplate within a holiday setting, the development of family capital.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

List of Tables

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

CSO	Central Statistics Office
COVID-19	Corona Virus Disease
D	Daughter
ESRI	Economic Social Research Institute
EU	European Union
F	Female
FE	Fiancée
ITIC	Irish Tourist Industry Confederation
LCM	Life Cycle Model
LHSC	Life Histories and Social Change project
M	Male
NP	Not present
OED	Oxford English Dictionary
OMC	Older Married Couple
S	Son
THRIC	Tourism Hospitality Research in Ireland Conference
UN	United Nations
UNWTO	United Nations World Tourism Organisation
VFR	Visiting Friends and Relatives
WHO	World Health Organisation

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisors at Bournemouth University. To Professor Adele Ladkin, thank you for your patience and encouragement. Your clarity of thought and certainty of actions, helped to dissipate many a potential worry along the way. To Dr Katherine King, your succinct thoughts added a depth of knowledge to the research.

Many thanks to Denise George at Bournemouth University and her counterpart at Galway Mayo Institute of Technology (GMIT), Sanchia Morris, for quietly and efficiently dealing with all the paperwork between the two institutions.

Thank you to GMIT for funding this research. A particular acknowledgement must be made to Dr Pauline Logue and Barry McMillan for establishing the Research Cycle module and annual conference. This innovative endeavour has guided many students on the path to a PhD. I would like to extend my gratitude to the librarians at GMIT. To the academics I share the office with, Anne, Beatrice, Sadie and Tracy many thanks for your support over the years.

Over sixty participants took part in this research and sourcing the families was an onerous task, made all the easier by the hard work of Karen, my sister and Paul V Dunne my work colleague, for establishing initial contact with many of the families.

Thank you to my mum, Tess and my brothers and sisters. To Daniel my son, I am looking forward to many more excursions this year.

Finally, to my husband Stephen for you constant support and encouragement on this long journey. Thank you.

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This chapter establishes the focus of this research and the territory in which this study is located. The work is positioned within the broader tourism field as illustrated by Figure 1-1: The rationale for this study is outlined, with the aim and objectives stated, giving further detail on how the research is conducted. Finally, the structure of the thesis provides the direction of this work.

Motivation is only one of many variables that explains the behaviour of tourists, Crompton (1979, p. 409). Forty years later this same question is being asked, specifically, with researchers requested to go out and meet the tourists directly, to understand their behaviours (McKercher et al. 2021).

1.2 Background

This research seeks to understand what happens when you go away on holidays. This seemingly simple question is the subject of much work over the decades which began with Quality of Life (QOL) research. In the 1960's at a national level QOL experiences were measured using social indicators (Rapley 2003), and more recently within the European Union, by the use of Survey of Income and Living Conditions (SILC) data (Watson et al. 2017). Over fifty years of research investigating the quality of life for nation states has been adapted and adjusted with 1999 seeing the first major study of QOL in tourism, in a special issue of the *Journal of Business Research.* A contribution within this journal on QOL satisfaction by Neal et al. (1999), establishes that travel experiences have an impact on overall life satisfaction and may be of use by suppliers of tourism products to assess satisfaction with their offerings. Notwithstanding this, the authors acknowledge that the measurement is not adequate enough to assess individual satisfaction with leisure life. Dolnicar et al. (2012) establish that QOL has various meanings for people depending on their life

stages and that it is a dynamic concept. Vacations are a subset of the leisure domain and QOL studies are not fully capturing the impact holidays have on individual's life satisfaction (Dolnicar et al. 2012). The level of happiness a holiday brings to your life is the subject of work using national statistics of the Dutch population by Kroesen and Handy (2014). In this work the authors establish that a holiday will contribute to social standards, but not to the participant's overall level of happiness. A review of the QOL literature recommends the use of mixed methods to explore the QOL effects of tourism (Uysal et al. 2016). Thus, focus groups and questionnaires were used within an event setting, to demonstrate an enhancement of a family's QOL in the long term, (Jepson et al. 2019). QOL research outlines in broad brush strokes the effect a holiday has on a cohort of society, but at an individual level a different measurement is required.

Within the area of QOL, subjective indicators of happiness has developed into a comprehensive field of research known as subjective well-being (SWB). Research carried out by Gilbert and Abdullah (2004) establish that there is greater satisfaction from respondents who take a holiday than non-participants, and this satisfaction is linked to the motives for taking the holiday. However, the researchers do not expand on the motives for taking the holiday. Fade out effects of a holiday for Dutch participants are investigated by de Bloom et al. (2010), and their findings indicate that by the end of the first week of their return home from a winter skiing holiday, the positive effects of the vacation have mainly dissipated. This finding consolidates the work of Chen, Y. et al. (2013) on Chinese tourists in which the fade out effects of the holiday are within two months of their return. More recently the work of Kirillova and Lehto (2015) from the discipline of psychology, consider anxiety levels over the vacation cycle, before during and after a holiday. The fade out effects of the holiday are triggered on the return home and the resumption of daily routines (Kirillova and Lehto 2015). It is at this precise juncture that it is established with a level of certainty that QOL, and within this area SWB research, do not adequately explain holiday participation. Paradoxically the fade out effects of a holiday illustrate that the purpose for a holiday is more than life satisfaction, more than well-being. The findings of Kirillova and Lehto's research at one level, question the logic of taking a holiday if the effect wears off within a few weeks of your return home. To consolidate this point of logic, the holiday participation of Irish residents from a statistical perspective is

robust. As a population of 4.75 million in 2016, the most recent census data, the Central Statistics Office (CSO) state that Irish residents took 5.567 million main holidays in 2019, (CSO 2020 table 7). As a nation we took more holidays than the size of the population, statistically confirming our commitment to holidaying. Thus, the QOL or SWB literature does not fully reflect the commitment to holidays.

Taking a different approach, and moving to the discipline of sociology, the concept of social capital was developed in 1916 by L.J. Hanifan in which he outlines the benefits of interaction with neighbours and working together for the greater good of the community (Putnam 2000, p. 19). This greater good, a social asset is called "social capital", with the word 'capital' carefully chosen by Hanifan to appeal to business people and economists at that time (ibid., p, 445). Over the ensuing decades the concept of social capital evolves. Coleman (1988) develops the concept further and demonstrates the value of "social capital within the family" in reducing the drop-out rates in high school. Within education, the concept of social capital within the family, progresses with the title reduced to the more succinct phrase of "family capital", (Majoribanks 1992). Over time, the concept of family capital then moves into the discipline of tourism, and within the specific area of social tourism, is utilised in the study of families that cannot afford a holiday (Minnaert et al. 2009).

The benefits of a holiday for children experiencing social exclusion has been presented as a working paper for social policy in Ireland (Quinn et al. 2008). Research continues in the form of investigations into social tourism on low-income families in Ireland, and in Europe (McCabe 2020; McCabe and Qiao 2020: Vento et al. 2020:). However, there is a gap in research in the holiday patterns of middle income families, not only in Ireland, but more broadly across the tourism literature. Specifically within Ireland, this gap is partially due to the low volume of research output in the island of Ireland, (Tol 2010) which this study will address.

The middle class is an expanding stratum in society, (Yeoman 2012, p. 31) particular in China, and work based on 2011 figures looks at the characteristics and changes in this grouping, (Pew 2015). Income and occupation are important indicators of social class, (Solomon et al. 2010), with rising incomes a key indicator of societal success (Yeoman 2012, p. 23). Nevertheless, research on social class is not used effectively, due to the many problems associated with social class segmentation, which include

status of working wives, and the class a consumer identifies with, rather than the class they belong too (Solomon et al. 2010, p. 470). Mindful of the challenges, this research focuses on middle income families, due to the low volume of work and lack of understanding for this specific cohort of society.

In the USA, research on family functioning establishes that vacations contribute positively to family bonding (Lehto et al. 2009). The researchers discuss "the flow of information" and "memorable experiences for archival comparison" as a result of a family holiday (ibid., p. 473). Three years later, this group of researchers present empirical evidence of the ability of a holiday to contribute to family cohesion (Lehto et al. 2012). Slowly, research is beginning to develop on family tourism, with the launch of the first academic books in this area; (Carr 2011; Schänzel et al. 2012), and the recent study of holidays in the reproduction of family life (Cheong and Sin 2019).

Life cycle models which are a combination of age and marital status were first used in the early 1900's (Murphy and Staples 1979). The models were adapted to study consumption patterns of consumer goods within the discipline of marketing. It is from this area that the Wells and Gubar (1966) model, that has nine life stages which are precisely defined, is adopted, as a theoretical construct to study across all life stages, the main family holiday.

Children's voices should be heard for a more inclusive view of tourism which can be achieved by the use of small-scale exploratory studies (Poria and Timothy 2014). The holiday is seen as a safe place away from home in which challenging family issues can be raised by children (Hay 2017). The participation of children in social research should be considered at the research design stage according to Irish academics Kennan and Dolan (2017). Therefore, to address the gap in research a family voice, the views of all members of the family will be obtained through the use of semi-structured interviews.

This research is based in Ireland. Figure 1-1: below outlines the context and concept of the research. The outer circle represents families resident in Ireland through all of life stages. The next inner circle narrows this cohort down to middle income families. The holiday represented by the third inner shape is the social setting under which family capital, the inner circle will be explored. The diagram positions the research.

Within the broader discipline of tourism, the main holiday of four or more nights away (Fáilte Ireland 2020, p. 10) is the focus of this research. Business trips are excluded from the study, with visiting friends and relatives (VFR) travel considered only in the context of the development of tourism. All the participant interviews take place before the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020 and as such, statistical facts and figures relating to tourism will be from 2019 or earlier, which will be more reflective of general travel patterns than current statistics.

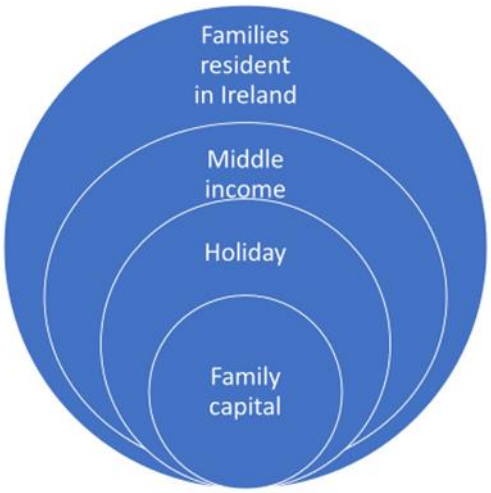


Figure 1-1: Context and concept relationship

A family voice will portray current understandings of holidays, but voices from the past captured in archival data, are also used to provide a context for the development of the phenomena of holidaying from early twentieth century to the turn of the millennium in Ireland.

1.3 Rationale

Research on various aspects of the holiday have taken place, but is fragmented in that no study has considered the influence and effect the holiday has, across the full life course. Some studies focus on the holiday experiences of families with young children (Gram 2005; Carr 2011; Khoo-Lattimore et al. 2015; Hay 2017; Kelly 2020),

with other research considering the senior's market (Ward 2014). This research will explore across all life stages the impact of the holiday experience.

Ireland, relative to eleven western European countries, has seen the biggest expansion of its middle-class, with seventy percent of the population now within that category (McWilliams 2019). Research on the impact of a holiday on low-income families has taken place in Ireland (Quinn and Stacey 2010) but surprisingly, given the size of this demographic, there is a gap in the literature on the holiday experiences of the middle-income cohort, which this work will address.

Finally, the overall interpretation of family capital can only be attained by all family members participating in the interview. Even though this can be seen as a methodological approach, in the form of whole-family research (Handel 1996), it is a fundamental feature of this study. The collective and individual understanding from each member of the family leads to an overall interpretation of what happens, when a family goes on holidays.

1.4 Research aim and objectives

The overall aim of this study is to:

Explore the creation of family capital through life stages for middle income families in the context of the Irish holiday.

The research will investigate family capital within a nine stage life cycle model to illustrate how family capital evolves and changes with time. There are five objectives which are detailed below.

Objectives:

1. Contextualise and conceptualise holidays in Ireland.
2. Outline the influences that shape the modern family in Ireland.
3. Identify and categorise middle income families within a life cycle model.

4. Investigate family capital through the stages of the life cycle model in the context of the main holiday.

5. Ascertain the family capital experiences of the holiday for the family unit within each life stage.

Studying oral history transcripts of fifty-eight residents in Ireland, enables the phenomena of a holiday to be situated in an Irish context, thus achieving the first objective. The respondents stories show how a holiday evolves from the early decades on the twentieth century up to the height of the Celtic Tiger era of 2007; with "Celtic Tiger" a phrase from economics that describes the rapid economic growth in Ireland, from the mid 1990's to the late 2000's (Ferriter 2004, p. 674). The narratives form a base from which an understanding of a holiday from an Irish perspective is presented. It is a novel use of oral history transcripts, in illustrating how a holiday has become a social norm in contemporary Ireland.

The modern family resident in Ireland, is heavily influenced in its creation by the church, the state and more recently economic issues and legislation (Share et al. 2012; Inglis 2014). The second objective outlines these major influences on Irish housholds, to present a picture of middle-class life in Ireland at the end of the second decade of the 21st century.

Objective three is achieved by using Wells and Gubar (1966) life cycle model to frame the research within each of nine life stages. Age and stage in life, categorise the families within the model. This theoretical model provides one aspect of the conceptual framework, the scaffolding which supports the analysis of family capital within each life stage.

The life cycle model, as a temporary structure, is critical to the research. It provides the frame to observe the movement and the changes in family capital, through life stages, the fourth objective of the research.

The final objective explores the main influences on family capital at each of the nine stages in the life cycle. All members of the family are interviewed together, to obtain

a family voice, in understanding the movement of family capital. Themes for each of the nine life stages of the Wells and Gubar (1966) model are illustrated.

1.5 The structure of the thesis

A brief description will outline the structure of the thesis in the following eight chapters:

Chapter 2 Family capital and tourism

The literature regarding the development of family capital, has its roots in classical sociological theory, which gives the subject matter the theoretical rigor required of emerging research (Furstenberg 2005). Staying within the discipline of sociology, the evolving meaning of a family and social class is analysed. A definition of the family from the work of DeFrain and Asay (2007b) becomes an anchor definition within this study. The value and use of life cycle models in the study of tourism are outlined. This leads into a fuller discussion on the application of the various forms of social capital within tourism. The chapter situates family capital, within the body of tourism research. An illustration of the conceptual framework concludes the chapter.

Chapter 3 Ireland modern day profile

The purpose of this chapter is to explore the current literature that has relevance to Ireland so that an understanding of the country within a modern context is established. Recent constitutional issues are explored. Demographic details from the most recent census of population, of 2016, will be analysed through the structure of the Wells and Gubar (1966) life cycle model. Social class issues are examined from an Irish perspective, with the rationale for investigating family capital for this specific cohort of society presented. The influence of religion and politics on life in Ireland precedes current research on Irish tourism.

Chapter 4 Methodology

A social constructivists stance is adopted to study family capital. The philosophical assumptions that underline this approach will commence this chapter. The various

"moments of qualitative research" initially outlined by Denzin and Lincoln in 1994 are described. A whole-family methodology devised by Hess and Handel (1959) explores family capital. The methods to collect and analyse the archival data and the family interviews are outlined. Aspects of ethics, health and safety and positionality conclude this chapter.

Chapter 5 Archival Research

Analyses of fifty-eight oral histories form the basis of this chapter which contextualises the holiday within an Irish context. Reading transcripts from the *'Life histories and Social change*' project, an understanding of the meaning of a holiday emerges from the work. The chapter is structured through the decades of the twentieth century and the early noughties. The "inner experiences of individuals" (Faraday and Plummer 1979, p. 776) reveal the concept of a holiday at an individual level. This concept of a holiday is seen to adapt and change, as the nation progresses to a knowledge-based society of the turn of the century. Emigration is a dominant theme throughout the life history accounts. The chapter commences with a brief description of this aspect of Irish life, and how it develops into the VFR market of today.

Chapter 6 Inductive interpretation: holidays without children

Inductive and deductive analysis interpret the participants interview data. This chapter is the first of two inductive analysis chapters. It articulates the participants' accounts of holidays from the non-children life stages. Six themes are established within this chapter.

Chapter 7 Inductive interpretation: holidays with children

This second inductive analysis chapter, explores the experiences of families on holidays with their children, captured within three life stages. Once again, six themes are established, which illustrate within a kaleidoscope diagram, the concept of time.

Chapter 8 Deductive interpretation: across all life stages

Deductive analysis draws together the twelve themes established in the previous two chapters. The themes are broadly interpreted within the forms of social capital within the family Coleman (1988). A definition of family capital within a holiday setting is established.

Chapter 9 Conclusions

The chapter brings together the conclusions of the thesis. Conceptual findings are outlined in this chapter by the use of an illustration. A table displays the themes within each of the stages of the life cycle model. Contributions to knowledge and areas for further research draw the chapter, and thesis to a close.

1.6 Summary

This chapter outlines the background to this research and how the study evolves. Figure 1-1: illustrates the context and concept of the research. The reasons for undertaking this work are explained before the aim and objectives are stated. Each of the five objectives are outlined in full. Finally, the structure of the following eight chapters briefly outlines the direction of this research.

2 FAMILY CAPITAL AND TOURISM

2.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to explore literature that has relevance to the topic of family capital and tourism. Even though this chapter is titled: *Family capital and tourism,* it is initially broken down into three broad sections, family, capital, and tourism. Family is teased out, through the discipline of sociology, into a definition of the family, then contextualised within issues of stratification, and finally, explored by the use of life cycle models. The second broad area under review is capital, and this is initially outlined with James Coleman's (1988) study of *social capital in the family,* before considering other researchers within the field. The impact of a tourism phenomenon, the holiday, is what is fundamentally being explored, so that aspects of tourism permeate the two former areas of family and capital, in that tourism examples are used. So that when considering social class, there is a sub-section on social class and tourism. A physical corpus of work exists within tourism that includes, decision-making and motivation, which will be explored to situate this research.

Four figures are used to illuminate key aspects of this study, with the final figure, the conceptual framework, providing a theoretical overview of the research. Sociology, the title of this next section, will lead into the discussion on family.

2.2 Sociology

Sociology which underpins this research is defined as, "the scientific study of human life" (Giddens and Sutton 2013, p. 4). This discipline which had its origins in the mid-eighteenth century, presents an understanding of how society behaves. Sociology provides intellectual tools, as "ways of understanding" (Craib 1997, p. 3), current social issues. From a sociological perspective, three areas that lay the foundation for this research are explored. They include; the definition of the family,

social class, and life cycle models. The family, which is considered the basic unit of society, (Carlson 2009), is the first area to be investigated.

2.2.1 Family

The family seen as the basic unit of society, is illustrated as the central core of four concentric circles, as shown below in Figure 2-1:, (Eyre and Eyre 2014, p. 10). The outer circles are community, business and furthest away, the government. The family described as the nucleus, provides the structure within which the unit grows and develops with the authors sees this inner structure as the building blocks of society. This modern concept of family is building on work from the 1940's and earlier which will now be considered.

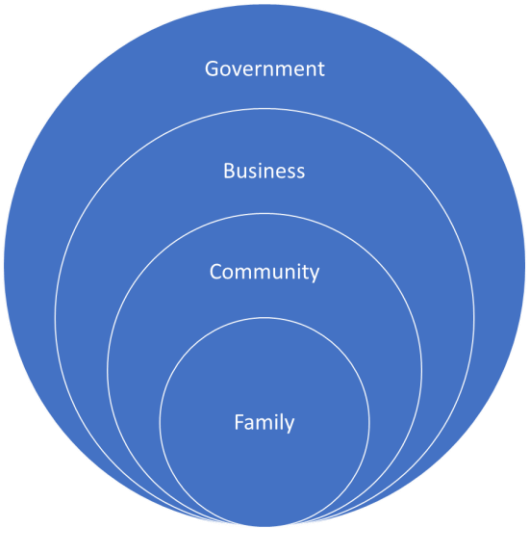


Figure 2-1: Family as the core of society
(Source: Eyre and Eyre 2014, p. 10)

Murdock (1949 cited by Levin 1999) introduced the term "nuclear family" to describe the family as a social group within the broader context of society. Murdock's biological description which was intended to show the family as one of many, became a commonly used unit definition of the family, with a sociology dictionary describing the nuclear family as "a social unit comprising a man and a woman living together

with their children" (Abercrombie et al. 2000, p. 243). Durkheim views the family as an important social system that corrals the individualism inherent in humans and provides a stabilising system that develops and instils the rules and values of society, (Bilton et al. 2002). Children are reared within an environment that teaches these values. The values of society are passed down through the generations, children learn that there are obligations as well as rights living in a society (ibid. 2002). This is a societal definition of the family from the nineteenth century reworked by Eyre and Eyre's in 2014. Using a methodological approach, an individual perspective of a family was proposed by Levin (1999) which evolved from her work of stepfamilies looking at families from within. Through their leisure activities, families can become agents of change within the community (Trussell 2017) linking family activities to their impact on society. Family of orientation is the family that you are born into, with family of procreation the family that you create, a more direct influence on your buyer behavior, (Kotler and Keller 2016, p. 94).

All happy families are alike, each unhappy family is unhappy in its own way is the famous opening line of Tolstoy's novel written in 1873, "Anna Karenina", which suggests that contented families have similar traits, the focus of DeFrain and Asay (2007a) research on family strengths. The authors work, over three decades, identifies that families around the world are similar, with happy families displaying traits over six broad categories that include; appreciation and affection, commitment, positive communication, enjoyable time together, spiritual well-being and the ability to manage stress and crisis effectively (ibid., p. 4). "Sharing fun times, playfulness, humour and enjoying each other's company" are some of the traits identified within the above categories. Second and related to the previous point in that same year, the authors define a family as;

> *"A family is defined as two or more persons who share resources, share responsibility for decisions, share values and goals, and have a commitment to one another over time. The family is that climate that one comes home to and it is this network of sharing and commitments that most accurately describes the family unit, regardless of blood, legal ties, adoption, or marriage."*
>
> (DeFrain and Asay 2007b, p. 284)

This definition encapsulates worldwide traits of love, commitment, time and communication identified by (Eyre and Eyre 2014, p. 8) and will be the definition of

a family used in this work. This interpretation of family avoids categorisation, neatly moves away from such issues as blended families, lone parents, single parents and divorce. Yet, it is specific enough that one can relate to the concept of *the climate that one comes home to,* and identifies the traits of a strong family which are consistent world-wide. Nevertheless, if contention has been side stepped with the definition of a family, it may not be the case with social class which will now be considered.

2.2.2 Social class

Social class issues could be regarded as the spark that ignited the discipline of sociology as it was the movement from a feudal to an industrial society and the changes in social order that generated the writing of Marx and latterly Weber. Marx viewed social class as an aspect of capitalism in that the owners of wealth and property combined to become one ruling class, the bourgeois, who exploited the workers of the newly formed industrial society, the proletariat (Bilton et al. 2002). It was the control of the means of production, land and money that generated the upper class for Marx, not occupation. Weber however saw stratification as more than just ownership of land and viewed inequality as a combination of "class", "status" and "power" (ibid., p. 102). If an individual has strengths in one area say power, they could use this to increase their status in society and each of the three areas were independent of each other (ibid. 2002). Occupation was an important criterion for Weber and the dual class system proposed by Marx was expanded by the skill set an employee had. If an employee had a unique and scarce skillset then they commanded a greater income and thus, had a higher social class so that Weber distinguished four classes, an intellectual class and a small business class between the two classes given by Marx, (Abercrombie et al. 2000). Life chances; the ability of a person to better themselves was an important aspect of Weber's work on social class. Occupation as a means of social stratification has endured in society and many of today's models of social class are based on occupation.

In the UK in the 1970's occupation and employment status was the method adopted to determine social class, a model developed by Goldthorpe and his associates at Nuffield College, Oxford (Goldthorpe 2002). The Great British Class survey of 2011

was used in an analysis of social class and the findings based on a concept of social capital found an "elite" class of six percent of the sample size and at the other extreme a "precariat" class, which representing fifteen percent of the population was a significant group. The cohort represented by the traditional working class and middle class still existed, but the demarcation lines were blurred, and the traditional methods of occupation did not fully capture new types of "service workers" which according to the survey seem to be the children of the old working class. There is greater fragmentation of the middle cohort (Savage et al. 2013). Beck (2007) and Atkinson (2007) debate the significance of individualization, that is the impact of transnational risk of global corporations, on social class. Nevertheless, the middle cohort still exists, even if Beck (2013) has issues with the terminology used.

Social class as opposed to race has a greater impact on child rearing, (Lareau 2002), with a different emphasis on values inculcated in middle class to working class children (Kohn 1969). Lareau's work endorses Kohn's classic research, in that middle class families promote self-development and life skills, encapsulated in the phrase "concerted cultivation", (Lareau 2002, p. 752). Gilles, (2005) outlined the importance of child rearing, and the need for greater material and social supports for parents, in dissipating the inequalities of social class. More recently, the theme of support is outlined in the introduction to a literary work, in which successful artists, that move between the two worlds of middle and working class, pass on their "precious knowledge" to emerging artists trying to progress (McVeigh 2021, p. 1). Stratification issues prevalent today in Ireland and the UK are outlined in the introduction to this anthology of short stories, with issues relevant to tourism considered in the next section.

2.2.2.1 Social class and tourism

Class dimensions are an important factor in the leisure activities of families with working and middle class, families having a different perspective to leisure. (Harrington 2014). Working-class families focus on being together and keeping the children away from "bad influences", with middle-class parents concerned with the self-development and life skills that leisure activities can offer their children, (ibid.,

p. 13). Family outings reinforce class divisions was the "sad conclusion" according to Karsten and Felder (2015, p. 215) of their study of leisure activities within a city environment. The morose findings stems in part, from the fact that free to enter public spaces were not availed of, by the lower income families living in the same neighbourhood as the other families within the research. Both Harrington (2014) and Karsten and Felder's (2015) work are consistent with the findings of Lareau (2002), in that leisure activities are used in the cultivation of middle-class children.

Specifically within the area of tourism, the type of holiday that one takes is a "position marker" of their place on the social ladder (Krippendorf 1987, p. 18). More recently, considering the future of tourism, Yeoman (2012) discusses simple and fluid identities in which wealth will be a key driver of activities by 2050. Fluid identities represent privilege tourists, who can avail of diverse tourism activities and locations, with the remainder of society, more cost conscious, availing of technologies and social networks to access tourism products (Yeoman 2012, p. 50). Thus, making it much more difficult to market tourism, as the tourist of tomorrow will not respond to the predictive behaviour currently demarcated by socio-economic status.

Social tourism is made up of a sub-set of four distinct groupings in society that would usually be excluded from tourism (Minnaert et al. 2012). They include senior citizens, young people, families, and people with disabilities (Diekmann et al. 2012). An empirical study, based on low-season domestic holidays in the UK, established the benefits of a holiday, in increasing family capital for low-income groups (Minnaert et al., 2009). In a review of this emerging area of research, tourism should be viewed as a remedy for social problems (McCabe and Qiao 2020), changing the emphasis from offering tourism to everyone, encapsulated in the phrase "tourism for all", (Minnaert et al. 2012, p. 23) to its ability to solve current social issues.

Insights regarding social class within Ireland will be outlined in chapter three, (see section 3.4 social class). The passage of life, depicted in life cycle models will now be analysed initially looking at their evolution, strengths, and weaknesses and then their application in tourism.

2.2.3 Life cycle models

"And one man in his time plays many parts, His acts being seven ages" (Shakespeare 1623). The seven ages of man are defined periods in a person's life from childhood up to old age, and this chronological progression through life, as described by Shakespeare, was superseded in the early twentieth century by a life cycle model which combines age with stages in life, single or married. It was first used in 1903 by Rowntree to depict poverty in York (Murphy and Staples 1979). In the 1930's Loomis progresses the sociological work of Rowntree, which is based on city life, and outlines the differences in life cycle for urban and rural communities with a four-stage model (Loomis 1936). In the 1950's with research on property ownership, it was established that life cycle stage was a more accurate predictor of behaviour than age (Lansing and Kesh 1957). A complex twenty-four stage life cycle model was developed in the early sixties in the development of family theory, (Rodgers 1964). Adopting a marketing perspective, Wells and Gubar (1966) proposed a nine-stage life cycle model based on three variables, age, marital status and employment status.

This model will now be outlined in full.

1. *Bachelor stage; young single people not living at home*
2. *Newly married couples; young, no children*
3. *Full nest I; youngest child under six*
4. *Full nest II; youngest child six or over six*
5. *Full nest III; older married couples with dependent children*
6. *Empty nest I; older married couples, no children living with them, head in labour force*
7. *Empty nest II; older married couples, no children living at home, head retired*
8. *Solitary survivor, in labour force*
9. *Solitary survivor, retired.*

(Wells and Gubar 1966, p. 362)

One of the strengths of this model is the specific categories of each of the nine stages, in that a family with young children are fully defined as *Full Nest I,* if the dependents are under the age of six, and *Full Nest II* if they are school-going children. Older married couples with dependent children *Full Nest III,* incorporate families with

children in third level education. In relation to employment status, the model is not gender specific in so far as *Head in labour force*, referred to in *Empty Nest I and II* does not specifically relate to the husband and is a little noticed strength of the model.

Notwithstanding this there are issues using a life cycle model in the study of consumer behaviour, with the most significant being the incompatibility of families to any of the nine stages identified above. Wells and Gubar (1966) give the example of households with dependent parents living with their married adult children, and raise the concern that spending patterns may be incorrectly observed. A second stated observation by the researchers, is that purchasing behaviour should be separated out for each social class as consumption differs with social stratification, (ibid. 1966). Murphy and Staples (1979) in capturing changes in demographics, decline in family size, delay in first marriage, and divorce propose a five-stage model with thirteen sub-categories. This model for all its complexity still did not capture co-habiting couples (Gursoy 2000). Zimmerman (1982 cited by Backer 2012) proposed a twelve-stage family life cycle with a separate six stage single-parent cycle, which she acknowledged as being too complex. Backer updated the model and using fourteen different stages was unable to capture all family types (Backer 2012).

Early life, transitioning from *bachelor stage* to marriage and family was the focus of research by (Rapoport and Rapoport 1965) in which they studied the adaptation of the work to life stages. There are various writers who have tried to update and modify the Wells and Gubar model to reflect changes in family structure, but fifty years later it has stood the test of time, reflected by its incorporation into many contemporary tourism text books, e.g. (Weaver and Lawton 2014). The use of life cycle models in the study of tourism will now be considered.

Fodness (1992) used the Wells and Gubar model in analysing aspects of the decision-making process for the family holiday. Only using five out of the nine stages, Fodness restricted his sample to married couples only. More effective segmentation of the tourism market in New Zealand, by the use of the Wells and Gubar life cycle model was the finding of research by Lawson (1991). Lawson adapted Wells and Gubar's model slightly in three areas: the age of *The Full Nest I* category was reduced to youngest child under five to fit with the commencement of primary education of the respondents; nondependent children were included in *Full Nest III;* finally stage eight,

S*olitary survivor, in the labour force* was combined with stage nine, S*olitary survivor, retired* as numbers in these final life stages were too small (Lawson 1991).

Other researchers within tourism considered various aspects of life stages with Mckercher and Yankholmes (2018) study, looking at the travel behaviour of tourists in the *Bachelor stage*, and within this same stage, Monaco (2018) investigated the emerging tourism trends of Generation Y and Z, those born between 1980 and 2010. Extensive research exists of families at the *Full Nest stages I, and II*, with Gram (2006) using those exact demarcation lines in her qualitative research of Danish and German family holidaymakers, and the influence of children at various life stages in the decision-making process of the holiday, (Thornton et al. 1997; Nickerson and Jurowski 2001). Holiday requirements at each stage are uniquely different and this was observed in the work of Khoo-Lattimore et al. (2015) who advised of travel distance being a key determinant in holidays for families with young children where a young child was defined as twelve years or younger. Therkelsen's (2010) qualitative study of the family holiday outlined the indirect influence of the *Full Nest I* family with youngest child under six and the direct influence that evolves as children get older with *Full Nest II* children six years and older. A gendered perspective is taken on time with children, specifically the time fathers have with adolescent children (Milkie et al. 2004). A more recent study on the well-being of adolescents found that eating meals together was beneficial (Offer 2013) and specifically when away on holidays the bonding opportunities created by meal times (Schänzel and Lynch 2016). The later stages of the life-cycle model are considered in tourism under the growing area of empty nester research.

Silver surfers, a visually effective image of surfers between the ages of forty-five and seventy years, formed part of a UK based research study on the experience of older surfers (Wheaton 2017). Young seniors, aged between fifty-five and sixty years, no longer identify with the traditional senior tourism market, in part due to better mental and physical health (Chen and Shoemaker 2014). A study based in Taiwan on the retiree market investigated income source and holiday duration (Chen and Chen 2018) with the desire to travel decreasing, but expenditure increasing with age (Bernini and Cracolici 2015). Within the UK, specific research for *Solitary survivor*, stages eight and nine of the Wells and Gubar (1966) model can be located in social tourism research with the work of Morgan et al. (2015), in which participants aged between

sixty-eight and eighty-five are interviewed. Still within social tourism, the use of a life cycle model as a research tool was more informative, than age alone in understanding holiday practices over the life span (Diekmann et al. 2020). Finally using the life cycle model in its entirety, research from America and Australia will now be presented.

Bojanic (1992) developed a modernised version of the Wells and Gubar life cycle model which included two extra stages; single parents, and middle-aged couples without children; with middle aged being defined as between forty and forty-nine years (ibid., p. 69) and showed that these two extra segments were viable tourism markets. In more recent work Bojanic (2011) uses his modernised life cycle model to analyse Mexican visitor shopping experiences. Survey work using an abridged version of the Wells and Gubar model was conducted by Hong et al. (2005) on travel expenditure patterns, and on resort loyalty Choi et al. (2011). In Australia, an eleven-stage family life cycle model based on Wells and Gubar's (1966) work was used in the National Visitor Survey, from which the VFR market was examined (Backer and Lynch 2016). Of interest to this research is the fact that the survey retained the demarcation line of six years for the *Full Nest I* category, which the authors regretted as school in Australia generally commences for children at the age of five years (ibid., p. 451).

The evolution of life cycle models, their strengths and weaknesses in different research disciplines and their relevance today has been discussed in this section. The Wells and Gubar model was analysed and the summary Figure 2-2: below, outlines the main features of the model illustrating the nine stages over five categories.

Bachelor	Couple	Full Nest			Empty Nest		Solitary Survivor	
		I	II	III	I	II	Working	Retired
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Stages								
Life cycle model								

Figure 2-2: Life cycle model summary

(*Source:* Wells and Gubar 1966, p. 362)

From within the discipline of sociology, life cycle models were developed, which were then adapted in the 1960's for the study of consumer behaviour and latterly to reflect changes in society. Within tourism literature life cycle models have been used as conceptual frameworks, within specific stages and across the entire life cycle. The ability of life cycle models to capture modern family life have been considered, offering the opportunity to granularly analyse a specific phenomenon over a life course. Within an Irish context, the alignment of middle-income families to the stages of the life cycle model will be detailed in chapter three (see section 3.3.1. census data through life stages). The Wells and Gubar model through its precisely defined stages will enable middle income families in Ireland to be categorised and identified to a particular life stage. The advantage of this approach, to the study of holidaying is that families at all stages of life will be captured in this model. Visually, the model will become a scaffold, the conceptual frame, within which family capital will be analysed. With aspects of the conceptual framework now presented, family capital the theoretical framework will be analysed, initially with a definition of capital.

2.3 Capital

"Accumulated wealth used in producing more" is the Oxford dictionary meaning of the word capital and within its meaning is the suggestion that there is a base of resources (OED 1969). In this section three forms of capital will be analysed with "social capital in the family" commencing the analysis, tracing its origins, forms, and application in tourism research. Social capital now a ubiquitous phrase due to the highly acclaimed work of Robert Putnam will then be considered. Cultural capital, the work of Pierre Bourdieu is the third aspect of capital and work in this area will lead to an overall analysis of these forms of capital.

Even though it would suggest that each form of capital can be neatly segregated and discussed independently, sociologists use the words interchangeably and presenting their work in stand-alone sections is challenging. Although, they are writing in similar time frames of the late eighties, there are obvious and subtle differences between each academic's work. This section concludes with a comparison of all three works.

2.3.1 Social capital in the family

The concept of "social capital" is over one hundred years old with the first reference by Hanifan, an education state supervisor in West Virginia in the USA, (1916 cited by Putnam 2000, p. 19). Within the same discipline, education, seventy years later James Coleman coined the phrase social capital looking at the drop-out rate of students from school, (Coleman 1988). In his work, a combination of theories from sociology and economics were used to create a new theoretical framework in the study of high-school retention rates in the USA. Coleman's work will be explained in full so that the sociological underpinnings of this current research, the foundations are established. Norms and values, customs and religion are social facts into which we are born according to the work of Durkheim, and rational thought is an aspect of action theory as defined by Weber (Bilton et al. 2002). These classical sociologists' theories are combined with the work of economists who see people as goal orientated individuals that maximise their own self-interests (Coleman 1988). Social capital as defined by Coleman then is a resource something of value that has three forms, obligations and expectations, information channels and social norms (ibid., s. 95). Each strand is outlined below, followed by an evaluation of each strand of Coleman's perspective of social capital within the family, in the context of research in family tourism.

Obligations and expectations are the needs of the group that you are in, and using the wholesale diamond market in New York, Coleman illustrates this concept in which diamond merchants pass precious gems to one another around the city to examine, without concern that fake stones will be substituted for real diamonds, due to the social capital built up within the group. Diamond merchants are a closed organisation typically made up of Jewish families who know one another very well and can often be related by marriage. There is a high degree of trust within this social environment. The obligations and expectations of the group ensure that fraud does not take place in the exchange of diamonds. This example will be referred to, again shortly.

The colloquial phrase "knows a man who can" perfectly encapsulates the concept of *information channels* outlined by Coleman. To acquire information takes time and energy so that the quickest and most efficient source of information is from the

contacts that a person has, the network of social relations. Similar to obligations and expectations "credit slips" are earned based on the information provided (ibid., s. 104).

Using a family example which aligns a little closer to this work, Coleman advises that a family moved to Jerusalem from Detroit as the mother felt that her young children could travel by bus around the city of Jerusalem freely, as they would be looked after by the adults in the area, unlike the US city where this level of security or social capital is not available. The *social norms* of adults looking out for children were not present in Detroit; this social capital was available in Jerusalem (ibid., s. 99).

Many aspects of Coleman's work resonate strongly with family holidays but in particular a final aspect, social capital quite often does not benefit the giver in that the person who might watch out for a child on a bus will receive no benefit from this action. The benefit goes to all within that broad structure, families living in that community. Social capital benefits society, not the person who performs the action. Social capital is a public good. A mother heavily involved in the voluntary activities of a school who decides to return to work in paid employment may be doing something of value for herself and her immediate family, but her actions will have consequences for the school and a loss for the academic community that depended upon her altruism, according to Coleman (1988, s. 116). Financial capital; money invested in assets, and human capital; the development of skills, is tangible and measurable with the benefits accruing to the individual but social capital due to its intangible nature and of no direct benefit to the individual, can be withdrawn and often is as a "by-product of other activities" (ibid., s. 118). This lack of social capital within the family will lead according to Coleman, to the decline of human capital in successive generations.

A final concept with Coleman's work is "closure of social networks" (ibid., s. 105). This refers to the commitment and trust that is established within a closed social structure. A family and the Jewish community referred to earlier are two examples. By means of contrast, an open structure is where there are no connections, between members of a group. Within a closed structure, the actions of one member within the group can affect other members, so that normative behaviour becomes more effective. The members within the group depend on one another, with trust building over time.

Coleman's concept of social capital within the family was used to study educational outcomes in the late eighties. He established that drop-out rates from high school were significantly lower when there were high levels of social capital within the family. Thus, the importance of social capital in the creation of human capital, was ascertained in this study (Coleman 1988).

Social capital within the family evolved into family capital in the same discipline with the work of Majoribanks (1992) research, on educational outcomes of adolescents. Majoribanks follow-up study six years later endorsed the earlier work, advising that family capital increased due to educational aspirations of the parents for their child and the levels of perception by the adolescents, (Majoribanks 1998). Within education, Parcel and Dufur (2001) built on Coleman's work and advised that social capital is the relations among individuals, with family capital the bonds between parents and children, (Parcel and Dufur 2001, p. 882). Parents may not have high levels of financial capital, for example the ability to pay for school books, but have time to sit down with the child, go through homework, thus demonstrating high levels of family capital which is critical to the academic outcomes of children according to Parcel and Dufur (2001). Family capital as a construct moved into the discipline of tourism which will now be considered.

2.3.1.1 Family capital and tourism

Family capital as a theoretical underpinning of tourism research was used in work on social tourism in 2009. A holiday for the family increased family capital and social networks, and the break was beneficial in the medium term for society, and short-term for the family, (Minnaert et al. 2009). This research study based within the UK, establishes the value of a holiday in generating family capital, specifically within the cohort of low-income families. Notwithstanding that the context is different, the value of a holiday for middle-income families will be the focus of this research. "Tourism builds family capital" is the title of future emerging themes in tourism research (Yeoman and Schänzel 2012). In a follow up article in 2014 the researchers advised of the fragmented, individualised, and limited research on family tourism, (Schänzel and Yeoman 2014). Aspects of family capital can be observed in tourism

research, and the next three sections will consider each strand; obligations and expectations, social norms and finally information channels.

2.3.1.2 Obligations and expectations

Family leisure is a new obligation of parenthood according to Shaw (2008), and the family holiday is used as a means of developing the ideologies of the family. The holiday reinforces the roles of the parents, albeit in a relaxed environment and the term "purposive leisure" captures the role the holiday has, in facilitating particular functions of family life (Shaw and Dawson 2001, p. 228). In more recent work, this Canadian study, using economic terminology, discusses the function of the holiday to create memories. The holiday is seen as an "investment" and "worth the effort" in generating memories, the foundation for the children's future roles as parents (Shaw et al. 2008, p. 24). The memories are seen as something which can be banked for future use. This research study originating from Canada, is significant in that it develops the concept of family capital, even retaining the economic analogies within a family holiday setting.

Legoland in Denmark was the location of research carried out in 1999 where parents discussed the importance of "self-denial" and "duty at this life stage" in their excursion to the theme park (Johns and Gyimóthy 2002, p. 328). These responses have connotations of investment that is time bound, the children need to be brought to Legoland now, at this stage of their development. The parents discuss the duty, the sacrifice made, which the authors advise have implications for the theme park but taken from a family capital perspective, can be seen as the investment required for their young children (Johns and Gyimóthy 2002).

2.3.1.3 Social norms

The success of the family holiday is a measure of the family's happiness. This insight from research carried out by Gram (2005) highlights the social expectations of the

family holiday. The holiday is depicted as an opportunity to connect, to bond, and to build family cohesion, but as Gram's research on the family holiday outlines, this does not necessarily always happen.

Class dimension of leisure activities was the focus of research by Harrington (2014) in which low income and middle-income families from Brisbane in Australia participated in the work, and it was established that there is a different emphasis on leisure activities by each cohort. The study considers all forms of leisure and not specifically holidays, but it is of value in that the middle-income families need to "display" their leisure activities in keeping with the third strand of family capital; social norms (Harrington 2014, p. 483). From Harrington's work family capital may have a different meaning for middle income families increasing the need for research in the area of family capital for middle income groups.

A gendered view of the social norms of holidaying was considered in the work of Schänzel and Smith (2011) with men taking an active role in the entertainment of children when both parents were on the vacation. The family holiday was a time for the mother to relax and the father to be involved in the daily activities with the children, a switching of parental roles in this temporary social construct that is the family holiday.

Holidays offer older children, between the ages of nine and fourteen years, the opportunity to display correct etiquette adhering to the social norms of formal dining (Hay 2017). The holiday presented the children with a relaxed environment in which they could act out the roles of adults in a hotel setting. This allowed space for the appropriate conduct to be demonstrated in a dining environment. The children are aware of their ambassadorial role, reflecting the family values in the restaurant (Hay 2017).

A prescriptive norm identified by Coleman (1988, s. 104) is a norm that one should "forego self-interest and act in the interest of the collective*"* has resonated in family tourism research (Johns and Gyimóthy 2002; Schänzel and Smith 2011; Hay 2017. Coleman discusses status and honour to reinforce this norm. Information channels is the final form of social capital in the family and will now be explored in relation to tourism.

2.3.1.4 Information channels

Strong ties are the bonds within our close network of friends and weak ties are the lesser-known associates, people described as "less likely to be socially involved with" (Granovetter 1983, p. 201) and it is this second group that is most valuable in making connections a "bridge" (Granovetter 1973, p. 1364). The concept of strong and weak ties developed by Granovetter is widely reference in academia. Coleman consulted Granovetter before submitting his own work on social capital in the development of human capital.

Bridging social capital was evidenced in the acts of kindness extended to tourists (Filep et al. 2017). In this nature-based tourism research, academics were using the temporal setting of tourism to examine the connections made between strangers, that of hosts and tourists. Acts of kindness gave the tourist a greater sense of trust in the locals, and a willingness to accept more risk. It is noteworthy in that an act of kindness extended to a family party on a holiday may enhance the holiday experience and simultaneously demonstrating to the children the value of weak ties, the random connections made on holidays. A uniquely defined incident within a holiday setting, examples of acts of kindness, may be noted in this research and its impact on the development of family capital.

Children meet other children on the holiday, establishing a link between both families which is seen as an aspect of the motivation for a holiday, in the "facilitation of social interaction" (Crompton 1979, p. 419). The information channels develop within a family chronologically, as a single person's network of friends, as a couple each other and their friends, and then, the full nest through the children (Crompton 1979). The ebb and flow of information channels through life stages will be analysed in the study of the family holiday.

Notwithstanding the developments in family capital, an understanding of social capital which will now be explored, will illustrated how the two concepts have evolved.

2.3.2 Social capital

The theme of declining social capital was the central argument of an influential book titled: "Bowling Alone*"* by Putnam (2000). Social capital is the connections between people and like other forms of capital has value. Inherent in the definition of social capital are the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness (Putnam 2000, p. 21). According to Putnam, social capital differs from civic virtue due to the exchange nature of the concept. Isolated civic minded individuals will not lead to a society rich in social capital. The element of exchange is essential. Social capital has benefits for the individual and for society (ibid., p. 20). Bonding social capital is formed within groups of like-minded individuals, the connections between people, it is inward looking. Bridging social capital provides links, like a bridge it spans across a divide and it is inclusive. Bonding as glue, and bridging as lubricant, visually distinguishes the two forms of this concept (ibid., p. 23). It builds on Granovetter's (1983) strong and weak ties, with strong ties the close bonds developed between people, and weak ties the loose connections, the source of useful information. Finally, Burt (2000) views social capital in the context of the loose connections between people, similar to the weak ties of Granovetter's work.

The cohort of society born before World War II has the highest level of social engagement, depleting with each successive generation, their children and grandchildren. Generational factors accounted for fifty percent, nearly half of the overall decline in social capital (Putman 2000, p. 283). The war had a levelling impact on society, everyone was affected, all in it together, people had to trust one another and share resources, in short learnt behaviour. Successive generations became less embedded in society, they didn't need to rely on their neighbours and individualism become more predominant, leading to a gradual decline in social capital from the 1960's onwards. There are two significant findings in Putnam's work that are relevant to this research. Firstly, the breakdown in family structure had no impact on the decline in social capital (ibid., p. 279). Secondly, generational factors had a major impact on social cohesion which may suggest that the study of the family vacation through life courses will illuminate the development of family capital. Children will replicate their holiday experiences in the next generation for their children. As the

baton is passed in a relay race, a family moves through life stages and this work will investigate if family capital can be evidenced, as passing through each generation.

A campsite was the location for the development of the concept of fleeting ties based on the theoretical constructs of social capital (Dickinson et al. 2017). Fleeting ties, a weaker connection than the strong and loose ties of Granovetter (1983), are formed from the community like atmosphere created in a campsite. Campers look after each other and by use of mobile media, offer information and other valuable insights without the need for a reciprocal arrangement (Dickinson et al. 2017). It is insightful due to the application of technology and the concept of social capital in a tourism setting.

Cultural capital moves between aspects of family capital and social capital and yet, when parsed out it is a concept fully complete in its own structure. This final section on cultural capital will lead into a discussion on all forms of capital.

2.3.3 Cultural capital

Bourdieu (1986) defines cultural capital in the exception, capital other than social capital, the connections between people, economic capital convertible to money, with cultural capital then embracing all other forms of social gain. The concept has three states, embodied, objectified, and institutionalised (Bourdieu 1986, p. 244). The embodied state requires time developing one's own competencies in areas such as etiquette, linguistic ability or appreciation of the arts. It is individually acquired. The task cannot be outsourced to another individual. Bourdieu illustrates this concept with a holiday analogy in that a person must develop their own suntan (ibid., p. 245). The ability to appreciate a painting, which cannot be economically valued, is known as objectified capital. Institutional capital is the capital conferred on an individual from their association with an organisation, such as a degree from a top-ranking university (ibid., p. 246). According to Bourdieu, economic capital supersedes all other forms of capital, money can buy you connections which is social capital: money can buy you art, but have you acquired an appreciation of your purchase? This is the essence of cultural capital, it takes time. Time spent by the individual to gain an understanding

of the art work. Finally considering time in its chronological sense, cultural capital acquired at an early age, in childhood, has a distinctive value that can manifest itself in pronunciation (ibid., p. 245), which depicts a level of education. This may suggest that a holiday for a child is of greater worth than a holiday for a retired person, due to its educational values. Holiday participation through life stages will be considered in this work, and the distinctive value of cultural capital acquired in youth will be investigated.

Cultural capital has many similarities to social capital in the family developed by Coleman in 1988. The phenomena were recognised by the sociologists in education in the observations of children predominately from middle class backgrounds excelling, due to the latent resources they have, above general aptitude and the skill-set of the teacher. Notwithstanding this, the major difference between the two academics is that cultural capital dies with the individual (Bourdieu 1986, p. 245). Social capital in the family, evolving to family capital (Majoribanks 1992) is still retained even if one family member dies. The memories of a family holiday are experienced individually and collectively, each person has their own unique perception of the holiday and there is a collective narrative that can be accessed by any member of the family.

The writings of Coleman, Putnam and Bourdieu have been individually explored. Their research predominately from the late eighties will be considered alongside recent work on the various forms of capital.

2.3.4 Synthesising the forms of capital

Social capital is a long-lived asset, that is appropriable, (Coleman 1988) and convertible (Bourdieu 1986), existing within the relations between people (Coleman 1988). Due to these features of appropriability and convertibility, social capital, is a form of capital (Adler and Kwon 2002). However, unlike other forms of capital it cannot be measured, and must be viewed in a metaphorical sense (Adler and Kwon 2002, p. 22). Nevertheless, the exploration of family capital will require qualitative research involving the whole family, according to Furstenberg (2005). He highlights

the importance of assessing the expectations of family members, the sense of obligation to turn up at family events, linking into the social norms, and obligations and expectations strands, of Coleman's (1988) theory. Taking a health perspective, in measuring family capital at a micro level, the use of a life course approach needs to be adopted, as social norms and values change over the various life stages, (Carrillo-Álvareza et al. 2017, p. 24).

Within specific life stages, parental time was the key influence on adolescent behaviour in terms of drink driving, according to Guohe et al. (2016). The authors theoretically advanced Coleman's (1988) work on family capital using secondary data analysis of a youth survey conducted in 2012. Knowing that the parents would check if homework was done, and concerns over substance abuse, resulted in teenagers adjusting their behaviour, a normative effect of parental care. The communication and attention by the parents towards children, the essence of family capital has implications for substance abuse in young adults (Guohe et al. 2016). The value of bridging and bonding social capital changes through life stages of motorboat racers, with bonding social capital of greater value to the inexperienced and generally younger athletes, and bridging social capital of greater emphasis to the senior athletes (Fukugawa 2018). This work shows the movement of social capital through life stages albeit stages in a sports career.

A romanticised view of social capital is often portrayed in academic literature, according to Portes (1998) in his study of the work of Bourdieu, Loury and Coleman. Writers have extolled the virtues of social capital, without due consideration to the inhibiting forces of family connections, group norms, and restriction on individual freedom, (Portes 1998, p. 8). Specifically, in relation to families, obligations and expectation can inhibit creativity. Dense social networks are forms of social control. Recently, Portes cites the work of Levine et al. (2014) to demonstrate the overreliance of trust within a community led to stock market crashes, colloquially known as "group think", and advises on the need for self-reliance and adherence to regulations (Portes 2014).

Within leisure studies, critics of Putnam's work question the ability of poorer communities to develop social capital, taking a class perspective in line with the work

of Bourdieu, and outline how the issue of trust is not fully explored (Blackshaw and Long 2005).

Family, social, and cultural capital have been analysed and this next section considers research in the specific area of family tourism.

2.4 Family tourism

There is a growing body of work that explores family tourism with books specifically in this area (see Carr 2011; Schänzel and Yeoman 2014: Schänzel and Carr 2016) and within social tourism (see McCabe et al. 2012). Family leisure is considered from a social justice and equality perspective, (see Trussell and Jeanes 2021). Various writers have researched aspects of family tourism which will now be outlined, commencing with the traditional seaside holiday.

At the beach, with the children playing in the sea, and the parents watching on, was a moment of family flow, all the family are in a state of complete absorption (Larsen 2013). Combining flow theory, the work of Csikszentmihalyi et al. (2018) and Apter's reversal theory (1982 cited by Larsen 2013), Larsen investigated the family being together on holidays. This work illustrated that holiday pleasure is not linear, there are moments of great happiness, joy, excitement, when one is completely absorbed in an activity, in the sea, and at other occasions needing down time, playing with the Nintendo. There needs to be a balance of inactivity and activity for both the children and the parents. Parents want a relaxing break, and this is achieved around the activities of the children, the beach scene identified, combines the immersive pursuits of the children, and the relaxing inactive role of the parents (Larsen 2013).

The type of leisure that families take part in, was the subject of research undertaken by Zabriskie and McCormick (2001). A combination of core and balanced leisure activities was necessary for effective family functioning. Core leisure is the routine daily activities and includes playing board games and watching television. Balanced activities are novel, one-off experiences, with the family holiday a prime example. A salient finding is that core activities such as playing board games have a longer-term impact on family cohesiveness than balanced activities (ibid. 2001).

The correct mix of activities on the holiday is required for both parents and children (Gram 2005). A holiday must have a balance of active and inactive activities for everyone, both parents, and children. Going to museums from the parents' perspective is seen as an engaging experience, but for the children may be regarded as boring. A successful holiday measured in "moments" is an important indicator of the family's own measure of happiness and cohesiveness according to Gram (2005, p. 18). Gram outlines the pressure for families to have a good holiday, the holiday acts as a mirror into family life, the ability to reveal normal practices that might otherwise remain opaque, as outlined in the opening pages of the seminal work "The tourist Gaze" (Urry and Larsen 2011, p. 3).

The normal practice of daily life is considered by Obrador (2012) when he talks about the "domesticity" of the family holiday, in which he means the living out of family life on holidays, and "the meaning of home" when on vacation. Lamenting the fact that very little work considers the family unit on holidays, (ibid., p. 417); Obrador discusses the rituals of family life, the ability of a holiday to be a socially constructed space in which a family can perform (ibid., p. 414). He agrees with Carr (2011), in that the holiday provides the opportunity for the "healthy maintenance of the happy family", (Obrador 2012, p. 412). The renewal of family life is explored in the work of Cheong and Sin (2019) in which the holiday offers the space away from daily life, where the family have the opportunity to rediscover their own identity. The learning that takes place when on holiday is the focus of qualitative research in which US and Chinese students recall their family holiday (Wu et al. 2021). The ability to pack a suitcase and navigate an airport were examples of "travel related skills", with the value and importance of family considered under the area of "Wisdom" (ibid., p. 50). Tourism studies have often taken the notion of the family for granted (Kelly 2020, p. 3) with the creation of memorable holiday experiences, the basis of her case study of beach holidays in Brighton. In this work, Kelly establishes that a holiday is not necessarily an escape from home, but rather the making of home (ibid., p. 17). Yet, women in their forties, according to Small (2005) want a holiday on their own, away from the daily activities of caring for the family.

The stress of the family holiday, often caused by inadequate facilities in accommodation, and the varying needs of families at different life stages, was a finding of the work by Backer and Schänzel, (2012). Holidays with young children,

and in particular, toddlers, were very stressful, but spending time with the family was the main reason for taking the holiday (ibid., p. 119). A holiday, rather succinctly stated, can be more work than "working", (Gram 2005, p. 17). Notwithstanding this, establishing if the negative experience when the children are sulking and bored take away from the holiday, reduce the value, the worth of the holiday will require further investigation. Up through the life cycle are older dependent children seeking the same mix of intense activity and quieter moments, and are empty nest families reverting to the holiday activities of their own bachelor and co-habiting stages. These are areas that have not being fully developed in current research but will be explored in the study of family capital through life stages.

Finally, a holiday should be seen as an opportunity to find your own inner self, rather than a holiday "away from oneself" (Krippendorf 1987, p. 130). The holiday is a break away for the family to reconnect and as a social practice strengthens connections in society (Schänzel 2013, p. 12). In a similar vein to Krippendorf's earlier work, the holiday is seen not as an escape "from" home but more about time "with" the family (Schänzel 2021, p. 128). Research on decision-making not considered elsewhere within this chapter, will now be reviewed.

2.4.1 Decision-making

Extensive research has taken place on holiday decision-making (Li et al. 2020), with work in the early eighties, establishing that joint decision-making between the husband, wife, and children is a feature of holiday purchases (Van Raaij and Francken 1984). Twenty years later, a Belgian longitudinal study establishes that decision-making is an on-going process (Decrop and Snelders 2004). Demographic and social changes of the last thirty years have led to changes in the decision-making process of family holidays (Bronner and de Hoog 2008). Women have joined the labour force, increasing their influence on purchases (Kang and Hsu 2005), so that joint decision-making is more prevalent, with compromise sought on areas of conflict (Bronner and de Hoog 2008). The different stages of the family holiday decisions was the focus of research undertaken in Spain, with the initial decision to go on holidays predominately taken by the woman, if she works outside the home, otherwise it is a

joint decision, (Rojas-de-Gracia et al. 2018, p. 612). Methodological rigor was a key criteria in this Spanish work, with a questionnaire distributed to each parent, as a response from one person may not fully reflect the couple's viewpoint, (Rojas-de-Gracia et al. 2019). Each member of the couple exerted different levels of influence depending on the aspect of the holiday under consideration, (ibid, p. 62). All stages in the decision-making process will evolve further, with advances in technology, by the use of artificial intelligence, and virtual reality systems (Stylos 2020).

Decision-making is more complex when the needs of all family members have to be considered (Kim et al, 2020). Children perceive a high level of impact on the decision-making, yet the parents perception of children's impact is considered to be moderate (Gram 2007). This was a study of Danish and German children up to the age of twelve years, which was somewhat in keeping with the earlier work of Belch et al. (1985), where teenagers felt they had a greater impact on the decision-making process for holidays, due to the impact on their lives. Tweens, children between the ages of eight and twelve years, however, have a greater influence on the decision-making at the destination (Blichfeldt at al. 2011). Post-purchase behaviour, in keeping with the work of Van Raaij and Francken (1984), is strongly influenced by the parents, with the children not having a significant impact (Kozak and Duman 2012). In a study of 119 students ranging in ages from ten years to eighteen years, it was established that girls have a greater influence on parents, in the purchase of tourism products, with the influence lower where the parents are highly educated, (Tiago and Tiago 2013). Adolescents are involved in the decision-making process for family holidays, with greater involvement in the destination selection phase, by teenagers from dual-income families, are the findings of survey research conducted in India (Ashraf and Khan 2016). Democratic decision-making was the outcome of a large-scale study across twenty-five societies around the world, where data was collected from adolescent children, (Cheng et al. 2019). There was evidence of role specialisation across sub-divisions of the decision-making between the parents, (ibid, p. 772.), with pre-vacation issues dealt with jointly by the parents in the US, and individually be the mother or father in Great Britain (ibid, p. 773). In South Korea, three-generational research was conducted, with the second generation the most dominant decision-makers, (Yang et al. 2020).

The concept of family identity bundles (Epp and Price 2008) moves decision-making research in a different direction, with the focus shifting from who made the decision, to how the decisions are made, within the family. Family dynamics shift and change with each decision, and who they are as a family, their own identity, will determine the choices made. The identity framework was used in research on the holiday decision for families with young children, and illuminated how "the travel decisions are shaped" (Wang and Li 2020, p. 498).

In summary, in recent years decision-making research has explored in greater detail the influence of the various family members on the holiday decisions, with family identity bundles methodology teasing out further, how the decisions are made. The reasons why one takes a holiday are explored under the broad area of motivation.

2.4.2 Motivation

Motivation research within tourism explores the reasons why people go on holidays. People discuss the need for a holiday, the chance to take a break from routine, described as "mental hygiene" (Krippendorf 1987, p. 24), which visually captures in a clinical sense, the recuperation from everyday life. Maslow's, "Hierarchy of Needs" uses a five-tiered pyramid, to illustrate the progressive needs of an individual from; physiological, safety, love, self-esteem, and self-actualisation, with this final need interpreted as the desire for self-fulfillment, (Maslow 1943, p. 382). The factors that trigger the need for a holiday are termed the "push factors" with "pull factors" the appeal of the destination, (Dann 1977). This work bifurcates motivation research, with the push factors the elementary and more pressing needs (ibid., p. 186). The pull factors, collectively seen as the motives underlying the destination selection, is the subject of research by Crompton (1979; 1981). Travel experience and age are factors in the travel career ladder, which was initially proposed by Pearce in 1988, and builds on Maslow's "Hierarchy of Needs", with the research establishing, that for all travellers, the need to escape and relax were fundamental motives to travel (Pearce and Lee 2005). More recently, research on the needs of millennials confirm the validity of Maslow's study (Yousaf et al. 2018). The issues and experiences regarding the solo female traveller was the focus of motivation research, which established that

once issues of harassment were overcome, and the first solo trip was taken, Asian women were happy to travel on their own, (Seow and Brown 2018, p. 1200).

Within tourism research, if decision-making is depicted by the word "who" and motivation by the word "why", then "what" represents family capital. As in, what happens to the family when they go on holidays, what does a holiday do for a family. Figure 2-3: below illustrates family capital shouldered between decision-making and motivation.

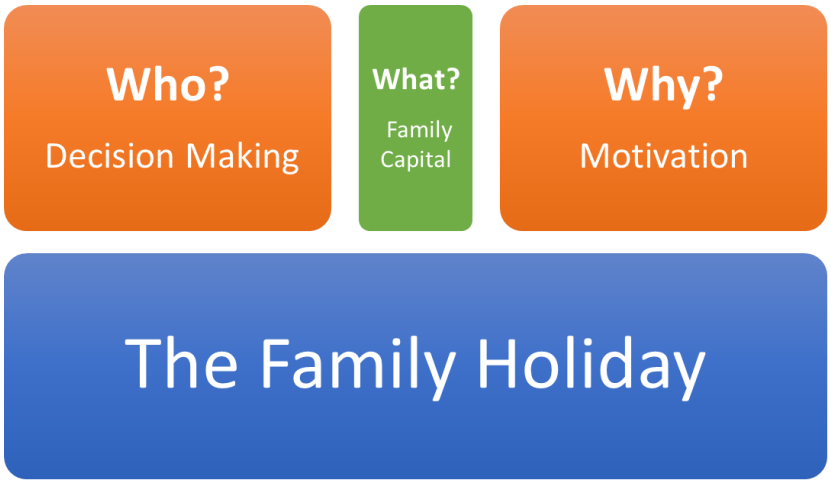


Figure 2-3: Location of family capital within tourism research

Finally, drawing together from the disciplines of sociology, and tourism the conceptual framework will illustrate how the exploration of family capital through life stages might be achieved.

2.5 Exploring holidays in the creation of family capital

The holiday is the setting in which family capital is investigated through life stages. Family capital is something of value, a resource, that develops within the relations between family members over time. The conceptual framework in Figure 2-4: draws together the theoretical construct; the Wells and Gubar (1966) life cycle model, with the concept of family capital, (Coleman 1988), to establish how this resource is an aspect of the holiday. The left-hand side of Figure 2-4:, by the use of icons illustrates

the family across the stages of the life cycle model. For visual clarity of the diagram, (Fandel et al 2018) six stages are shown.

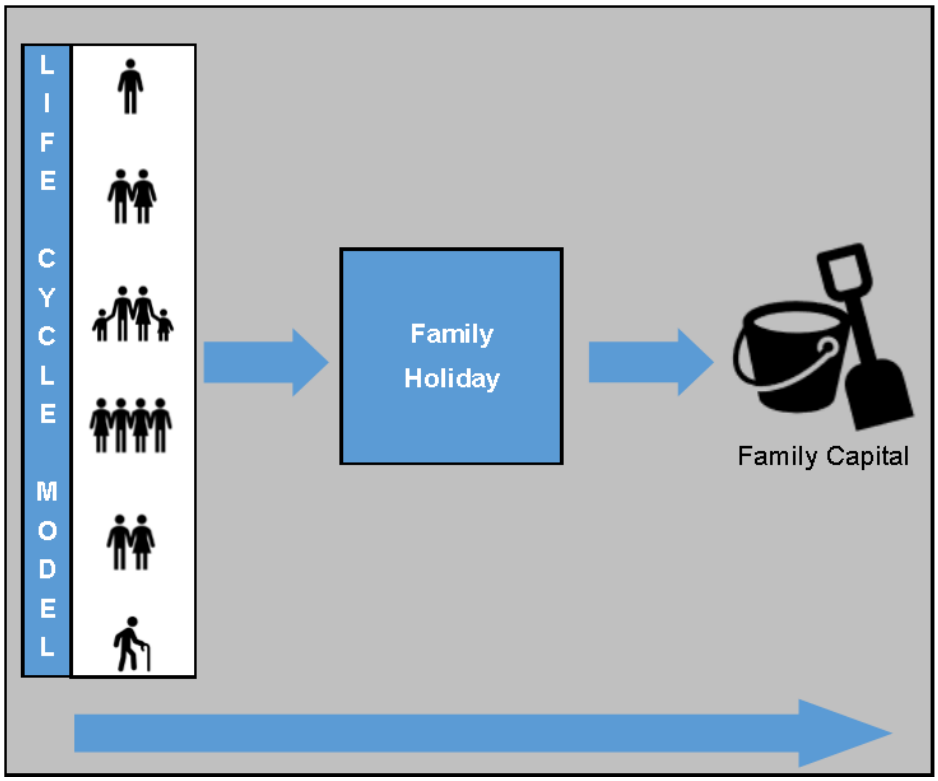


Figure 2-4: Conceptual Framework

The family holiday is represented by the blue box in the centre of the illustration, lovely and neat, each corner a family member, so it could be a triangle for a family with one child or a pentagon for a family with three children. The corners represent the influence of each family member and the concept of "closure", the obligations and expectations of each member of the group (Coleman 1988, s. 106). The *Bachelor stage* can also be represented by a box as the influence of parents and siblings, the cultural capital acquired in childhood, (Bourdieu 1986) has a distinctive value. In the initial stages of the life-course, previous experiences would therefore retain the remaining three corners. Progressing to *newly married couples; young no children* stage, then the parental and sibling influence of each partner would retain the shape of the box. In later stages of life, the family influences of the couples own children will determine the structure. Square, triangle, pentagon, hexagon or even a nonagon, a nine shaped family, two adults and seven children could be substituted here. Nevertheless, it is not a dot or a circle as cultural capital dies with the person (Bourdieu 1986) whereas family capital as a resource remains within the family. The

shape would evolve and a circle does not illustrate this evolution of the family. An example will clarify this point. A full nest family with two children would be represented by a square, with the birth of a new sibling, changing the shape of the family structure to a pentagon. The shape evolves with the changes in the family structure. Dots represent independence, but each family member has an influence on the family holiday (Milkie et al. 2004; Therkelsen 2010; Khoo-Lattimore et al. 2015). This has implications for step families, blended families, and other family types according to Levin (1999). Lovely and neat is not a facetious comment of the writer but rather to emphasise that each family knows its own shape, "*that climate that one comes home to"* from the definition of family, (DeFrain and Asay 2007b).

Leiper (1979) illustrates the movement of tourism, and from his work the stand-alone nature of each trip is implied by centring the family holiday. Obrador's (2012) concerns of the domesticity of family life that takes place when on holidays, is encapsulated in the stand-alone shape.

A bucket and spade, carefully chosen to represent family capital in the context of the holiday, is illustrated on the right hand-side of Figure 2-4: One must have capital to exploit it, (OED 1969) and the bucket can be partially filled with capital in the initial stages. Johns and Gyimóthy (2002) advise it may be depleted at the full nest I and II stages, when parents are under pressure to bring their children on holiday, and finding the holiday more work than work itself. Coleman (1988) discusses this depletion of capital, and Putnam (2000) takes up this theme on a national scale with his work on social capital.

Finally, the repeat nature of the holiday experience is represented by an arrow at the bottom of Figure 2-4:. It is not a loop. The creation of family capital is not a continuous repeat process. Each holiday is different. The circumstances are different, the family may have moved into a new life stage, so that each family holiday could be seen as a frame in the film of one's own life.

2.6 Summary

The roots of family capital are located within the discipline of sociology, where this chapter commenced. Analysis of the meaning of the family, led to Defrain and Asay's (2007b) definition of family being incorporated into this research. Social class is a construct that evolved from the writings of Marx and Weber. This acknowledgement of the influence of classical writers, led into an exploration of the stratification of leisure activities by society, specifically, within the area of tourism, and the work of Yeoman (2012) on simple and fluid identities. Leading from this area, it was established that family capital has been researched within social tourism (Minnaert et al., 2009). However, there is a gap in the literature of the impact of a holiday on the family capital of middle-income groups, which this research will address. The strengths and weaknesses of using life cycle models to investigate various phenomena were considered, with the Wells and Gubar (1966) model adopted to investigate family capital across life stages. Family capital evolved from the work of Coleman (1988), in which he defines, social capital within the family, as having three forms. These forms of social capital; obligations and expectations, social norms, and information channels were outlined. Within the parameters of tourism, the work of Putnam (2000) on social capital, and Bourdieu (1986) on cultural capital, were explored to ascertain their alignment to family capital.

Family capital research is located between the extensively researched areas of motivation, and decision-making, and is illustrated in Figure 2-3:. There is an emerging body of research on family tourism, particularly within the full nest family stages. Notwithstanding this, the impact of a holiday through all life stages, which this research will explore, has not yet being investigated. Finally, the conceptual framework, Figure 2-4: illustrates how family capital will be explored through life stages for middle income families.

The next chapter, chapter three will outline the influences that shape modern Irish life.

3 IRELAND MODERN DAY PROFILE

3.1 Introduction

Demographically bucking European trends with the highest birth rate, the lowest death rate, a growing population and the lowest average age within the European Union is Ireland (Begley 2017). This chapter commences with recent and imminent constitutional issues affecting family life. In doing so, it offers clarity on the influences that shape the modern Irish family, the second objective of this research. Building on the work in the preceding chapter the census data of 2016, which Begley is referring to above, is analysed using the framework of the Wells and Gubar (1966) life cycle model. Catholicism pervades all aspects of Irish society, and analysis of religious and legislative influences on modern family life is presented leading to a discussion on Irish tourism and the family holiday. Tol (2010) outlines the lack of research from the Business Schools on the island of Ireland, and that there was greater research output from Northern Ireland than the Republic. Nevertheless, tourism research is taking place and aspects of research regarding holidays are described. The chapter concludes by situating family capital research within an Irish context.

3.2 Family constitutional issues

Bunreacht na hÉireann, the Constitution of Ireland, was enacted in 1922 on the formation of the Irish Free State. It is a wide-ranging document setting out how the country will be governed and has articles regarding the workings of the state, the judiciary and fundamental rights, in particular, regarding family, education and children. The Constitution can only be amended by a referendum of the people. There have been thirty-two amendments in the last eighty-four years since the new constitution of 1937. Ireland legalised gay marriage in 2015 and the factors surrounding the achievement of this major social change will be analysed in the first section, titled marriage equality. These factors were studied carefully by both sides

of the Personal Rights campaign, the second constitutional change that will be considered. Finally the on-going debate regarding gender equality will be reviewed.

3.2.1 Marriage equality

The marriage referendum of 2015 made Ireland the first country in the world to legalise same sex marriage by popular vote and was "nothing short of phenomenal" where eighty-four percent of the people are Catholic (Tobin 2016). A major social change, the result of years of work by the Lesbian Gay Bisexual and Transgender (LGBT) community mobilising the entire country, urban and rural communities, Catholic and non-Catholic, young and old, to vote for marriage equality and demonstrated that Ireland was "leaping past other social democracies of Western Europe" (Spillane 2015). Two years later in 2017, using a post-referendum survey, it was established that door-to-door canvassing, targeted media campaigns and rallying the youth vote that was non-political, led to a significant value shift that was observed across all social classes, regions and genders (Elkink et al. 2017). The success of a campaign that reversed declining voter turnout of the previous twenty years (ibid., p. 362), was carefully analysed by both sides of the Right to Life campaign which will be reviewed in the following section.

3.2.2 Personal rights

In October 1983, the people of Ireland voted in a referendum to change the constitution with regard to the right to life of the unborn with Article 40.3.3°:

> *The state acknowledges the right to life of the unborn and, with due regard to the equal right to life of the mother, guarantees in its laws to respect, and, as far as practicable, by its laws to defend and vindicate that right.*
>
> (Bunreacht na hÉireann 1937)

This was the eighth amendment to the Constitution. In 1992 there were three further amendments on this issue with two accepted; access to abortion information lawfully

available in other countries, and freedom to travel. Irish women could now legally travel abroad for abortion. A decade later in 2002 another referendum on abortion failed (Kennedy 2002). Three cases A, B, and C went to the European Court of Human Rights in 2010 and it was argued that the restrictive laws on abortion interfered with their human rights, (Bacik 2013). In 2012, there were 3,982 abortions carried out in the UK for women resident in Ireland (Bloomer and O'Dowd 2014). Later in that same year of 2012, the tragic death of Savita Halappanavar, due to medical complications, put intense political pressure on the government, resulted in the law on abortion been changed, for the specific circumstance where there is a risk to suicide (Bacik 2013). The divisive debate on abortion was put to a Citizens' Assembly and they recommended in April 2017 that abortion be freely available (Carswell 2017). This was regarded as a surprisingly liberal outcome of the abortion debate. In May 2018, Ireland voted by a two-thirds majority to repeal the eighth amendment and women now have access to abortion services in Ireland. Two major constitutional changes were enacted in recent years, however gender equality remains an outstanding social issue that will now be reviewed.

3.2.3 The role of women in the home

Sociologists agree that there is no one exact definition of a family (Bilton et al. 2002; Share et al. 2012; Giddens and Sutton 2013) and what constitutes a family in Ireland in the 21st century may differ from other nationalities, however as a starting point the history of the family will be analysed with particular reference to the views of the classical writers in sociology. Parsons, in keeping with the work of Durkheim views the nuclear family as providing a socialising role for the children and a stabilising mechanism for the adults. The husband provides an "instrumental role, an orientation to action" in that he will be the financial resource provider (Abercrombie et al. 2000, p. 182). The wife has natural nurturing abilities and will raise the children, (Bilton et al. 2002). This view of Parsons, an American sociologists working in the 1950's, resonates with the Irish constitution enacted in 1937 which states in Article 41.2.1° titled 'The Family':

> *In particular, the State recognises that by her life within the home, woman gives to the State a support without which the common good cannot be achieved.*
>
> (Bunreacht na hÉireann 1937)

Classical sociological theory can be seen in Article 41 of the constitution, in which the wife is based within the home, and aligns to the work of Durkheim and Parsons. The woman provides the guidance for running the household and family life, referred to as within the "domestic sphere" (Bilton et al. 2002, p. 233). However a Marxist interpretation can be taken from further aspects of Bunreacht na hÉireann. Family life from a Marxists perspective, in keeping with his capitalist views of society is organised, so that the husband can work and the wife is at home rearing the children. This view is enhanced further in Article 41.2.2°:

> *The State shall, therefore, endeavour to ensure that mothers shall not be obliged by economic necessity to engage in labour to the neglect of their duties in the home.*
>
> (Bunreacht na hÉireann 1937)

The mother takes care of the family leaving the father free, in the sense that they are flexible to work hours deemed necessary by the capitalist. This view has been challenged many times over the intervening decades and most recently by the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) in March 2017, when it specifically advised the Irish government to "remove the stereotypical language on the role of women in the home" in Article 41.2 of the Constitution (CEDAW 2017). The National Strategy for Women and Girls 2017-2020: creating a better society for all (NSWG), has received a commitment from the government that a referendum will take place regarding a woman's place within the home by 2020, (NSWG 2017, p. 53). This seemed a very positive and progressive development but a poll by the Sunday Times in July 2017 predicted that the referendum might actually fail. The opinion poll took the views of 923 voters and forty-one percent voted in favour of removing the article with thirty-nine percent against and twenty percent undecided (McShane 2017). Jacky Jones (2017) writing for the Irish Times states that an education campaign on gender equality will be needed in Ireland before a referendum could take place. In September 2018, the referendum was postponed so that due consideration be given as to whether the article

should be deleted or amended. The National Women's Council for Ireland was in favour of taking more time to consider the issues and called for a national discussion to take place (Gleeson and Logue 2018). In April 2021, the Citizen's Assembly voted for the replacement of the article with overall recognition given to the value of care within the home (McGreevy 2021). The final report will go to the government in June 2021. A referendum will only then be held if the government accept the recommendations. Over eighty years after the constitution was written there is still much debate and reflection by the people of Ireland regarding the role of women in the home.

From a distance, European counterparts might wonder at the flurry of social change in Ireland. Various world organisations have advocated for a number of years, changes to aspects of our constitution. To contextualise the social change, a person born in 1983, when the eighth amendment, 'The Right to Life' was enacted, will now be in their late thirties and have grown up in a country that was mainly white Irish, with a strong Catholic religious background according to 2016 census data (CSO 2017). There are sincere and deep anxieties about the pace of various constitutional changes that are happening within Ireland, regardless of the findings from the United Nations.

Quietly, behind closed doors in the homes of its citizens, other social change is occurring, less obvious but no less informative. This quiet change captured through census data every five years will present further context of modern Irish life.

3.3 Census data 2016

Census data provides a numerical account of a population and is an important indicator of changing trends within a society. A census was due to take place in April 2021 but due to the COVID-19 pandemic this task has been postponed until April 2022 (CSO 2021). The most recent census in the Republic of Ireland took place on the 24th of April 2016. This coincidentally is fifty years after Wells and Gubar presented their life-cycle model, which was the structure used to collect the data for this research. The census data will be analysed in alignment to the academic model,

so that demographic changes within society can be considered, providing a greater understanding of the profile of families within each stage. Within statistical analysis, different aspects of the population have specific terminology. The CSO has defined a family unit as a couple, married or co-habiting, with or without children that have never married of any age, or a one parent family with one or more children, never married of any age, all resident in Ireland (CSO 2017b). Family life in Ireland will be analysed commencing with bachelor status, moving through the life stages of marriage, children, and finally, solitary survivor.

3.3.1 Census data through life stages

Bachelor stage; young single people not living at home:

According to the CSO, 41.13 percent of the adult population 15 years and over, were single (CSO 2017b) which was an increase of 39,827 persons on the 2011 census data. Analysing the figures by household there are three broad categories; family, one person households and non-family households. 68.8 percent of non-family households were headed by workers predominately in the 20-40 age groups (ibid. 2017).

Newly married couples; young, no children:

The 1996 census was the first time that cohabitation as a separate category was analysed by the CSO. Cohabitation has been one of the greatest changes in the last twenty years with younger people, at the age of twenty-five twice as likely to cohabit as are married, (Lunn et al 2009). Cohabitation has been observed across all social classes and by their mid-thirties most cohabiting couples have married which suggest that cohabitation is a prelude to marriage (ibid., p. 87).

Cohabiting couples without children represented 24.15 percent of the total family units without children in 2011 and 21.57 percent (76,715 couples) in the 2016 census (CSO 2017b). More than a fifth of all family units without children are now represented by cohabiting couples. Adjusting slightly the second stage of the Wells and Gubar (1966) life cycle model, a significant cohort of the population will be

captured with stage two now reading '*Co-habiting or newly married couples, young, no children'*. It aligns with the family cycle model definitions used by the CSO in which they define pre-family as "Family nucleus of married or cohabiting couple without children where female is under 45 years." Changing a fifty-year-old model for a social phenomenon that has been become statistically significant (Lunn et al. 2009, p. 17) in the last twenty years is prudent, and will reflect more accurately Irish social life.

Full nest I: youngest child under six; Full nest II, youngest child six or over six;

A family as defined by the CSO is a couple with or without children, or a one parent family with one or more children (CSO 2017b). There was a 51 percent increase in the number of families at 1,218,370 compared to 1996 twenty years earlier but the average number of children in families fell dramatically in the ten years from 1996 to 2006 before stabilising at 1.38 children per family in 2016 (CSO 2017b). There are now more families with fewer children. The CSO delineate children in more detail using four categories rather than the two used by Wells and Gubar which are pre-school, early school, early adolescent and adolescent. Nearly 46 percent of the 1,218,370 families, have children in the Full nest I and II categories.

Full nest III; older married couple with dependent children:

The census data for 2016 shows that there are 306,177 families with adult children with oldest child defined as 20 years and over. It is not clear from the data if they are dependent children. However elsewhere in the report there has been analysis of adult workers living with their parents which increased by 19 percent from 2011 to 2016.

A one parent family is defined as a person living together with one or more usually resident never-married children of any age (CSO 2017b). This type of person can be single, widowed, separated or divorced. There were 218,817 one parent families resident in Ireland in 2016 of which 86 percent were female. Over half of the one parent families had one child. On census night 24th April 2016, nearly 18 percent of all family types were one parent families.

Empty nest I; older married couples, no children living with them, head in labour force:

Wells and Gubar do not define older married couples but according to the CSO an empty nest is where the female is aged between 45 and 64 years of age and specifically part of a family nucleus of a married or cohabiting couple without children. 10 percent of families belong to this category in the 2016 census representing 121,720 families (CSO 2017c).

Empty nest II; older married couples, no children living with them, head retired:

This category has a very similar profile to Empty Nest I of the CSO data but the female is over 65 years of age and with 122,404 families in this category, which consists of 10.05 percent of the 1,218,370 families registered on census night, (CSO 2017c). In summary 20 percent of families resident in Ireland fit the empty nest categories of the Wells and Gubar model.

Solitary survivor, in labour force; Solitary survivor, retired:

The CSO completes the family cycle at the retired stage and the above final two stages of the academics model align with one person households of which there were nearly four hundred thousand households, 23.5 percent of all households on census night. However these households are one person households of all age types and include divorced or separated persons.

The exploration of census data to the stages of the Wells and Gubar (1966) life cycle model outlined the complexity of fitting a population into nine specific categories. No model will have enough stages, a mesh fine enough to capture all modern-day combinations and permutations of family life. Nevertheless, the analysis revealed that allowing for co-habiting couples, then families in 2016 represent 70.2 percent of households in Ireland with one person households, representing 23.5 percent of the total households. The remainder of households, 6.3 percent consist of two categories, non-family households and non-related persons. Thus, using the Wells and Gubar (1966) model, provides the opportunity to analyse over the life course, a specific phenomenon within Irish society. The following section will review social class, which will commence with an analysis of the census data.

3.4 Social class

Social class as defined by seven different occupations was introduced in the 1996 census, with education not a determining factor in this CSO classification. Level one is the highest social class, "professional worker:" with level two "managerial and technical:" level three "non-manual:" level four "skilled manual:" level five "semi-skilled:" level six "unskilled" and the lowest level, seven "all others gainfully occupied and unknown" is used when no accurate allocation is possible, (CSO 2017c). 53.44 percent of the total 4.76 million citizens are in the higher social class categories of 1-3. Specifically in terms of couples with children, 50.9 per cent of married couples without children and 66.1 per cent of co-habiting couples without children belong to social classes 1-3, which consists of professional, managerial/technical and non-manual groups. With the movement into family stage, full nest categories, the percentage of married couples with children increases to 57 per cent and the co-habiting figure with children drops to 44.8 per cent in the higher social class categories (CSO 2017b). This trend is in keeping with research in which, by their mid-thirties most co-habiting couples have married (Lunn et al. 2009, p. 87).

Economic impacts of a recession are usually presented by social class with the focus on impacts on lower socio-economic groups. However, combining life cycle stages with social class categorisation has given a new perspective of the impact of the recession in Ireland. Whelan et al. (2017) using this combined framework, established that the recession beginning in 2008 had an impact across all social classes, but when life cycle stages are added to the analysis, the picture becomes more complex. The most pertinent finding in this research, is that middle income groups with families, unused to poverty suddenly found that they suffered severe economic hardship, and "a significant deterioration in their relative positions" (Whelan et al. 2017, p. 125). In earlier work, the researchers established that lower income groups were able to adapt, use to dipping in and out of poverty, and in actual fact the lowest income grouping, found their economic position strengthen both in relative and absolute terms (Whelan et al. 2016). Older citizens particularly those dependent on social welfare, were most protected from the impacts of the recession.

"Middle class squeeze" a phrase that originated in the USA describes middle income groups that over spend to maintain their standard of living (Pew Research Centre 2012). This phenomenon was a feature of the recession in Ireland with high levels of personalised debt (Whelan and Maître 2014). Taylor (2016) describes the squeezed middle, as people working but unable to meet their bills, and represent a considerable cohort nearly one million, or forty-three per cent of the total taxpayers in Ireland.

Nevertheless, more recently it has being established that the middle class is the norm in Ireland, with seventy percent of the population now middle-class (McWilliams 2019), and according to Taylor (2020) wealth inequality is decreasing. Pew Research revealed that out of eleven western European countries, Ireland has seen the biggest expansion of its middle-class (McWilliams 2019), with middle class precisely defined, as incomes between two-thirds and double the national median (Pew Research Centre 2017).

Social class has only a small effect on happiness, particularly in countries of greater equality, according to Gaffney (2011, p. 125) a clinical psychologist based in Ireland. However, in determining the measure of success, cultural activities are embedded in class reproduction, such that one's social class will determine their approach to defining success, (Inglis 2014, p. 79). This stratification of cultural activities was evident in the work of Gray et al. (2016) in which they confirm the phenomena of 'concerted cultivation', (Lareau 2002) of middle-class children, and their after-school activities (Gray et al. 2016, p. 77).

For middle income families, these four words could easily have been left out of the title of the research, but they have a very specific function. Firstly, the great majority of the Irish population are middle class, thus this research will reflect this broad cohort of Irish society. Secondly, social tourism research for low-income families is ongoing, in Ireland, (Griffin and Stacey 2011) and elsewhere, (Diekmann et al. 2012; McCabe and Qiao 2020). Therefore, an original contribution will be presented by focusing on the holidaying activities of middle-income groups, which, it is argued has being overlooked. Thirdly, holidays are an activity, a tool used in the development of class identity, (Harrington 2014; Gray et al. 2016). Thus, the meaning and value of family capital, established in low-income groups (Minnaert et al. 2009) may be different for middle-income groups. Finally, the phrase middle-income, rather than middle class

was used in the title of the research as it is less divisive. The research is trying to capture the holiday experiences of those in the middle, the seventy percent referred to by McWilliams (2019).

The influence of religion, statistically, and philosophically with the writings of a Benedictine monk, will now provide a contextual frame in which the primary research was undertaken in 2019.

3.5 Religion

Religion had a major influence on Irish family life but quantitative analysis in recent decades would suggest a decline in religious practices. 78 percent of the Irish population identify as Catholic according to the census data of 2016 which is a decrease of over three percent on the 2011 statistics (CSO 2017). Further analysis of religion shows that nearly 10 percent of the population predominately in the 20 – 39 age bracket, identify as having no religion (CSO 2017). Fourteen years ago in the 2002 census, 90 percent of the population considered themselves as Catholic.

Statistics reveal quantitatively what is happening in a society but what is quietly going on behind closed doors regarding religious practices in 21st century Ireland. This was an aspect of modern life that Inglis researched, presenting his initial findings in 2007. Women were the focus of his work as they traditionally are more religious and socialise the children, the next generation in religious practices. In his work he presented a typology of Catholics with the continuum ranging from Orthodox Catholics to Individualistic Catholics, (Inglis 2007). *À la carte* Catholics, midway on the scale pick and choose various aspects of religion that they will adhere too, e.g. regular Mass attendance but other aspects like the sacrament of Confession is no longer sought (ibid. 2007, p. 214). Cultural Catholics identify less with the individual church, and more with Catholic heritage and being Catholic, attending First Communions, weddings and funerals and, critically, raise their children in this faith. Individualised Catholics according to Inglis, do not believe in the fundamental teachings of the church (ibid. 2007, p. 216) and would be closest to the group that have no religion, which according to the CSO is a growing sector of Irish society.

The numbers that have no religion have jumped from 269,800 to 468,400 of the population, a 73.6 per cent growth in the five years to 2016 representing 9.8% of the population (CSO 2017). The Irish are gradually becoming less institutionalised but they still see themselves as Catholic and, according to Inglis (2007) it is part of their cultural heritage and will not disappear.

The revelations of clerical child abuse scandals has reduced the image and authority of Catholic priests (Conway 2011). Hederman, a Benedictine monk advised that the Catholic Church had its greatest influence on modern Ireland between the two Eucharistic Congresses of 1932 and 2012, with the second congress marking the beginning of the end of the influence of the Roman Catholic Church on Irish life, (Hederman 2017, p. 14). Church teachings are out of date with the reality of life by the Irish, and the obdurate refusal to recognise another way an "artistic way" as expressed by Joyce, Murdoch, Yeats and Heaney have resulted in a theology that is still in the nineteenth century, with its people moving towards the third decade of the twenty-first century (ibid., p. 206). Rather chillingly, Hederman advises that within five to ten years the Catholic Church in Ireland could be reduced to a "tiny minority" (ibid., p. 206).

Sport for some individuals has filled the gap, the vacuum created by the declining influence of religion (Inglis 2014). Durkheim a classical writer in sociology refers to the sense of identity "conscious collective" (Bilton et al. 2002, 428), which is now found in wearing the county colours and supporting the team at matches. Inglis refers to this sense of identity that is enjoyed with participation in sports. What was once the phrase "the family that prays together, stays together" is now "a family that does sport together stays together" (Inglis 2014, p. 112), with sport providing a web of meaning in people's lives. From a tourism perspective, notwithstanding the rising influence of sport in the lives of some, sport participation can disrupt holiday decision-making which was never the case with religion as the religious calendar is known well in advance and holidays can be booked around these events, (O'Reilly 2005). The statistical evidence as presented earlier in this section, would suggest a growing ambivalence towards religion as we come to the end of 2017. This contextual frame is relevant for our contemplation of two major events in 2018; the Right to Life referendum and The World Meeting of Families.

The World Meeting of Families is a triennial international event that was held in Ireland on 22–26 August 2018. Pope Francis travelled to Ireland for the event that celebrates family life and its importance in the creation of society. On the 21st of August 2017, at Knock in the West of Ireland, Archbishop Diarmuid Martin launched the opening of the year-long preparation programme and advised it was not just a one-year event, but the beginning of a renewal of family life, of church life (Martin 2017). An Icon of the family specially commissioned for the event, was unveiled at Knock, and was circulated to all the parishes of Ireland in the lead up to the world meeting in August 2018. Family life is part of the new primary school religious curriculum (Leahy 2015), and World Meeting of Families 2018 became part of school life in the academic year leading up to the event.

However, the event was overshadowed by ongoing revelations of historical sexual abuse by priests in Ireland, and the breaking news that weekend of a cover up of abuse by the Archbishop of Washington in the USA (López 2019). The pope apologised on various occasions over the weekend for the Catholic Church's behaviour over the sexual abuse of children and vulnerable adults in Ireland, (López 2019). Three months before the pope's visit to Ireland, the country had voted to remove the ban on abortion, disregarding Catholic church doctrine according to López (2019). The renewal of family life, and church life failed to materialise, as was hoped by the now retired Archbishop Diarmuid Martin.

The majority of the participants in this study grew up in a settled, predominately Catholic society and even though religion has lost some of its power and influence, it is still "part of the air that we breathe" (Inglis 2014, p. 151).

The power of the citizens of Ireland to effect change was demonstrated in 2015 and again in 2018 with the enactment of equality and personal rights legislation. Analysis of the influences on the power within the state will form the next section.

3.6 State

Irish society is influenced by the power vested in the state, but the corollary can be stated in that the state is influenced by the Irish people so who or what holds the power

in Ireland will be outlined to give a backdrop in how life functions in Ireland. There are broadly four different views as to where power resides in Ireland with the first view the "ruling class thesis" (Share et al. 2012, p. 92) which is a variant of Marx's capitalist theory with power residing with the bourgeoisie, the holders of capital. However, the more compelling argument is the second view the "power elite" a group of individuals which includes bankers, financial advisors, lobbyist, academics and opinion leaders hold the power in Ireland. This view was reinforced by Clancy et al. (2010) in their investigation of the directors of the boards of management of major companies in Ireland between the years of 2005 and 2007. In that work, the researchers cross checked the members of the boards of management and found many of the same names from similar backgrounds and even attending the same schools (ibid. 2010). The third view sees the government as a rational player dealing with the competing demands of various interest groups. The final perspective on where power resides in Ireland is the "corporatist approach", where the government works with influential groups, most notable examples being trade unions and major farming organisations. These groups influence policy and in return support the government thus reducing social conflict (Share et al. 2012).

O'Toole and Ross would support the second view that a small coterie of very influential people, mostly men, make the decisions in Ireland. Fintan O'Toole a journalist for the Irish Times has written extensively about the corrupt dealings between politicians and public representatives in the development of Dublin city. Shane Ross, a well-known politician, investigating the banking sector also demonstrated how a small group of bankers "brought Ireland to its knees" part title of his book, that was published soon after the collapse of the Irish economy in the late noughties (Ross 2009).

The state has a major influence on any society and in particular in Ireland the state, the church and legislation are seen as "the holy trinity" of power and influence on Irish society according to Eipper, (1986 cited by Share et al. 2012) in his informative thirty-year study on who rules Ireland. His work looked at the impact the global organisation Gulf Oil had on the small rural community of Bantry, a town located in West Cork. Multi-nationals have an influence at a higher level to the national and local interest groups and that Irish society is now influenced by this imperious global capital, (Share et al. 2012, p. 103). Beck shares Eipper's view and discusses in his

work the overarching influence that the European Union and multi-nationals have on society, (Beck 2007). This is evident today in Ireland, with the ruling in 2016 from the EU that Apple PLC the multi-national computing organisation owes the Irish state thirteen billion Euros in unpaid taxes (Brennan 2017).

That the Catholic Church became a "surrogate state" is a view expressed by O'Toole, (Share et al. 2012, p. 346). The church managed schools, hospitals and influenced the state. This has changed in recent years due to various factors including sexual allegations in the 1990's, and the gradual decrease in vocations to religious life from the 1950's (Conway 2011).

More recently, in 2017, Loyal outlined the complex sociological factors that have influenced the balance of power in Ireland, in legislative changes to citizenship rights. Children born in Ireland have automatic citizenship, which is enshrined in the constitution in Article 41. Parents of children born in Ireland gained Irish citizenship in keeping with Article 41; the protection of the family unit which was tested before the courts in 1990. In this case, the rights of the family unit took precedence over deportation, and the consequences were, that parents of children born in Ireland gained Irish citizenship. In 2003, a similar case came before the Irish courts, and in this judgement, the rights of the state took precedence, and parents could be deported. The case set in motion the 27th Amendment to the constitution [Irish citizenship of children of non-national parents], in which citizenship was only conferred on individuals born in Ireland. Parents could now be deported. In analysing the consequences of this constitutional change Loyal (2017) argued that there were four factors that influenced the judicial view in the intervening thirteen years, from the initial case in 1990 to the 2003 ruling. The factors were; immigration, a shift in Irish nationalism, secularism, and the impact of the Celtic Tiger era. Ireland had lived for decades with emigration, but suddenly in the late nineties Ireland began to experience on a significant level immigration, particularly, the sudden influx of non-nationals from Africa, who were portrayed in the certain sections of the media as exploiting Ireland's resources. Irish identity, that had been reflected upon with the development of the Good Friday Agreement of 1998, was the second factor identified by Loyal, with the loss of influence of the Catholic Church the third factor. Globalisation, near full employment, and economic prosperity that was the Celtic Tiger era of that time, was the fourth factor (Loyal 2017). These four interlocking factors challenged the

citizenship of the family unit of non-nationals. The significance of this analysis by Loyal is the speed of change. The declining influence of the Catholic Church has been noted earlier as well as globalisation and the impact of Celtic Tiger economic success, but within half a generation what it means to be Irish, and what an Irish citizen is, has been redefined, with a different set of factors than before.

Ireland has not had a proper long term housing policy for the last forty years (O'Leary 2021), with the result that a housing crisis that has been looming over the last decade, has come to the fore as the COVID-19 pandemic begins to recede. SIPTU, a national trade union, issued a discussion paper on Ireland's housing crisis in 2014 before the commemoration of 1916, in the hope that it would be adopted as a core social project, (SIPTU 2014). The main policy driver in the 1950's and 1960's was the achievement of social goals and according to (Sirr 2021), the main policy drivers now are the achievement of financial goals. The supply of housing is the core issue, with not enough houses built for a long time (McWilliams 2021). There is a very real threat that this crisis, which is affecting all areas of society, will destabilise the centre right government that has been in power since the formation of the state.

Religion and state have been analysed separately, but in reality both areas overlap with Catholicism impacting major aspects of Irish life since the foundation of the state in the 1920's. The pendulum has swung against religion in recent decades but the salient question remains, what does it mean to be Irish? Reviewing the ecclesiastical analogy of Holy Trinity, state, church and legislation, where does power now reside? How much influence does family life have on Irish society? Holidays, an aspect of family life will be explored forming the last major section of this chapter.

3.7 Irish tourism

The holiday is the social construct under which family capital is examined, and is situated within an Irish context. By outlining the economic significance of tourism to Ireland, the value of holidays will be distilled from the overall tourism figures, demonstrating the importance of holidays to the Irish in the second decade of the 21st century. The latest statistics used will be from 2019 just before the onset of COVID-

19 for two reasons. Firstly, it will outline travel patterns of a typical year, and secondly, it will reflect the travel consumptions of the participants, who were interviewed before the onset of the pandemic.

This will lead into an analysis of tourism research conducted in Ireland and in particular social tourism and the development of family capital for low-income families.

3.7.1 Travel patterns of the Irish

Ireland's tourism boom stalled in 2019 according to Irish Tourism Industry Confederation (ITIC), with the year generating €9.3 billion in revenue which was down one percent on the record high of the previous year (ITIC 2019). Moving from the monetary value of tourism and reviewing the actual number of trips taken, tourist arrivals into Ireland in 2019 accounted for 9.7 million trips, a marginal increase on the previous year, (Fáilte Ireland 2020). To put these figures in perspective, at the height of the last economic cycle in 2007, there were 7.7 million tourist arrivals to Ireland (Fáilte Ireland 2008). However, these numbers dropped dramatically with the economic downturn and it took nearly ten years to recover with 2015 recording 8 million tourists to Ireland (Fáilte Ireland 2016). Extracting out business tourism and VFR trips and looking at holidays only, within these figures for 2019 there were 5.237 million holidaymakers, a term used by Fáilte Ireland to describe visitors whose primary purpose of visit was a holiday (Fáilte Ireland 2020).

Tourists travelling into Ireland are an important economic source of national wealth, but coincidentally in the same year of 2007, the peak of the last economic cycle, the number of trips made by Irish abroad in quarter one, January to March, outstripped the numbers arriving for the first time (Lyons et al. 2009). In 2019, Irish residents took 9.35 million outbound trips of which 5.567 million were classified as holidays worth €5.343 billion, with the average length of stay of holiday trips 7.9 nights (CSO 2020 table 7). A direct comparison looking just at holidaymakers to Ireland with holiday trips by residents from Ireland and the figures show that there were 5.237 million holiday trips valued at €3.074 billion in 2019 (CSO 2020, table 7b) to Ireland,

with 5.567 million trips abroad worth €5.343 billion (CSO 2020 table 7). In summary as illustrated in Table 3-1: there were more holidays of greater value by the Irish abroad than for overseas residents to Ireland in 2019.

Table 3-1: Main holiday to and from Ireland in 2019 by value and number
(Source: CSO 2020, tables 7 and 7b)

Description	***Irish Residents***	***Overseas Residents***
Number of main holidays	5.567 million	5.237 million
Value of main holiday	€5.343 billion	€3.074 billion

Domestic tourism, holidays within the country saw an increase of 6.43 percent in 2019 from the previous year with €2.146 billion revenue generated and 11.621 million trips taken, (CSO 2020 table 2). 50.1 percent of the 11.621 million domestic trips were classified as holidays, worth €1.336 million of the total €2.146 million expenditure on domestic tourism (CSO 2020). Holiday trips of four or more nights by the domestic market in 2019 constituted 1.152 million trips, an increase of fifteen percent on the previous year (Fáilte Ireland 2020).

Tourism exports for visits specifically for holiday purposes for four or more nights, were lower in value than tourism imports of the same category for 2019. The statistics show that the economic value of residents leaving Ireland to go on a main holiday outstrips the value to Ireland, within that same precise category of main holiday for four or more nights. Using Leiper's model (1979) as an analogy, in which he illustrates, that the region tourists are from is known as the tourist generating region, and the region they are going to, as the tourist destination; most tourism research focuses on tourists' arrivals to a destination, and the impacts to the region (Lyons et al. 2009). However, this work will look at tourists within a generating region, Ireland, and the impact the holiday will have on the travelling party. National statistics give broad brush stokes as to the travel patterns and behaviours of its citizens, the next section, outlining research on Irish family holidays will present finer detail.

3.7.2 Irish family holiday research

Various aspects of tourism research have been presented in Ireland at the annual Tourism and Hospitality Research in Ireland (THRIC) conferences. At the 2017 conference in Sligo themes included; destination management, innovations in the event and hospitality sectors, marketing, technology and pedagogy. This work culminated in an edited volume of the key papers presented, (Hanrahan 2017). The conference is normally held in June, with Athlone Institute of Technology geographically located in the centre of Ireland, hosting the last conference before the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic. The title of the conference that year was "Tourism at the Heart of It?" with the phrase having various meanings including, the development of the "Hidden Heartlands" marketing brand by Fáilte Ireland, and questioning if tourism is at the heart of decision-making within political circles (Johnston 2019). The impact of Britian's exit from the European Union, (Brexit) was a recurring theme of recent conferences.

Fáilte Ireland has urged businesses to "Get Brexit Ready" and in March 2019 it announced a five million Euro package to support businesses so that the tourism in Ireland would be prepared for Brexit, (Fáilte Ireland 2019). When it was officially announced in 2016 that Britain was leaving the European Union, a strategy was established to diversify the key generating regions, and reduce Ireland's over reliance on the UK market. This was gradually achieved with absolute and relative falls in numbers and value of tourism from the UK to Ireland. Table 3-2: shows the number of tourists from the UK in 2007 was forty nine percent of the total 7.7 million overseas tourists to Ireland in that year (Fáilte Ireland 2008). By 2019, the number of tourists from the UK into Ireland had dropped to thirty-six percent, representing 3.489 million overseas tourists into Ireland (Fáilte Ireland 2020). The value of the tourism from the UK to Ireland has dropped from twenty-one percent of the total revenue earned in 2007, to eleven percent of the €9.3 billion, valued at €1.0221 in revenue in 2019.

Table 3-2: Comparison of tourism from Britain to Ireland, 2007-2019
(Source: Fáilte Ireland Tourism Fact Files, 2007 and 2019)

Description	***Amount and percentage of overall total, 2007***	***Amount and percentage of overall total, 2019***
Number of tourists	3.776 million, 49%	3.489 million, 36%
Value of tourism	€1.387 billion, 21%	€1.0221 billion, 11%

The focus for the entire industry quickly moved from the implications of Brexit in March 2019 to the effect of COVID-19 on tourism within Ireland. The impact of the pandemic will be considered elsewhere within this thesis. Research that has taken place regarding the history of tourism in Ireland is considered in the methodology chapter, (see section 4.6. archives). Research broadly relevant to life stages will now be reviewed, commencing with work that took place based on the tourism numbers of 2007, which were explored earlier.

The travel choices for households going on holidays was analysed by Lyons et al. (2009) and they showed using quantitative analysis that there was no "single representative" tourist from Ireland, and that the Irish were now travelling further and to richer countries. However, given that the underlying data for this work was taken from the CSO statistics of 2007 at the peak of the Celtic Tiger boom, more luxurious holidays were inevitable, given the greater amount of disposable income.

In a similar timeframe, Quinn and Stacey (2010) analysing social tourism in Ireland, identified from the EU SILC data (EU Survey on Income and Living Conditions), that due to financial constraints, twenty-two percent of Irish residents did not take a holiday. Looking at the benefits of a holiday their research established within an Irish context, the creation of social capital from a one-week holiday for disadvantaged children. The children developed a network of friends and links with the team leaders, which were sustained into the post-holiday period. The research was based on field work carried out in 2006, with children experiencing social exclusion from mainly inner-city Dublin. The children had a five or seven-day break away from their family at the St. Vincent de Paul, Sunshine House in Balbriggan, Co. Dublin. The researchers looked at children away from the home environment, and the positive

effect of the holiday in building social capital. It was the opportunity to be taken out of the home environment that led to the positive experience. Dysfunctional families that take a holiday together may simply transfer the problems from a domestic to a holiday setting and, as commented by the children in the research, can lead to a negative holiday experience, (Quinn and Stacey 2010, p. 49). The research formed the basis of a working paper on poverty and social exclusion in Ireland (Quinn et al. 2008).

Research based on the Dublin short break market established that a city break is seen as supplementary to the main holiday, and is usually taken by parties within the family, mainly the parents away from the children (Dunne et al. 2010). This mixed methods research provides an insight into family breaks, but was based on tourists travelling into Ireland.

In 2012, the balance of household responsibilities on self-catering holidays was investigated using two focus groups, as one aspect of a tripartite research, into the role of mothers on self-catering holidays. Both focus groups consisted of mothers with children under the age of twelve years (bar one) and delineated by work; the first group were stay at home mums with the latter group working outside of the home. All participants had been on a self-catering holiday within the last year. There are three salient points from this work. Mottiar and Quinn (2012) take a feminist perspective citing in their work the lack of research on fathers by Schänzel and Smith (2011) and surmise that men and children could form part of a different project. The women that make up the focus groups broadly represent full nest families specifically, stage I and II of the Wells and Gubar (1966) life cycle model. It remains to be seen if issues regarding household responsibilities feature in this research is the second salient point. The overall conclusion reached was that gendered roles were maintained on holiday leading to a greater understanding of Irish resident family holidays.

Moving up through the life cycle, and considering tourists at the empty nest stages was a feature of work on travel motivations. Ward, in 2014 segmented the Irish senior's market, which she defined as people over the age of fifty years, into four segments based on Dann's (1977) theoretical "push and pull" model of motivational behaviour. The first segment identified was the "Enthusiastic Traveller" with an

average age of fifty-seven years, high disposable income, over half conforming to the empty nest I category, having no dependent children living at home. The "Cultural Explorers" are older than the first segment by six years have less disposable income and are empty nest II retirees. The "Escapist" the largest and youngest category, spend the most, and enjoy international travel. They are predominately tourists from the "*Empty nest I; older married couples, no children living with them and head in labour force*" category (Wells and Gubar 1966). The final segment, the "Spiritual Travellers" are the oldest with the greatest proportion of widows aligned to the final ninth category of the Wells and Gubar (1966) model, "*solitary survivor, retired"*. They enjoy short-haul coach tours and are unique to the Irish retiree market, placing a great significance on their Catholic religion (Ward 2014, p. 276). This analysis of the senior tourism market gives further insights into the growing empty nest cohort of Irish society, and is summarised in Table 3-3: below.

Table 3-3: Segmentation of Irish senior's tourism market profiled by LCM (Amended from Ward 2014, p. 273)

Description	***Enthusiastic Travellers***	***Cultural Explorers***	***Escapists***	***Spiritual Travellers***
Age Profile	57 years	63 years	56.4 years	63.3 years
Holiday Type	Group Travel	Educational	Sun Package	Short Haul Tours
Destination Attributes	Environment & History	Culture & History	International & Relaxation	Religion & Spirituality
LCM Category	Empty Nest I	Empty Nest II	Empty Nest I	Solitary Survivor Retired

Since the work of Quinn and Stacey in 2008, there has been no further research on social tourism in Ireland. Neither has the concept of family capital, developed within social tourism in the UK (Minnaert et al 2009), received any further study.

Notwithstanding this observation, Inglis 2014, p. 110) discusses the importance of symbolic capital and cultural capital and views the bonding and connections made through mass attendance and other public religious gatherings as religious capital, now being replaced by sport capital. Using allotment gardening in Irish cities as an example, Corcoran (2012) discusses the potential development of social capital through the regeneration of urban areas. The impact of bridging social capital on loneliness, through a narrative enquiry method, was a recent study conducted of two older northern Irish women (Hagan et al. 2020).

Aspects of capital formation, social, religious, and sport, have been analysed within an Irish context. Nevertheless within tourism, there is a gap in research on capital generated within the family when on holidays, known as family capital, which this work will address.

3.8 Summary

A picture of Ireland at the end of the second decade of the twenty first century was presented. At times, the country seems to orbit in a private sphere out of synch with the rest of Europe, and yet as shown, this dynamic youthful population can surprise the world. The chapter provides a glimpse of how Irish society functions and sets the context within which modern family life operates, so that an understanding of the development of family capital within a context, an Irish context, can be seen.

The CSO analysis of data shows demographic movements within life stages, with seventy percent of the population now middle-class. The influence of religion has receded, with sports having a greater impact on modern family life. Holiday travel patterns identify the importance of the holiday, and specifically the movement of tourists between Ireland and the UK. Finally, a review of tourism research conducted within Ireland was presented.

The philosophical assumptions that underline the study of family capital will be outlined in the next chapter, titled methodology.

4 METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

The context of modern Irish life was outlined in the preceding chapter, and in this chapter the philosophical assumptions underpinning the primary research, will lay the foundations for the data interpretation chapters which will follow. The methods used in collecting the archival data and the family interviews are explained and justified.

The major philosophical influences on the research paradigm commence this chapter, with the historical context of social research, described by Denzin and Lincoln (2011) as research moments, leading into a discussion on the research methodology employed. The methods, the research tools used to undertake this work, are broken down into two areas; the archival research conducted in 2016, and more recently, the family interviews. The collection and analysis of data for both areas is dealt with separately. Validity and reliability, two concepts of quality, are considered before ethics, health, and safety with the final area, considering reflexivity and limitations.

The conceptual framework is re-illustrated to give clarity to the methodological framework, with the analytical framework the final illustration within this chapter. The table of participants, Table 4-2:, identifies and categorises middle-income families within a life cycle model. Seven figures are used to clarify concepts and there is a second table showing a breakdown by gender of the archival data.

One family, Luke and Valerie, are used through-out the chapter, adding an essential element of qualitative rigor (Gioia et al. 2012) to the work. The construction of theory is built-up from codes derived from interview transcripts which is illustrated in Figure 4-6:. The transcript of Luke and Valerie's family interview is included (see Appendix 4) and the mind-map from their life stage (see Appendix 3), which illustrates the codes derive from the interview data. Finally, as a reminder the research aim and objectives the focus of this research, are re-stated:

> *Explore the creation of family capital through life stages for middle income families in the context of the Irish holiday.*

The five objectives are:

1. *Contextualise and conceptualise holidays in Ireland.*
2. *Outline the influences that shape the modern family in Ireland.*
3. *Identify and categorise middle income families within a life cycle model.*
4. *Investigate family capital through the stages of the life cycle model in the context of the main holiday.*
5. *Ascertain the family capital experiences of the holiday for the family unit within each life stage*

4.2 Research philosophies

The four fundamental beliefs of ontology, epistemology, axiology, and methodology determine the philosophical stance that is taken in research (Creswell and Poth 2018, p. 20). Thus, considering each belief in relation to the exploration of family capital, an appropriate research paradigm was determined.

Ontology, concerned with the nature of existence (Abercrombie et al. 2000) and the perception of reality is divided into two broad areas, with objectivism seeing facts as separate from people that is empirical in nature, and constructivism where facts are determined by peoples' actions, (Denzin and Lincoln 2011, p. 102). Epistemology deriving from the Greek word, "*episteme*", meaning knowledge, explores the nature by which people learn. Axiology is concerned with the role of values in the research and the stance taken by the researcher, and embraces ethical concerns (Denzin and Lincoln 2011, p. 116). Methodology refers to the analytical structure of the work, the methods of investigation, (Abercrombie et al. 2000) and is the fourth fundamental belief that will influence the research paradigm.

Paradigms can be seen as an umbrella under which all the research choices align too, with Kuhn (1996, p. 23) comparing paradigms to judicial decisions, requiring further articulation and specification. The paradigm provides the structure under which the

rules, and the conceptual, methodological, and theoretical frameworks operate (ibid., 42). Four research paradigms were considered in relation to the exploration of family capital.

Positivism, the first paradigm, uses a quantitative methodology with the researcher independent of the data. The epistemology in this paradigm requires observable facts, with the ontology dictating that the research question is independent of the participants. Capital has numerical connotations and can be examined using a survey methodology, but family capital, understood in terms of bonding within the family, cannot be examined using quantitative methods. A numerical value assigned to the level of bonding in a family would not be value free, the axiological rule required of the positivism paradigm.

Post positivism otherwise known as critical realism (Wahyuni 2012) is the second paradigm. The data can be value laden, where the social world of the participants affect the research, the axiological requirement, but as there is an ontological requirement of objectivity in this paradigm, then it is not suitable for the study of family capital. An independent objective view, even allowing for social conditioning, cannot be established.

The third paradigm pragmatism, as the name would suggest, see researchers take a common-sense approach and the research is addressed with whatever methodology, ontology and axiology rules that are suitable. Within pragmatism, quantitative and qualitative methods are used to obtain a better understanding of social reality (Wahyuni, 2012). The axiology belief within pragmatism sees both objective, etic, and subjective, emic, stances adopted. This would seem a sensible approach to take but objective points of view cannot be fully established in this work. The family voice, where all members of the family participate to give their perspective of the holiday is a subjective account. To obtain this account the researcher will be amongst the family and thereby will become part of the research adopting an emic stance. Semi-structured interviews were conducted to explore family capital. The researcher became part of the research, an aspect of the axiological principle.

The fourth paradigm is interpretivism which can also be referred to as constructivism uses a qualitative methodology only. The researcher is part of what is being investigated, and their own biases and perspectives will indirectly inform the research

according to the axiology rule (O'Gorman et al. 2014). The holiday is both a personal and collective experience for the family and their understanding of a holiday is subjective. Creswell (2013, p. 20) discusses the importance of being close to the participants, being in "the field" the participants own environment, so that the researcher can understand the experience of the participants, in an epistemological stance. The nature of reality, the ontological principle, is subjective as past experiences of the family impact on their view of the holiday and the amount of family capital generated. Capital, as defined elsewhere in this research, means " to build on", which suggests that there is a base of capital within the family. To investigate the development of this capital, how it grew, the researcher explored where the capital was formed, how it developed and this was established by an interview, which took a specific direction, to capture events that shaped the family members experiences. As a family personal account, it was subjective. From the ontological, epistemological, axiological, and methodological philosophical viewpoint, this work was subjective. A constructivism paradigm is the umbrella, the way the world was seen in this research and Figure 4-1: summarises the four major influences on the research paradigm.

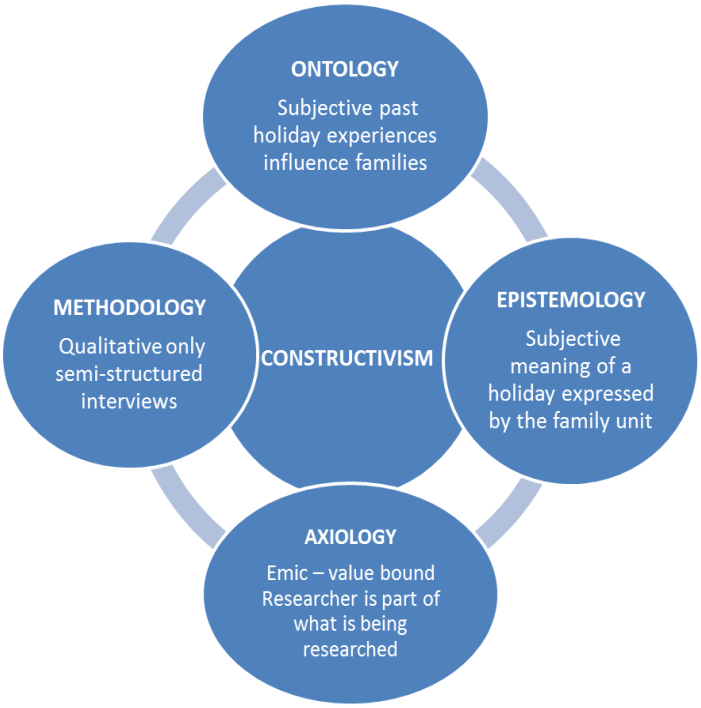


Figure 4-1: Influences on research paradigm

So as a constructivist researcher, I will investigate family capital through life stages for middle-income families in the context of the Irish holiday. This is a similar approach to the study of family vacations by Shaw et al. (2008).

Qualitative research was seen as a set of methods, rather than a set of thinking tools (Phillimore and Goodson 2004, p. 5), and this next area traces the development of qualitative research through ten moments.

4.3 Research moments

Denzin and Lincoln divided the history of social research into phases referred to as "moments of qualitative research" when they first began writing in 1994. They updated their work with each subsequent issue of their "Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research" with the most recent edition, in 2018, adding a further five moments, (Wilson et al., 2020). The various moments will be described with an example of research in the fifth moment. Figure 4-2: below illustrates all ten moments and locates this research within the conceptual framework.

Moment	Indicative Time Period	Key Traits	Alignment to this research
1st Traditional	1900-1950	Positivist paradigm; Objective	No, as not objective
2nd Modernist	1950-1970	Postpositivism; Emphasis still on objectivity	Yes, constructivist paradigm
3rd Blurred Genres	1970-1986	Move away from positivism; Social reality is only an interpretation	Yes, as interdisciplinary; sociology and tourism
4th Crisis in Representation	1986-mid 1990s	Researchers question everything; Some recognition of multiple interpretations	Yes, as use of archival data
5th Postmodern	**Mid 1990s-2000**	**Firm rejection of researcher as objective expert; Reframing of reliability, validity, generalisability**	**Yes, as researcher is part of what is being researched; Context specific, Irish family holiday**
6th Postexperimental	2000s	Playfulness and innovation in methodology and methods; multimedia, visual, film, poetry	No as not using playful methods like multimedia, film, or poetry
7th Methodologically Contested Present	2000-2004	Qual-Quant wars return; What is 'valid' qualitative research	No as did not use a mixed- methods approach
8th, 9th, 10th Fractured Future	2005-onwards	Complexities as moments simultaneously blur and overlap; Renewed backlash against qualitative research	No as did not engage in the merits of qualitative over quantative research

Figure 4-2: Moments in qualitative tourism research

(Amended from Wilson et al. 2020, p. 798-799)

In the first moment, *traditional* research was conducted within a positivist paradigm where the researcher was the expert and the findings were presented as facts. The

modernists moment sees a change in the ontological perspective with multiple realities now considered, (Denzin and Lincoln 2011, p. xv). In this period, the way of thinking about the research world changed, with Glasser and Strauss in 1967 formulating grounded theory. However, a positivist rigor dominated this second moment, in that there were distinct procedures for creating theory within qualitative research (Phillimore and Goodson 2004, p. 13). Within the third moment, the boundaries within disciplines became indistinct, with different models and approaches used in developing research which were features of this moment, aptly named *blurred genres*, (Denzin and Lincoln 2011, p. xv). There is evidence in this moment of more innovative approaches to data collection, such as the use of photography, (Phillimore and Goodson 2004, p. 15). The fourth moment, c*risis in representation,* considered more carefully the role of the researcher, who in the first moment was the expert, whereas now they are considered part of the research with their own experiences having an impact. Questions regarding race and class became significant and have an impact on the research. The use of personalised accounts is an example of research in the fourth moment, (Phillimore and Goodson 2004, p. 17). Grand narratives are replaced by local content-specific research and is a feature of the *postmodern* moment of qualitative research. The researcher's voice is one of many that will influence the findings of work in this fifth moment (ibid., 17).

Schänzel's (2010) work on family holidays utilised an interpretative paradigm and grafting theory from family studies, employed whole-family research to analyse the themes of family time and own time across three stages of the holiday, before, during and after the break. According to Schänzel, the use of holiday scrapbooks and disposable cameras raised the work to the third moment. The use of grounded theory situated in the context specific area of New Zealand brought the study to the fifth postmodern moment of qualitative research (Schänzel 2010).

In the exploration of family capital, the use of a constructivism paradigm raises this research to the *modernist moment,* of Denzin and Lincoln's (2011) overview of qualitative research. The use of family capital theory drawn from the discipline of sociology to examine holidays, creates an interdisciplinary study, a criteria of the *blurred genres* moment. Innovative methods, a requirement of the *crisis in representation,* fourth moment, were employed in the use of archival data to contextualise and conceptualise holidays. The researcher's experience of working

with archival data influenced the data collection and analysis stage, a feature of the fourth moment. The research is based on the Irish family holiday, a context specific requirement of the fifth, *postmodern moment*, of qualitative research. Figure 4-2: illustrates the ten moments in qualitative tourism research with the fifth moment in bold displaying where this research lies.

Wilson et al. (2020) discuss recent moments in qualitative research, the sixth *postexperimental* use playful methods that include film and poetry, with the seventh moment *methodologically contested present* debating the merits of qualitative and quantitative methodologies. The final three moments, 8th 9th and 10th *fractured future* within the timeframe of 2005 to today are still being contested. There is strong criticism to qualitative research within these current moments. Wilson et al. (2020) regard most qualitative tourism research, from their study of work done between 2007 and 2017, as residing in the third moment *blurred genres* as can be seen in Figure 4-2: above. This is due in part to the constraints of academic powers and what is regarded as legitimate research (ibid., p. 808). To conclude, this study of family capital through life stages is research within the fifth, *postmodern moment* of qualitative research.

4.4 Whole-family research methodology

Whole-family research, devised by Hess and Handel (1959), is the methodological framework utilised in this research. The five processes underlying this framework, restated by Handel in 1996, some forty years after the original research, will now be outlined in order to describe the assumptions underpinning this methodology. The first process that Handel identifies, is that every member of a family is both connected and a separate individual in their own right (Handel 1996, p. 343). Each member of the family unit develops an image of each other and their own self-image, is the second process. The family develops its own culture and relating to this third process, is the fourth process, the concept of family boundaries; experiences that the unit welcomes and areas that they avoid. Finally, the age and gender within the family and the manner in which each member negotiates this, is complex and must be comprehended within the wider influences of society, (ibid., p. 344). Handel outlines

in great detail the importance of all family members being interviewed together to obtain a family perspective advising that, no one person speaks for the entire family unit, (ibid., p. 346).

Family systems theory was developed from the work of Hess and Handel's whole-family methodology, and was used in the study of family leisure, (Zabriskie and McCormick 2001; Schwab and Dustin 2015). Branching from family systems theory is the "Circumplex Model of Marital and Family Systems" (Olson et al. 2019), and the development of family strengths (Defrain and Asay 2007b). The Circumplex Model investigated family bonding on the holiday (Lehto, et al. 2009).

Within tourism specifically, whole-family research methodology was used by Schänzel (2010) in the study of family holidays. Ten families with children between the ages of six to sixteen were interviewed before and after the family holiday in Schänzel's research. Using the Wells and Gubar (1966) life-cycle model, there is evidence of the family interviews with the work of Gram's (2006) holiday-study focused on middle-class families in the full nest I and II life stages.

Each holiday is a unique event, an opportunity for each member of the family to experience individually, and with each other, creating an overall experience that builds the culture within the family unit. By interviewing all family members together, different perspectives on the holiday are presented with at times, contradictory views given. The opportunity to talk about the holiday all together, confirms family boundaries, in phrases like; *we don't do sun holidays*. Interviewing everyone together respects the first process identified by Handel (1996), that each family member is a separate and yet connected member of the unit in their own right and thus each member's views should be heard. The methodological framework can be visualised within the conceptual framework, re-illustrated below in Figure 4-3: The interview that captures the family holiday experiences is displayed in the central box. The corners of the central blue box represent each family member's influence, and as advised earlier, the shape can change according to the constitution of its members. Thus each of the six corners of a hexagon, also representing a member of the family.

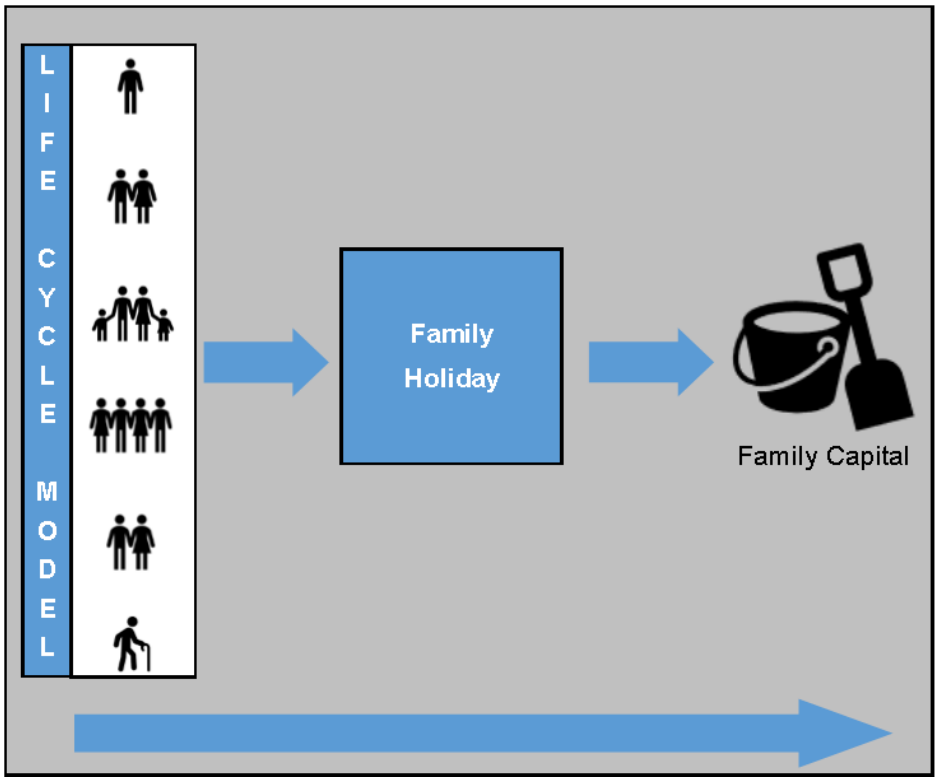


Figure 4-3: Conceptual framework

Kuhn (1996) advises there are three types of research undertaken within a paradigm. The first is "the determination of significant fact"; the second is the "matching of facts with theory" and the third is the "articulation of theory" (Kuhn 1996, p. 34). All researchers working under a particular paradigm are conducting their research in one of the above three areas. The exploration of family capital in the context of the family holiday is research that is within the third category of Kuhn's classification, the articulation of theory. It examined the accounts obtained from families with family capital theory developed by Coleman (1988). It built on family capital theory established in low-income tourism (Minnaert et al. 2009), for middle-income groups. The work teased out the concept of family capital and what it means for the family unit within the context of the holiday. As the research investigated the holiday across all stages of life, it articulated family capital within a theoretical construct.

4.5 Methods

The method used to collect the data is determined by the methodology adopted, which in turn is determined by the underlying paradigm. The data was collected in two stages, the first, exploring the archival data during the summer of 2016, as shown below in Figure 4-4:. The second stage of data collection involved interviewing families in different stages across the life course. A pilot interview took place in December 2018 with the family interviews gathered between February 2019 and February 2020. The last interview was conducted on the 1st of February 2020. The analysis of archival data is quite different to the approach taken for the family interviews. Thus, the collection and analysis of data for each stage will be outlined separately starting with the archives, the earlier work.

Figure 4-4: Data collection timeline

4.6 Archives

The context of the Irish holiday is addressed within two chapters of this thesis. The first of these chapters, chapter three outlines a modern-day profile of Ireland, with chapter five, taking an historical stance of the development of Ireland through the twentieth century. Historical aspects of tourism have been addressed by various writers with Heuston (1993), outlining from the 1920's the nascent development of tourism in the coastal town of Kilkee in Co. Clare, and Davies (1993) charting the growth of the Victorian styled town of Bray, in Co. Wicklow. The development of the outbound tourism market was address by Gillmor (1973) with Peillon's (1993) account of how the Irish behave abroad, based on survey research from 1986. An ethnographic study of rural Ireland was conducted during the 1930's, (Arensberg and Kimball 2001) and within the UK, a similar study of family life was conducted by

Young and Willmott (1973). The history of tourism predominately from a technological, economical, and political perspective have been presented within Ireland, (Guiney 2002; Mehta 2007) and within the UK (Fletcher et al. 2013; Page 2014; Holloway and Humphreys 2020). Wright and Linehan (2004) outline the marketing challenges of attracting tourists to Ireland and Garvin (2010) outlines an account of Ireland through the 1950's with no references to tourism.

The tourist perspective of a holiday is missing within the literature of tourism, referred to as the "local voice" by Crick (1989, p. 311), and thirty years later this individual perspective is still absent from within the tourism history literature of Ireland or the UK. The archives offer an opportunity to examine oral history accounts of Irish life, and detail through the decades the development of holidays from an unknown concept to a reality, within the social context of twentieth century Ireland. This gap in knowledge, the tourist voice, is addressed in chapter five and fulfils the first objective of this research, the concept and context of a holiday within Ireland. The collection of the data for this chapter will now be detailed.

4.6.1 Archives, data collection

Eurostat, the official statistics office of the European Union conducted the European Community Household Panel Survey (ECHP) from 1994 to 2001. The panel survey was conducted to gain statistics on income, poverty, employment and work across member states of the European Union. It was one of three European wide surveys conducted at that time. The objective of the surveys was to gain comparable data from member states across broad social areas (Wirtz and Mejer, 2002). The panel members of the ECHP were interviewed eight times each year between 1994 and 2001. The Economic Social Research Institute (ESRI) in Ireland conducted the survey work called *Living in Ireland* on behalf of Eurostat. The *Life Histories and Social Change* (LHSC) project evolved from the Living in Ireland survey.

The objective of the LHSC research was to record social change in Ireland over the twentieth century. To achieve this objective, over 118 people were interviewed and from this, 100 interviews were archived at the Digital Repository of Ireland which is

located at Maynooth University, (Gray et al. 2008). Respondents from three birth cohorts were invited to opt in to the LHSC research. As the LHSC researchers were inviting members from an existing panel they could be more exacting in their population sample. The authors O'Carroll and Gray recognise there is a slight bias towards middle class female respondents, but they had sufficient numbers to represent the population of Ireland (O'Carroll and Gray 2010, p. 5). Table 4-1: gives a breakdown of the hundred interviews archived by cohort and gender. There were only fifty-nine interviews transcribed by the summer of 2016 and in 2018 a transcripts was withdrawn from the archive. This work is based on the fifty-eight transcripts available with Table 4-1: showing the breakdown by gender and cohort.

Table 4-1: Gender breakdown of archival data by cohort

	Cohort A Born before 1935		**Cohort B Born between 1945 – 1954**		**Cohort C Born between 1965 - 1974**	
Gender	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Archive	17	20	19	21	6	17
Transcript	10	12	11	14	4	7

There was potential within each transcript to see a five generational impact of social history of Ireland, the grandparents, parents, themselves, their children, and grandchildren. In a few rare cases there were great grandchildren. At least two respondents were born in 1916. The approach taken in reading the transcripts, extracting the excerpts, controlling the material, and contextualising the work will be outlined in the next section, data analysis.

4.6.2 Archives, data analysis

The analysis of the data is based on the full population sample of fifty-eight transcripts as outlined above in Table 4-1. There were twenty-two transcripts available from

cohort A, who are participants born before 1935; twenty-five transcripts from cohort B, who are participants born between 1945-1954; with eleven transcripts from cohort C, the youngest group, born between 1965-1974. The transcripts were stored in digital format, and were down-loaded as required. All fifty-eight transcripts were read in full.

Each life story needed time to contemplate what was being said, so only one transcript was read each day. Some of the transcripts were up to eighty pages in length, reflecting a three-and-a-half-hour interview. Each line of the transcript was numbered. Every reference to travel, excursions, or holidays was noted by the transcript line number. When there was a long extract regarding holidays, the page was printed out with the section highlighted.

Some transcripts had very detailed accounts of holidays over the participants lifetime. However, other transcripts focused on work and family life with little reference to leisure activities or even travel. To get a sense of the changes in life through the decades, transcripts were read in a rough chronological order, from cohort A, then B, then C, and back to cohort A again. Extracts that made specific reference to visiting family, travelling, or holidays were noted for each transcript. Some extracts were long, but it was necessary so that the full context of what was being said could be illustrated, a similar concern was raised by (Sedgley et al. 2012) in their use of extracts from family interviews. The extracts were then collated by decade and if a passage could not be accurately attributed to a decade it was not used. Themes within some of the decades began to emerge, and they were collated together. The 1950's had plenty of extracts regarding excursions, honeymoons, and domestic tourism (see section 5.7 Ireland in the 1950's). However, not all decades were as bountiful. There were very few accounts of holidays or travel in the 1940's, (see section 5.6 Ireland in the 1940's).

When compiling the chapter, given the volume of work, an element of control was necessary to ensure accuracy of data and context, so each citation was followed by the interviewee's anonymised name, cohort, and transcript line numbers. An example will clarify this point, (Irene, A, 157-164), is an extract from Irene, who was born before 1935, cohort A, and it is from lines 157-164 in the transcript.

What evolved was a chronological account of social change through the twentieth century with a particular focus on holidays and travel. The accounts mapped out the context of the participants lives, the minutiae of daily life and how travel was incorporated into that experience. The chapter had a twofold function, to outline the evolving concept of a holiday, within the context of life at that time.

The outcome of this analysis, the historical context in which holidays evolved in Ireland, is presented in chapter five: Archival Research. The second stage of data collection which began in early 2019 will now be outlined.

4.7 Family interviews, data collection

The tactical strategy of selecting and sourcing of participants is described. A figure builds upon the life cycle summary (see section 2.2.3. life cycle models), and outlines the cumulative life stages with the potential for family capital. Then, the operational details of equipment, stationery, gifts, and the pilot interview will be discussed, leading to a table categorising the participants by life stage and occupation.

The data was collected from family units across the life course. This was accomplished by using the Wells and Gubar (1966) model which has nine stages. Families within each life stage were interviewed. The participants were associates of friends and contacts, carefully considered, before formally approaching to see if they would like to participate in this research project. There were various reasons for this approach. Firstly, they had prior knowledge of the researcher and felt relaxed and happy to discuss their family holiday. Secondly, the participants were selected for the life stage that they were in. It was important that they had holidayed in that life stage, e.g. a co-habiting or newly married couple in the second stage of the model, needed to have holidayed together for their data to be valid for stage two of the Wells and Gubar (1966) model. The participants had to be resident in Ireland for at least two years, demonstrating commitment to the country, that they were not transient or leaving within a short time frame. A French citizen married to an Irish person living in Galway, was an example of eligible participants. Equally and related to the point just made, Irish people living abroad, for example in the UK or elsewhere, were not

applicable to the research, as they were based outside of Ireland. Thirdly, the participant's occupation confirmed their middle-income status, which was verified by the use of the supporting documentation to the 2016 census (CSO 2017d). Finally, the research was trying to capture *the context of the Irish holiday.* It was people in Ireland, going on their holiday which can be somewhere in Ireland, or outside of the country.

The entire family participated in the interview, an important criteria for family research where children are involved (Epp and Price 2008; Hilbrecht et al. 2008; Khoo-Lattimore 2015). All interviews took place in the family home, their natural environment, (LaRossa et al. 1981) except one, a '*solitary survivor, retired'* who was interviewed in the restaurant of a garden centre. The second stage of the life cycle model was adapted to facilitate changing lifestyles to *'co-habiting or newly married couples; young no children'*. However as it happened, it was three newly married couples in the first year of marriage that were interviewed. Children, where feasable, were interviewed but they only account for three stages, Full Nest I, II and III of the model. See below Figure 4-5: titled: Family capital opportunities through life stages, Part A, for a pictorial summary of the nine life stages. Middle income families living in Ireland formed the basis of the research, (see section 3.4. social class). As stated above, families were sourced through social contacts and it was hoped that by using a snowball sampling strategy, contacts would lead to other contacts (Creswell 2013, p. 158). In reality, only six out of twenty-eight interviews were sourced through this strategy. The difficulty was partially due to participants only having contacts with others at a similar life stage. Snowball sampling was most succesful for gaining access to families with children over six years of age, the Full Nest II, stage. Fifteen intervews took place in County Galway, with the remainder taking place in counties Dublin, Offaly, Westmeath, and Mayo.

One interview was not transcribed as during the meeting the participant advised that he lived at home and thus, did not meet the criteria for stage one, *Bachelor stage: young single people not living at home.* In all, there were twenty-seven interviews transcribed. This equates to three interviews for each of the nine life stages. Part B of Figure 4-5:, shows the potential opportunities for the creation of family capital through life stages. This is best explained by the directional arrow pointing downwards which shows that a family in level eight, *Solitary Survivor, in labour*

force, may have taken holidays in each of the previous stages, and could discuss how the holiday adapted and changed over time, in the creation and accumulation of family capital.

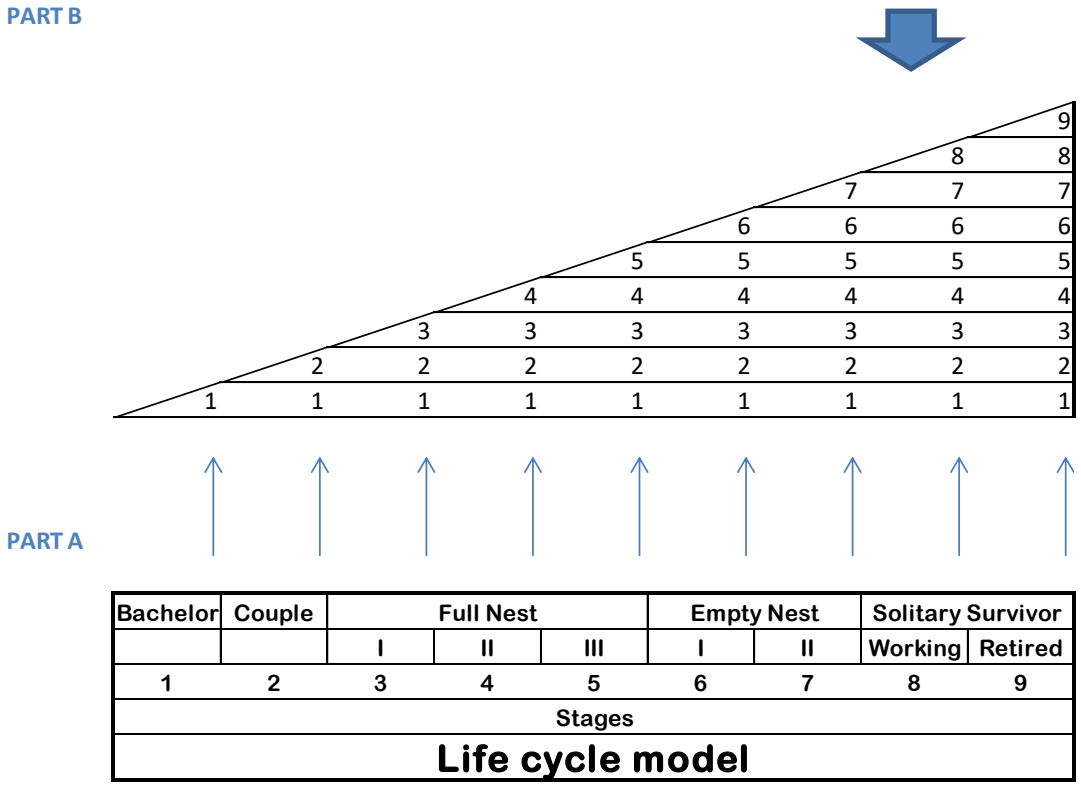


Figure 4-5: Family capital opportunities through life stages

Various tools were used in the collection of data, which included a Sony ICD-ux560 digital voice recorder, postcards, magazines, and checklists.

In 2017, a postcard was designed with a pencil drawing of a family holiday on the front, and the title of the research and contact details on the back, (see Appendix 1). The postcards were initially used to source contacts. They were a useful prop and talking point, providing the contacts with some information regarding the research, and after each interview the participants received a postcard. As a gift at the end of the interview, participants were given either a *Condé Nast Traveller* or *National Geographic* magazine. These magazines were chosen for two reasons. They maintained a holiday theme just discussed and secondly, they were usually wrapped in an outer plastic sleeve protecting the contents and giving a newly presented feel to them. The day after the interview a thank-you card was sent to the participants.

Three checklists were used during this data collection stage. The first checklist identified tasks that needed to be done before the interview. The second checklist was referred to at the beginning of the interview, and the final checklist was consulted after the interview. They proved useful in keeping control of different tasks required at each stage, (see Appendix 2) for a copy of each checklist.

A pilot interview was arranged on the 3rd of December 2018 to take place on Sunday week, the 16th of December. On the 10th of December, this interview was cancelled as the family advised they were too busy with Christmas preparations. A retired couple were interviewed instead on the 19th of December. Even though the interview took place in a pub, there was not too much background noise, and it lasted about an hour. The most insightful aspect of this incident, which became apparent some months later, was the realisation that from mid-October families are preparing for Christmas and are not interested in discussing holidays. This was the case for the pilot interview, and again the following autumn when trying to complete the final interviews. Children were preparing for state exams and parents were working overtime for Christmas, with little time left in the day or week to discuss holidays. The pilot interview took fifty minutes with the interview guide useful in controlling the meeting. This exercise confirmed the procedure for conducting the interviews, which is outlined in the *Checklist at Interview* (see Appendix 2). Both questions and procedures were not changed after the pilot interview.

A full list of the participants anonymised names, their life stage, occupation, and number and age of children where applicable, are displayed below in Table 4-2:. Their work status, part-time or full-time, and educational commitments are noted in the occupation, as this can give an indication of time available for holidays. This can best be illustrated, by observing in life stage one, Anne and Mary are both primary school teachers, but Mary is also a part-time student so she may not have the same amount of time to take holidays as Anne. Children are referred to as 'S' for son and 'D' for daughter, with 'FE' for fiancée and 'NP' not present. Denis and Karen, in life stage three have a fourteen-year-old son, a nine-year old daughter, and a four-year-old son as shown below in Table 4-2: titled: List of participants by life stage, occupation, number, and age of children.

Table 4-2: List of participants by life stage, occupation, number, and age of children

Life Stage	Participants Names	Occupation	Number and age of children
1.	Anne	Primary school teacher	
	Mary	Primary school teacher, part-time student	
	Gerry	Software development engineer	
2.	Helen John	Lecturer Student, part-time barman	
	Noel Angela	Radio producer Marketing Manager	
	Barry Laura	Army officer and student Medical doctor	
3.	Denis Karen	Senior public-servant Teacher – job share	S. 14, D. 9, S. 4
	Robert Patricia	Project manager Nurse, part-time	D. 7, D. 4, D. 2
	Kevin Una	IT manager Primary school teacher	D. 5, S. 2
4.	Richard Sarah	Insurance – from home Social care leader	S. 11, S. 10, D. 7, D. 6
	Luke Valerie	IT manager IT fulltime at home	D. 14, S. 11
	George Fiona	Civil servant Secondary school teacher	D. 15, S. 13
5.	Tomas Katie	Lecturer Artist, part-time	S. 18, S. 14
	Vincent Tara	Stone cutter Sales – job share	S. 26 NP, S. 24, FE., D. 16
	Eamon Ita	School caretaker Occupational therapist	D. 19 NP, S. 16, D. 13
6.	Raymond Rose	Heavy-plant fitter Bank manager, part-time	
	Tina Ian	Clerical officer, part-time Retired	
	Bridget Sean	B&B proprietor Farmer, part-time	
7.	Larry Denise	Retired civil servant Volunteer, part-time	
	Paul Olivia	Retired operations manager Retired retailer	
	William Lucy	Retired lecturer Primary school teacher	
8.	Michael	Own company – self employed	
	Emily	County council - Clerical officer	
	Linda	School - Special needs assistant	
9.	Nora	Retired theatre nurse	
	Henry	Retired bank manager	
	Phil	Retired bank clerk	

4.7.1 Family interview guide

There were various influences on the manner in which the questions were formed. A good overview of holidays is available within the work of Fodness (1994, p. 561). The advice to include all family members in the data collection, (Epp and Price 2008, p. 64) was useful in forming questions that children might answer. The practical construction of the questions were guided by the works of Charmaz (2014), in particular, chapter three on crafting and conducting intensive interviews, and in a similar vein, the work of Denscombe, (2014) chapter twelve on interviews. Finally, an awareness of the English used was important in constructing the questions as children were involved in some of the interviews. The following section gives each question posed in the interviews, with an outline for the rationale behind the question.

Question 1:

1. *Information about the family.*
    a. *Names, ages, occupation, and education*
    b. *How would you describe your family?*
        i. *Who are the members of your family?*

This first question was factual in nature, and an easy introduction to the topic as all the participants settled into the meeting. There was nothing contentious in this question, and it allowed family members to get used to listening to one another. Occupation and education were established to confirm the family's social status. The age of children confirmed their *Full Nest I, II or III* credentials. The number of participants defined the shape of the family illustrated in the conceptual framework, Figure 4-3:. Ultimately, question one was confirming that all family members were present, according to their perspective.

Question 2:

2. *When was the most recent family holiday?*
    a. *Where did you go?*
        i. *Why did you pick this destination?*
    b. *Who went on the holiday?*
        i. *If someone was absent, why?*

ii. *Do you still regard the break as a family holiday when they were absent?*

c. *How long was this holiday?*

i. *Are all holidays of this duration?*

This question established the most recent holiday and confirmed its position within the life cycle. The normative behaviour, if it exists, with the holiday, was established with this question, and started to focus the family's attention to holidaying. The open-ended questions, concerning where they went, and the reason for the destination choice probed their behaviour. They may not recall why they act in certain ways, e.g. that they always go away the first two weeks in July and realised during the interview the motives for their actions. The duration of the holiday explored previous behaviour like costs or other factors such as work commitments. Sometimes, this lead into conversation about other holidays and determinants unique to that family unit.

Question 3:

3. *Do you as a family unit take an annual holiday?*
    a. *Why?*
    b. *Did you always take a family holiday? …. previous life stages…*
        i. *When the kids were younger*
        ii. *When you were a child, did you go on family holidays?*
    c. *Has the type of holiday changed over the years?*
        i. *What are the main changes?*

The evolution of the holiday within the family through the previous life stages, was established in this question. Aspects of family values became apparent. The importance of the holiday was highlighted in this answer. The parents, as children themselves, may have gone on holidays, and this was reflected in their answers. Children present were interested in listening to their parent's experiences. Personal experiences not revealed before were discussed, giving greater depth to the interview and for the other family members, an awareness and understanding of that person's motives and feelings. Changes in holiday patterns over the years revealed some forms of family capital outlined by Coleman (1988).

Question 4:

4. *Where do your peers (work colleagues/brothers or sisters) go on holidays?*
    a. *Are you restricted on the type of holiday that you can take?*

Social norms and information channels were investigated with this question as to the actions of their peers. The restrictions on the holiday picked up again, changes in the family holiday from question three, from a different perspective, perhaps compromises or bargaining within the family, to ensure everyone travels. When answering one question, other participants in the interview were sometimes contemplating previous questions, and quite often came back on a point later on in the interview. In particular, question four; *Are you restricted on the type of holiday that you can take?,* was often answered at the very end of the interview. There was a delayed response to questions. Most participants queried the use of the word *restricted*. On hearing the question, they became more alert and while it was not confrontational it certainly challenged them, to question their own behaviour. The word *restricted,* was the subject of a discussion at the 2018 THRIC Conference, held in Sligo, and had been used in relation to obtain travel insurance for medical pre-conditions in the senior tourism market.

Question 5:

5. *Advise of a typical day on holidays.*
    a. *What time do you get up?*

This question was introduced after the first two interviews, on the 28th of March 2019, as a lead into the next question on rituals and traditions. The question regarding a typical day helped in slowing down the interview, and for some participants, gave them time to dwell on the conversation. Having talked through a typical day, the habits and family rituals were easier to recall. The routines that are unique to that family unit were identified, and their importance later ascertained.

Question 6:

6. *Are there certain activities/family traditions that you do when on holidays? Give an example please.*
    a. *How did these evolve?*

b. *What do they mean to you?*

The elements that build family capital, the activities or traditions were recalled here and as each member participated in the conversation, the impact it had on them, their own perspective of the experience was remembered. At this stage, about twenty minutes into the interview, a level of trust had built up between the interviewer and the family, so that everyone spoke freely, one perspective bouncing off another. If family members got quite animated here, observation of body language, tone of voice and general group dynamics, added an observational level of analysis to the research, (Charmaz 2014).

Question 7:

7. *Do you enjoy the holiday?*
   a. *What are the best bits? Why were they good?*

This question pulled out further the examples, the actual specific experiences that created the family capital. The preconceived ideas of the interviewer were controlled in this section, as some of the family members may not enjoy the holiday, which proved to be the case with one participant.

Question 8:

8. *Do you regard the holiday as an important aspect of family life?*
   a. *Would other family activities have greater importance?*

This question introduced the idea of value in comparison to other aspects of the family's life. Where the holiday ranks in their overall lifestyle was not something considered before, and required careful consideration. The answers varied within the family and was debated back and forth before a consensus was reached.

Question 9:

9. *Will you be going on holidays in the near future?*
   a. *Is there anything you will do differently on the next holiday? Why?*

Questions about the future can elicit information about intent. It highlights changes in behaviour, values, norms, and the cyclical nature of the holiday. This question was

leading on from the overall ranking of the holiday with other aspects of family life. The participants were still evaluating this question, assessing, and thinking ahead.

Question 10:

10. Advise of a time when the holiday didn't go well.
   a. What went wrong?
   b. How did this affect future holidays?

When things go wrong, the family have to rely on each other, especially if they are in a foreign country. The communication, trust, and reliance required can enhance family value, and even though the holiday may not have gone to plan, as a family they may have bonded more and returned home a stronger unit. This question was asked at the end, as it was important that negative experiences did not dominate the interview.

Question 11:

11. As a family unit, are there aspects of the holiday that are important to you, that I have not covered?
   a. Is there something else that I should know?

This broad question at the end captured aspects of holidaying that the interviewer did not pick up. A meeting of nearly ninety minutes in duration, the last question did unearth other aspects of the family's life that the participants wanted to discuss. It was suitably vague to collect more detail and using the word "something" rather than "anything" according to Silverman (2008 cited by Charmaz 2014, p. 68) kept the conversation going, rather than finishing up the interview.

The pilot, and the twenty-seven family interviews were transcribed with the next section detailing how the interviews were analysed.

4.7.2 Family interviews, data analysis

The practical application of data analysis will be outlined in this section, commencing with a discussion of the participants perspective. A two-stage coding system that

formed chapters on inductive and deductive analysis will then be presented (Watts 2014). Generalisations developed from the data will coalesce the analysis which will be illustrated in Figure 4-7: Analytical framework.

Each transcript was read in full, twice, before any coding took place. The first sweep of the transcript facilitated recall of the interview, moments that needed to be considered, and comments taken immediately after the interview, that were recorded in the field journal. The second reading of the transcript, assisted in gaining a first-person perspective of the work, i.e. what the person was actually saying. The axiological assumption of the researcher's experiences, having been acknowledged earlier, means that you are not a "tabula rasa", a blank slate and reading the script a second time, assisted in gaining the participant's perspective. It is more than a perspective, in that what you are ideally trying to do, is stand in the shoes of the participant and hear their voice and give their meaning (Watts 2014). This is not easy, but is the essence of qualitative research; the ability to present the participant's meaning and understanding of the experience (ibid., p. 4).

Coding commenced with the third reading of the transcript. A two-stage coding system was adopted. The first stage, went through each line of the transcript and asked the question, *what's being talked about here*? A brief word or code was jotted down on the left-hand margin of the transcript. This exercise proceeded through the entire transcript, repeating the mantra, *what's being talked about here?,* to hear the participant's voice. Discipline and rigor were required at this stage, to stay moving diligently from line to line, analysing the thought process of the participants. This was a first-person perspective and the first stage of the coding system.

The right-hand margin accommodated the second stage coding. Now, the transcript was read questioning the written word, with the phrase, *how is this being talked about?* The answer was written in the format of: *'as a …',* in order to record the participant's experience. The *how* question, forced the reader to see the transcript from the participant's eyes, and move away from a descriptive code to an explicit articulation of the experience. It was the participant's understanding of the experience that was required. This two-stage process known as a, "what/how", coding system was developed by Watts (2014).

Gerunds, activity-based codes, was the initial coding system used by Charmaz (2014) building on the work of Glaser (1978). Each line of the transcript is coded in terms of the activity, the action that is happening at that moment. Rather than using nouns, a descriptive code, a verb, situates the researcher in the perspective of the participant. Ideally, the verb should be taken from the language in the transcript, known as *in vivo* coding, keeping the analysis close to the participant's world view.

Focused coding describes the second stage coding (Charmaz 2014, p. 140). It is a comparison of the initial codes, and what they are saying. Charmaz discusses the conceptual strength of the codes, how codes build on each other and the seamless transition from initial coding to focused coding. From this second stage, coded memo writing is the next step, and is informal, creative, and assists in thinking about the data (ibid., p. 163). It is from the memos that theory is developed. Memos move from the participant's voice to concepts, with the memos forming the core of grounded theory (ibid., p. 191). However, the more heuristic model of Watts (2014), keeps the researcher studying the transcripts, and second stage coding evolves from the specific answer to the *how* question. It is precise. The researcher is not trying to see comparisons from initial codes but, stay close to the data by rereading the original data. The strength of the Watts method is that second stage coding is captured from the original transcript, rather than working from initial codes. In many ways, it is similar to other forms of data analysis in that themes proposed by first stage analysis (Miles et al. 2014) are captured by the *what's being talked about here,* and the gerunds, advocated by Charmaz, are mined from the, *how is this being talked about* question. The Watt's model flicks the system, advocated by early qualitative researchers, capturing themes and gerunds. However, more prescriptive, the researcher is not relying on their own analytical skills to build the second stage coding, but revert back to the data to establish these codes.

Finally, the analysis was done manually without the assistance of qualitative data analysis computer software packages, similar to another Irish qualitative interview-based research. Inglis (2014), in his research on the meaning of life used semi-structured, open-ended interviews, to collect the data. The interviews of a hundred citizens of Ireland, were recorded and transcribed, and he decided against using a computer software package, preferring to read, and reread the transcripts (Inglis 2014,

p. 198). The development of themes from codes and categories will now be outlined with the use of a diagram.

The participants words are described as "segments of data" (Charmaz 2014, p. 116) and these segments build to form codes. The codes coalesce to develop categories, which in turn lead to themes. In Figure 4-6: below, the segments of data, *honeymoon period, more independence,* and *easier to manage,* form the code *this life stage*.

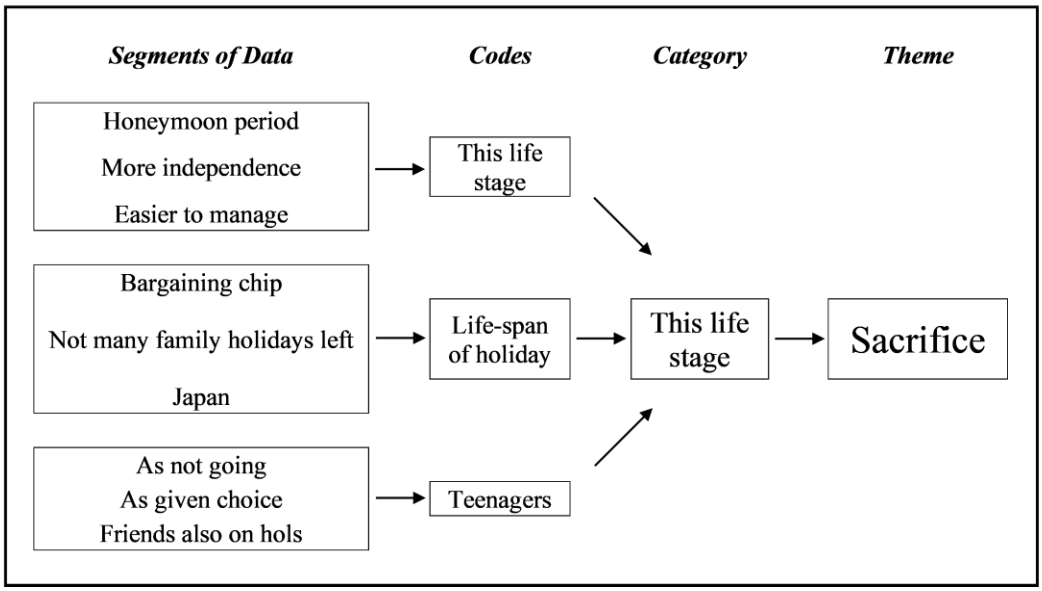


Figure 4-6: Full Nest II thematic coding

These segments are from full nest II families and are illustrated in the mind-map (see Appendix 3). Within this mind-map, two other codes, represented by ringed phrases can be observed. They are, *life span of the holiday,* and *teenagers,* with the supporting segments of data hand-written near them, as shown above in Figure 4-6: The codes form the category *this life stage,* which was one of many categories to then form the theme of *sacrifice*. In chapter seven, the phrase *honeymoon period,* appears in the theme of sacrifice (see section 7.2. sacrifice, the last extract from Richard and Sarah).

Nevertheless, even though Figure 4-6: illustrates a smooth transition from data to codes, and upwards, themes did not "emerge" from the segments of data, (Braun and Clark 2006, p. 96). Rather, there was an element of shuttling back and forth (Mills 2000, p. 202), with an active role by the researcher used in developing the themes.

Initially, the theme of sacrifice was called “investment”, but this did not fully reflect the essence of what the theme was about (Braun and Clark 2006, p. 92). Instead, on careful consideration, the theme was a sub-set, of a form of investment, which more accurately is now titled, *sacrifice*.

Words or phrases that reflect the intent of the theme were used as titles. Thus, sacrifice reflects the work that families with children have on holidays. *Passing the baton* is the title of a theme, and an analogy that depicts movement from one person to another. In this theme the movement of knowledge and attitudes through the generations is interpreted. In other circumstances, the participants own words were adopted, with the use of *Nearer my God*, as the title of a theme.

Inductive analysis builds from observations towards an inference, an interpretation of what is given. Sample extracts of reasonable length to contextualise the data, according to Watts (2014), should be taken from the transcripts, to illustrate a participant’s understanding of an experience. Known as first person perspective, this analysis formed the findings of two chapters.

Deductive analysis, building inference from reality, examines the extract from theory. It is a comparison of the primary research to theory, establishing links to previous research outlined in the literature review. It is a third person perspective that formed the basis for chapter eight. The extracts, between fifty to a hundred-and fifty-words in length illustrated an analytical point. Braun and Clarke (2006, p. 94) advise the analysis should go beyond the content, and explain what the extract means, what theory it upholds or contradicts. Incrementally, the extract should build the reader’s understanding of family capital and avoid the pitfall of paraphrasing (Watts 2014, p. 8).

The discipline of keeping inductive and deductive analysis to complete chapters, assisted in more meaningful and complete interpretation. Focus remained tight, resisting the urge to move from a family view to a theoretical view within each chapter. Generalisation emerged from the extracts and a theory was presented which lead to a new understanding of family capital in the context of the Irish holiday. In the final chapter, conclusions drew together the work of the analysis chapters. Figure 4-7: Analytical framework, shown below, illustrates the analysis strategy that was used in this research.

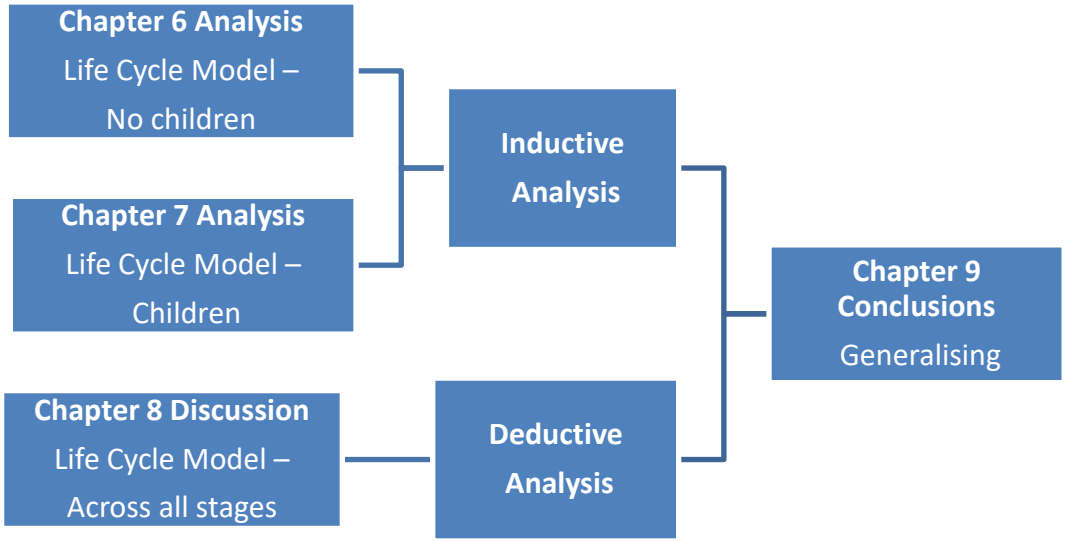


Figure 4-7: Analytical framework

Inductive analysis formed the basis for two chapters. The analysis of family capital where there are no children, is contained in chapter six. This is the early stages of the life cycle before the children arrive and the latter end, the empty nest and solitary survivor stages. The full nest, the three stages of the life cycle where there are children, was the focus of chapter seven, the second inductive analysis chapter. The inductive analysis was split into two chapters for two main reasons. Firstly, to examine all twenty-seven transcripts together would have been too unwieldy. Separating out the life stages into two chapters, made the analysis more manageable which assisted in controlling the work. Secondly, having previously worked with transcripts for families with school-going children, the researcher knew there was a natural divide in keeping all the full-nest family analysis together (O'Reilly 2005). As the analytical framework illustrates, deductive analysis, the third person perspective of family capital across all life stages, formed the basis of chapter eight. The conclusions, chapter nine, built or according to Charmaz, (2014, p. 247) "raised up", the analysis from the previous two chapters, and generalised the findings, which was illustrated by the conceptual conclusions.

Two concepts of quality that transcend all aspects of the research process will now be considered.

4.8 Validity and reliability

The data collection for this study took place in a unique way. The archival data was collected in 2007 and 2008, just as the country was entering a time of major economic uncertainty, with the collapse of the Celtic Tiger, and the start of the Great Recession (Whelan et al. 2017). The family interviews took place during 2019 with the last interview on Saturday, 1st February 2020. This was about two weeks before a national awareness of the coronavirus, which was officially named COVID-19 by the World Health Organisation on the 11th of February 2020, (WHO 2020). Schools and colleges closed in Ireland on the 12th of March and the St. Patrick's Festival events were cancelled by the Irish government on the 9th of March 2020. All data was collected under the same conditions before the onset of COVID-19. Great emphasis was made by the researcher to maintain a state of *tabula rasa*, and to conduct all interviews under the same level of knowledge, i.e. to be as open-minded as possible, emphasised by Watts, (2014, p. 3). However, with hindsight it can be seen that equally, the participants had to have the same level of experiences for analysis and interpretations to be valid, (Creswell and Poth 2018, p. 259), so fortunately all data collection was completed before COVID-19.

To overcome the assertion of "anecdotalism" which Silverman (2017, p. 385) describes as the basing of findings on a few well-chosen examples, or what (Denzin and Lincoln (2011, p. 120) describe as "interpretively rigorous", this research used a "comprehensive data treatment" analysis, where all the data was incorporated into the study. This was achieved in two stages. The themes and sub-themes for each life stage were collated in a mind-map (Braun and Clarke 2006, p. 89). Thus, all three transcripts for bachelor stage were mapped together. Each transcript was colour-coded, with blue for the family longest in the life stage, green used for the second family, with red the newest unit to that life stage. A mind-map was created of the codes for each colour, starting with blue, then green, and finally red. Common themes were observed within each life stage, (see Appendix 3 for a copy of the mind-map for, *Full nest II: youngest child six or over six).* There are thirty-five codes, represented by ringed phrases on this map, recorded in the centre rectangle. Mind-maps were created for all life stages. The second stage of this process involved similar codes gathered together to create categories and from these categories the themes for

a chapter emerged. Control was incorporated into this two-stage process, by cross-checking of all codes to categories. This display of how the codes evolved from the transcripts by including a sample of one of the mind-maps is encouraged by Gioia et al. (2012), when they discuss qualitative rigor in inductive research. There are six themes for each of the inductive analysis chapters.

Reliability refers to the degree of consistency within the data categories (Silverman 2017, p. 400). Charmaz (2014) discusses using in-vivo coding, the participants own words, which is similar in concept to minimal inference described by Silverman (2017, p. 397). This concept is strengthened by the use of long extracts with the researcher's question embedded within and the use of "continuers" the little "hmm" (ibid., p. 397) acknowledging the comment. There are many instances of long extracts used in the two inductive analysis chapters. A copy of the transcript for Valerie and Luke, who are represented in the mind-map above is available, (see Appendix 4).

4.9 Ethics and health and safety

There are many approaches to ethics, but there are four underlying guidelines that each school of ethics agree on: informed consent, deception, privacy and confidentiality, and accuracy, (Denzin and Lincoln 2011). Informed consent was obtained from each family before they met the researcher by the use of the participant information sheet, (see Appendix 5) which gave a brief outline of what the work entailed, the duration of the meeting, and the application of their contribution. LaRossa et al. (1981) in their study of qualitative family research advise that it is nearly impossible to be fully informed before the interview. However, there is an option to withdraw from the interview at any time which is stated in the Participant Agreement Form (see Appendix 5). This form was signed giving written consent before the interview. An upfront and transparent approach from the onset, avoided any issues of deception, the second ethical guideline. Privacy was maintained by using anonymised names for the adults and the children were only identified by age and gender, e.g. Luke and Valerie, D. 14, and S. 11, Luke and Valerie, their anonymised names, have two children a fourteen-year-old daughter and an eleven-year-old son. All interviews were recorded and transcribed, which greatly enhanced

the fourth guideline, accuracy. Handwritten notes, and small diagrams of where everyone was seated during the interview, supported the accuracy of the transcript. Bournemouth University ethics protocols were followed.

In terms of health and safety, the researcher went to houses of families that she had contacted, and with whom she had an indirect connection, e.g. families referred to by other families, as was the case with Luke and Valerie. The families will know of the researcher, but there will be no previous connections. This was reassuring for both parties, as they were not complete strangers, which ameliorated any anxieties. Previous experience gained by the researcher interviewing in family homes was beneficial to this work (O'Reilly 2005).

4.10 Reflexivity and limitations

Reflexivity and limitations in their own unique way have aspects of positionality, the manner in which the researcher moves about the landscape (Rose 1997) within their field. Reflecting on the journey the researcher must position oneself in the research (Creswell and Poth 2018) and this in turn will be reflected in the limitations of the work. Specifically, aspects of nationality, age, gender, social and economic status are facets of the researcher own self are reflected in the research findings, (Rose 1997; Porter and Schänzel 2018). The researcher's position, who she is, what she did and why, will now be stated, so that the research can be situated within the orbit of the researcher's life.

I am an Irish, middle-aged, middle-income, educated, married woman living in East Galway, a rural area of Ireland with my husband. We have one adult son. The thought processes for this research began some twenty if not more, years ago. The ambiguity in this last sentence, is that as a child, one of seven children, I was brought on an annual family holiday. Nevertheless, it was after earning my master's degree that I committed to this work. At that time, the only research in Ireland that considered families was within social tourism, (Quinn et al. 2008; Quinn and Stacey 2010; MacMahon 2012). However, having a greater affinity, an emotional connection to the participants with similar life circumstances (Schänzel 2018, p. 187), the study

focused on middle income groups. Munar (2018) discussed the concerns of social class and background and situating oneself within the research and the impact this subjectivity has on the findings.

An awareness of gender (Munar 2018) with respect to data collection, goes beyond a general awareness of health and safety. Women are seen as the weaker sex (Martinez and Peters 2018), but have greater access to participants (Rose 1997; Hamilton and Fielding 2018; Wang and Li 2020). Family tourism research is seen as a woman's area of work (Canosa 2018) that is less prestigious, (Schänzel 2018), but I believe you do not choose your area of research, it evolves from your life experiences.

From the onset, whole-family research was a methodological intent, in that all family members had to be present at the interview. This proved challenging in many ways, in particular one mother sent her husband and toddlers off to the park so that the interview could be conducted uninterrupted. Maintaining academic integrity, I requested that the family return, and with the assistance of a cartoon video to distract the children, the interview took place. It was important that all of the family were together. The husband and wife were able to relax, knowing that the children were within sight. They had space to contemplate and confer to one another, adding an extra depth to the meeting. After forty minutes, the children were bored, and thankfully we were at the last question, the interview came to an end. Notwithstanding all of this, within that space of forty minutes there were very insightful reflections by the couple which can be read, (see section 7.2. sacrifice).

Personally, there were two demanding challenges mainly in relation to interviewing. Firstly, data collection is somewhat out of your own control, in that you are waiting on potential participants to get back to you. I felt I spent all of 2019 chasing people. It took a long time to source potential families with on average one interview completed, for every four initial contacts made. Interviews were arranged, then postponed, and sometimes cancelled. Nevertheless, once an interview was done, there were only two more within that stage to be completed. The second challenge is regarding people's understanding of social class. One participant gave the impression that he and his family were more than middle-class. Nothing was exactly said. An investigation afterwards through Pew Research (2017), established that the family are upper middle-class. Then in October 2019, I became quite worried during an

interview with a newly married couple, that they were not middle-income. They seem too wealthy. On this occasion, I asked the couple at the end of the interview if they considered themselves as middle-income. They thought about it, and said they were not middle-income but middle-class. I related this incident to a colleague at a conference, as I was still not happy. He then rationalised, advising that if a couple say they are middle class, then that is what they are; as middle class is a social construct.

There are limitations to the use of qualitative methods in research, with the lack of scientific rigor (Decrop 2000; Denscombe 2014) often cited, which can be overcome by an audit trail of data to themes (Gioia et al. 2012). Seeing as being descriptive, qualitative analysis must be taken beyond what the participants say, and the researcher must interpret their experiences, within the subject area under review (Watts 2014). The inability to generalise from small sample sizes, is seen as a major criticism of the use of qualitative methods, (Larsson 2009), which Watts (2014) would strongly refute. It can be difficult to receive support in studying the mundane aspect of life, which is often the case with qualitative research, (Denscombe 2014).

Specifically within the area of thematic analysis, the main disadvantage stems from its broad applicability, making it difficult to develop specific guidelines for analysis (Miles and Huberman 1994; Braun and Clarke 2006), and must be used within a theoretical framework (Maclaren and Hill 2014). This research was conducted within social capital (Coleman 1988), theoretical framework. Going from one individual account to another, the ability to maintain "continuity and contradiction" is lost. Finally, there is no "kudos" in using thematic analysis, (Braun and Clark 2006, p. 97).

Within the research, as the findings are based on three interviews per life stage, this may be considered a limitation. The generalisations made from this unique sub-set of society, are only reflective of Irish society but perhaps, could be applied within other cultural settings. Family members interviewed on their own may have produced a completely different set of findings, which raises the question as to whether you need a family voice to interpret family capital.

4.11 Summary

This chapter commenced with a discussion on the four research philosophies of ontology, epistemology, axiology, and methodology, and in Figure 4-1:, their influence on the choice of using a constructionists, research paradigm was illustrated. Moments in qualitative research were outlined, and it was established that this work lies within the fifth moment. Two frameworks were then described in the research methodology section. Whole-family research is the methodological framework underpinning this study, and this was illustrated by the use of the conceptual framework Figure 4-3:. Research methods was divided into two areas, the data collection and analysis for the archival research conducted in 2016, and the interviews conducted three years later. A detailed rationale for the questions in the interview guide was given in data collection. This was followed by Figure 4-7: the analytical framework, which outlined the structure for the data analysis. An account was given on the concept of validity and reliability within the work. Ethical and health and safety concerns were considered, with positionality and limitations concluded this chapter.

An understanding of history is required to interpret the meaning of an individual's life according to Mills (2000) and so, the next chapter using life histories will illustrate how the concept of a holiday evolved in Ireland. The meaning of a holiday is illustrated using individual stories and sets the foundation on which Irish holidaying now takes place.

5 ARCHIVAL RESEARCH

5.1 Introduction

Holiday comes from the old English word “haligdaeg” or holy day, a day of rest from work, (Holloway and Humphreys 2020, p. 24). This is the etymology, the origin of the word, with this chapter exploring the understanding of a holiday from an individual perspective. Writers have analysed the meaning of a holiday, with Mottiar and Quinn (2012) taking a feminist perspective in their research of self-catering holidays in Ireland. The context of a holiday for citizens of the newly formed free state in the 1920’s will illuminate their understanding of a holiday, with this knowledge evolving and changing over the decades of the twentieth century. Historians have analysed and interpreted the economic and political history of Ireland and in 2007 O’Carroll and Gray set out to record its’ social history (Irish Qualitative Data Archive 2021). Using this social history and analysing the transcripts of archival data, the inner experience of the individual’s understanding of a holiday will be revealed in this chapter. This will contextualise a holiday situating the experience within the subjective narrative of each of the respondents (Faraday and Plummer 1979). The chapter will commence with an exploration of oral history accounts and archival research.

The formation of the visiting friends and relatives (VFR) segment of inbound tourism will be analysed as this market is a core component of tourism to Ireland. Then the nine decades from the 1920’s up to 2000’s will be individually explored using the transcripts to contextualise holidays. This is not a comprehensive history of Ireland through the twentieth century, but how a holiday evolved from a day trip to an excursion to coastal counties, and then “abroad”. It will illustrate that by the 1990’s a “proper” holiday is not a trip back home to Ireland but a foreign holiday to Florida. The chapter concludes with a summary and the direction of the next stages of this research.

5.2 Oral history accounts

Oral histories give an individual understanding of an experience, where reality is complex allowing "the multiplicity of standpoints to be recreated" (Thompson 2000, p. 6). "Grasping the personal truth" Faraday and Plummer (1979, p. 779) gives a visual interpretation of what an oral history account can achieve. So, within the context of their own life the meaning of a holiday will be explored. The aim of this research is the study of family capital in the context of the Irish holiday, specifically the first objective is to c*ontextualise and conceptualise holidays in Ireland.* The phenomena of holidaying evolved gradually over the decades of the twentieth century and this chapter will outline this gradually understanding of a holiday from an individual perspective, giving a "local voice", to what tourism entails to the people experiencing it (Crick 1989, p. 311). The method used to collect and analyse the archival data is outlined in the methodology chapter (see section 4.6 archives). Thus enabling this chapter to continue the flow of understanding of Irish life from modern-day, back to the historical origins of holidaying.

Emigration was a constant theme through the oral history accounts, and as the VFR market evolved from this phenomenon the research takes up this aspect of Irish life and then moves through the decades from the 1920's up to 2000's.

5.3 Visiting Friends and Relatives

Britain and the USA have consistently being the main source markets for Irish tourism, with the UK representing nearly 36% of the 9.7 million visits to the Republic in 2019, (Fáilte Ireland 2020). Visiting friends and relatives (VFR) is a core segment of the inbound and domestic tourism markets for Ireland, steadily underlining tourism numbers to Ireland, with 2.709 million visits representing 28% of the total 9.7 million visits, (Fáilte Ireland 2020). Deeper analyses of the VFR market shows that 54.78% and 10.63% respectively were from the UK and the USA of the total 2.709 million VFR visits, (Fáilte Ireland 2020). The statistics demonstrate the significance of this market, which has been defined as:

" a form of travel involving a visit whereby either (or both) the purpose of the trip or the type of accommodation involves visiting friends and/or relatives,"

(Backer 2007, p. 369)

Backer considers types of accommodation and the motivation of the visit in the definition of VFR. The people behind these figures, we know where they are travelling from, predominately the USA and the UK, and the reason they are visiting Ireland is this is where they, or their ancestors come from. Nevertheless, how did they come about to be visiting Ireland in the first place? To answer this question you need to travel back four centuries in Irish history.

This core market developed from the mass movement of Irish citizens which began in the seventeenth century and gained traction in the early eighteenth century. One million people emigrating between 1815 and 1845, accelerating with the onset of the Great Irish Famine of 1845–1850, when nearly 2.5 million people emigrated (Clear 2007, p. 57). Population statistics before the famine are not definitive but there is general agreement that the population had reached eight million by 1841 and that this figure would have been higher but for emigration, which was 1.75 million between 1780 and 1845, the bulk of which went to the UK, (Lyons 1985, p. 38). Historians, Clear and Lyons figures are broadly consisted, outlining well defined emigration from Ireland before the famine to the UK and to a lesser extent to the USA and Canada.

When Irish tenant farmers during the famine could no longer pay their rents, some landlords paid their fare to the United States or Canada in a scheme known as "landlord-assisted emigration", (Bartoletti 2001, p. 115; Clear 2007, p. 59). By the 1890's the Irish were well established abroad, particularly in the "New World" the USA, and fares were now being sent back home to bring out the next generation, in a phrase, referred to as "the chains began to work" (Clear 2007, p. 60). The Life Histories takes up this account and the oral history of Irene shows this movement of the Irish to the USA when she talks of her father's brothers and sisters going to the States:

I think all his family went to America. His brothers and sisters. There were seven of them, and he was the only one that stayed in @@South-East county##. ... I'd say it would have been 1900s, maybe 19 or 20, that age group.

(Irene, A, 157-164)

Brigit born in 1946 recounts how her own mother was due to go to America but her aunt Emma went instead, outlining a well-established family network in the United States.

> *There was a lot of the family in America, the aunts and uncles and they, money would come home to go to America so it came for her but her mother wouldn't let her go so aunt @@Emma## went instead. And she went at nineteen and never came home. And I saw her for the first time at eighty-seven in recent years, but she is dead now.*
>
> (Brigit, B, 127-129)

Joan's story below, similar to the previous two excerpts, detail how her mother went to the States in the late 1890's but unlike the other families, she returns to Ireland on holidays and eventually meets her husband and settles down.

> *My mother emigrated to America in her late teens before the turn of the century, I am not sure of the exact year but I know she was there for the turn of the century anyhow. … An older sister had already gone, or maybe two, I am not sure. I would be able to give you their letters. She came home on holiday, she came at least twice, and on the last holiday home she met my father, they met at a wedding. And she went back again for two years, and at that time she had a sister, who had married a policeman years before, living in @@South-western town 1##. So she sailed from America sometime, I don't know what date, in 1914, and my father travelled to @@South-western town 1## and they were married in @@South-western town 1## and they came back here in 1914 and I was born in 1916.*
>
> Joan, A, 319-332

Emigration from Ireland from the seventeenth century onwards laid the foundations of the VFR market to Ireland. This flow of Irish people to foreign lands continues up to the present day, which will be considered as the history of the holiday moves through the decades of the nineteenth century starting with the 1920's.

5.4 Ireland in the 1920's

At the turn of the century 1900, Ireland was part of the British Empire and in 1914 Home Rule had been passed in Ireland, but postponed in the UK due to the onset of World War I. The Government of Ireland Act, 1920 partitioned Ireland with the twenty-six counties gaining their independence as the Irish Free State in 1922, (Farrell et al. 2015, p. 1). The war of independence followed by the Irish Civil war had left the country very poor with no funding for infrastructure, (Brown 1985, p. 14).

However against this backdrop of a new republic, everyday life was continuing and Ben discussed his parents first holiday:

> *But the interesting thing about this is they cycled on their honeymoon, they cycled to @@mid-west county2## from @@mid-west town1## in 1922 and the bridge of @@mid-west town2## had been blown by the IRA so they had to go into @@mid-west town3## and they stayed their honeymoon night there in what we might call today a B&B. And the family in the house is still there.*
>
> Ben, A, 90-95

Ireland was experiencing great social change at the early part of the twentieth century, with younger people having greater mobility and social clubs thriving as a result of increased incomes, (Clear 2007, p. 163). Fitzwilliam Lawn Tennis Club (2021) was established in 1877, as Dublin Lawn Tennis Club, one of the oldest tennis clubs in the world. Clifford born in 1926 discusses how his parents met when his father was on holidays. He then puts the entire concept of holidays into context when he advises how unusual at that time in the early 1920's it was to take a holiday.

> *They met in @@Dublin region town 01## because my father's people took a house in @@Dublin region town 01## for the summer, well for part of the summer anyway, well for a month or two. And he played tennis, you see he was off then, he had a long holiday. ... Yes. But you see it's very unusual because in those days... for instance there was no compulsory holiday then, I mean when he gave up football and came back to work at his trade, the first paid holiday that he had was in 1936 and that was the first year that a compulsory week's paid holidays was introduced in legislation. Before that you worked a 5 ½ day week and if you took time off it was at your own expense*.
>
> Clifford, A, 958-978

Motors cars were invented in the late 1800 but it was not until the 1920's that any significant number of cars were seen in Ireland. This was a major change for the predominately rural population of Ireland, and has been recorded in the transcripts. People could now travel. Young men could now take their mothers to mass and other more exciting adventures.

Eileen discussing her father learning how to drive and getting a car.

> *At that time he was the first man, he was sent away to @@01 south-east town## to learn to drive and to learn all about cars and his brothers in @@North American country## sent him the money to buy a car and he became the first man to drive to have a car in @@01 mid-west village###, he was a driver in 1928.*
>
> Eileen, A, 48-51

Ireland became a free state in this decade, but a significant change for most people was the development of the motor car which was introduced to rural areas as the decade progressed.

5.5 Ireland in the 1930's De Valera and the Free State

Eamonn de Valera, became Taoiseach in 1932, though his party Fianna Fail had to be supported by the Labour party in those early years (Brown 1985, p. 142). He was to remain in power until the mid-forties, and any recollections to this decade often refers to him in the more familiar phrase of the "Dev era". During this time, de Valera introduced tariffs and this resulted in the British government to react in a similar way, escalating in economic warfare between the two countries. The impact and relevance to this work is that the rural farming community had to pay very high taxes specifically inheritance tax. Exports fell, in particular cattle (ibid., p. 143) and this had a major impact not on the small farmer (Arensberg and Kimball 2001, p. 29) but on the larger farmer and the industrialist, the cohort most likely to consider holidaying.

> *Tractors didn't come in until my husband's time. I was going back to the '30s, as I said farming was moving along because prices had been good since the 1918 war and people owned their own land in the '30s. In 1932 de Valera was elected, up to that time the Irish Government had to pay something like 12 million a year annuities, you know, taking over the land, sure up until then it had belonged to landlords. The history now of all that I can't tell you too much.*
>
> Joan, A, 669-674

Cormac discussing his father, the youngest in a large family but again the issue of poverty in the 1930's:

> *but my understanding is that the recession in Ireland around the time when De Valera was having the dispute with England and England refused to take our goods... I'm talking about, my father was born in 1910 so this was in the 1930s that type of thing, so my father was at home at this stage so we are talking about 18, 19, he was that age, things were very, very poor, the other brothers had gone I think, all of them, I think all his sisters had gone, he was the youngest right?*
>
> Cormac, B, 232-337

Joseph, born in 1930 recalls when he was four or five and excursions on a Sunday, and picking up the theme of this decade from other respondents, the lack of money:

> *I suppose going out for the drive in the trap, as we used to call it, the horse and trap on a Sunday was a good treat, like I was very interested in the horses and very interested in farming even from a young age. Of course later then like going to the matches the county matches and that sort of thing, that would be the highlight of the year, going to the Munster final, I didn't go to an All-Ireland for years after. Money was very scarce at that time right, nobody seemed to have any money in those days. There was no travelling. It was years after like when we started going to the seaside for the day and that sort of thing, that didn't happen for years.*
>
> Joseph, A, 51-58

Patricia discusses going on the bar of her grandfather's bicycle to her granny's house, for a six-week holiday in her childhood in the 1930's.

> *My uncle had to come on the bicycle and get me on the bar and ride from @@border town1## to @@border village1## sitting on the bar of the bicycle*
>
> Patricia, A, 2322-2323

However, some people had money and were able to travel, as Clifford advises when discussing his aunts who played golf and were not married:

> *Ah they had, now it was before the War like they used to go on holidays, the older one used to go on cruises and the Canaries, which was very exotic then, it is different now. And like she went to Lourdes and she went to Brussels … Yes and another thing too, certainly in @@Dublin region town 01##, like people didn't go on holiday. I mean nowadays it's almost taken for granted that you know it's a regional question like, 'where do you go on your holidays', not 'do you go on holidays?' I mean I even remember growing up and thinking why would anyone living in @@Dublin region town 01## go on holidays, sure isn't it great?... And the fact they were going somewhere else... like it wasn't as common as it is now. Even during the War now they used to go up to Donegal on holidays, I'm talking about the aunts, they used to go up to [various locations in Donegal]*
>
> Clifford, A, 628-649

Clifford was born in 1926, so as a child in the thirties, he is observing the holidaying experience of his relatives and he is trying to rationalise the logic of such an experience.

The 1930's sees Ireland developing as a free state which resulted in deteriorating financial circumstances for middle income rural families. The work of Arensberg and Kimball (2001) depict the loneliness and isolation of rural life of the 1930's, which is well illustrated in Patrick Kavanagh's poem of 1942 "The Great Hunger". A holiday

was not part of life experiences for most people and the onset of World War II at the end of this decade would not change this phenomena.

5.6 Ireland in the 1940's

Ireland declared itself a neutral country when World War II broke out in 1939 and the early half of the 1940's was referred to as "The Emergency". Brown noted that there was a sense of pride in the Irish people in the stance they took regarding the politics of World War II, (Brown 1985, p. 171). There are very few accounts of holidays in this decade but Seamus who was born in 1916 recalls going to Dublin for a week by train on his honeymoon:

> *We went to Dublin up to @@Mitchell's Hotel## in Dublin. ... @@The late forties##. ... Up on the train you'd go that time.*
>
> Seamus, A, 1607-1633

Cormac's parents got married just after the war:

> *And they went off on honeymoon on this motorbike which my auntie tells me was very romantic at the time.*
>
> Cormac, B, 274-275

Rosemary discussing emigrating to Australia with her partner, is referring to a very specific time period in Irish history 1945-49, when the *Assisted Passage Migration Scheme* was created in the UK. Up until 1949 Irish people were still considered British citizens and they could take a heavily subsidised fare of just £10 to travel to Australia.

> *Me brother always wanted me to go to Australia with him but my parents, my mother was still alive then and so was his father and we didn't want to move too far away from parents. That was the only reason it was that we didn't like going out to Australia because my brother went out on the ten-pound boat and so many weeks on sea you know. And he is still there, @@William##.*
>
> Rosemary, A, 437-442

Even though Ireland was not at war, travel and the desire to travel would not have been a consideration. People were poor and emigration was still a major phenomenon in Irish life.

5.7 Ireland in the 1950's

The 1950's was the decade in which the concept of a holiday became part of the vernacular of the Irish people. In this decade we see annual excursions to the Galway Races, dawn flights from the UK, honeymoons to Spain and the development of domestic tourism. However, not everyone was taking a holiday, but unlike previous decades there was an awareness of holidays as the account of Doreen, tenth child in a family of twelve siblings recalls her childhood:

> *You know, I don't ever actually remember feeling deprived. Never, ever. Now, thank God, I'm not a materialistic person anyway, so maybe that's part of it, I don't know, but I never felt… But, of course, nobody had holidays or anything. Around us, everybody was the same, like. So possibly that was why.*
>
> Doreen, B, 212 – 216

Owen takes up this account of a break, even an excursion being a major family event:

> *Ah no, no, no, there was no going away for a weekend or going away for a day or that was just out of the question. The odd day we, the odd day during the summer we'd go perhaps down to @@South East town 2## and that was a marathon journey because it was over sixty miles in a bad car and bad roads and by the time we got there it was practically time to come home. And myself and my sisters of course were sick with excitement. By the time we got to [unclear] or somewhere like that we were wondering were we nearly there yet you know the story and we had our parents driven crazy.*
>
> Owen, B, 648 – 650

The Galway Races began as a two-day racing festival in Ballybrit Galway in 1869 over a hundred and fifty years ago, and from the onset had great support from the local population with the first race meeting attracting over forty thousand people (Galway Races, 2021). Kathleen gives a lively account of the loyalty shown to this excursion:

> *I never went to the Galway races until we got married. We got married in the @@early 1950s##, the Galway races was over because we got married in the*

November and the races was in July and the following July I was expecting @@Brendan## but that didn't stop me! We went to the races then every year until I got the arthritis and @@Frank## continued to go but I wasn't able to go. For years and years and years, the Galway races and at that time there used to be races in June but at that time there was only two days races in Galway. And a day after the two days races then there was races in Tuam, we used to go to that as well but we had no car at the time.

Kathleen, A, 1554-1562

Car ownership was gradually increasing during the fifties and couples had more freedom to travel on their honeymoon. Yet, as can be seen from Irene's comment a holiday was still a luxury:

We toured around for a week to Connemara and to Limerick. We went to Youghal first, from Youghal to Cork, down to Galway, Connemara. We spent a week away, and then we came. We didn't have that kind of money to kind of waste it, we were buying a house and we were trying to scrape and save.

Irene, A, 1605 -1609

James account recalls travelling to the Ford factory which was located in Cork:

Oh we had the car, we had the car alright. I remember going into the Ford factory to see how all the cars were made. And I think we went into Dunlop's as well. Y' know, the tyres thing. Every day we'd drive out 'cause we were staying in the city. And then we'd get tired of it too

James, A, 1754-1757

Families often went to stay with relatives and plenty of examples are beginning to appear from the 1950's onwards of this form of holidaying. In this extract Jillian recalls going to her maternal grannies:

My mother used to take my sister and myself when we got our summer holidays, we used to go up to @@Mid East-county 1## and spend the month there nearly for holidays on the farm, it was great. … Because we could run wild cause we lived in the town and we could run wild so we always went to @@Mid East-county 1## for our summer holidays.

Jillian, B, 38 - 45

Brigit recalls her childhood staying with an aunt:

… we loved her because that was our summer holidays. She lived about sixteen miles away and my sister and I would take turns. We would cycle up and stay with her and she had a fantastic sense of humour,

Brigit, B, 192 -194

It is interesting in this next account that staying with family, is not considered a holiday as Sally recalls her childhood:

> *… Yeah there was other cousins then an aunt I used to go holidays too as a youngster. I'm talking now all before the age of twelve before I went away to boarding school. And I would go on holidays there because they had six or seven children and there was just three of us and oh we just had great times.*
>
> *…. Yeah I don't know did people go on holidays? We didn't anyway but we were never short of anything you know.*
>
> Sally, B, 156-201

Great memories are recounted here of time spent with relatives, but in this final account a distinction is made between staying with family and a holiday. VFR in Sally's mind is not a holiday.

Anthony got a great love of travelling from his father back in his youth in the 1950's, and while the excerpt is long, it really demonstrates the powerful sense of place and identity travel can give to a child:

> *The main interest I think that he brought to me was a kind of a love of countryside and travelling around Ireland, which not too many people did in the 1950s, and the West of Ireland in particular. I just fell in love with the West of Ireland in the mid-50s, early 50s even. I can still remember my first visit over there to where my uncle was, a boat builder in 1956 probably. And I can still remember my views of the mountains and amazingly my father and my uncle can remember him telling me although I mightn't have noticed, that's Croagh Patrick and St. Patrick lived for forty days on top of that and I said, 'wow'. And there was a gully in it and I could see it and my father said there was a lake in there when the glaziers were there although as a normal ten-year old unless that was said to me it wouldn't have triggered anything in me, you know what I mean, and I would've just looked at the mountain and 'right'. You know and that was sustained all through my kind of interaction with my father, he did detect it in these [unclear] to talk about it, so he gave me a great gift that way, an absolutely fantastic gift, which I've still kind of carry with me. In fact we all do, the four of us, you know.*
>
> Anthony, B, 189 -201

Aer Lingus was inaugurated in 1936 but with the onset of World War II in 1939 air travel was curtailed but by the 1950's, Dublin airport was in its second decade of operation and air travel was becoming an option for emigrants wishing to return to visit relatives, as Irene discusses returning from the UK in the 50's

> *Well we made it our business, that we kind of saved our money. We went home twice a year, not together now, one or two of us would be together. We were always, kind of back and forth. It was cheap in those days to go back and forth, it was only a couple of quid. I used to fly into Dublin from London. And they had the 'Dawn Flights'*

as they used call them for £4 return. The dawn flights at five in the morning. It was great. Things were cheaper then

Irene, A, 1129-1133

Ireland in the 1950's is presented in some historical text books as a bleak era, with discussions regarding the heavy influence of the church, the excessive censorship programme enacted by the state, and the politics of Northern Ireland. A more nuance view is given by Brian Fallon who lived through the era, and he describes it as a pivotal time from the bleakness of the 1940's' to the economic and cultural strength of Ireland today, (Fallon 2004, p. 47).

5.8 Ireland in the 1960's

The sixties often referred to as the "Lemass era" saw major changes in Irish society, with for example, free transport to and from schools for pupils living more than three miles from the nearest secondary school, leading to mass education, (Brown, 1985, p. 253). Incomes were rising with the stabilisation of milk prices due to the development in previous decades of the co-operative movement, and with the building of a civil service, lead to an expansion of holiday experiences. Teenagers were now backpacking in Europe. However, a return to the honeymoons of young Irish couples, will commence analyses of this decade.

Package holidays which had been developed in the 1950's (Holloway and Humphreys 2020, p. 42), were now being sought by Irish couples seeking a more exciting honeymoon as Brigit now advises:

…we were supposed to go to Scotland and we would have been a lot better going but @@Jack## saw this offer, Global holidays to @@European beach resort## … But of course July in @@ European country 1##, and the heat and we got burnt to bits in the beginning. Well first of all @@Jack## had a sprained arm … and then we got burnt to bits because we had no experience of it, you know. So and then the food, I hated the food. That time in @@European beach resort## they didn't cater for English people really it was very, you know, oily fish and no potatoes and fish with the heads on them and everything, so.

Brigit, B, 1085 –1100

Audrey discussing her honeymoon in the mid-sixties and it was amazing to see the phrase, "cheaper to go foreign than stay in Ireland", was prevalent in the 1960's

> *We went to @@Mediterranean island 1## on our honeymoon because it was cheaper than staying in Ireland, it was all of 28 guineas for 10 days for the two of us.*
>
> Audrey, B, 730 -732

Anthony, whom we encountered in the previous section, the 1950's, is now in his twenties growing up in Dublin. He was probably one of the first of a new generation of youth to go back-packing, often seen as the modern version of the Victorian grand tour:

> *he said to me in the summer of 1966, "Why don't you go hitchhiking around Europe?" which I did, and that was an absolutely amazing experience for me. We hitch hiked all over down into Italy, Spain, Switzerland and Germany and that created a wanderlust in me that I never lost because I went every year from the on even though, and the contrast for me between the dull life in Dublin in the 1960s.*
>
> Anthony, B, 685 – 689

A new era of economic vitality is how the 1960's is portrayed in Terence Brown's account of this decade (Brown 1985, p. 241). Package holidays to continental Europe were now a honeymoon choice for Irish couples, and teenagers were beginning to travel independently.

5.9 Ireland in the 1970's

In 1975, Gillian Bowler opens her first travel agency in Dublin selling 200 packages to Greece in that year (Guiney 2002, p. 350). In this decade continental holidays became an established choice for honeymoon couples. However, for older couples and families the sun holiday was a new phenomenon that had to be contemplated, as Patricia, now twenty years married describes:

> *They were only five and seven at that time. We had a great bank manager and he used to come down here to shoot on the ground up there and he said, "Did you two ever take a holiday"? And I said, "What's a holiday?" and he said, "You know you should take a holiday it is work, work, work, and I know what's going into the bank and what's coming out" he says, "I know what kind of business this is". He said we were working far too hard with no leisure time, he said, "I'd like you to take a holiday of course but what will we do for money?", and he said "Come in to me and I'll give*

you whatever you want for a holiday" you know? So that put us in the frame of mind for thinking about it as well you know. So we made up our mind then anyway and got our passports you see it was the end of October so we couldn't have had any holiday about here you'd have had to go to the sun so we went to Spain for a week! ….they were excited going on the plane, and getting off the plane, this heat heating you and all these smells, the foreign smells of fruit and all these curries, oh I always remember all these smells. I couldn't get over the smells when I got off the plane. … So the next time we went away for two weeks and we went every year after that, every year.

Patricia, A, 1687-1717

Nora and her husband are both teachers, with the significance being they would have more time off to take holidays. She recalls their honeymoon and foreign travel becoming part of their yearly routine:

So we went to the Canaries for our honey moon we travelled a lot ever since you know we put a lot of emphasis on traveling

Nora, B, 1055-1056

However, the majority of the Irish population were still holidaying in Ireland and domestic tourism in the form of VFR, caravanning, and second home holidays, were the main forms of a break away. A predominately rural population, the holiday had to work around farming life as Marion discusses going on a holiday with an aunt:

We would rent out a house for two weeks and we had the best memories of our lives of those holidays. We used to look forward to them so much and we'd be talking about it from the minute we'd get the summer holidays. "When will we be going to Tramore" you know, "are we there yet" kind of thing, you know, we couldn't wait. And they always went kind of at the end of August when the jobs would be done, the harvest would be sorted that Daddy could at least maybe come down on a Sunday to us you know.

Marion, C, 1262-1267

Owen, a farmer, recalls his father minding the farm while he went on holidays with his wife and three children:

We took family holidays together while, while my father was able to look after the place, we had a caravan and a land rover that we, we went off every summer.

Owen, B, 1960-1961

Mandy discussing her memories:

…my father would come for his two weeks annual leave that he got in the bank and he'd come down when they were saving the hay and you know. But it was fantastic.

Mandy, C, 502-507

Brian who was born in 1966 spent his holidays in the West of Ireland when he was a child and this arrangement became more formalised in later year when they bought a holiday home:

> *… and my summer holidays was always down in @@south west county## because that's probably the best place in the world it's beside the sea and when you're a kid that's the main thing like. … We used to spend the month of August in West @@south west county##. … Well and in later life we used to always rent out a house and then he bought a house down there and we used to stay in his house with him…it's like the Caribbean during the summer like it's the perfect spot…*

Brian, C, 4-6: 196-209

However VFR which was the holiday in previous decades is now seen as one aspect of the summer vacation, with an annual family holiday now a part of yearly activities as Angela recalls:

> *And we used to go on holidays every year when we were children, they always used to make a point of it, two weeks summer holidays. The money would be found somewhere and we'd all go on holidays. …Oh yes this was our summer holiday. We'd just go up to Dublin and they'd come down, my uncle and aunty and pack two of us into the car and bring us up to Dublin for a couple of weeks. But on the first two weeks in August every year we went on holidays.*

Angela, C, 131-151

Kevin had similar holiday experiences as Angela with VFR just one aspect of the holiday. He went caravanning down in the South East:

> *When I was growing up at the time I used to go and visit them and stay over, I remember staying over for one week or two weeks in @@01 village Dublin region## and whatever else and they used to come down and visit us,… When we were in Dublin before we moved down we used to have a caravan in @@South East seaside village## they used to always travel, I still remember certain parts of the trip now, I would only have been four or five, but I remember you'd see the white wall coming up to @@South East seaside village##,…*

Kevin, C, 576-587

Not everyone was going on holidays in the early seventies, but what is interesting is the thought that there could have been holidays then, as Chris discusses going to his granny's house:

> *…we would have gone to stay with her and in many respects, she was our only holiday outlet when we were younger….*

Chris, C, 43-45

The 1970's sees holidays formalised into the yearly routine for families, with some travelling abroad and for others it is to the coastal counties of Ireland. For some people, it is now an important aspect of family life with money set aside to ensure that a holiday is taken.

5.10 Ireland in the 1980's

A parish priest from the West of Ireland, James Horan, set about building a multi-million-pound airport of international standards in the 1980's, and in 1985 Knock Airport opened with its inaugural flight to Rome (Ireland West Airport Knock, 2021). The vision of Monsignor Horan that Knock airport could be used by the local community, who could get access to their families with greater ease, is reflected in this excerpt from Bernard, a builder who had to return to the UK in the late eighties to work:

> *I went back to England and started working off again because the kids were coming to college age and that but I said I wasn't going to be caught not being able to provide for them. So I went over and I was doing very well beyond, working all the hours God sent me. And Knock Airport had just opened so I could pre-book, £46 and I'd come home every three weeks. And then for the summer I used to bring them over and rent a house beyond and bring them over for the summer and have them for three months beyond and I did that for four years.*

Bernard, B, 587-593

Irene, as shown in the excerpt from the 1950's, advises that an emigrant to the UK could fly into Dublin on the dawn flight. Three decades later, Bernard is now able to incorporate the family holiday with work. Irene was in her late teens when she went to the UK to work. Teenagers in the 1980's are now going to college and taking working holidays in the United States of America with a J-1 visa as Brian advises:

> *No, I went to, you know the usual J1 to America like, made no money and had to come back nearly with the tail between your legs.*

Brian, C, 1625-1626

Rose discussing her younger sister who went on holidays to Spain and then got the "*bug"* for travelling:

> *She went on holidays to Spain with her friends and she just got the bug for travelling and then she went to America then as an au pair that was the way into America and loved it and hasn't been home for 15 years, more than 15 years.*
>
> Rose, B, 939-941

Parents wanted their children to have a good life and also a holiday, and this is recalled by Anne-Marie:

> *but we always had holidays. We always had everything that no one else on the road would have had. We had computers when computers were unheard of, we had stereos, we were allowed have parities in the front room. When that was completely unheard of, we used to go to @@European country1## we've friends in @@European country1## and we used to visit them on holidays. We'd go to @@European city1##. We always had a lifestyle, and we would have been considered, and I always felt that we were considered to be better off than the rest. But Daddy worked very hard to get that to give us the lifestyle that we had only had a caravan and we used to go touring around Ireland and Daddy had a friend who had a boat on the Shannon, and we used to have cruises on the Shannon. So, we did definitely have a lifestyle that the other kids certainly wouldn't have had. Daddy wanted to give us stuff that he obviously never had.*
>
> Anne-Marie, C, 13-14

Sharon also avails of the opportunity for her children to travel:

> *Because my brother was in @@east Asian country## as a @@religious order## and we went out for five weeks, the four of us and we enjoyed that.*
>
> Sharon, B, 1162-1163

Examples were given in early decades of families unable to take a holiday due to work commitments and this is then taken up by Joan, a farmer discussing when they could start taking holidays on a regular basis:

> *Not until we retired from farming and then we went away for weekends. … The mid '80s. So then we, one of the first was the August weekend, we decided to visit the North, we stayed in Donegal town for the first night and I enquired of the landlady, she didn't encourage a visit into the North at all at all.*
>
> Joan, A, 1357-1364

Honeymoon's in the 80's:

> *We went to London, it was exciting, I came back with a full suitcase of shoes.*

Angela, C, 105

Desmond discussing his marriage in later life and his honeymoon, where money was in short supply:

> *'Twas a small little party in the, in the hotel in @@Mid-West town 1##, small little party, yes and we toured, I think we done a bit of touring and then we came back home here.*

Desmond, B, 1793-1794

The purchase of a second home, used as a holiday destination was discussed by Audrey:

> *We're very sensible. Instead of buying a bigger house after we got married, we decided we'd buy a small house down in @@South-East-county 1##, quite near @@South-East town 2## and we'd go down at the weekends and the kids spent their summers down there so we have always been up and down.*

Audrey, B, 1514-1517

The 1980's began to offer even greater travelling opportunities to the people of Ireland, with third level students taking working holidays in the States, and the development of Knock Airport for the West of Ireland. However, not just young people and honeymoon couples were availing of holidays, retired couples were availing of this phenomena, which it still was in the 1980's a somewhat strange abstract. This was noted in tourism research, with Peillon discusses the reluctance of older people to respond to his 1986 survey of "holiday activities of the Irish" (Peillon 1993, p. 271).

5.11 Ireland in the 1990's

The 1990's is a decade that is still within the "30-year rule", a time period which should elapse before historical accounts are written, (Foster 2007, p. 1). However, much will be written about the great wealth, the transformational changes of that decade, but June 1990 will be seen as a foretaste of what was to come, when the entire country went on holidays, as Marion discusses the World Cup Finals in Italy:

> *I'm doing the Leaving Cert. orals and you have to write down their dates of birth and one of them was born on the 11th of June 1990, and I said, "Do you know where I was on the 11th of June 1990?", I said to one of them today actually, you know, they're great and I said, "I was up in Donegal at the Ireland/England match in Italia '90". "What Miss, that was the day I was born?" "Well", I said, "that was it, it was the best summer and you missed it 'cause", I said, "you were only born. But it was it was one of the best summers was the Italia '90 summer".*
>
> Marion, C, 1799-1804

The definition of tourism by UNWTO (2010) includes the phrase "outside their usual environment" is captured above when the entire country stopped doing their usual routine and mentally travelled to Italy and watched Ireland's progress in the football finals. Three weeks of collective joy and fun that was shared by all (Dorney 2012). Did the country metaphorically speaking take a holiday? This philosophical question arises again at an individual level, with Chris.

Working in the UK and coming home was not regarded as a holiday for Chris even though he had great fun. A real holiday or to use his exact words a "proper*"* holiday is when a few years later he travels to America:

> *I would have come home to Ireland every time I had time off and stuff like that, and as I say I had good friends around here as well, I still have good friends around here as well. And I used to come home for the craic and stuff, come home at first with no money and the usual business that students do, even though we were on a salary at the time, but it wasn't great. … I went on my first proper foreign holiday there in @@early 1990s##, I went to The States, to Florida with a couple of friends*.
>
> Chris, C, 891-1031

The proper holiday that Chris refers too, picks up the theme of the UNWTO definition that returning home is not a holiday: he is not outside his usual environment even though he has left home and is now working in the UK. The real holiday is when he goes to Florida.

The 1990's starts with the country taken a holiday from its usual routines, and enjoy three weeks of mass hysteria as Ireland progresses in the World Cup football finals. It was to mark the beginning of an era of great wealth. The final section the early noughties continues this theme of wealth and the phrase "Celtic Tiger" is associated this this time frame.

5.12 Ireland at the turn of the century 2000-2007

The "Celtic Tiger" era represents a timeframe from the mid 1990's up to early 2008, when Ireland underwent unprecedented growth akin to the South East Asia tiger economies, (Ferriter 2004, p. 674). There were growth rates exceeding seven percent, with near full employment, and disposable income that had doubled; the country had become "vastly rich" (Foster 2007, p. 7). Against this backdrop, the oral history interviews for this study were conducted in 2007 and 2008 just at the cusp of change, and the final moments of great economic fortunes. Fourteen years later and the stories seem surreal. Jack takes up the story:

> *You know I mean the shirt, this is a €6 shirt from Penneys. It does me going to work, it's grand but why should I not have a €90 handmade shirt, why not? ... Cause I have the money, this time last week I had two days holidays left out of me winter week and me two days off and I said to myself do you want to go off to Brussels for a week? And we just took off to Brussels, we weren't said how much is it? Now literally we made sure we got good value, I don't mean that we just but you know we can do these things now like before we weren't able to then. It's an interesting one that.*
>
> Jack, B, 3805-3814

Sean discussing how life has improved:

> *We would have at least two holidays a year. I don't mean we're affluent, one of those holidays would probably be a week in @@border county 02## ....*
>
> Sean, B, 1327-1328

Eileen discussing getting the pension due to budget changes made by Charlie McCreevy, the Minister for Finance from 1997 to 2004:

> *... that is actually the best thing that ever happened to me, because I was able to travel so much that I couldn't, well I could travel cause he doesn't travel but it makes things so much easier for me and it was lovely, oh it was, the first time in my life I got money, to handle and spend! It was fantastic, my own money! [sounds delighted].*
>
> Eileen, A, 1340-1346

Now it seems everyone is having a holiday as Pauleen discusses:

> *but it's also changed for grandmothers because my grandmother never went anywhere like sit at home that was it like I'm a grandmother I'm going to Italy this year and I could be going to Mexico next year in April, now when I was growing up grannies didn't do that they sat in the corner and done the knitting so like it's changed for everybody.*

Pauleen, B, 897-900

The pressure is on to be seen to have a holiday as Brigit advises:

> *But then I was saying why does she go on the sun holidays because @@Laura## finds the sun very hard? And she said purely because I want to say I was there. She said I hate them. I don't swim, I spend most of the day in bed, because herself and another girl with @@physical disability## goes, and we just sit out at night and we would have a better time in Bray but everyone else is going and we want to say we went.*

Brigit, B, 1565-1577

However, if this was an era of conspicuous consumption (Share et al. 2012, p. 389) not everyone was comfortable with this as Monica advises:

> *We weren't very wealthy but we got by with what we had but the thing is we never had many holidays, you see people now has to have two cars, holidays every year, a couple of times a year if possible and keep up with the fashions.*

Monica, A, 2509-2512

Maire takes up this theme of excess:

> *the fact that they people don't have the strength in character to stop and say no I don't want two holidays a year, I'd prefer to stay at home with the children, though I think that is changing I think it will change.*

Maire, B, 1975-1977

Of the 3,079 words that made up the rough copy of this section 4.12, the final six words of Phyllis, could nearly have been lost. At this time, the height of the "Celtic Tiger", there were more people with an income level below the poverty line than in the 1980's, (Ferriter 2004, p. 703; Munck 2007, p. 307). When asked if there is anything that she would change Phyllis advises:

> *… but okay there's lots of things I suppose everyone would change in their life if they could but I would like to… be able to afford a holiday.*

Phyllis, B, 1600-1602

A holiday for young families can cause pressure as Donal advises:

> *because if you have a child and I know when we go on holidays it's actually harder on holidays than it is during the day because you don't get twenty minutes away and you don't get to sit in a car and sit in traffic or sit at a desk and work things out in your own head - you have to be there changing nappies, telling them to pick up their*

> *spilled cornflakes, don't turn on that telly, put your coat on, have you brushed your teeth, feed the rabbits - all the rest of it …*
>
> Donal, C, 1400-1404

The retirees have their own perspectives also, Bernard now retired:

> *Ah we've a good quality of life now, we can get away, being away now the last few years a good bit, we've been to France and we were just in Rome for our anniversary there before Christmas, but still not, I'd rather to go to one of the Aran Islands than go to Spain and lie on a beach, don't want that now. Take a trip around and down to Kerry would far more interest me, the people and sit up to the bar of an evening and have a pint with them and you get good stories and that would be my... I'm afraid herself would prefer to get on a plane and go for the sun but ah sure she'd do a bit of that with the daughters and that.*
>
> Bernard, B, 729-735

At the start of the new millennium, Ireland is experiencing great wealth and this is reflected in the consumption of holidays which we have seen in the above extracts. Contrary to popular press not everyone participated in this era of great excess and some citizens felt under pressure to be seen to take foreign holidays.

5.13 Summary

The holiday experiences of fifty-eight respondents over the last century were outlined in this chapter. The thought processes of a holiday were illustrated through phrases like "*the frame of mind for thinking about it",* and "*bug for travelling",* which conceptualised holidays at an individual level. The phenomenon that is the holiday, moved from visiting relatives, to holidays around Ireland, and then foreign breaks. Some respondents realised that a holiday in Ireland was what they enjoyed most.

Holidays had to fit in with the predominately rural lifestyle, revealing obligations and social norms. Thus, the need to have the season's work done, before a holiday could be taken, contextualised holidays in Ireland in the fifties and sixties.

This chapter outlined the personal evolution of a holiday, what a holiday is, at an individual level, anchoring the research within an Irish frame. The primary research moves this thought process, to what the holiday means at an individual and family level. In brief from what it is, to what it means.

This archival investigation provides an understanding of the origins of holidays in Ireland, grounding a phenomenon within an historical context. Moving from the conceptualisation of the holiday, holidays for families at different life stages will be analysed. The direction now changes from studying transcripts to collecting holiday histories, and using latent thematic analysis, explore the family capital experiences of holidays.

Chapter six will now commence the first of the two inductive analysis chapters.

6 INDUCTIVE INTERPRETATION: HOLIDAYS WITHOUT CHILDREN

6.1 Introduction

The holiday experiences of families with no dependent children are analysed in this chapter. They represent stages one, two, six, seven, eight, and nine of the Wells and Gubar (1966) life cycle model and are illustrated below in Table 6-1:.

Table 6-1: Subset of participants by life stage, and occupation

Life Stage	Participants Names	Occupation
1.	Anne	Primary school teacher
	Mary	Primary school teacher, part-time student
	Gerry	Software development engineer
2.	Helen John	Lecturer Student, part-time barman
	Noel Angela	Radio producer Marketing Manager
	Barry Laura	Army officer and student Medical doctor
6.	Raymond Rose	Heavy-plant fitter Bank manager, part-time
	Tina Ian	Clerical officer, part-time Retired
	Bridget Sean	B&B proprietor Farmer, part-time
7.	Larry Denise	Retired civil servant Volunteer, part-time
	Paul Olivia	Retired operations manager Retired retailer
	William Lucy	Retired lecturer Primary school teacher
8.	Michael	Own company – self employed
	Emily	County council - Clerical officer
	Linda	School - Special needs assistant
9.	Nora	Retired theatre nurse
	Henry	Retired bank manager
	Phil	Retired bank clerk

Stages one and two are the life stages before a couple start a family, with stages six-nine the life stages after the children have left the home. Breaking up the analysis provides the space to explore the experiences of holiday life before and after the children in this chapter. The family stages, three, four and five, having a natural connectivity, will be analysed in the next chapter.

The first of a two-step analytical process, involving inductive analysis is the focus of this chapter. In this analysis, various extracts across the life stages describe the participants stance in relation to a theme. The function of this chapter is to articulate further the participant's voice. The second step, deductive interpretation, is the sole focus of chapter eight.

Diverse destinations, the Fiji Islands, of the South Pacific, Ibiza and Kerry are background locations from which the six themes in this chapter emerge. The participant is snapped out of day-to-day life when they arrive at one of these locations. Pulled out of the normal routine, the participant can see themselves in a new light. It is in this frame of mind that the first theme, Finding One's Self evolved.

6.2 Finding One's Self

A holiday is an opportunity to reflect on life, to discover what is important and gain a greater understanding of oneself when away from daily routines. In the four extracts detailed below, the participants discuss the influence the holiday had on developing an awareness of themselves. In this opening extract, Anne a young primary school teacher in the first life stage, who had recently finished a relationship, discusses her holiday to Ibiza.

> *The holiday to Ibiza did kind of open up my eyes as to like you know, there is so much more out there than just being in a relationship you know, and I think that is kind of where I kind of got more into going out and having the crack because you know, I really enjoy socialising and going out with my friends and having fun, and I think that stemmed a lot from the holiday in Ibiza, because I had never gone on anything, I never seen anything like that before and I was just so much more able to be just free you know, literally had no limitations, and nobody tied down to or anything. So, I think that holiday did actually have a big … like thinking about it now … at the time I wouldn't have said it, but like it did have an influence on my perspectives, I think.*

Anne discovered the holiday to be liberating. She could be herself. There are more experiences in life than *'just being in a relationship'.* She could socialise with her friends and in this new free environment see and do things. The holiday gave Anne the space to consider her previous life with her boyfriend. With the benefit of hindsight, the holiday influenced her life with the phrase '*open up my eyes'* suggesting the very personal effect the break had on Anne. The holiday acted as a spark, assisting in changing her perspective. It took a holiday for Anne to see other opportunities in life, to broaden her outlook. Finding one's self is a process with the holiday in this instance, the catalyst that ignited that change.

The ability of a holiday to assist in finding one's self may be intuitively prevalent in the early life stages, as people take their first steps in travelling. However, this self-awareness is evident in later life stages as Larry and Denise, an *Empty Nest II, Older Married Couple (OMC) retired,* advise in this next extract.

> *F: Well for a few years we went away for a rest because mummy was here and time on our own. I remember the first time we went on holidays on our own I was terrified we wouldn't be talking when we got to the end because we'd never been away on our own, you know, since we got married, so it was nice and we're kind of used to it now.*

Denise was anxious as they were going on holiday on their own, the first in a long time now that the family was reared. The holiday gave them space to rediscover the relationship and to find themselves. After the intervening years of married life, now that they were on their own, they were going to discover if they still connected, if the relationship would exist at the end of the holiday. '*Terrified'* is a strong word. Denise was very uncomfortable with the fact that the holiday could test the marriage, that after so many years they would find they have nothing in common. All went well and they are now use to holidaying on their own again.

As we move through the life stages, meet a spouse, have children and grandchildren, life is a shared involvement. However, if your partner dies abruptly then living can become a lonely experience. Holidays now will have a new meaning, or in some cases they really are another task that must be accomplished during the year. It is in this frame of mind that we meet Linda, a *solitary survivor in the labour force* with

four children. Linda's husband died suddenly four years ago. We pick up the account with Linda discussing what she will do differently on the next holiday.

> *I'm hoping to do more research before I go and maybe have a plan in place, which will be the first time ever I will be more planned.*
>
> ***Grand. And why is that?***
>
> *First of all because I know now where I'm going next year, whereas this year and every other year it's somebody will say well we'll go to Spain or we'll go to Dublin and I'll say yeah fine, and then I just go and I do no research or no … but this time if we do go to Poland I'm hoping to do tours and be a little bit more ready for myself, but it's for myself.*
>
> ***For yourself.***
>
> *Yeah.*
>
> ***Yes, yes, yes. Good, good. And what do you hope to get from that? Why are you doing that I suppose?***
>
> *I just feel there's a big world out there, and there's a lot of interesting things and I have to start living my life for me. So yeah, I'm just going to I suppose embrace it really, and just take it as it comes and see what happens.*

Four years after her husband's death, Linda has been on holidays with her family but now wants to take control of her vacations. She says she wants to *'start living my life for me'.* She wants to support her transition from being a married woman to a solitary survivor. The word '*survivor*' from the Wells and Gubar, (1966) model is an appropriate word as it gives the sense in this instance of surviving, coming through, and now embracing life and finding herself on her own terms. Linda is being proactive as it will be the '*first time ever*' that she will plan and research the holiday. She is putting the effort in, not for the family, but for herself '*ready for myself, but it's for myself.'* She says it twice, that it has to be for herself, as if she is still internalising, dealing with issues, but now wants to take her own self in hand, so that she can begin to live life.

The fourth and final extract considers holidays for solitary survivors that have retired. Henry's wife died fourteen months ago, and in this next extract he discusses the changes in holidays at this life stage.

> *M: Well of course, life is not the same, life will never be the same again, so I am trying to adjust Susanne.*

Yes

M: And I haven't found my niche on holidays yet. I was down in Rosses Point a couple of times and that was one of [wife's] favourite place and we used to go there regularly.

Yes

M: So I like going down there because it brings back memories of [wife].

Yes

M: So I just don't know where I am at the minute with holidays.

Yes, well it is still early days yet to be fair.

M: It is very early days.

Yes, you are only just in this life stage.

M: I am trying to figure things out as best as I can, and I have been trying to put a positive spin on everything, if you know what I mean.

Yes

M: So I am not afraid of going back to places we were, and I don't be morbid when I get there, and if I am a little bit weepy at times, I try and put a spin on that and say well at least I care.

Yes

M: And sure then I am better again, but we had a fantastic holiday together. [Wife] she was a teacher and she had a passion about knowledge, knowledge was empowerment and you know, and I am sure you'll be the same.

After fifty years of life together, not surprisingly, Henry is finding it hard to find his *'niche'* on holidays. The current sadness of life seeps through this extract, yet Henry is trying to *'figure things out'*. He needs to find himself, and using a strategy of returning to previously visited places, while it can be sad, which he acknowledges, it helps in seeing his current situation. He has not yet found his own self on holidays, nevertheless, the extract suggests that this is a work-in-progress, *'where I am at the minute'*. In due course, perhaps in another year or two Henry hopes that he will have found contentment with himself in this, the final life stage.

Using extracts across four different life stages, holidays provide an opportunity to reflect on life and consider recent life experiences. A feature of a holiday, being away from home, participants can regroup and find one's self. Travelling with a friend is

an aspect of holidaying which emerged from participant-accounts of single people, and will now be examined in this next theme.

6.3 Travel companionship

There are three single life stages within the Wells and Gubar (1966) life cycle model; the *bachelor stage; solitary survivor, in the labour force; and solitary survivor, retired.* The focus will now turn to the travelling companions of participants across the solitary life stages, with six extracts illuminating this aspect of holidaying, commencing with Mary, a young primary school teacher.

> *I went with two also single friends. They were two of my best friends from college who also moved to Nottingham with me, so the three of us went to Berlin together. Now, it was only for about three days, but we had a nice time.*

Mary gives a very precise answer to the question regarding who went on the holiday. It was not just two friends but *'two also single friends'* confirming the status of all three companions. Everybody was the same, all single women known to each other from college days. There is similar demarcations of travelling companions with Anne's account.

> *That was with my friend [Deirdre] that organised the Greece holiday and her friend [Geraldine] from her home, from Kerry. My friend [Deirdre] would have been. She is great for organising. She goes every month she has gone, but now she has a boyfriend, but they go together. She has literally gone everywhere but yes, she organises it and I just said I would jump on the band wagon with her and off I went.*

Anne clarifies during the conversation that her friend Deirdre organises the holidays, but now has a boyfriend and they go together. Anne is carefree, seized the opportunity to go on a holiday, '*jump on the band wagon',* and went with the group. Nevertheless, not all single people team up with other companions to go on holidays. Gerry, the third young single person discusses travelling on his own, and frequenting Irish bars.

> *I don't know really. It's probably just one of those things, like when you're going off on holidays or whatever at seventeen or eighteen by yourself and you just kind of go well, what's an easy bar to walk into? What's an easy bar to try to feel*

comfortable in, to be comfortable in your surroundings a little bit easier or quicker? And probably an Irish bar because you probably know what's going on. Not that I was ever a big drinker, but it was just to, it's a, I think probably it might be a comfort, just a comfort thing that it's easier.

He clearly explains the rationale for locating the Irish bar when away on a foreign holiday. Travelling on your own you want to feel '*comfortable in your surroundings*' and thus something that is familiar, that is known, will suffice. Gerry can relate to an Irish bar. He will find a connection and be relaxed. He has a choice of venues, but a familiar bar where he will feel comfortable in a short space of time is important. He has thought about being on his own when away, and has devised a strategy that is quick and easy for him to walk into a bar and be relaxed. Young single people at the first life stage travel with friends from college or work, people the same as themselves, or they holiday on their own.

When a young person meets a partner naturally they will holiday with them, as seen earlier in the extract from Anne. Couples tend to holiday together. However, they can go with family or friends away from their partners, sometimes given specific names like the 'Motorbike holiday' or the 'Sisters' holiday'. Nevertheless, moving through life stages, the next time someone is on their own is when the relationship ends, which can happen during working life or when they retire. This third extract is from stage eight of the life cycle, *Solitary survivor, in labour force*. Michael, self-employed in his early sixties, separated from his wife, discusses travelling on his own:

Well holidays are good, and I suppose we're privileged to be able to do it and to have them I suppose, probably my sense of travelling adventure would go back to the fact that myself, my time in trade as a fitter and the company I worked for was in contracting so we were constantly moving from job to job, place to place, and you were constantly meeting new people, constantly I suppose evolving, for want of a better word. So a sense of travel and solo travel was never an issue you know.

Never an issue, yes, yes.

And I think even I'd have friends now who'd be solo travellers and whatever else, and do both like, but you always find that if you're curious and you want to learn about something you have to go and wander off on your own, even if you're in a holiday with a group of people, you just take a day out and say I'm going, I'm going for a walk down the markets or whatever you know.

Michael is relaxed travelling on his own, and associates this with his time working for the contracting company, where they were always moving from job to job, meeting new people. Early life experiences gave him a sense of '*travelling adventure*'. Like the women earlier, Mary and Anne, he knows people like himself, solo travellers. He can travel on his own or with friends, at ease with either option.

Emily in the same life stage as Michael, describes herself as pre-retirement. She explains in the following extract why she does not go on an annual holiday.

> *Also it's easier, you know, obviously because I am a single person, that I'm relying on my sister to be available, to go with her. Now, I considered the idea of going on like a Travel Department, on one of their singles type things, but I haven't really done it. You know, if I had the time, and that just hasn't happened yet, but I plan to do something like that too.*

Emily is dependent on her sister's availability to go on a holiday. She thinks she might go on a group tour holiday with the Travel Department, but from the manner in which she describes the holiday, '*one of their singles type thing*', you get the sense that this may not happen. However, towards the end of the interview when discussing what she will do differently on the next holiday, which is a reunion of friends that Emily met when working in her twenties, she advises:

> *Aside from the one to London, to the UK, I'm not planning anything beyond that. Not before the end of the year. But yeah I'd like to do something different next year and like… it's probably a bit late in my life to be doing the interrailing, I'd love to do interrailing.*
>
> ***Do it.***
>
> *You know in Europe.*
>
> ***Yes.***
>
> *Yeah I think it would be great.*
>
> ***Yes, yes, yes.***
>
> *So we do say these things at work, when we retire we must do such and such and such, it's rarely that it happens but I'd love to do something like that yes.*
>
> ***Interrailing? Good, good.***
>
> *I wouldn't go on my own.*
>
> ***You wouldn't?***

I wouldn't literally go on my own, I think I'd be a little bit scared at this age doing it on my own. It would be nice to do it with a couple of people or a group of people. If you have too many people then you're all pulling in different directions.

Emily would love to have a few friends to go interrailing, and this has far greater appeal than the singles group tour of earlier. She feels restricted, more by her age '*a little bit scared at this age'* than anything she may encounter. She has considered this form of holiday, and the optimum number of travellers for a successful European tour. However, she feels a societal pressure that she ought to talk about all her great retirement plans, '*we must do such and such and such*'. As Emily doesn't go on annual holidays, and yet feels compelled to discuss big holiday plans for retirement. It is hard to see if she will go interrailing. Our final participant, Phil takes up this theme of solo travel, and being dependent on other people.

F: Just delighted about all of it and I have people to travel with because I wouldn't be a good traveller on my own.

Yes

F: I am not that type, but you know there are people, and I wish I was, I would love to be able to do that. I am always thinking I must take off some day …

On your own?

F: Yes but I just ….

And what is it? Is it the airplane itself or is it just being on your own?

F: Being on my own, I just wouldn't like it. I don't know why. I should be well used to it, but at the same time I am very, very, slow to do this. Did you ever have a bucket list, you know this is kind of on my bucket list to do, and if it was only just to go away for a weekend here you know, I am always saying, I must this year now I am going to do it but every year goes by and I don't do it.

Just to go on your own?

F: Just to go on my own with the book and head off and book into a hotel for a night or two and try and dine, I don't like dining on my own you see, that's the problem.

Yes

F: It 'll be all ok until it comes to sitting into a table, into a dining room and everybody is in company. I mean people do that all the time, and you will see tables … now they do tend to push them into a corner I think, when you see them but …

F: They are on their own and I envy them.

You envy them?

F: I do.

Well, you have to fulfil your bucket list now.

F: It's just something that … I know, I know, it's something that I must really try and do.

Yes well that's a strange one.

F: Isn't it?

But why is that important to you?

F: I suppose it's, I don't know, is it because I am on my own or something, and I have to try and succeed and can't be dependent on people.

Yes.

F: I don't know.

Because obviously you are living on your own.

F: Yes, that's fine.

It's a small step more isn't it?

F: That's fine living on your own but, going out there in public on your own is a different thing.

Right, yes that's the difference. This is private on your own.

F: Yes this is private on your own but, when you are out there you're on your own there is nobody else. But when you are out there, and you are just watching everybody else. I suppose, it is something you are missing maybe in your life that you're not in company with others you know.

It's public on your own.

F: Its public on your own and I don't like that.

Yes, yes, gosh!

F: I don't know why but it just hits me, you feel much more alone out there than you would here.

Yes, yes, I hear what you are saying

F: If you can understand that.

Phil, a retired bank clerk, values holidays with friends. Notwithstanding this, she says that she has always wanted to holiday on her own, but never quite got the courage to go. Living on your own is '*private on your own',* but to take a solo holiday, go on your own is *'public on your own'*. You are letting the world know, according to Phil, that there is something missing in your life. It's very public. Perhaps this extract, which is rather long, illustrates why people will not holiday, or are reticent to go on holidays on their own. They feel they are displaying their solitude. This realisation

of public solitude had an impact on the interviewer as well, which can be seen from the word, '*gosh*'. This is not being flippant. Phil picks up the point being alluded too by Emily in the previous extract, that she cannot be seen to be on her own. Society is judging her. She has a bucket list of accomplishment that she wants to do, which includes a night in Ireland on her own. Yet, it is too much. Loneliness is amplified when it is in public view. She is aware of her resistance '*but every year goes by and I don't do it.'* Very powerful forces are holding her back from a one-night stay in a hotel in Ireland on her own. To show society that there is something missing in your life, will probably keep Phil at home.

Younger people have many travel companion options, friends from college or casual acquaintances. Some make a conscious decision to travel on their own, and have developed strategies for companionship, such as visiting Irish pubs. However, as you get older, when children are reared, the travel companion options can decrease, and people can feel dependent on others, particularly in the final life stage, *solitary survivor, retired.* Displaying your aloneness, by taking a solo holiday is not an option for some people. They live on their own which is private, but to take a holiday without travel companionship, is a public display of their solitude. Thus they won't go. The next theme considers the finite nature of life and the impact death has on a holidaying.

6.4 Nearer my God

Charmaz (2014, p. 134) discusses the use of in-vivo codes, using the participants own words to title work. It gives a preciseness to the discussion and keeps the analysis close to the participants own understanding. Older married couples gradually become aware that they may not have many holidays left together, as one of them will die. Death creeps into the conversation about holidays, with '*Nearer my God*' coming from a comment regarding flying:

> *F: But you're not as panicked now, Paul, as you used to be.*
>
> *M: I'm not as panicked as I was, maybe as I'm nearer my God today.*

Paul and Olivia are an older married couple in their mid-seventies who have travelled the world twice over, and the phrase is quite a soft way of emphasising their mortality, and the limited number of holidays that they have left together. This theme of finite holidaying is illustrated using two extracts with Paul and Olivia commencing the discussion:

F: Yeah we're very conscious of our mortality I suppose.

Yes, yes, and is that just an age thing or has anything kind of happened that you're …

F: No nothing has happened.

M: It's the fact that nothing has happened.

F: Yeah.

Right, so you feel you're living on borrowed time?

F: Yes, yes

M: We're living on borrowed time and …

F: And it will crash.

They feel lucky that nothing has happened to them but are aware that they might only have a few more holidays together. '*It will crash*' suggests an abrupt end to it. They clearly understand that holidaying together will change.

The second extract shows how the holiday has now taken on a different perspective. Bridget and Sean, an OMC in their late fifties, are still working and enjoy country music. They go on dance holidays, and in recent years they have travelled to sun destinations on dance holidays with another couple. Two years ago, within three weeks of returning from Portugal the husband, in the other couple, had a heart attack and died. Bridget takes up the conversation:

F: No. Keep going while you can, and while you're able, because the day will come where you won't be able to.

M: I suppose when you hear them stories, it kind of gives you more of a will to get out and enjoy yourself.

F: Yeah the more the desire to go.

And do you value it more then?

F: Oh yes you do.

M: Of course you value it.

F: Oh you do, you value the holiday more.

M: Because it's getting scarcer. Time is getting shorter like.

F: Another year is a year less.

Yes, yes, you feel you're coming … yes.

F: We might be still going at eighty and we mightn't be going…

M: Nearer to the wall like.

So you feel that now?

Both: Oh yeah.

That's kind of crept in?

F: I think that's why we're going oftener now, even on short breaks.

M: I'd say it probably is, yeah.

F: We never ever had two sun holidays and we're going to have two this year.

M: You're long enough dead.

The holiday has become a precious commodity, something that has become '*scarcer*'. Firstly, not knowing how many more years they might have together, they want to enjoy the time. Secondly, and related to the first point, they are now determined to take more holidays, aware that there may only be a few left. In their late fifties, they are not an old couple, yet they already have an awareness perhaps, more an understanding, that it will all come to an end. They have made a conscious decision to holiday more, with two sun holidays planned in this forthcoming year.

Life is finite. Sean's analogy '*Nearer to the wall like'* is visual and not too dissimilar to Paul's '*Nearer my God'* expression. It expresses quite clearly the terminal nature of life. Bridget and Sean rationalise their increased frequency of holidays together, as they are unsure of how many more they might have. They see life from the perspective of, '*another year is a year less*', a year less of one another's companionship. Life has moved from one more year together, to one less year together. As life is getting shorter, then it is more important to make the effort, '*gives you more of a will to get out',* to take more holidays.

Two extracts from older married couples illustrate the finite nature of holidays. Both couples feel fortunate that they can still holiday together, but they are aware it will all come to an end. The holiday has become more significant, with the younger couple in their fifties, deciding to take more holidays, while the older couple, in their seventies, having pursued this strategy, now feel they are on borrowed time. The

experience of holidaying, of taking a break is a skill that is acquired, passing from one generation to the next, and using the analogy of passing the baton, is analysed in this next theme.

6.5 Passing the baton

A relay race on a warm sunny afternoon, conjures up images of the baton being passed from one team player to the other. Older couples see their children grow up and eager to start their own life. Children influenced by their parents, can pursue activities, and seek experiences similar to them. In this research, participants were interviewed across all life stages. Different generations can give their perspective on the experience thus, observing the baton of holidaying passing from one generation to the next. Four extracts will illustrate this theme. In the first extract, Raymond and Rose an OMC, discuss their daughter's experience, which will be analysed from three perspectives.

> *F: What is really interesting, because [daughter's] partner he's from Donegal, and like you know, there would be country Donegal, and like his holidays in comparison, he is thirty and she is twenty seven, but his holidays growing up were very like ours, the day trip, the day down to the aunt, there were no family holidays, and she obviously loves travelling, and when he met her then she would be planning holidays and he couldn't get this winding down bit, because he would always be going, he is a marathon runner, and he is always doing things. He is not into sitting around and she said like even for...he came with us in January like, and he still is amazed at how you can go somewhere and do nothing, and he actually enjoys it, but that is a new phenomenon for him since he met her.*
>
> ***Yes lovely.***
>
> *F: Which is really interesting, and even though they are both of the same generation, and [daughter] said 'mummy they never had family holidays', she said, she was in total amazement at this, that someone of her age didn't have family holidays, and as a result, this year his father was seventy and they booked a holiday home out in the Hebrides, and brought his parents over from Donegal and all his sisters, and that was the first family holiday kind of, they have ever had.*
>
> *M: Yes, and he said he did it on the account of the holiday that he had with us.*
>
> ***Lovely yes.***
>
> *F: He saw what was gained.*

The daughter knew what a holiday meant to her, the skill of holidaying, the planning that was needed, from her own childhood experiences. Her partner, having never been on holidays couldn't understand, '*this winding down bit'*, taking time to relax, as he said to, '*do nothing'.* He had to learn, to acquire the skill in taking a holiday. It was only when he had a holiday, could he fully comprehend this '*new phenomenon*'. It was a positive experience that had an impact, as he then booked the first holiday for his own family in Scotland. He could see the value of a family holiday, '*saw what was gained.'* The daughter had a major influence on his actions, and he is passing the baton of holidaying to his own family, backwards to his parents, the previous generation, and forward to his siblings.

The daughter now has a much greater appreciation of her parents' actions when she was younger, in taking family holidays. She sees herself in a different light, reflecting the actions of her parents, by planning holidays, and then refracted through the partner's lack of understanding of the experience, her own adjustment to it all, '*total amazement at this'*. She comprehends even more, the skills she has acquired from her parents, the art of holidaying.

The parents are seeing their earlier commitments to family holidaying take effect. The next generation are now holidaying because of their work. They are at the happy stage, '*which is really interesting'*, of seeing a return on their investment in family holidays. Three different perspectives, the partner, the daughter, and the parents show how the phenomenon of holidaying moves up and down the generations. In this next extract Tina and Ian an OMC, discuss their daughter's holiday.

> *M: But that's the thing, they are going with the kids, but we never did this.*
>
> *F: We never did it, we couldn't just afford to do it, like they are both working and we just couldn't afford to do it. But they make room for it. But they don't have much of a social life, they don't go out in Ireland much, because of two very small girls, and they live out in the country, so they wouldn't have been going out much. They wouldn't go out much, so what they would spend on say going out is placed into a holiday fund. She is a bit like me, like that, put it into a holiday fund, and have the holiday sorted and paid for before, they go away. But I think it is very important, I think it is very important, I think one holiday a year is very important.*
>
> *M: Yeah it is good.*

Tina states three times the importance of a holiday. Even though they never took the daughter on a family holiday, they have instilled in her the value of a holiday as '*they*

make room for it' suggests. The daughter is like the mother, '*she is a bit like me, like that',* in having a holiday fund, so that they can take a holiday each year. It requires commitment by the young family, social activities are curtailed in order to pay for the holiday, but the daughter knows from the mother the importance of a break.

In this third extract Michael discusses his young daughter who is in her early twenties. She has been on family holidays and is now travelling independently.

> *M: Travel is fantastic.*
>
> ***And do you think that was important?***
>
> *M: In what way?*
>
> ***In what [daughter] has now learnt?***
>
> *M: Well it's good for her, it's a building block for her to be able to do it and have a curious, which she naturally has, a curious mind anyway.*
>
> ***Yes, yes, and how do you feel about it?***
>
> *M: Delighted for her, let her off.*

Michael see's travel as an enabler, assisting his daughter as '*a building block*' to her life. He has a very positive attitude to travel and is pleased to see her go. The daughter has acquired this attitude, and he feels she is well equipped to travel, '*a curious mind anyway.*' He is happy.

These three extracts have given a parents' view of holidays, and how it has moved down the generations. The final extract takes a different perspective. Mary, a young teacher at stage one of the life cycle, talks about her holiday experiences. It is in two small sections.

> ***With your parents did you go on annual holidays?***
>
> *F: No, we never would have. The only annual trips we would have made were to London to see my mum's family, but we were probably one of the only gang, who never actually went on annual holidays.*
>
> ***No, that's ok, there is quite a lot who do and don't.***
>
> *F: My mum is funny, she says I prefer to eat Marks & Spencer's throughout the year than go on holiday.*
>
> ***Oh.***
>
> *F: So her priorities are different.*

Later in the interview:

F: I don't know how parents deal in airports and on planes with children at all, so maybe I would end up bringing them down to South Kerry for a holiday, and I could be eating my words, but I don't know. It would all very much depend on my circumstance, if I had the money I would, but if I didn't have the money, they would probably stay put and deal with it.

Mary, the eldest of two children from south Kerry, didn't go on holidays when she was a child. This would have been from the late nineties onwards and she is aware that a lot of families went on annual holidays. It would have been normal behaviour then, '*one of the only gang, who never actually went on annual holidays.'* Her mother's priorities were different. Later in the interview, Mary discusses holidays in the future, when she may have children and thinks they will return home to Kerry for their break. If Mary had the money she might bring them on holidays, but '*stay put and deal with it*' is more reflective of what might happen. The children are going nowhere. To be more precise it will be a VFR break, visiting relations in Kerry just like their mother, when she went to London to see her maternal relatives. Mary would only bring the children on holidays if she had the money. Contrast this to Tina's daughter earlier, who consciously saves for the holiday. Mary's mother has no great value on a holiday and it seems as if this is what has been passed down through the generation. The value of holidaying which in this instance, is not evident, is what has been passed to Mary.

In this section, four extracts examined the holiday patterns across generations, with the parents' values reflecting in their children's behaviour. In this next theme, newly married couples will discuss the importance of a holiday.

6.6 Coalescing of perspectives

The sharing of responsibilities, values and resources are key traits of a family, (DeFrain and Asay 2007b), with this sharing, commencing in earnest at the second life stage titled: *Co-habiting, or newly married couples; young no children*. The importance of a holiday in the yearly activity of family life, is analysed in this next theme with the three newly married couples. Barry and Laura begin the analyses:

F: Yes, I'd say we spend most of our disposable income, if we are honest with each other on holidays.

M: Yes I think we do. I think for us it is very important, we both enjoy travelling, we both prioritise it, and yes we both enjoy it, so I would say that it is important.

Ok, and are there other family activities that have greater importance?

F: I suppose as us as a family at the moment probably not, because we don't have any other responsibilities.

M: No if we had kids, it may be more or …

F: Less important event.

M: Yes, less important, and probably wouldn't put as much stead in it as we do now.

F: Yes but at the moment I suppose we have no kids, we have no responsibilities other than the house. It is a nice thing to look forward to, we are almost always planning the next one really, aren't we?

M: Yes.

A holiday is important as advised by this couple: '*very important, we both enjoy travelling, we both prioritise it, and yes we both enjoy it, so I would say that it is important.'* The couple see themselves as a family, *'us as a family',* and agree that the holiday is more important than other family activities. They do not have children. However, both Laura and Barry qualify their comments with *'if we had',* and '*at the moment',* which is mentioned twice by Laura. The value of the holiday will change when they start a family. They are thinking through their views on holidays as the question is posed, and Barry is wondering if the holiday would become more or less important if they have children. Both, eventually agreeing that the holiday would become less important. Their values on family life and how they would allocate resources is worked out in these few moments, giving a sense that they hadn't yet considered these questions until now.

Noel and Angela, the second honeymoon couple now consider the same question, the importance of a holiday, with Noel commencing the conversation.

M: I don't know if I would, I don't think it would affect me personally if we never went on holiday, but I know it would affect her, if that makes sense. So for the relationship, I think it is probably a good thing that we go on holiday, I don't know.

F: I always just assumed that we would go on holidays.

[Laughs]

F: Like I suppose we don't do the whole holiday thing every year, so that's kind of just down to ourselves, if we talk about it you know, kind of just comes up, or we'll go somewhere next year you know?

Yes, yes.

M: I think overall it's good to … I know I said that it wouldn't affect us if we never went on holiday, but I think it is good to get away as well as a couple, and do your own thing as opposed to just being in a routine the whole time, you know break the cycle and do your own thing.

Later in the interview:

M: Yes, if I was going away, for some big event at home, I would probably feel bad, being away. But I don't know that I see a holiday being more important than a family event, or vice versa, I don't know.

Yes, yes.

M: I would, just feel bad personally that's my only, if that makes sense.

Yes, no, no, no it does, it does you see.

M: You wouldn't care.

F: I would rather go to New York.

[Laughs]

Noel thinks it wouldn't bother him, *'affect me personally'*, if he never went on a holiday, but he understands that he is now half of a partnership, and that Angela, his wife would want a break. He has become aware of the importance of the holiday for Angela, and that for the marriage, it would be important that they go away. This is confirmed by Angela, '*just assumed that we would go on holidays.'* Angela is thinking they would as a couple have holidays, and Noel supports her comments. The thought process moves from individual to joint, '*good to get away as well as a couple'*, demonstrating that the sharing of resources are still being worked out at this life stage, as one would expect. The start of life together, different values and perspectives are being negotiated, and as the extract from later in the interview describes, they will not always agree. If a holiday clashed with a family event, Noel would be uncomfortable leaving, but he is aware that his wife would have no compunction in heading off. They are aware of each other's differing views. The differences will be worked out during the course of married life.

Finally, the third married couple Helen and John, discuss the same topic of the importance of the holiday in day-to-day life. John commences the discussion.

M: Oh definitely yes, the holiday is usually just the icing on the cake or something like that, or it is a reward for something, for working hard or whatever. So yes the day-to-day stuff, it's the other small stuff, that I think is more valuable, because the holiday isn't going to keep the relationship going, it's the simple things.

F: It's the day-to-day routine of making sure everything is working here, is the most important thing.

Yes, yes.

F: And particularly with our schedules, because for definitely five days a week, we don't really see each other, so then it is making sure well, who is on dinner, who is on the rotation, to make sure that we are helping each other out on that, so I think that's probably more important than the holiday. But the holiday is important, because that is when we get to see each other for long periods of time, just for the current schedules there, so that would be important.

The holiday as '*just the icing on the cake'* visually encapsulates the value of a holiday for them. The holiday is important, but it is not the over-riding concern for the relationship. The day-to-day activities according to John, *'the other small stuff'*, of daily life he thinks are more relevant. Dinner preparation, according to Helen, would be an example of the daily activities that need to be accomplished, and which she feels is '*probably more important than the holiday.*' There is an element of uncertainty, they are thinking it through. They agree about the value of a holiday, and its importance in their life. The holiday will give them, '*long periods of time'*, to be together. Supporting each other through the daily schedules is more important, but the holiday gives them space to be together. After the busyness of working hard, long periods of time, of uninterrupted time to be together is what is earned, a holiday.

Creating new combined experiences, is a feature of the second stage of the family life cycle. It is unique time for values and priorities to be considered. Before this stage, the participants were young single people, with individualistic behaviour, now they must work with their partner. The importance of a holiday, and its priority over other activities may not have been considered before the interview, and as such fresh new insights were aired. The couples were at times unsure of themselves, using qualifying phrases, showing an awareness of their spouse's view. The coalescing of perspectives is demonstrated when Barry agrees with Laura in the first extract, that the holiday will become less important when they have children. Angela thinks a holiday is more important than a family event at home, but what the extract shows, is Noel's full

awareness of her view. Helen and John see the holiday as one aspect of life that is important, but not crucial to the relationship.

Third parties can become involved with a holiday, making recommendations which can then incur a responsibility towards the holidaymakers. It is this final theme, of responsibility that is now considered.

6.7 Responsibility

Family and friends can take an active role in a person's life, sometimes recommending a holiday, or going on a holiday with them. This can change the dynamic of the break, as they now have a sense of responsibility, an obligation to fulfil. It is in this context, other parties involved in the holiday, that the next three extracts will consider, starting with Linda whose husband died four years ago.

> *When I'm thinking about it, I would kind of go and think of what would be good for them, my kids, as opposed to what's good for me. But, as I say, I'm very happy to go with the flow at the moment. As I said, I would like to go to Italy myself the next time, but up to this, I would have just gone with the flow to be honest, I wouldn't have even decided. And if it was up to me, I would probably be happy not to even bother going on holiday. But maybe this year, as I say its, kind of different, I would have started thinking, yeah maybe I'll do something now, up to this no, I haven't really thought about it. But I did go, because I was, not bullied into it, but not forced either, because I mean I wouldn't be forced, if I don't want to go I won't go, but nicely manoeuvred into going.*

Linda is unsure of a holiday, and probably if it was left to her, *'not to even bother going on holiday.'* Others, had taken the responsibility in the previous years, deciding on the location and Linda just went along. They wanted her to go on a holiday, and knew how to handle the situation so that she was, *'nicely manoeuvred into going.'* Her family carefully, and with skill, got Linda to take a holiday. They most likely could see, that if it was left up to her she wouldn't go away. Linda is beginning to think about holidays four years after her husband died, but her plans are tentative. Her family fully understand the situation, knowing that they could not force Linda to go on the holiday. She recognises her own self, and sees that she was nicely cajoled into going.

In this next extract, Paul and Olivia are in Australia visiting their daughter, who recommends a holiday to the Fiji Islands.

> *M: We were in it, and we could see what was happening, but for [daughter] who was saying, she let us go, she felt responsible. [Son] in Chicago was on a treadmill, and he sees this thing on the weather, you know these red spots you see on the weather thing, he said that's where dad and mum are. So he's on the phone straight away, on the phone straight away to me, he said get outside the building, he says what do you see …*
>
> *F: Tell me what you see.*
>
> *M: … tell me what you see to the left, what you see to the right, and he could identify exactly where I was and the complex. So he could see that the hurricane or the cyclone was coming from behind us. Now I didn't know, I thought a cyclone comes at hundreds of miles an hour, it doesn't.*

Paul and Olivia, a retired couple got caught up in one of the worst cyclones that hit the South Pacific. The son and daughter feel very responsible for the situation. The daughter especially, for having recommended the destination. Their eldest son, on a different continent casually watching the news while on a treadmill, suddenly realises that his parents are in the middle of a major weather event thousands of miles away. The concern is evident, as Paul repeats twice that their son was *'on the phone straight away,'*. The son is trying to assess the situation, asking his father to go outside so he could see exactly where they were and what could be done. The manner in which the son reacts on the phone, with little evidence of pleasantries as he tells his father to *'get outside the building',* demonstrates the sense of urgency as he tries to assess the situation. The son's concern is evident, however, there must have been a great sense of solidarity when their son phoned that they were not alone.

As one gets older and progresses through the final life stage, *solitary survivor, retired,* the idea of a holiday begins to change. Nora, a retired nurse in her late eighties goes on holidays with a friend, as presented in this next extract.

> *F: I went with [friend].*
>
> ***Oh right very good.***
>
> *F: She was very good because she looks after me.*
>
> ***Yes, and have you holidayed together much?***
>
> *F: Yes we have, we are going again this year but we have been on holidays for the last few years.*
>
> ***And how did that come about, the pairing?***

F: I don't know, I was down here, and she just said would you like to go on holidays and I said I would love to.

Yes, so she approached you?

F: Mmm hmm

And you get on well together?

F: Yes, oh very well.

Yes, lovely.

F: She looks after me.

Nora has been going on holidays with this friend. She is unsure how the connections were made, but for the last number of years they have been holidaying together. The friend, *'looks after me.'* suggests a responsibility towards Nora. Not a verbose individual, Nora does however state twice that the friend looks after her at the beginning and end of this extract. There is a sense of vulnerability in the phrase, with someone needing to take care of Nora.

The three extracts illustrate the active role other parties, generally family or friends, can take in the participants' holiday. An obligation, a sense of responsibility is evident in all of the extracts. Linda's family are concerned, and skilfully manoeuvre her into taking a holiday. Paul and Olivia's son, very urgently tries to assess the situation his parents are in, even though he is currently on a different continent, whilst Nora's friend takes care of her when they are away. A duty of care has been placed on other parties towards the holiday, generating a sense of responsibility.

6.8 Summary

Six themes were analysed in this chapter solely from a participant's perspective. An inductive analysis, that gave space for the participants stories to be illuminated, offer fresh insights into holidaying.

In the first theme titled, Finding One's Self, extracts were used to show how a holiday, away from home, gave the participants an opportunity to understand, and re-acquire an awareness of themselves. The theme was analysed using four extracts, starting

with the bachelor stage, then the empty nest stage, and finally, the two solitary survivor stages, with Henry's story particularly poignant, his wife having died just fourteen months ago.

Travel Companionship was the second theme, with accounts from all three solitary life stages, illuminating this topic. Older retired people living on their own, find their visible display of solitariness when holidaying, uncomfortable, and may not holiday on their own. The finding reveals itself in the phrases '*public on your own'* and *'private on your own'*.

Two similar phrases, *'Nearer to the wall'* and '*nearer my God'* were used by empty nest participants to express their awareness of death, and the limited number of holidays left together.

The fourth theme, Passing the Baton, analysed the transfer of holiday knowledge and the concept of holidaying, from one generation to the next. The first extract was used to show three different perspectives of the family holiday, the parents, the daughter, and her partner's, culminating in the partner's family taking a holiday to the Hebrides, in Scotland.

Newly married couples, representing the second life stage were considered separately in the fifth theme titled, Coalescing of Perspectives. An account from each couple, gave opinions on the importance of a holiday, and how this may change over the years. The answers varied, but what was evident was the sharing of values and views.

The sixth and final theme considered the role family and friends can play in a holiday. Titled, Responsibility, it examined the duty of care that can arise when other parties get involved in a holiday, either through recommendations, or influencing individuals into taking a holiday.

To conclude, the themes illustrated the holiday experiences of families across six life stages. The next chapter will be of a similar format to this one, interpreting the holiday accounts of families with children.

7 INDUCTIVE INTERPRETATION: HOLIDAYS WITH CHILDREN

7.1 Introduction

There are two steps to the analysis of the family interviews, inductive and deductive interpretation. In this second inductive analysis chapter, the findings of the interviews with families with children are detailed. The families represent stages three, four, and five, of the (Wells and Gubar 1966) life cycle model. Stage three are the full nest families with children under six years of age. Stage four families, the youngest child is over six years of age, with stage five, containing the oldest families, with dependent children. An extract below from the table of participants shows the families in each of the three full nest stages, titled, Table 7-1: Subset of participants by life stage, occupation, number, and age of children.

Table 7-1: Subset of participants by life stage, occupation, number, and age of children

Life Stage	Participants Names	Occupation	Number and age of children
3.	Denis Karen	Senior public-servant Teacher, job share	S. 14, D. 9, S. 4
	Robert Patricia	Project manager Nurse, part-time	D. 7, D. 4, D. 2
	Kevin Una	IT manager Primary school teacher	D. 5, S. 2
4.	Richard Sarah	Insurance, from home Social care leader	S. 11, S. 10, D. 7, D. 6
	Luke Valerie	IT manager IT full-time at home	D. 14, S. 11
	George Fiona	Civil servant Secondary school teacher	D. 15, S. 13
5.	Tomas Katie	Lecturer Artist, part-time	S. 18, S. 14
	Vincent Tara	Stone cutter Sales, job share	S. 26 NP, S. 24, FE., D. 16
	Eamon Ita	School caretaker Occupational therapist	D. 19 NP, S. 16, D. 13

During the course of the analysis, extracts are taken from each of the nine family interviews. When a family is introduced, the protocol used for consistency and clarity is to describe the participants using their anonymised names as shown above, George and Fiona [D. 15 S. 13]. Thus George and Fiona have two teenage children, a fifteen-year-old daughter and a thirteen-year-old son. Using the parents' names, a brief context will be given. Within the extract, *'M'* for male represents the father's voice, and *'F'* for female the mother's voice. Children are not named, but described as *[Daughter 15]* so that an indication of the age, gives a context of the child's comments.

Six themes derived from the data are presented through-out the chapter with a framework model, Figure 7-1: connecting the themes. This chapter will have a similar format to chapter six, the previous chapter, in that extracts will be used to develop themes. Full nest family life starts with the arrival of the first child and this will have a major impact on the holiday for the young couple. Many changes and adjustments will have to be made. These commence with the birth of the new born infant, but are evident up though the full nest stages as the family grows and the children become young adults. The first theme emerging from the participants accounts is sacrifice in which the families discuss the major changes to holidays with children.

7.2 Sacrifice

There are two aspects to the concept of a sacrifice, the first the letting go, the denial of an action, that is of value to you. The second aspect, the sacrifice is made for a greater good, something better, a greater opportunity in the future. When considering sacrifice in terms of the family holiday, there are five extracts used to illustrate this concept of denial for the greater good. The first extract describes the challenges of camping, the second extract the letting go of something of value, with the third and fourth extracts, illustrating the ongoing sacrifices made at later family life stages. The reward from earlier sacrifices is demonstrated in the final extract.

In this first extract, the young newly married couple transitioning into the family life stages, now have to consider young children in their holiday arrangements. Robert and Patricia [D. 7 D. 4 D. 2] discuss their first camping holiday with their children:

> *F: We used a trailer tent, which was [brother in law's] family's trailer tent, like one of them old ones that… we used a trailer tent and it was very old, I'd never camped before, [daughter] was nine weeks old and so the whole set up and the pitch up of the tent with a new-born was quite…*
>
> *M: Stressful.*
>
> *F: …stressful, and also for me I suppose I was with his family, so it was a little bit stressful because like, you know, you're kind of trying to put your game face on I suppose a little bit. And I was a bit stressed because I'd never camped in my whole life, I'd never gone camping so it was hard to do it with three girls, one being a baby and the tent was quite old fashioned so it didn't have like a ground sheet or cover, you know, it was, you could see the grass and for me I was like… you know, but after doing it then I was like ok I can do any camping.*
>
> *M: And getting her to sleep and all that.*
>
> *F: Getting her asleep, putting up cots and…*
>
> *M: And then we went to the beach and she had sun cream on her, and the sand all stuck to her and we were trying to bath her…*
>
> *F: Everything was just that bit harder.*
>
> *M: I think for us that wasn't a great holiday personally, but the kids…*
>
> *F: The kids had a ball which was great.*
>
> *M: …the older kids just had the best time ever.*
>
> *F: For us it was just hard because there was a lot of work behind the scenes to do everything. They had a ball which made me go camping is the right thing to do with them because they were so, they were just so happy. But I suppose for me that year of camping was a difficult one. It wasn't… I didn't get to relax at all, but then…*

Patricia is camping for the first time, something she has not done before, and as a new experience this generates an element of anxiety. This is accentuated by it taking place amongst her in-laws with '*put your game face on'* illustrating the performative nature of the experience, the determination required, and all this with her youngest daughter, nine weeks old. The holiday was stressful as acknowledged by both Robert and Patricia. The sacrifice is rationalised as the correct choice for the family, as the two older daughters had great fun. Camping is now going to become the family holiday, as '*camping is the right thing to do.'* The children were happy. Robert, the father agrees with the work involved, when discussing the sand stuck to the sun cream trying

to wash the baby. The effort made by the couple is seen as an investment, the right thing to do, for future family holidays.

When moving from the newly married couple stage to family life, a major adjustment to holidaying takes place. This can be seen in this short extract from Kevin and Una [D. 5 S. 2], when discussing the changes in the family holiday:

> *F: We wouldn't have dreamed about going somewhere like this, five or six years ago even.*
>
> *M: No.*
>
> *F: No but sure it's for the kids the campsite that we went to and we are going to now in two weeks as well, it's just slides and playgrounds, you wouldn't really be going as a…*
>
> *M: It's great fun*
>
> *F: It's great fun, you need kids but yeah*

Five or six years ago before they had children, campsites were not considered as a holiday location by Una and Kevin. The sacrifice needed for children is evident in the initial statement of 'we *wouldn't have dreamed about going.'* However, they are prepared to change their holiday location for the children.

This adjustment to children which, perhaps may seem obvious when you start a family is evident in other full nest family stages. In this third extract Denis and Karen [S. 14 D. 9 S. 4] who have a 14-year-old son and two other younger children, talk about the adjustment to the teenage years.

> *M: I'd say one significant feature of last year was that we found a teenager, that we had a little boy that started off the summer and went away to Irish College and to cousins and family and then, God wow we have teenager, you know, so I'd say that took adjusting I would think.*

The changes in his eldest son took Denis, the father, by surprise suggested by the word '*wow.'* The family holiday needed to adjust, to accommodate his son's maturity. Denis cannot fully recall how the holiday adapted, but is very aware that the little boy became a teenager last summer.

The altruistic nature of the family holiday, is still evident in the later life stages with dependent children. Tara and Vincent [S. 26 NP S. 24 FE. D. 16] who have three children explain their holiday choice:

F: Twice we've been Lanzarote.

F: You know.

M: We picked this because…

F: Lanzarote is a good place for bringing even teenagers, you can go out, there is no…

M: It's safe.

F: It's safe, there is no riff raff, even if they were to go to a disco I would much rather for himself [son 24 yrs.] and [fiancée] to have brought [friend] and [daughter, 16 yrs.] down in Lanzarote because it is an awful lot more low key than what you would see maybe in Tenerife.

F: Yes.

F: In Tenerife I would be on the edge.

[Son 24]: That's where we used to go when we were teenagers as well, it was Lanzarote.

F: Lanzarote, I always brought them when they were teenagers on their holidays for the safety, but you had the nightlife, but it was safe.

The overriding factor for the holiday destination choice is the safety of their teenage daughter and her friend. The balance made in providing a holiday appealing for teenagers and yet was appropriate, is evident in this extract. There is a suggestion that the holiday has changed in the intervening years, but when their son and his older brother were teenagers they were also brought to Lanzarote.

A family voice was an important aspect of this research, so that all members can give their views and perspectives of holidaying. Vincent and Tara's son who is now twenty -six years old, confirms that when he was a teenager, the family went to Lanzarote. He recollects where they use to go when they were teenagers demonstrating how the holiday adapted to their changing teenage needs. The family still holiday together.

Finally, when looking at the sacrifices made during the full nest stages, Richard and Sarah [S. 11 S.10 D.7 D.6] discuss the holiday with their four children:

F: Yeah, they're at a great age now.

M: Oh, this is a great age.

F: Yeah, yeah this is the honeymoon period now. No teenagers, no nappies.

Yes, yes. So, you are aware of it are you that you've got…?

F: Oh yeah, absolutely, yeah.

M: Oh, this is a good stage.

It's a good stage.

M: Yeah, yeah, yeah, we're good.

F: We appreciate it and definitely, yeah acknowledge it because it was tough going now for a while, do you know, when they were all, they were, [son] was five when [daughter] was born and so yeah there was definitely no major holidays going on for three years there anyway, more…

No teenagers, and no nappies, is the ideal time frame for the perfect family holiday, according to Richard and Sarah who have four children. They illustrate the hard work of holidaying with young children in the last line, with no major holidays for three years, and yet they are very aware of the onset of the teenage years that Denis discussed earlier. The work that is needed in arranging a family holiday suitable for teenagers discussed by Tara and Vincent is understood, aware of its imminent arrival.

Parsimonious definitions are always appealing in research, exact and precise definitions that offer no ambiguity. One definition presented here of the '*honeymoon period'* as being, *'No teenagers, no nappies*.' A great age to holiday with children between infancy and teenage years suggests, that the early sacrifices and adjustments will make holidaying easier for a few short years. This window of ease, a suggestion of worth, progresses the analysis into the next theme titled, value.

7.3 Value

Recharging, ranking, and importance, are interpretative codes that denote value and are often used, most particularly recharging of the batteries, when discussing holidays. Value can be acquired individually or collectively, and will be illustrated here with three extracts. In this first account Tomas and Katie [S. 18 S. 14] discuss the value of a holiday in recharging the batteries, giving time to relax. When questioned further as to what exactly charging the batteries mean Katie advised:

F: Charges the batteries doesn't it, it just gives you that time to relax and set up for whatever comes.

And what does charging the batteries, how do you feel recharged?

F: I don't know just you are again outside of your routine.

M: Good question actually.

F: Maybe it is because there is time, maybe it is because it is somewhere new that you are conscious, you know, you are taking in more because you are more alert to it and at the same time you don't have a whole lot of extra things like you know, I do get texts about the sports matches and everything but it doesn't have anything to do with me so you know, that thing keeps you going like you know, every day there is something else something else that you have to remember. This is just about the basics so everything is quite stripped down so it is just about you know, what are we going to eat you know where are we going to go and have a look and it frees up a lot of time so you feel…I suppose you just expand a little bit in yourself no more than in the landscape and you get that and it's more relaxing for that.

Electrical equipment is recharged by putting more power in, giving it a new lease of life. Yet the expression '*recharge*' is often used to imply a sense of renewal after a holiday. A number of factors are involved to give a person new energy. Initially, everything begins to quieten, the noise of day-to-day life, texts regarding the children's sporting events, cease. A holiday takes you somewhere new outside your usual environment, the daily concerns of life are lifted temporarily, so that there is space for something else. Gradually, a greater awareness settles, more aware of oneself, more alert to the surroundings. With life brought back to the basics, '*stripped down'* as Katie explained, you expand within yourself. However, the key factor for all of this to happen is within the first few words of this extract, time, that there is time to feel, time to do, with perhaps time, a key function of recharging, when on holidays.

Value can be seen as a measurement, the value of something. Value is measured against something else. Ranking activities puts a value on them, so that if an activity moves up or down the rank it has become more or less important, more or less valuable. In valuing a holiday, you can measure this activity against other family activities within the year. In the first of two extracts, Tomas and Katie [S.18 S.14] consider this conceptual valuation of the holiday:

M: I guess as they have got older, well to me anyway it feels more like it's the big event of the year more so than sort of Christmas used to be when they were sort of

younger and there was more excitement over you know, now that sort of changed a bit of the dynamic within the family, to me that annual getting away together…

F: Yes

M: Particularly as they are growing up and you know, growing out into the world themselves as well has become a sort of pivotal point within the year you know you are going to go away together still.

F: And it's that thing, I think, that is most important that we all four of us together you know, away from everybody but we are together and there is time for each other and it's quite nice you know, because here you know he might have to go somewhere or he has got something on, this is our time away from the day-to-day responsibilities.

The holiday for the full nest III family has become valuable as the years have progressed, ranking the annual holiday higher than Christmas in the yearly family activities. The holiday has become a '*pivotal point within the year'*, a time that they can look forward to, knowing it is just going to be themselves, the four of them together.

This sense of the holiday becoming more important in their lives was also evident for full nest II families, where the youngest child is over six years of age. Valerie and Luke's [D. 14 S. 11] teenage daughter considers the value of a holiday.

[Daughter 14]: Well I would say that my life has definitely been busier now than when I was younger because of like school and friends and everything, there is more like, not stressful but kind of the same time now and then the holiday is a really good break so in that aspect it would be more important.

F: That's a good point.

[Daughter 14]: It's more of a break than when your… because when you are really young you kind of, everything is kind of like fun and stuff, well like everything is fun now still but it's more… and then the holiday is more of like you don't have to think about anything like that, you just relax and spend time with your family, so that's good.

This extract shows the increasing value of the holiday for the teenage daughter. Interviewed with her parents and brother, she talks about life getting busier. She is grappling with the word stressful, aware that the word is perhaps a bit strong yet, the need to not have to think about '*anything like that*' is demanding, so that a holiday is a break from this, and has become more important in her life. On a holiday she can relax, and this is good. The extract highlights the mother's awareness of her daughter's perspective of the holiday. The value of the holiday has shifted over the

years for her daughter, from childhood fun to a time to relax and spend time with the family. It is not a relaxing time with the family, but rather two separate experiences, relaxing, and time, with the family. While no monetary value has been given to the holiday in the above two extracts, holidays have gained in value, over the years for the families.

7.4 Memories

Holidays provide a great opportunity for family memories to be created. In this section three aspects to holiday memories will be analysed across the full nest stages. The first perspective of holiday memories is clarity, how well holiday experiences are remembered. The second aspect of holiday memories are their ability to be shared. Finally, the intergenerational functionality of memories, the passing down through the generations of holiday memories is explored.

The ability to recall with great accuracy holiday moments was a recurring theme though-out the data collection stage. In this first extract Valerie and Luke [D. 14 S. 11] talk about a holiday memory seven years ago when their son was four years old.

> *F: I think as well, you were saying [daughter's] scuba diving and that year [son] was 4, still 4 yeah, and it was an awful heatwave and we were in a non-air-condition mobile home, and so we spent a lot of time at the pool, and he just started swimming one day, like two of us were with him and he just suddenly started doggy paddling. So that was like, 'ok', so there is a reason why we are all roasting you know but it was a lovely memory, I clearly remember him doing that.*
>
> *M: We were coming back from a holiday actually as well and [son]started walking.*
>
> *F: Crawling?*
>
> *M: Yes, crawling yes.*
>
> *F: He just crawled across the floor all of a sudden, one of those play area-places we stopped on the way home.*
>
> ***Yes.***
>
> *F: So, I suppose when it happens on a holiday like that it's clearer in your mind and I think you do remember it as a big part of the holiday, don't you? It's a lovely thing.*

As holidays are away from daily routines, life stages that are achieved, crawling or swimming are clearer in your mind, the memory is more pronounced. Both memories of their son swimming and crawling are described as been lovely, and in the first instance, the memory ameliorated the uncomfortable experience of being too hot. It is a big part of the holiday for this family, with the husband and wife correcting and adjusting their own memory of the story.

Similar language was used when Katie was discussing her young boys, Tomas and Katie [S. 18 S.14]

> *F: Memories, I suppose because you are more conscious so you are more alert, you are more focused, your memories are burning in that bit more you know when I look back and I think back on those first few years when they were this size and that size you know, there is certain things that I can still see them and then you have the photographs and you go, 'oh yes', but you still have it in your head as well.*

Holiday memories have greater clarity for three reasons according to Katie, you are more conscious, more alert, and more focused. There is a greater awareness of daily life on holidays. An interval has been created for experiences to be considered. The holiday memory is '*burning in that bit more.'* The burning analogy captures the strength of the memory, '*have it in your head',* with the previous extract advising it is '*clearer in your mind.'* In both extracts the sharpness of the holiday memory is explained in similar terminology. A photograph gives some value to the experience, but the personal recall, '*have it in your head as well'* is just as important.

The ability to recall and share at a later time, is the second feature of holiday memories that will be considered. A memory can be shared amongst the family. It provides storage of family experiences, as outlined in this next extract where Tara and Vincent's [S. 26 NP S. 24 FE. D. 16] daughter, talks about rollercoasters on holidays.

> *[Daughter 16]: I think as well when I was younger when we went to Fuerteventura and Salou, I wasn't allowed to do any of these and I saw all my brothers going off and doing the rollercoasters, so then I always wanted to do it and then once I got the chance then to do it in America I was scared and I tried to back out of it.*
>
> *M: She was scared yeah. She tried to back out of it.*
>
> *[Daughter 16]: And then he made me go.*
>
> ***Daddy made you?***
>
> *Father & Daughter: Yeah.*

[Daughter 16]: And then I loved it.

[Son 24]: Remember she did the Tower of Power in Lanzarote. You had to be over a certain age, but she went up, she was only…

The young daughter shares the memory of earlier holidays and not being allowed to do the rollercoasters. This was an activity in her mind that she wanted to achieve, a challenge for a future holiday. Sharing the memory now, she recalls the anxiety when the opportunity arose to do the rollercoaster in America. This memory leads on to the Tower of Power experience in Lanzarote, that her older brother then discusses with the family. Rollercoaster memories are shared, and aspects of the experiences are relived, with the father talking about his daughter being scared. The memory of rollercoasters crosses three holidays, Fuerteventura, America, and Lanzarote, debated in a few moments, before moving on to the next topic. The memory is personal to the family, each individual has a different perspective. There is a great sense of pride and positivity with each other, and the achievements within the family. The taking out and sharing the holiday memory again in the interview, brings the family right back to the holiday in Lanzarote.

The youngest full nest family Kevin and Una [D. 5 S.2] complete this section of holiday memories, in which they discuss the importance of passing on family memories to their children.

F: It's just lovely that even though 2 years ago she was only 3 and a half she still remembers the holiday fondly and I suppose that's one of the main, not aims of it, but one of the aims of the holiday to give them the memories and a time that they'll remember, you know.

And why is that important?

F: I suppose because I had it and you had it as kids. Like I look back on family holidays with fondness and remember them and yeah, because they stand out for your childhood, in your childhood, you know, yeah.

And is that important?

F: Yeah.

M: I think so. Not one to wish any harm, but like my dad passed away when I was young and those things that stand out and I remember, like I remember, I remember vividly for some reason a hotel in France where we were celebrating my birthday and it was my 8th birthday and it just stands out for some reason, I don't know why, but he was there and…

F: You were on holiday.

M: So, then I thought if something was to happen because we're going, just in case, it's important that they have those memories. So yeah it's…

Holidays give children memories, and if you have received the opportunity to generate memories as a child, then you want to pass this same gift on to your family. One of the functions of the holiday is to give the children an experience that they can remember, and this is an important aim of the holiday, as they themselves remember '*with fondness'* their own childhood holidays. The importance of childhood memories is explained when Kevin discusses how he vividly remembers celebrating his eight birthday in France with his father, who died when he was young. His wife is supporting him in his recall of the story, prompting that he was on holiday. They now in turn want to hand down fond holiday memories to their children. The ability to pass down through the generations, the opportunity to create holiday memories is an aspect of family holidaying.

Holiday memories have a clarity of thought, a sharpness of memory, brought about by the family being more alert, focused, and conscious when away. In the above extracts, the participants were quick to adjust the story, correct the narrative, crawling not walking, or the father agreeing that his daughter was scared, demonstrating the power of the holiday memory, and its ability to be recalled and shared. A function of the holiday, described as an aim by the young couple, was to create fond holiday memories for the next generation. The fourth theme traditions, will consider activities that are peculiar to a holiday.

7.5 Traditions

Talking through a typical day, gave the families time to dwell on holiday activities which assisted in memory recall. Usually, at this stage families would have been chatting for about twenty minutes, so everyone was relaxed and in holiday mode. At this point, children were asked the question regarding traditions, offering them an opportunity to participate, and allowing the parents a moment or so to listen. In this first of two extracts Valerie and Luke's [D. 14 S. 11] son discusses playing cards.

[Son 11]: Maybe the cards.

F: Yes.

Good, do you play cards at home?

[Son 11]: Yes, but not as much.

And do you like that?

[Son 11]: Yes, I like playing cards when we go on holiday because it is kind of like something nice before we go to bed.

Good and how did that evolve?

[Son 11]: Ermm I am not sure I think we just kind of started playing them one year, dad taught us some new games that we didn't know and then we just kind of turned it into, 'oh do you want to play cards', and then it just kind of turned into a tradition.

F: Well we wouldn't have had a TV ever, even this year there was a TV in the room, but we didn't really make much use of it so probably you know, it has just evolved like that. Sitting out on the deck of the mobile home or whatever and kind of…

Good and you enjoy it?

[Son 11]: Yes.

And what is enjoyable about it?

[Son 11]: About the cards?

Yes.

[Son 11]: Well it's like it's we talk at the same time and it's something like to entertain us, it is fun, some competitiveness.

F: Stopping people cheating.

[Laughs]

Associations are developed through traditions, with playing cards in this instance associated with holidays for this young child. He plays cards at home '*but not as much'* as on holidays. Card playing is a fun activity, something nice before bed when on holidays. When queried as to what exactly was enjoyable the young lad advises that as a family unit they talk while playing cards. The family together talking, being as important as the competitiveness and fun of the game.

Playing cards is a skill, and here we see this activity been taught by the father, passing down the art of card playing from one generation to the next. The children instigated the activity on other holidays, thus developing the tradition of playing cards into the next generation.

Sweets are often associated with holidays, and in this next extract Denis and Karen's [S. 14 D. 9 S. 4] daughter, talks about family traditions.

> *[Daughter 9]: I suppose we would usually all be together, like we wouldn't really split up.*
>
> *M: No.*
>
> *F: No which is nice, it is real family time given that we go in so many different directions during the year, activities and one thing and another, am do we have a tradition?*
>
> *[Daughter 9]: We wouldn't go in the car to the pool, we'd walk down and it would be so hot with the heat and there was a sweet shop and every time, and there was a playground very close to the pool and we'd walk by the sweet shop and we'd take a few sweets and we go to the playground and we either eat there and then after a while we would go to the pool after the playground.*

Staying together as a family unit, was the activity that the nine-year-old daughter answers, to the traditions and activities question. Her parents agreed, with her mother putting a context on this comment, advising that they '*go in so many different directions during the year.'* Doing activities as a full family unit, all five of them together, not splitting up, was a perspective that the daughter highlighted, as an activity associated with the holidays. Being all together as a family, is seen in her young eyes as a family activity. A simple activity highlighting the importance of togetherness on the family holiday. Not travelling by car would be a novel approach for this family living in a rural area. Thus, walking around as a family unit visiting the sweet shop, the playground, and the pool, are activities associated with the holiday, traditions important to the daughter.

In both extracts, the children respond to the question on activities and traditions, and the salient point is being together, for the young boy talking whilst playing cards was good, and for the daughter in the above extract, doing activities together, not splitting up. The fifth theme decision-making, will now be reviewed.

7.6 Decision-making

Prevalent throughout the transcripts are examples of decision-making, with the level of involvement increasing as the children get older. Two extracts will be used, the

first to demonstrate children's influence on holiday activities with the second, children's influence on destination choice. Parents of young children make all the decisions with small choices offered to the youngsters sometimes between the playground or the park. More significant decision-making occurs as the children get older with Valerie and Luke [D. 14 S. 11] giving a succinct account of the children's involvement in deciding on the day's activity:

> *F: Malta was a good example, we said to the kids, 'ok the choice now, we are going on a boat, we are going to Blue Lagoon, we're going snorkelling, the choice is you can go snorkelling for a few hours and then go on a trip, historical around the island or else go snorkelling for six hours?' Of course the kids chose the six hours, so you know, and we were fine with that as well.*

The children were happy to make the decision given the options, with the parents having to fall in with the six hours of snorkelling. The parents were fine with the children dictating to some extent, the days' activities. Much of the activities had been decided by the parents, '*we are going on a boat, we are going to the Blue Lagoon and we're going snorkelling'*. The children had an influence on the duration of the activity. Initially, it seemed as if it was a democratic choice with all involved, but reading closer in actual fact, it was only the length of time snorkelling that the children had any influence over. However, this is not to say that the activity chosen, snorkelling was not influenced in the first place by its' suitability for the children. A more explicit illustration of children's influence on holiday choices is given in this next extract.

Eamon and Ita [D. 19 NP S. 16 D. 13] have three teenage children being a full nest III, older married couple, with dependent children. Their eldest daughter of nineteen years is not present, but Ita discusses the issues of choosing a holiday destination suitable for everyone:

> *F: Probably though as well I think you have to, with children you have to change it or else they're not going to want to go basically. It has to suit, a holiday has to suit everybody.*
>
> ***Yes, so you'd make a conscious decision to change the holiday each year?***
>
> *F: Yeah I would.*
>
> *M: Yeah the different types of holidays yeah.*
>
> *F: Yeah or I'd look at the demographic and think what do people want to do now.*

Yeah, yeah.

F: Oh yeah.

Very good.

F: So, they still want to come with us kind of, so that's good.

Yes, yes, yes.

F: I figure that's a success.

There is a subtle change in the decision-making in this life stage. Parents are much more active in finding a holiday that will suit everyone, a holiday suitable for adults and young teenagers. There is pressure to change the holiday, it has to suit, because if you don't adjust the holiday the older teenager basically won't go. This is an on-going activity suggested by the word '*now*', what do people want to do now. Older teenagers have a choice. The pressure falls back on the parents, that if they want to holiday as a family unit, all together then they have to set it up. They will have to research and investigate a holiday destination suitable and appealing to all of the family. Decision-making has changed in this life stage, it is not quite as democratic, or collaborative as suggested in the snorkelling extract. Key decisions have to be made mindful of the demographic, or else the young adults and teenagers, may or may not go on the holiday. Success is measured by the willingness of the children to still holiday with their parents, which happened in this case, as advised by the mother in the last line of the extract.

The choices made by the parents can determine the success of a holiday, which is measured quite unambiguously at later life stages, by teenagers willing to go on holidays with them. Feedback from earlier life stages, the siblings enjoying snorkelling, will add to the knowledge the parents acquire for the next family holiday. These experiences that create a technical knowledge, what works for the family unit, will be explored in the next section.

7.7 Technical knowledge

The art of holidaying, planning, researching, and criteria, are categories used to describe the theme of technical knowledge. This is the knowledge built up over the years by each family unit on the requirements of a holiday. In the first of two extracts George and Fiona [D. 15 S. 13] outline this theme:

> *M: They do the planning for themselves so I just turn up generally…no this time I did read a little bit myself, but they will do the reading you know…*
>
> *F: Yes we have many books on it.*
>
> *M: We have books on Italy and wherever we were going so…*
>
> *[Son 13]: When she [sister 15] has nothing to read she just reads the book.*
>
> ***Very good, very good.***
>
> *M: The three here do all the research.*
>
> *F: There is a lot of research that goes into our holidays, a lot of research. We are big into our holidays.*

George, the father is inclined to leave the planning and research of the holidays to the other family members. Books on the various holiday destinations are acquired, and the children take an active role in planning. Holidays are an important aspect of family life, borne out by their extensive research. This diligent research is often a pre-emptive move to avoid issues when on holidays, as illustrated by Tara and Vincent [S. 26 NP S. 24 FE. D. 16] in this next extract:

> *F: We research it, go there and have a look…even [friend of Tara] when we were looking for Lanzarote and she wasn't sure and the next thing I said there's only a few flights and we're trying to get the apartment and we were trying to get the apartment near us, we couldn't get it any closer. We walked across the road, the apartment was in the next block and the girls were able to meet each other, which was great because [daughter 16] could go up and have great fun with [friend's daughter]. But like that, I went in there, online and we kept at it and we got the apartment that was close. There was no point if she was going to be off up in the old town and we were down here because it would cause more pandemonium and more stress for everyone. It's to avoid stress.*

The mother was fully aware that if the teenage girls were not close by, there would be problems and stress on the holiday. There was a focused intent in her actions, keeping at the job in hand to find an apartment that was near their accommodation

mindful of the *'pandemonium*' that would ensue if all was not in order. This knowledge was acquired over the years, as the mother knew there would be no point going on holidays if her daughter's friend was located up in the old town. This awareness of what is required for the holiday is aptly named technical knowledge, the ability to know the importance of apartment locations in Lanzarote, is quite specific to a family holiday with teenage girls.

Technical, which means art or skill, is having the specific details required for the task in hand, whether it is holidaying with teenagers or navigating foreign countries. Technical knowledge of any task is acquired by repetition, each successive rendition giving greater insight into a more effective way of completing the task. Holiday guides and internet searches are tools to assist with the art of holidaying, with the experience itself, a holiday, adding to this technical knowledge. A common strand prevalent though out the themes will now be presented.

7.8 Time

Time is the common thread linking all of the previous six themes of sacrifice, value, memories, traditions, decision-making and technical knowledge. Upon "systematic reflection" (Mills 2000, p. 196), or what might commonly be called a "light-bulb moment", time was seen within each of the six themes.

In the theme of sacrifice, holidays of a previous life stage are foregone for suitable holidays for children. In some instances it was a big sacrifice, tough going and stressful with young children and teenagers. However, measured in time between nappies and the teenage years, '*the honeymoon period'* was a golden era, the least stressful time of holidays with children.

Earlier the theme of value was shown as the space to relax and recharge when on holidays, and this was only made possible by time that becomes available when away, '*that time to relax'*. All the busyness of daily routines gone, time was a key factor in recharging when on holidays. As children got older, a holiday ranked higher in their yearly activities, giving them a greater appreciation of the time away, a different perspective of time, as a factor of holiday value.

The memories created on holidays are sharper and clearer, and recollecting an experience on holiday, brings the family straight back to the poolside or the rollercoaster ride. A holiday memory relives time, '*Remember she did the Tower of Power in Lanzarote'*, a form of personal family time-travel that can be pulled out, and shared by all at some later stage. In another sense, holiday memories can be seen as a storage of time, the moment the child crawled.

The time to be together, was the finding that was revealed in the theme of traditions. Togetherness was associated with the tradition whether it was playing cards or just strolling down to the sweet shop, '*I suppose we would usually all be together'*. Being together, as a family unit was the aspect that made the activity enjoyable.

Children were given the time to decide on the activities they would enjoy, snorkelling or sight-seeing, illustrating the theme of decision-making. The parents of older children, have a greater awareness of the limited number of holidays left with the entire family unit, '*with children you have to change it or else they are not going to want to go basically'*, and the pressure to appeal to all. Running out of time, was a key factor in the decision-making for the family with teenage children.

The art of holidaying, the skills required to have a successful break are developed over time. The experience gained with each successive holiday is knowledge unique to each family, '*there was no point if she was going to be up in the old town'*. Built up over the years, this technical knowledge was illustrated in the extract describing the search for apartments in Lanzarote. Figure 7-1: summarises the findings of this chapter in a kaleidoscope shaped diagram.

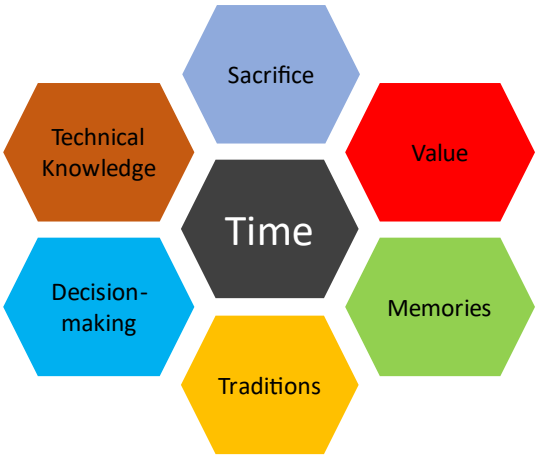


Figure 7-1: Kaleidoscope of time with themes

Each outer hexagon represents a theme, with the inner hexagon representing time. Each turn of a kaleidoscope reflects and refracts light in a new way, showing up colours in a different hue. Similar to the kaleidoscope; sacrifice, value, memories, traditions, decision-making and technical knowledge, reflect and refract time in a different way. Sacrifice, giving up of time; value, taking time out; memories, sharing of time; traditions, time together; decision-making, running out of time; and technical knowledge, building over time. All six themes present time in a different perspective with each theme self-contained within its own hexagon shape. Notwithstanding this, facets of each theme can be seen in the other shapes. However, a dominant thread linking all the hexagons together was time.

Finally, a connecting thread, much like time in this instance, was not evident in the previous chapter, in the interpretation of holidays across the non-children stages, perhaps, reflecting the diversity of family types. No one thread had the ability to link the young single individuals, with the newly married couples, and the older post-children family types, older married couples, and solitary survivors.

7.9 Summary

The first theme of sacrifice illustrated with five extracts describes the changes when entering the full nest life stage with young children, to the on-going adjustments as they get older. Recharging the batteries and ranking of holidays outlined the theme of value. Memories, the third theme was illustrated across all three life stages, with similar terminology used by two families. The sharing of holiday memories generated quite animated discussions. The parents of the youngest family outlined the importance of the next generation developing their own holiday memories. Playing cards and strolling to the sweet shop were holiday traditions illustrating the importance of spending time all together as a family unit. Using guidebooks and internet searches assisted in holiday decision-making, with technical knowledge acquired over time.

To conclude, the six themes were presented in a framework which illustrated time as a common thread of holidays for full nest families. The next chapter will take a deductive approach to the research findings across all nine life stages.

8 DEDUCTIVE INTERPRETATION: ACROSS ALL LIFE STAGES

8.1 Introduction

A fundamental goal of qualitative research is to shed light on the quality and meaning of the participant's voice (Watts 2014, p. 8). This endeavour was undertaken in a two-stage process, using inductive and deductive analysis. Chapter seven was the second of the two inductive analysis chapters where the six themes of *sacrifice, value, memories, traditions, decision-making* and *technical knowledge* were established, from the three full nest family stages of the Wells and Gubar (1966) model. Chapter six considered the families at all other life stages, before children arrived and after the children had flown the nest. Six themes were established, *finding one's self, travel companionship, nearer my God, passing the baton, coalescing of perspectives and responsibility.* The second stage of this process, deductive interpretation, will now be the focus of this chapter.

Social capital within the family, predominantly the work of Coleman (1988) is the theoretical underpinning of this research as outlined earlier in the literature review. The themes established in the previous two inductive analyses chapters will be considered under the three forms of social capital within the family, "obligations and expectations", "information channels" and "social norms", (Coleman 1988, s. 95), with Figure 8-1: illustrating the analysis framework for this chapter. However, two themes, n*earer my God* and v*alue,* will be dealt with separately. In this empirical study, generalisations from the interpretation coalesce to define family capital. This definition is considered within the context of holidaying.

The normative behaviour of holidaying that gradually became established in Ireland during the twentieth century, outlined earlier in chapter five, is referred to within this chapter. Specifically, the next section deals with two aspects of holidaying that developed from that time period, and were evident in the participant interviews.

8.2 Comparison of archives to interviews

The study of the oral history archives outlines the context and concept of a holiday through the decades of the twentieth century. It is the first objective of this research, and the sole focus of Chapter 4: Archival Research. The archival accounts went up to 2007, the cusp of an economic downturn which lasted until 2012 (Watson et al. 2016). Then moving to 2019 when most of the family interviews took place, the participants predominantly discuss their holiday experiences at that life stage. However, their life experiences of previous life stages would have had an influence on their current holiday behaviour. This was illustrated in chapter 4: Methodology, in Figure 4-5:, (see section 4.7 family interviews, data collection). So Nora, the retired theatre nurse who was born in the 1930's, has life experiences of the latter half of the twentieth century up to 2019. Equally, Nora is a similar age to the members of cohort "A" within the transcripts. Thus, there is an overlay of life experiences for the fifty-eight members of the oral history archive and the interview participants. There is a contextual overlay. Nevertheless, as the nub of this research is to investigate what happens when away, just two aspects of holidaying will be considered in this next section, the concept of a holiday, and the normative behaviour of holidaying, through the century. The analysis will proceed chronologically, commencing with the archival work, and then the participants interviews.

8.2.1 Concept of a holiday, then and now

The concept of a holiday gradually unfolds over the decades of the twentieth century, as was outlined in Chapter 4: Archival Research. Holidays steadily became part of yearly activities, with accounts from the 1930's *'that didn't happen for years'* and the 1950' '*there was no going away'* illustrating the idea of a holiday, but not in that timeframe. In the 1970's, the extract from Patricia outlines the thought processes in comprehending the holiday experience, (see section 5.9 Ireland in the 1970's). The local bank manager is chatting to Patricia when she asks, '*What's a holiday?'* He then explains the concept as time away from work. He is concerned that they are working too hard. Patricia considers his comments and advises '*So that put us in the*

frame of mind for thinking about it'. It is at this precise point, that Patricia moves from a state of "unawareness" to "awareness" the first step in the AIDA model (Awareness, Interest, Desire, Action) of consumer buyer behaviour, (Holloway and Humphreys 2020, p. 71). Patricia, who was twenty years married, did not know what a holiday was, did not understand the phenomena of holidaying. Patricia and family, as the extract goes on to advise, take a foreign break, and since then take annual holidays. A salient point to consider from this extract was that money was not an issue for the family. Gradually over the year, families gain an understanding of a holiday and begin to differentiate a VFR break from a holiday, with some examples of this comparison, appearing in the 1970's, (see Angela) and in the 1990's, (see Chris).

Moving then to the interviews for this research, the majority of which took place during 2019. One of the participants, Mary, knew what a holiday was '*we were probably one of the only gang, who never actually went on annual holidays.',* an extract from within chapter six, (see section 6.5 passing the baton). Mary is in her mid-twenties, so as a child holiday experiences would have occurred from the late 1990's onwards. Mary understood the concept, but as a child, had never had a holiday.

Nevertheless, considering other participants, Raymond and Rose, in a similar timeframe, would have brought their young family on holidays, (see section 6.5 passing the baton). Their daughter's partner did not go on family holidays. The phrase '*there would be country Donegal'* suggests an innocence, an unworldliness to his life experiences, having gone on just family excursions as a child. The extract goes on to illustrate that he did not comprehend the concept of a holiday, '*go somewhere and do nothing,'*. It was only when living with his partner that he became aware of the phenomena of holidaying. After experiencing a holiday with Raymond, Rose, and the family, '*he saw what was gained',* and went to the Hebrides with his own family of orientation. So what a holiday is, the art of holidaying is a concept that the partner's family had not experienced. Decision-making and motivation research in tourism did not capture this young man, as he was in a state of unawareness.

So to summarise, there are sections of Irish society today that take holidays, sections that have an awareness of holidays but do not participate, and finally, a cohort who

have no awareness of the concept of holidaying. As members of society, we are influenced by the behaviour of family and friends, and this next area will consider this effect on our holiday habits.

8.2.2 Evolution of normative holiday behaviour

Social norms have a powerful influence on our behaviour (Coleman 1988; Bilton et al. 2002; Sanders and Hume 2019). The actions of our neighbours and peer groups are reflective of our own behaviour (Adler and Kwon 2002). At a sub-conscious level, adhering to norms is "hard wired into society" (Sanders and Hume 2019, p. 106), which suggests that we are unaware of the influences on our own behaviour. Tracing the normative behaviour of our society through the twentieth century, will illustrate the gradual 'hardwiring' of holidaying within Irish culture. Commencing with work from the archives, brief excerpts will illustrate the changes in Irish society's behaviour regarding holidaying. The decade is given and the respondent's name, with the full extract available from within chapter five. Beginning with the 1920's:

1920's Clifford: *But you see it's very unusual because in those days…*

Clifford is aware that it was not normal behaviour to be on holidays in Ireland at that time. Moving to the next decade, Joseph's comment is reflective of the reality of that era:

1930's Joseph: *Nobody seemed to have any money in those days. There was no travelling.*

In the 1950's, the focus moves away from the lack of money, nevertheless there is awareness of what everyone else was doing.

1950's Doreen: *But, of course, nobody had holidays or anything. Around us, everybody was the same, like.*

By the 1960's, young couples were considering their first major holiday.

1960's Audrey: *... We went to @@Mediterranean island 1## on our honeymoon because it was cheaper than staying in Ireland.*

By the 1970's holidays were a ubiquitous aspect of yearly activities for some families, with Angela advising:

1970's Angela: *We used to go on holidays every year when we were children, they always used to make a point of it,*

In the 1980's going on holidays, for some people was now seen as a matter of fact:

1980's Anne-Marie: *but we always had holidays*

Chris is making the distinction between returning home to Ireland from working in the UK, and going away to America.

1990's Chris: *I went on my first proper foreign holiday.*

By the turn of the millennium, Ireland was experiencing great wealth and this is reflected in the final three comments from the oral history files:

2000-2007 Sean: *We would have at least two holidays a year*.

2000-2007 Brigit: *But everyone else is going and we want to say we went.*

2000-2007 Marie: T*he fact that they, people, don't have the strength in character to stop and say no I don't want two holidays a year.*

Now moving to 2019 when families were interviewed, Kevin and Una have two young children (see chapter 7, section: 7.4 memories) and Michael is in his early sixties, (see chapter 6, section 6.3: travel companionship).

2019 Participant interview, Kevin and Una: *I suppose because I had it [holiday] and you had it as kids.*

2019 Participant interview, Michael: *So a sense of travel and solo travel was never an issue you know.*

Taking a holiday has moved from being an unusual occurrence in the 1920's to nearly a hundred years later, in 2019, an aspect of normal life. The impact of tourist behaviour on society has been well documented, with work in particular from Krippendorf (1987). Building on his research, Goodwin (2016) discusses the concept of Responsible Tourism. In brief, Responsible Tourism is our own personal response to the various economic, environmental, and socio-cultural impacts of tourism on society. As tourists, we must have more than an awareness of our actions, we must now become liable for our behaviour. We are accountable for our actions. This accountability of our behaviour is one of three aspects of Responsible Tourism, and can be implemented through regulation or social norms, (Goodwin 2016, p 41). Social norms needs to evolve, from *'we always had holidays'* to a more nuanced approach, where we consider our entitlement to holidaying. This can happen in part, through peer pressure, with normative behaviour adapting quickly (Sanders and Hume 2019, p. 116), which it must, in order for everyone to stay enjoying happy holidays without impacting the environment.

In summary, this section considered the concept of a holiday, and the development of holiday norms from the archival research and the participants interviews. Deductive interpretation of the themes from the previous chapters will now be presented.

8.3 Social capital within the family

Social capital within the family exists in the relations among people and cannot be assigned to any one individual, unlike financial capital, one's own money or human capital such as a university qualification. The intangible nature of social capital within the family, which evolved from the work of Coleman (1988), consists of various components outlined in chapter two and will be briefly restated, (see section 2.3.1. Social capital in the family). The first form of this capital, "obligations and expectations" are the needs of the group, the social structure that binds the members. Trustworthiness is built up within a closed group, with the family, the basic unit of

society (DeFrain and Asay 2007a), an example of a closed group. The second form of social capital is known as "information channels". It can take time to acquire information with Coleman (1988) advising that social relations are a valuable source of knowledge which can be acquired quickly and efficiently. "Social norms" are the third form of social capital within the family. A norm is an expectation of society on behaviour, and when norms are effective, particularly within a closed structure such as a family, they provide a strong form of social capital (Coleman 1988, s. 104).

Within the twelve themes identified are the findings that will advance or challenge current literature. Ten themes will cut across Coleman's (1988) forms of capital, see Figure 8-1: below with the two themes of n*earer my God* and *value* considered separately. Some themes have findings that relate to the work of Bourdieu (1986), but will be considered within the three areas advised. Tourism literature and research from other disciplines will then be incorporated, so that each theme is considered from multiple perspectives.

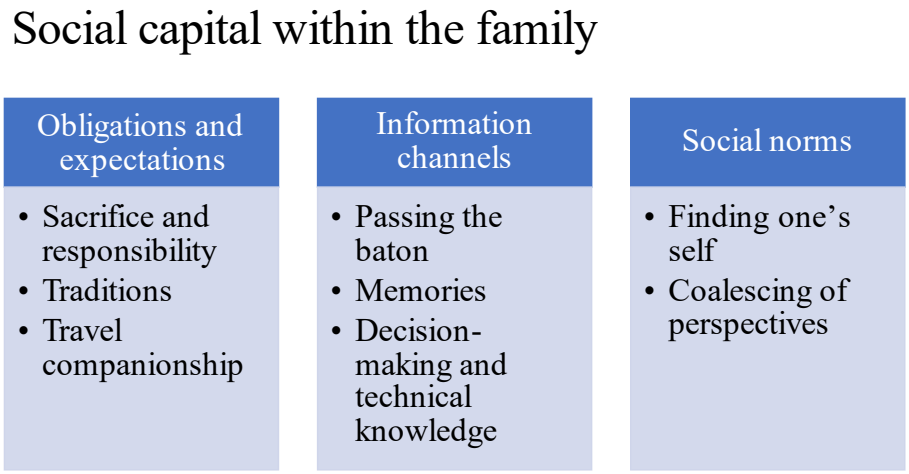


Figure 8-1: Themes within the forms of social capital.

8.4 Obligations and expectations

The first form of social capital within the family, obligations and expectations encompasses the theme of *sacrifice, responsibility, traditions and travel*

companionship. Sacrifice and responsibility will now be considered separately within this form of social capital.

8.4.1 Sacrifice and responsibility

A sacrifice is when something of value is given up, but it is done with the understanding that it is for a greater good. Coleman (1988) would describe this as a "credit slip" owing to the person who has incurred the loss. Sacrifice was the first theme established within the transcripts, and was only evident within the full nest stage. By the use of five extracts it illustrated how young families had to adjust their holiday behaviour to accommodate their children, (see section 7.2. sacrifice). The obligation to change the holiday to suit the needs of the children was illustrated, and this finding aligns with the work of Johns and Gyimóthy (2002) Danish research, where the expectation that children are brought to Legoland theme park, is a duty to be discharged while the children are still young. However, it was more than a duty, it was a "penance" according to Johns and Gyimóthy (2002, p. 326), an element of suffering, with parents very uncomfortable at the theme park, but this hardship was not evident within the findings on the family holiday. While the holiday was hard work, the families saw their activities, within the bigger perspective of the children's enjoyment. In this Danish study, the transient nature of childhood was evident in the duty that the parents felt in the bringing their children to the theme park at this life stage.

The ideal time for a holiday with young children is between the ages of ten and twelve years (Shaw et al. 2008). However, expressed more positively as a '*honeymoon period'*, between nappies and teenage years, the Irish family phrase captures a sense of short-lived hedonism, a precious timeframe to spend with their children. Finally within the Danish research, parents were attracted to Legoland as it was seen as a safe environment for young children, and this concern for safety was evident at a later life stage, with Lanzarote a safe environment for teenagers.

Shaw (2008) outlines the invisible nature of the work involved in family leisure, a new obligation of parenthood and this was confirmed in the study with Patricia,

mother of three young children, discussing the work behind the scenes being difficult for her husband and herself.

Women often yearn for a holiday on their own and space away from familial duties, are the findings of research conducted in Australia by Small (2005) dispelling the popular image of happy family times together. While it was not directly addressed in this research, when asked; *'is there something else I should know?'* at the end of the interview, some parents discussed their own holidays with their sisters or with the lads. The previous forty minutes or so discussion was regarding the family holiday, but there are other holidays and breaks during the year, with one set of expectations and obligations for the family holiday and a different set, for other breaks. So the family holiday was one type of break with its own unique set of obligations, but there are a variety of other holidays possible during the year. Coupled with this theme of sacrifice is the theme of *responsibility* which will now be explored.

'The best bits'; 'the worst bits' and '*this life stage'* are the original codes from the extracts that eventually coalesced into the theme of *responsibility*. Responsibility according to the Oxford English dictionary (OED 1969) means "liable to be called to account; morally accountable for actions; of good credit and repute; trustworthy" and confers an obligation that must be attended too. This responsibility has an element of something owing, a duty owing to another person, but it is not a dyadic relationship of debit and credit that is apparent in the discipline of accountancy. The person who is owed may not be aware of this debt outstanding and may not be keeping a record, the credit slip referred to earlier by Coleman (1988). Two examples from chapter six will be summarised to analyse the findings within the theme of *responsibility*, (see section 6.7. responsibility).

In the first example, Paul's son, while exercising on a treadmill at a gym in America sees on TV that his parents are caught up in a very bad hurricane in Australia. He immediately phones his father to assess the situation and to see what can be done. The sense of responsibility felt by the son is conveyed in the manner in which he speaks to his father, the sense of urgency, the concern regarding their safety at that point in time. In the second example, four years after Linda's husband died her family still feel a sense of responsibility, a duty towards Linda in planning a holiday that she would participate in. Linda has an awareness of these manoeuvrings, the sense of

being cared for, within the family. Trust is evident in both Paul and Linda's accounts, Paul immediately going outside so that the son can assess the dangers remotely, and Linda being happy to let her family organise the holiday. Trustworthiness is a key aspect of closure within a group (Coleman 1988) and has been developed in the family units over the years, as can be seen in the two examples described.

Responsibility is dynamic in a family moving from adults in the early years to the children in later life stages. The duty of responsibility can move back and forth, across the generations, parents at one moment responsible for their children and then the roles reversing with children becoming aware of their responsibilities. The theme of *responsibility* which manifest itself in stages seven, eight and nine, the empty nest and solitary survivor stages of the life cycle model has traits similar to the theme of *sacrifice* in the full nest stages of three, four and five. The sacrifices made by the parents in the early years are credit slips that are repaid in later life, as illustrated in the above examples. The holiday provided the social setting in both sets of life stages for this concept of family capital, a resource within the family to be analysed through the strand of obligations and expectations.

Staying within the strand of obligations and expectations, the theme of *traditions* will now be considered.

8.4.2 Traditions

Within the closed unit of the family setting, (Coleman 1988) the family can enact domestic life, (Obrador 2012). This acting out of family life is displayed in traditions and activities peculiar to the family. Sometimes these traditions are unique to the holiday setting, such as the playing of cards by Valerie and Luke's family (see section 7.5. traditions), which they sometimes play at home, but is mainly a holiday activity. The sense of homeliness that Obrador discusses is illustrated in the cards extract; fun, competitiveness, and cheating. The paradox of being away and yet participating in a homemaking practice, the practical skills of learning how to play cards, and the consequences of cheating, is described as the healthy maintenance of family-life while away, (Carr 2011, Obrador 2012). The restorative nature of the word 'maintenance',

used in conjunction with the holiday, encapsulates the domesticity of family life being renewed on holidays. Within social tourism the benefits of a holiday were seen in the improved relationship between the adults and children, as they had more time together (Minnaert et al. 2009) and this time is seen here in the family traditions. Doing shared activities, like playing cards is a display of the family's own identity (Harrington 2014) The obligations and expectations of the family to themselves, and to one another, in maintaining the family unit are confirmed in the *traditions* theme.

Indicators to measure family cohesion and adaptability were used by Zabriskie and McCormack (2001) to study routine and novel leisure experiences, known as core and balance leisure. Core activities are defined as routine daily leisure that take place in the home environment, with board games given as an example. Holidays are novel and are an example of balance leisure. The traditions illustrated in this work, such as the family buying sweets and walking to the park together, and the family playing cards are core traditions taking place on holidays.

Travel companionship is the final theme that will now be explored under the area of obligations and expectations.

8.4.3 Travel companionship

Travel companionship is a theme that evolved from the three single life stages of the lifecycle model: *bachelor; solitary survivor, in labour force; and solitary survivor, retired.* The concept of closure which are the connections between individuals within a group structure, like a family or the Jewish diamond dealers in New York referred to by Coleman (1988, s, 99), would not seem to be evident within these life stages. Not a salient feature, but on closer inspection, Mary a young single person, goes on holidays with friends the same as herself, *'also single'* and this selectivity was likewise evident with Anne and her companions for the Greek holiday. People the same as themselves, whom they could trust were their travel companions that formed the social structure of the holiday. These travel companions may become the resources that they will draw upon in later life, as advised by Hagan et al. (2020) in their study of two Northern Irish women. In this study of loneliness, the networks

established in youth can be drawn upon when older. Within this research the resources of youth have been utilised by Phil, *a solitary survivor, retired,* who goes on holidays with friends and Emily a, *solitary survivor, in labour force,* who is travelling to London later in the year for a reunion with old friends. The travel companions of youth have been drawn upon in later life. Michael also a *solitary survivor, in labour force,* having worked in many different settings when younger is happy to travel on his own, having gained a sense of '*travelling adventure'* in his youth.

In Korea, social capital attributes of family and friend networks, across three age groups, 18-44, 45-64, and 65+ were used in a study of loneliness. The social ties of friends are significant in youth, declining over the years, with family connections more significant in reducing loneliness in the oldest cohort, (Park et al. 2021). Phil, a *solitary survivor, retired* discusses public and private aloneness, with living on your own a private display, and dining in a restaurant as a public display of your solitude. This is in keeping with the research of Heimtun (2010) in which mid-life single women discuss dining alone, the in-situ social capital of family and friends missing, and how it is more acute in the evening than at lunch or breakfast time.

Travel companions of youth and experiences of that timeframe, provide a resource that can be banked, a source of capital for future use, which is quite important when loneliness is now considered a global public health issue (Savage et al. 2020; Park et al. 2021).

Information channels are the second form of social capital within the family (Coleman 1988) and will be the structure under which the four themes of *passing the baton, memories, decision-making,* and *technical knowledge* will be analysed.

8.5 Information channels

A channel is a direct link, a visual route of directness going from A to B. Building on this directness is the concept of information channels by which one person can access information from the other person quite efficiently, due to the social relations developed.

8.5.1 Passing the baton

Passing the baton theme builds on this concept from Coleman (1988) with the parents passing information to their children. The information passed is transmitted through the observation of how things happen, how the car is packed up for the holiday, discussions on clothes and toys to bring on holidays, when and where the family will go on holidays, are all observations that the children will acquire through daily domestic life. The knowledge acquired can be gained indirectly over the years, unobtrusively with no great awareness by either parents or children, with Bubolz (2001) advising that it is within the family system that behaviour of future generations is modelled. Shaw and Dawson (2001) pick up this theme of passing of values and behaviours from one generation to the next in their study of family leisure in which children learn by seeing and doing. It is in later life that this subtle passing of the holiday baton, the attitudes, skills, and experiences of holidaying manifest themselves. Four extracts in chapter six were used to analyse this theme (see section 6.5. passing the baton).

In the first of the four extracts, knowledge acquired is illustrated in Raymond and Rose's discussion on how the daughter's boyfriend learned the art of holidaying from observation of his girlfriend's activities, and going on his first holiday with her. Crompton (1981) discusses the influence of social groups on holiday destination, in particular when one moves from one life stage to another, as was the case with this young man. The daughter became aware of the skills she had acquired over the years, and Rose and Raymond could see the positive impact of their actions many years ago. The art of holidaying passed down through the generations was described in this extract, and illustrates the concept of families acting as agents of social change (Trussell 2017). Due to the knowledge gained by the boyfriend, his own family of orientation then went holidaying to Scotland for the first time.

The importance of saving for a holiday was an attitude passed down from Tina to her daughter and in the fourth extract an ambivalent attitude towards holidays was illustrated with Mary advising that her mother preferred to eat well, '*Marks & Spencer's'* than go on holidays. Mary, as a child was not brought on holidays and she

does not see the value in going on holidays, described as “beyond her experiences”, (Crompton 1981, p. 557).

Adler and Kwon (2002) discuss the long-term benefits that accrue from the investment in social capital, and this return can be observed in the theme of *passing the baton,* in which the indirect nature that family holidays have in handing down values to the next generation, manifests itself at later life stages.

Memories, shared across the generations, is the next theme to be considered under the strand of information channels.

8.5.2 Memories

Family holidays create memories was described as a function of the holiday (Shaw et al. 2008; Kelly 2020). According to Kevin and Una, one of the aims of the holiday is to create memories (see section 7.4. memories). The passing down to the next generation of holiday memories is an important aspect of family life for this young couple, and was in keeping with the Canadian research of Shaw et al. (2008). The theme of *memories* will be analysed separately through three perspectives of space, history, and generativity.

A holiday provides space, time away from home captured in the phrase “outside your usual environment” from the definition of tourism (UNWTO 2010). It encapsulates the lack of domestic markers that populate daily life, such as the washing machine that needs repair, or the weeds growing in the garden. Suddenly, you are away from all this so that you have time to think, to “escape from routine” (Minnaert et al. 2009, p. 327), and it is within this space, referred to as “vacant time” outside of daily activities (Cohen 1979, p. 181) that family life away from home takes on a more significant meaning. Tourism research captures the importance of memories but it is the space afforded by the different environment that facilities the creation of memories. The blank slate that each new day of the holiday offers, without obligations or commitments to work or sporting activities by the parents or the children, that enables the holiday memories to be recalled with greater clarity. This aspect of space being created by the holiday, revealed in phrases ‘*more conscious,*

more alert, more focused' generated the circumstance for memories of greater clarity to be created. The memories formed for everyone were more meaningful, because of the space created by the holiday.

Strong memories help in creating the family history and strengthen family ties (Shaw et al. 2008). However, it is more than the memories that create the history. It is the ability to share those memories together, neatly captured by Tara and Vincent's family discussion about rollercoasters. The daughter initiates the discussion but her parents and brother quickly joining in, reliving the moments, and generating again on a cold wet October evening the connection from that memory. They enjoy rollercoasters. It is part of their family narrative, their own history but more than the memory, it is the ability to share, relive the memory that creates the family history. It is not individual, it's a shared history from a moment on holidays. The family is strengthened, their history is more defined by the resharing of the memory between themselves and with others. MacCannell discusses this moment of sharing, of witnessing together, the solidarity created at that moment, when you have just experienced something, an amazing view, a sight "you have got to see this", is the evolving innocence of tourism, (MacCannell 1999, p. 203). MacCannell discusses the moment when you first see the Golden Gate Bridge in San Francisco, the sharing of this experience, creates the touristic moment and it is this moment that becomes a shared family knowledge.

Building on the family history is the notion of generativity in which the parents are helping to "guide the next generation" (Shaw et al. 2008, p. 24). The holiday with its shared memories are seen as a foundation on which to build the family unit and pass to the next generation, as mentioned earlier by Kevin and Una. This concept picks up the theme of *passing the baton*, the information provided by the parents to the children. Memories are generally discussed in tourism literature in terms of the exotic (Larsen 2008), the activities accomplished, the meals eaten (Schänzel and Lynch 2016), but the mundane observations of the planning required for a holiday, the day-to-day necessities for the holiday, how to pack the car, are also memories that are created. Often not enunciated, but nevertheless, memories that form the history of the family, and it is both the day-to-day observations that were described in the *passing of the baton* theme, with the memories created on the holiday, that develop the family history. As families across all life stages were interviewed for this study, the multi-

generational aspect of holiday memories could be observed, and the findings indicate that it is the observation of holidaying coupled with the memories made when away that generates the family capital. The information channels, the form of social capital described by Coleman (1988) are evident within holiday activities, in a subtle way, through the memories created on holidays.

Decision-making is an aspect of tourism that is comprehensively researched (Li et al. 2020) and is one of the two final themes to be considered within the area of information channels.

8.5.3 Decision-making and technical knowledge

Children have an influence on the holiday activities (Milkie et al. 2004; Therkelsen 2010; Khoo-Lattimore et al. 2015; Hay 2017) and this influence, which is evident throughout the full nest family interviews, is located in chapter seven, (see section 7.6. decision-making). Children develop their own independence by being involved in the decision-making, (Therkelsen 2010), with Valerie and Luke's [D. 14 S. 11] two children deciding on the length of time spent snorkelling. The freedom to select their own leisure activities was central to the enjoyment of the holiday (Hay 2017, p. 143).

Bargaining is a feature of decision-making, with Therkelsen advising that there was a "hard element" in that a fifteen-year-old adolescent stated that she was not going on the holiday unless they were going to Italy, (Therkelsen 2010, p. 776). Hilbrecht et al. (2008) advise that teenagers want to spend time with friends and were less likely to want to go on holiday with the family. Hard bargaining was not evident in this research, but parents were actively searching for a destination that would be suitable for all of the family, in particular the older teenagers. This search activity was captured in the extract by Eamon and Ita [D. 19 NP S. 16 D. 13] when Ita discusses finding a holiday for the current demographic, the children, nineteen-year-old daughter who was not present (NP) at the interview, sixteen-year-old son, and thirteen-year-old daughter. Decision-making at the latter end of the *Full Nest III: older married couple with dependent children,* stage has changed subtlety. Rather than democratic decision-making between the parents and older children (Ashraf and

Khan 2016; Cheng et al. 2019), now the parents need to find a holiday that suits everybody. '*Suit everybody'* which was mentioned twice by Ita has an underlying meaning that it must appeal to everybody. Ideally the holiday is different, novel, something new and "that is outside their experiences" (Crompton 1981, p. 557).

Extensive research on family vacation decision-making has evolved from joint-decision-making (Van Raaij and Francken 1984) to an adaptable process, (Decrop and Snelders 2004). Nevertheless, within this work the findings indicate that to retain the full-family unit on the holiday, the destination choice has to be presented by the parents. The suitability of a destination will be examined, experiences of other family units at that life stage may be sought out, information channels will be recruited in that the social relations with others will facilitate action (Coleman 1988, s. 104). It is a clear measure of the success of the parents' decision-making if the adult children participate in the holiday. Family capital has the potential to increase for the household, as all the family are holidaying together, an important criteria that Ita regards as a success. The children see the work done in presenting the different types of holidays. Once on the holiday, decision-making can revert to its democratic stance with all the family unit involved.

Related to the theme of *decision-making* is *technical knowledge* which is specific knowledge assimilated over time. Information is generic and can be acquired from a variety of sources, and within tourism, guides books and internet searches are typical sources. However, the technical aspect of the knowledge differs for each holiday, as the information needed is specific to each family at that particular life stage, which is transient and evolving, most particularly within the full nest stages. A vigorous and determined attempt is needed for the acquisition of this technical knowledge. Each holiday is a rendition, another attempt, a point of learning that builds up information within the family unit. Each member of the family will acquire a level of technical knowledge with every holiday. This understanding of holidaying, how the airport is navigated, where the family stops along the journey for a break, the allocation of accommodation among the family members, is peculiar to each family unit for each holiday. So technical, in the broad sense, of the knowledge required for the family at that particular life stage for each member.

Decision-making within tourism is extensively researched with studies undertaken of specific stages of the life cycle (Lawson 1991; Fodness 1992; Mckercher and Yankholmes 2018; Monaco 2018;). Nevertheless, the totality of all this decision-making, the knowledge gained, has not been considered. Fragmentation of knowledge exists in destination choices, (Nickerson and Jurowski 2001; Gram 2006), information search (Stylos 2020), during the holiday (Khoo Lattimore et al. 2015), post-holiday evaluation, (Kozak and Duman 2012). An example will clarify this point, the decision-making of tweens, eight to twelve-year olds, at the destination are analysed, (Blichfeldt et al. 2011). The totality of the knowledge gained from all the steps is not analysed, only in the indirect sense that post-purchase behaviour will influence the next holiday, (Decrop and Snelders 2004).

The knowledge acquired by the family over the years is located in chapter seven, (see section 7.7. technical knowledge). George and Fiona's [D. 15 S. 13] family, discuss the use of guidebooks to build their knowledge of the destinations as the holidays are important to the family. The level of knowledge required by Tara and Vincent's [S. 26 NP S. 24 FE. D.16] family, is quite specific. Tara in particular, is navigating the geography of Lanzarote with the safety needs of teenage girls in mind. Evident within this extract, is the previous knowledge that Tara could bring to the challenge of finding apartments for the two families going to Lanzarote, and the consequences of getting it wrong. She works hard to mitigate potential problems.

Cultural capital within the family, (Bourdieu 1986) has three states and the first, the development of competencies, known as the embodied state, is the technical knowledge that the families acquire. The embodied state form of cultural capital is individually acquired and cannot be outsourced. The family can use a travel agent to book the holiday, but the technical knowledge, gained while experiencing the holiday will be individually acquired by each member of the family on the trip.

Knowledge is acquired, decisions are made, and the family go on holidays with the development in this instance of the information channels, (Coleman 1988). The information channels are developed within the family unit, to be utilised individually or collectively for the next holiday. This resource is known as cultural capital by Bourdieu, and social capital within the family by Coleman.

The final strand of Coleman's (1988) work, social norms will consider aspects of themes discussed earlier and the two main themes of, *finding one's self* and *coalescing of perspectives*.

8.6 Social norms

Norms are social facts that exist outside our own existence according to Durkheim (Bilton et al. 2002), and are a powerful form of social influence, in that we start to do what everyone else is doing, (Sanders and Hume 2019, p. 103). Social norms are the behaviours and actions within a given social structure, and within a closed structure, (Coleman 1988) normative behaviour is more effective. Going on holidays with young children is stressful (Gram 2005; Backer and Schänzel 2012) and when you add into the mix, holidaying with the in-laws, another layer of anxiety is potentially added to the experience. This was succinctly captured in the phrase *'put your game face on'* by Patricia when she is discussing camping with toddlers and her in-laws (see section 7.2. sacrifice). The holiday is described as stressful by her husband Robert, and it was not a great holiday for the couple, despite the older children having great fun. A prescriptive norm (Coleman 1988 s. 104) is where you forgo self-interest for the greater good of the family, and this extract within the theme of *sacrifice* illustrates this powerful social norm.

Phil, a *solitary survivor, retired*, whom we met earlier when considering the theme of *travel companionship,* discusses the courage needed to holiday on her own. She has friends, and the constraints of money and health are not an issue, yet it is on her bucket list to take a solo holiday. This will not happen as it is a public display of her aloneness, vividly described by Phil, as sitting into a dining table on your own. It is not the norm to be seen on your own, holidaying (Heimtun 2010). Holidays are presented as times spent with other people (Fodness 1992) and if you are not in company, then effective normative behaviour (Coleman 1988, s. 104) will mean that you will not be taking a holiday. This has implications for holiday participation of older age groups. Normative behaviour of holidaying will inhibit solo travelling. The theme of *finding one's self* will now be considered within the area of social norms.

8.6.1 Finding one's self

A norm is how you behave in society, but to know how to act you must understand who you are, and where you see yourself, within the structure of society. The manner in which you navigate through society reflects your own understanding of where you fit within the social structure. The theme of '*finding one's self'*, provides a collective of four extracts, in which the participants realise the manner in which the holiday facilitates self-reflection.

Brown (2013) discusses finding your authentic self when on holidays, that the holiday provides a catalyst for change, with Kirillova et al. (2017) discussing the transformative potential of tourism. In this research, '*finding one's self'*, is seeing from the perspective of adapting to changes in life circumstances. Space away from daily routine, Anne had time to consider her perspective on life. The normative behaviour of having a partner, were contrasted with the realisation that singlehood brings no limitations and no ties. The holiday was a catalyst to her new freedom, an awareness of her new-found status.

As a couple, Larry and Denise had to rediscover how to be a couple again, as they had holidayed for years with the children. They had to learn how to be an older married couple, and it was the time away from family that they could internalise as a couple, the norms of older married life. Henry talks about not yet finding his '*niche'* on holidays, having recently been bereaved after forty years of marriage. He is still trying to figure out his place within holidaying, to establish his routines on holiday. Finally, the sudden transition from being a married woman to widowhood has taken Linda some number of years to assimilate. She is hoping that by being more proactive on the next holiday, that she will gain a greater awareness of herself. The participants in these extracts, saw in hindsight how the holiday facilitated their understanding of their own authentic self, the normative behaviour of that life stage.

The final theme to be studied under the analysis framework, outlined in Figure 8-1: still within the area of social norms, is *coalescing of perspectives.*

8.6.2. Coalescing of perspectives

The sharing of perspectives with the development of a consensus, are the underlying findings of the theme solely dealing with the newly married couples, and are located in chapter six (see section 6.6. coalescing of perspectives). In this theme, the three married couples discuss the importance of the holiday, and what becomes evident reading the extracts, is that they had not contemplated the importance of a holiday previously. Consideration was given to starting a family, and whether the holiday would then become less important if other family commitments presented themselves. The opinions differed between the three couples, and also between partners, but what was evident was their understanding of each other's perspective. The first couple, Barry and Laura agreed during the interview that a holiday would become less important when they have children. The shared social norm of the holiday, was established during the interview, illustrating a key trait of families, which was the sharing of values and resources (DeFrain and Asay 2007b).

Noel and Angela have differing views on the importance of a holiday and other family commitments, but they laugh in recognition of the difference in opinion of their newly wed partner, knowing that they will have to reach a consensus over time, which neatly illustrates Durkheim's view that family life corrals the individualism inherent in humans (Bilton et al. 2002). The start of family life together, naturally perspectives will have to coalesce, and a compromise will have to be established, which is a trait of positive communication within strong families, (DeFrain and Asay 2007a), as the couples develop their own family's normative behaviour.

Stage two of the life cycle model, n*ewly married couples; young, no children* (Wells and Gubar 1966) sees the development of closure (Coleman 1988) in that the independent individuals of the first life stage, are now coming together to form a closed family setting. Normative behaviour will gradually be established by the young couples over the years, with the extracts within this theme, illustrating the development of values and norms within the emerging family, with respect to the holiday.

A different but related perspective to this theme needs to be detailed at this point. Holidays are important, but they are not a panacea for all ills (de Bloom et al. 2010;

Kroesen and Handy 2014) and should be seen as a resource available to a family; the correct tool from the kit box of life when the need arises. This perspective of a holiday as a resource, an add-on to daily life, was expressed succinctly by the third couple Helen and John, where they regard the holiday as the *'icing on the cake'*. The weekly routine, the smooth running of the household during the week, was more important than a holiday.

Together the three extracts illustrate how the holiday moves up and down in importance during the early stages of the life course and provides an opportunity for normative behaviour to be established within the new family structure.

In summation, normative behaviour within a holiday setting was evidenced within various themes across the life stages and confirmed the research findings that they are a powerful form of influence on our actions on holidays, and sometimes inactions, when participants revealed they would not go on holidays on their own.

Two themes were evaluated outside of the analysis framework depicted in Figure 8-1:, as they embraces aspects of social capital requiring individual attention. The first theme *nearer my God* will now be considered within the area of finite holidaying.

8.7 Finite holidaying

When interviewing participants about their holiday experiences over the entire life cycle, it was expected that the conversation regarding the final holiday, the terminal holiday may be discussed at the '*solitary survivor stages',* but the last holiday together was a concern for couples in the '*empty nest life stages'*. People with terminal illnesses sometimes take a final holiday, and this niche area has been researched within social tourism, (Chung and Simpson 2020) with perspectives changing with this form of holidaying. In this research, all the participants talked about future holidays, even the oldest participant, the eighty-six-year-old retired nurse, who was interviewed in March, was going on holidays in May.

In the discipline of accountancy, the going concern concept states that in preparing financial statements it is assumed that the business will continue trading into the

foreseeable future, with assets valued at current or cost basis, (O'Donoghue 2015, p. 54). If the business was to cease trading in the short-term, it would have implications on the valuation of assets. The concluding set of accounts would be compiled with terminal values. In this research, it was presumed that the participants would stay holidaying in this current life stage, or when they progress to the next life stage, that all the participants will be holidaying again in the near future. This presumption has implications for family capital, rising or falling in value, much like financial investments, as the family will stay holidaying in the near future, specifically within the next year. If this was the final holiday, the terminal holiday, the known last holiday, the valuation of family capital would be different.

The subject of death crept into the interview conversation when Sean and Bridget were asked to discuss the best bits of the holiday in chapter six, (see section 6.4. nearer my God). The holiday has become more significant and they are now taking more breaks each year with a conscious effort to enjoy themselves while they can. With Paul and Olivia, the question regarding other family activities that may be more important than the holiday, led into the conversation regarding fewer holidays and the phrase *'nearer my God'*. They feel they are living on borrowed time and may not have many more holidays together. The value and significance of the holiday has changed as both couples become more aware of their own mortality. As people age and become more aware of their own finite lives, a sense of belonging shifts and is considered further in the discipline of sociology, (May 2018). The awareness of limited opportunities to have a holiday together has changed the value of a holiday. The family capital generated with each successive holiday has become more significant.

Finite holidaying embraces the concept of value, the on-going value of a holiday, as opposed to the value placed on a terminal holiday. *Value* is also the last theme to be considered, and in conjunction to *nearer my God* is dealt with outside of Figure 8-1:. Both themes transcend the three forms of social capital within the family (Coleman 1988), in that the forms lead into value.

8.8 Value

Value as defined in this theme is the sense of worth, the accumulation of a social good that comes from a holiday, that is earned personally and collectively for the family unit. This value, personal to the family, may at some stage become a value in the plural sense, values, that will be evident within the community or society, but the theme of *value*, in this instance is a unique and individual worth to each family member and the family unit, (see section 7.3. value).

The fungible nature of value according to Coleman (1988, s, 98) that is within physical capital and human capital, is not fully realised in social capital within the family. The value generated cannot be easily exchanged for other forms of capital. Bourdieu (1986) concurs with Coleman in that the cultural capital earned is not readily transferable to economic capital. Cultural capital, most particularly in its embodied state, cannot be acquired, it has to be earned, through study for an academic qualification, or through time spent on the holiday. Time spent cultivating cultural capital, escapes observation (Bourdieu 1986, p. 254). To conclude, one could say that time is the unit of currency to measure embodied cultural capital

A quantifiable measure was not placed on the value of a holiday in this study. However, two approaches showed the movement of value of the holiday. Firstly, the ranking of the holiday compared to other activities within the year established its increasing or decreasing value. Secondly, the depletion of energy before the break, with the holiday recharging the batteries, demonstrates the restorative value of the holiday, which was observed in the qualitative work of tourist motivation (Crompton 1979).

Tomas and Katie [S.18 S.14] discuss the gradual increase in value the family holiday has gained over the years, as Christmas begins to lose its excitement. It is a time when all four of the family will be alone together. Valerie and Luke's [D. 14 S. 11] daughter discusses the increasing importance that the holiday has gained in recent years, and as a teenager this is particularly insightful, to spend time relaxing, and time with her family, at odds with Hilbrecht et al. (2008) research, where teenagers are depicted as wanting to spend more time with friends than with family. A counter view, that concurs with this research, is that indoor family leisure activities, were beneficial to

teenagers (Offer 2013). The value of a holiday was demonstrated through its increased importance in the yearly activities and its restorative nature, the ability to recharge one's batteries.

The final section will draw together all twelve themes and define family capital.

8.9 Definition of family capital

A multi-disciplinary approach, was used to interpret the twelve themes that were presented in the inductive analysis chapters, as shown in Figure 8-1:, with two themes, n*earer my God* and v*alue* considered separately. At times, this work supported current research, and at other instances presented new findings. This final section will commence with a definition of social capital, and building on the findings from earlier, family capital will be defined, drawing together the themes.

Adler and Kwon (2002) collated the various concepts, definitions, and general writings of social capital from a variety of disciplines and researchers including the writings of: (Granovetter 1983; Bourdieu 1986; Coleman 1988; Burt 2000; Putnam 2000; Portes 2014; Fukugama, 2018), whose work has featured elsewhere within this research. They developed a definition of social capital which is:

> '*Social capital is the goodwill available to individuals or groups. Its source lies in the structure and content of the actor's social relations. Its effects flow from the information, influence, and solidarity it makes available to the actor.'*
>
> (Adler and Kwon 2002, p. 23)

This definition encapsulates the concept of closure (Coleman, 1988), in the structure and content of social relations. Goodwill is a valuable resource and is defined as the sympathy, trust and forgiveness offered by friends (Adler and Kwon 2002, p. 18). Furstenberg and Kaplan (2004) discuss the stock of social goodwill in their definition of social capital, leaning on the obligations and expectations aspect of Coleman's (1988) definition, to define goodwill. In a system with high social capital, members feel obligated to respond to the needs of others (Furstenberg and Kaplan 2004). From an accounting discipline, goodwill is defined as the positive attributes of an intangible,

non-current asset, that lacks a clear and separate identity (Atrill and McLaney 2017, p. 515). Goodwill is an intangible, long-term asset with the value of social capital seen in the three forms of information, influence, and solidarity (Adler and Kwon 2002). Nevertheless goodwill, from a vernacular stance can be precisely defined as a "kindly feeling; heartiness" (OED 1969), which gives a sense of ambivalence, a level of uncertainty, in that it is by no means certain that kindly feelings might always be available. However, a resource can be defined as a stock or supply of assets that can be drawn upon by a person or organisation to function correctly, with Bubolz (2001, p. 129) seeing a resource as information that can be converted into specific forms, for attaining goals. There is certainty in the resource. If it exits, it can be drawn upon. It can be used.

The holiday provides the social setting in which family capital has been investigated through all life stages for middle income families and is now defined as:

> *Family capital is a resource existing within the relations between family members, developed over the course of a person's life, travelling with them from their family of orientation to their family of procreation.*

A family holiday is more than the benefits of travel (Lehto et al. 2012). It is immaterial as to whether you had a good or bad holiday. To divert for one moment, no family said they had a bad holiday, in keeping with the findings by Gram (2005, p. 17) that the holiday was not a failure. It is the value that is created "outside your usual environment" (UNWTO 2010), in a holiday setting that is important. It goes beyond wellness (Kroesen and Handy 2014) or quality of life (Uysal et al. 2016), it may add to those feelings, fleeting as they may be (de Bloom et al. 2010). It is the value, residual perhaps, that is generated with evidence from within the twelve themes of; *sacrifice, responsibility, traditions, travel companionship, passing the baton, memories, decision-making, technical knowledge, finding one's self and coalescing of perspectives, nearer my God, and value* analysed earlier.

The resource is multi-faceted, manifesting itself in many ways, with the p*assing of the baton* theme showing how the family can live through many life stages before they collectively see the value of the holiday. Generativity, the act of guiding the next

generation, observed in the theme of *memories*, illustrates the movement of family capital from family of orientation to family of procreation. The word "travelling" rather than "going" was used to capture aspects of tourism where this definition is grounded. Family capital is not static. It moves and evolves over the course of a person's life, which was observed in the theme of *finding one's self*, and in the *technical knowledge* theme, how experiences gained over the years of holidaying assists the family in having a safe break with teenagers. Finite holidaying which considers the theme of 'n*earer my God'* qualifies the definition by presuming that families will stay holidaying together in the short-term.

Families find the time to go on holidays because of the unique family capital generated. It is the value to each member of the family unit, earned individually and collectively, savoured and sampled by means of memories, individually and collectively. Space is created for the family outside their usual environment, and within a holiday setting, and a different but generally congenial atmosphere, the family can grow, bond, and embed further within that current life stage, family capital.

Just like investments, that rise and fall in value, family capital can also fluctuate, with a drain on capital resources experienced by parents in the full nest life stages as seen within the theme of *sacrifice*, and the Danish research of Johns and Gyimóthy (2002). Maintaining the investment analogy there are risks associated with investments, and Portes (1998) outlines the social control of dense networks, in which everyone is watching the activities of others, inhibiting the creativity and individualism of members. Adler and Kwon (2002) describe this risk as the overembeddedness within the group. Eyre and Eyre (2014) in their book on family life would counter this argument of individualism, with the need for greater commitment from the family. Suffice to say that not all resources are used to their greatest advantage at all times.

Family capital ought not to be quantified and should be seen in the metaphorical sense. Nevertheless, measuring social capital within the family is a concern of Furstenberg (2005). There are three levels of measurement of social capital; micro level, which is at a family setting, meso level is within the community, with macro level measurements within society at large. Different measurement scales are required for all three levels of social capital, and would be quite difficult to capture at a family level (Furstenberg 2005, p. 817). Using secondary data sources, various

measurements of social capital have been devised, with Carrillo-Álvarez, et al. (2019) developing a questionnaire to use with adolescents, to study family social capital. Returning to capital and its various forms, social capital is an asset, something of value, that cannot be measured, (Adler and Kwon 2002, p. 22).

Family capital is a unique resource to each family at each life stage and given the diversity of family structures would be very difficult to reliably measure. Even if a measurement of family capital could be universally established, mindful of family diversity, social class, culture and life stages, what benefits would accrue to a family knowing their value? Would a quantifiable value change behaviour? And if established hypothetically, that the family would benefit from taking less holidays, would the tourism industry want to know? Nonetheless, a measurement of family capital at a macro level, may be beneficial to policy makers within tourism, social, and economic disciplines. Creating webs of meaning, the fabric of social life, (Inglis 2014, p. 178) requires great skill, and families as agents of social change, (Harrington 2014; Trussell 2017) develop these skills, manifesting itself as family capital.

The analytical tool used to study families was the Wells and Gubar (1966) life cycle model. The focus was on the structure of the family through nine life stages. Strong families focus on the function, what they do, rather than the structure, (Defrain and Asay 2007a). There are strong single-parent families, stepfamilies, and all diversity of family types. This perspective of function, rather than structure, is in keeping with Coleman's research, in which traditional two parent families not invested in the child's upbringing, display less social capital within the family, than single-parent families, (Coleman 1988, s. 111).

In summation, family capital exists within the relations to one another (Coleman 1988, s. 100) and interviewing the full family unit together, the sense of this ephemeral value bouncing between the individuals can be seen in the extracts, most particularly, in the themes of *memories, passing the baton,* and *coalition of perspectives.* Alternatively, the full family interview with Valerie and Luke's [D. 14 S. 11] gives a sense of family capital, in their discussion of the family holiday (see Appendix 4).

8.10 Summary

The development of the concept and normative behaviour of holidaying, since the early 1900's were outlined, with the use of the archival data, and the participants interviews. Given the impact of tourist activities on the environment, a more responsible approach needs to be adopted, which may happen through the influential power of social norms on behaviour.

The themes that evolved from the inductive interpretation chapters were analysed, under the forms of social capital within the family (Coleman 1988). From the perspective of tourism, each theme was considered in relation to social capital, and the manner in which family capital is generated on holidays. Some of the findings were in line with current tourism literature, and other findings offered fresh insights into areas well-researched, within the discipline of tourism, in particular within the decision-making literature.

A definition of family capital, grounded in empirical research, encapsulating all twelve themes was presented, addressing the aim of this research, to explore the creation of family capital, through life stages for middle income families in the context of the Irish holiday.

Chapter nine, the next chapter will reflect on the aims and objectives of this research and conclude this work.

9 CONCLUSIONS

9.1 Introduction

The definition of family capital was developed in the previous chapter, building on the twelve themes from inductive interpretations. In this the concluding chapter, the findings will be synthesised further to present the conceptual conclusions

The seemingly simple question of what happens when you go away on holidays was the nub of this research. An innocuous question that you might assume had been established within the field of tourism. Tourism research has established that the benefits of a holiday are short-lived (de Bloom et al. 2010). Identifying the motivations to go away (Crompton 1979) opened up the field of study as to the reasons, holidays are taken. Decrop and Snelders (2004) looked at purchase behaviours and the extensively researched area of decision-making within tourism. Yet, for many, a holiday is a very important aspect of yearly activities with the commitment and effort involved not fully reflected in tourism research. This research analysed the activities and personal meanings of a holidays. Moving between the very narrow gap of sociology and psychology this research very simply wants to establish the significance of a holiday.

The research is nested within tourism, specifically the main holiday of four or more nights away (Failte Ireland 2021), excluding the short-break market, VFR, business tourism and the broader leisure market. Peeling back the extremes of wealth and poverty, the middle-income cohort are where the participants were sourced from. A natural boundary presented itself during the course of this study, with the field work taking place before the onset of the coronavirus disease, (COVID-19).

Within a social constructivist paradigm, a whole-family research methodology was employed to explore the holiday. From within the discipline of sociology, adopting the theoretical lens of social capital within the family (Coleman 1988), and using a life cycle model (Wells and Gubar 1966), the research objectives were achieved. Further details of how the research was designed and undertaken are outlined in the

next section where the research objectives are summarised. The overall aim of this study is to:

Explore the creation of family capital through life stages for middle income families in the context of the Irish holiday.

There are five objectives in total, with the first four addressed in the next section and the final objective dealt with separately. Table 9-1: will add a visual summary to this last objective. This will lead into the conceptual conclusions, where again an illustration, Figure 9-2: will be utilised to conceptualise family capital through life stages. A slow and steady march onwards through the classic structure of a doctoral thesis proceeds with the theoretical, methodological, and practical contributions to knowledge. Intriguing possibilities at a micro and macro level are considered under the areas for further research. Final reflections and the summary will conclude the chapter.

9.2 Research objectives

An important feature of this research was to situate the work, the definition of family capital within a historical context, (Mills 2000). This analysis was expanded further as "concepts can scarcely be invented independent of context" (Kuhn 1996, p. 142). Armed with this knowledge and support,

The first objective of this research is:

Contextualise and conceptualise holidays in Ireland.

The historical context is not the history of society, or the chronological history of Ireland, but more specifically the history of holidaying. It is the activity of going on holidays, the understanding of a holiday at an individual level that is being explored in this objective. It is an important task to establish the phenomena of holidaying from what did not exist, an unawareness (Crompton 1992), to a ubiquitous experience for modern Irish society. Chapter five addresses this first objective by presenting the broad historical context and the oral history accounts of holiday experiences from that timeframe.

The chapter begins with a definition of the VFR market and its importance to the flow of tourism in and out of Ireland. Then extracts from the *Life Histories and Social Change Project* (LHSC), that refer to holidaying within a particular decade (Gray et al. 2008), shape the chapter over the nine decades from the 1920's to 2007. The concept of a holiday gradually unfolds, with Patricia's account from the 1970's particularly illuminating, on this exact point, (see section 5.9. Ireland in the 1970's). These extracts give an understanding of a holiday at a personal level throughout the twentieth century.

The second objective of this research is:

Outline the influences that shape the modern family in Ireland.

The purpose of this objective was to present a current view of life in Ireland. A sense of the standards that influence the lives of Irish people was analysed in chapter three. Within this area, the diminishing influence of religion, the importance of sport, and the constitutional changes of recent years, reflect a society that is adapting and changing to life at the end of the second decade of the twenty-first century.

This chapter gives an awareness of life in Ireland which was an important analytical tool to possess, when reading the extracts within the inductive analyse chapters. An understanding of the participants voice (Watts 2014) is a criteria of qualitative research. With a 'sense of Irishness', the validity of the inductive analysis findings could be considered, within the context of modern life in Ireland.

The third objective of the research is:

Identify and categorise middle income families within a life cycle model.

The challenge with investigating family capital for middle income families, is the manner in which one obtains a sample that reflects the middle-income cohort of Irish life. The Wells and Gubar (1966) life cycle model was adopted, and with its nine life stages provided the structure through which families could be categorised. It was a powerful analytical tool, as holiday experiences at early life stages when participants were young and single, were reflected back at later life stages. The depth of insights captured by studying just one phenomena, holidays, through the entire life course gave a rigour and robustness to this study. Three families at each life stage were

interviewed, and with nine life stages that gave a total of twenty-seven interviews. The life stages model was unable to capture the full complexity of Irish demographics. Nevertheless, Table 4-2: gives a sample of families within each stage of the model, within the particular stratification of middle income.

The fourth objective of the research is:

Investigate family capital through the stages of the life cycle model in the context of the main holiday.

The earlier objectives have completed the groundwork for this research. The core of the study is contained within this objective. Informed with the history and the features of Ireland, the researcher was now primed to investigate. The investigation was a two stage process using inductive and deductive analysis. The workload for the inductive analysis was divided into two chapters in part, due to the cumbersome nature of handling twenty-seven transcripts all together. The experiences of families with children, the three full nest stages, were considered within chapter seven. The remaining transcripts were considered in chapter six. Twelve themes were established, six from within each chapter.

The theoretical underpinnings of this study come from within the discipline of sociology, in particular the work of Coleman. In his research, the concept of social capital within the family was used in education, to examine the drop-out rates from high school (Coleman 1988). Using the structure of his work, the themes that evolved from the inductive interpretations were examined. Drawing from various disciplines, the deductive analysis chapter provides a definition of family capital encapsulating all twelve themes. The conceptual findings below will consider further the definiton and themes.

The final objective, the family capital experiences within each of the nine life stages will be outlined separately in the next section.

9.3 Family capital experiences within each life stage

The fifth and final objective of the research is:

Ascertain the family capital experiences of the holiday for the family unit within each life stage.

This final objective reorientates the work accomplished to illustrate the family capital experiences at each life stage. Twelve themes were established across the nine life stages of the Wells and Gubar (1966) life cycle model. Some themes were unique to one particular life stage, and other themes were more fluid in that they were apparent across various stages. A brief description of themes to the life stages is described with Table 9-1: below giving a visual summary of this objective.

Finding one's self was a theme evident in various stages of the life cycle model but predominately in the first, bachelor stage. The holiday provided space, as a catalyst for change (Kirillova et al. 2017). At the second life stage, the individuals of earlier come together to form the closed structure of a family unit (Coleman 1988). The shared social norms of holidaying are being established at this stage, and are apparent in the theme *coalescing of perspectives*.

The theme of *sacrifice* was evident in the first full nest stage, where the youngest child is under six years of age. The obligation to modify holidays to suit the needs of young children was in keeping with the findings of Johns and Gyimóthy (2002). Creating memories is a function of the holiday (Kelly 2020), and is a theme strongly associated with the full nest II stage of the life cycle. Children have an influence on holiday activities (Hay 2017). The pressure to provide a novel new experience falls back on the parents, and was a theme evident in the full nest III stage, where families have older teenagers in the household. *Decision-making* and *technical knowledge* were the themes at this life stage.

The two themes of *passing the baton* and *traditions* link directly to the information channels form of social capital within the family (Coleman 1988), and were evident at the empty nest I stage of the life cycle. The art of holidaying passing down through the generations, illustrates the concept of families acting as agents of social change (Trussell 2017). *Value* as defined in this theme is the sense of worth, the accumulation

of social good that comes from a holiday, and is not fungible and easily converted into other forms of capital. *Nearer my God* is a phrase, and the theme that encapsulates the finite nature of holidaying, and coupled with the theme of *value* was most evident at the second empty nest stage. Older couples are more aware of the finite nature of life. The value and significance of the holiday has changed, as they may not have many more holidays together.

Responsibility is dynamic in a family moving from adults in the early years to the children in later life stages. The duty of responsibility, the sense of obligation conferred, moves back and forth across the generations, parents at one moment responsible for their children, and then the role reversing with children becoming aware of their responsibilities. The theme has traits similar to the theme of *sacrifice* with the holiday providing the setting for this manifestation. The travel companions of youth are a resource that can be drawn upon at a later life stage (Hagan et al. 2020), and the theme of *travel companionship* is most related with the final life stage.

Table 9-1: below, outlines the themes most associated with the family unit within each life stage. On the left of the figure are the life stages displayed using Roman numerals, with the central column describing the life stage, (Wells and Gubar 1966, p. 362). Finally, on the right-hand side of the figure are the themes predominate within that stage.

Table 9-1: Life cycle model with themes

(Amended from Wells and Gubar 1966, p. 362)

Life Stage	Description	Theme
I	Bachelor stage; young single people not living at home	Finding one's self
II	Newly married couples; young, no children	Coalescing of perspectives
III	Full nest I; youngest child under six	Sacrifice
IV	Full nest II; youngest child six or over six	Memories
V	Full nest III; older married couples with dependent children	Technical knowledge/ Decision-making
VI	Empty nest I; older married couples, no children living with them, head in labour force	Passing the baton/ Traditions
VII	Empty nest II; older married couples, no children living at home, head retired	Value/ Nearer my God
VIII	Solitary survivor, in labour force	Responsibility
IX	Solitary survivor, retired	Travel companionship

The summaries above outline how the five objectives of this research have been achieved. When presented in this format the cyclical nature of life is illustrated with the theme of *'Finding one's self'* most evident in the bachelor stage, the first life stage, appearing again in the final life stage, of solitary survivor, retired. This empirical work established further conceptual findings which will be outline in the next section conceptual conclusions.

9.4 Conceptual conclusions

The conceptual framework, which was illustrated in chapter two, is re-illustrated below in Figure 9-1:, (see section 2.5 exploring holidays in the creation of family capital). To briefly recap, the icons on the left-hand side depict the families through

various life stages going on holidays. The shape in the centre of the illustration represents the holiday. The arrow leading from it points to the bucket and spade depicting the family capital generated on the holiday. At the bottom of the diagram is a directional arrow to show the iterative nature of the holiday. It is not a loop as each holiday is different, providing another opportunity to generate family capital.

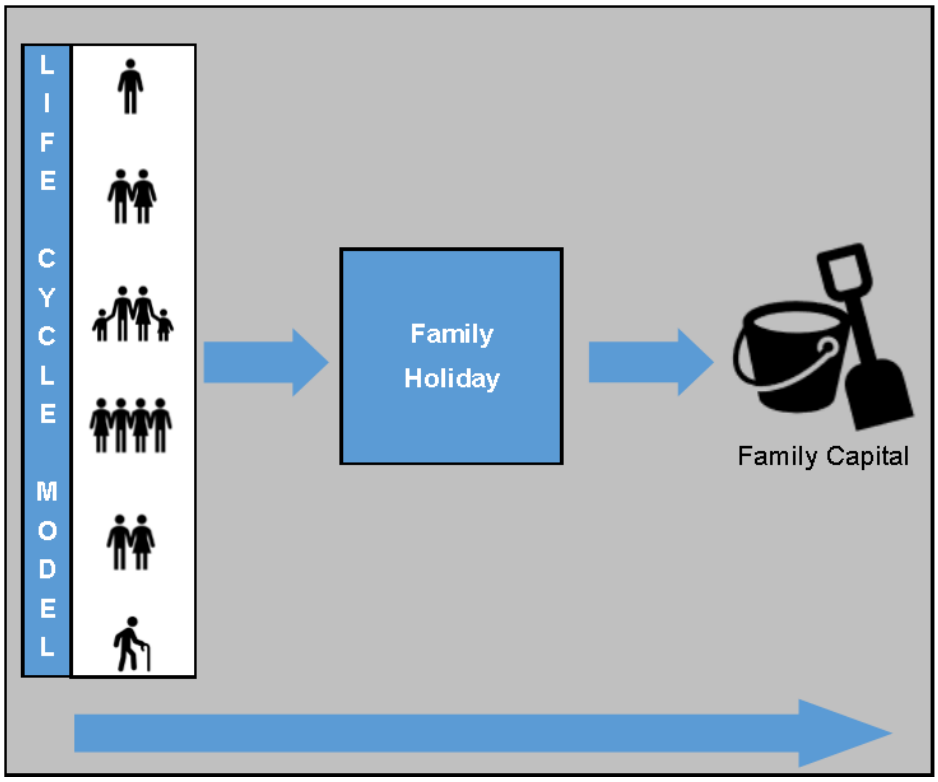


Figure 9-1: Conceptual Framework

This framework provides the basis for the development of the conceptual conclusions as illustrated below in Figure 9-2: titled; Conceptualisation of family capital through life stages.

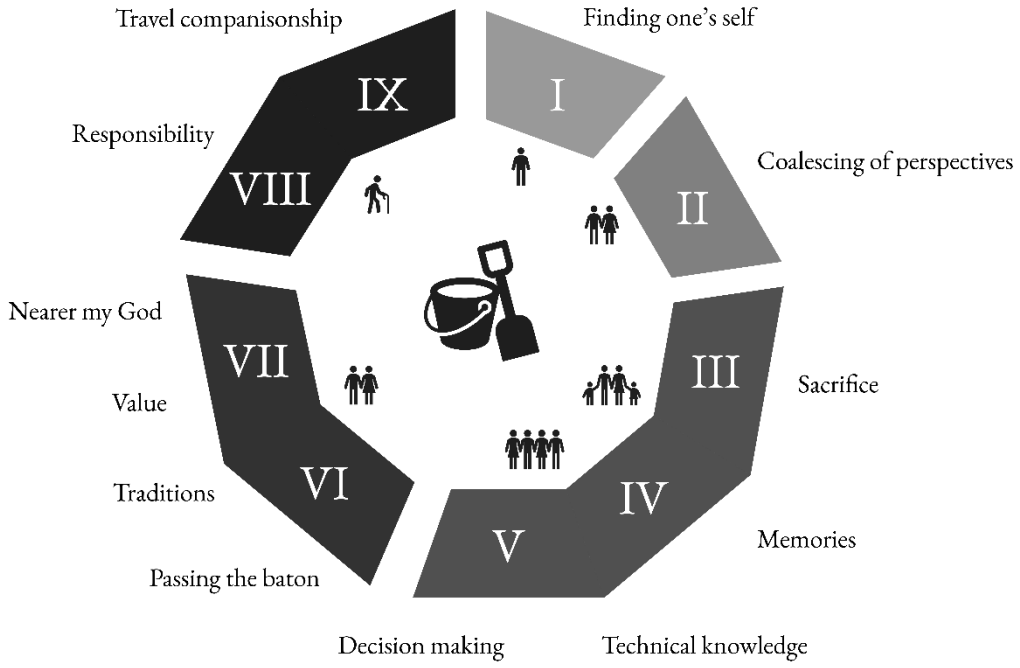


Figure 9-2: Conceptualisation of family capital through life stage

The bucket and spade from the conceptual framework has now moved to the centre of Figure 9-2:. The icons representing the families through life stages are located around the outside of the bucket and spade, close to the stages of the Wells and Gubar (1966) life cycle model. The stages of the model are illustrated by Roman numerals. The twelve themes from the inductive analysis are on the outside of the diagram. The themes are broadly in line with the life stages and are a re-illustration of Table 9-1: (see section 9.3. family capital experiences within each life stage).

However, take a second look at the conceptual framework, and you see a clockface with Roman numerals representing time. Within that clockface is space. Moving away from daily life, and within the liminal space of the holiday, in which metaphorically speaking the families denoted by the icons take a holiday. Family capital is generated. This is a resource that the family acquire individually and collectively, symbolised by the bucket and spade. The handle on the bucket allows this resource, family capital, to be carried by the individual as they progress through life. This conceptualisation of family capital through the illustration can be theoretically expressed as follows:

> *Family capital is a resource existing within the relations between family members, developed over the course of a person's life, travelling with them from their family of orientation to their family of procreation.*

Now take a closer look at the icons within the clockface. Starting at the top, the single icon represents the first life stage. The influences of childhood, the cultural capital acquired at this point (Bourdieu 1986), assists the individual at the bachelor stage, find themselves. Moving in a clockwise direction, the couple at the second stage are holding hands, illustrating that capital exists within the relations between them (Coleman 1988). In the third icon representing the full nest stage, the parents' hands go down to hold the children, illustrating the concept of families acting as agents of social change (Trussell 2017). The older children shown as the same size as the parents, demonstrate the predominately democratic nature of decision-making at this life stage (Ashraf and Khan 2016; Cheng et al. 2019). The fifth icon depicting the older married couple, are aware of the finite nature of the opportunities to take a holiday, and see ahead the solitary survivor. The final icon, sees the older person with a walking stick, still holidaying. With visual clarity, one can now fully comprehend the phrase by Henry who after fifty years of marriage, and now over a year on his own holidaying hasn't *'found my niche on holidays yet'*. He has lived through six life stages with his wife, building family capital.

Henry's account of holidaying at the final life stage neatly demonstrates that the diagram, the clockface could be folded in half, on the vertical axis. Henry's inability to find his niche on holidays is considered under the theme of *'Finding one's self'*, which is a theme of the first life stage. The bachelor of the early twenties returns to that stage again in solitary survivor. The skills sets of youth will be reused or adapted in old age. This logic can equally be applied to other life stages. The empty nest stage could be seen as a return to stage two, that is newly married couples. The full nest stages can also be folded back on themselves according to Sarah, with the best time to holiday with children, at the *Full nest II; youngest child six or over six,* when she says '*this is the honeymoon period now. No teenagers, no nappies.'* This is not a phenomena unique to holidaying, life returning back on itself. The experiences of the right-hand side of Figure 9-2: represented by themes will be somewhat reflected in

the left-hand side themes. This was demonstrated with the themes of s*acrifice* and *responsibility* in chapter eight, (see section 8.3 obligations and expectations). Nevertheless, the impact of researching one aspect of life, holidaying, through all life stages will be considered in the next section, contribution to knowledge.

9.5 Contribution to knowledge

Contributions from a variety of disciplines including sociology, marketing, philosophy, accountancy, and tourism itself, coalesce towards the development of new knowledge at the forefront of tourism. Within this nascent discipline, the creation of new knowledge will deepen researchers understanding, and increase awareness of the phenomena of holidaying. The discipline of tourism has advanced with "the field no longer looking the same" (Kuhn 1996, p. 83). This advancement of tourism research can be considered under the three broad areas of theoretical, methodological, and practical contributions. Each area will be considered individually, commencing with the theoretical contributions.

9.5.1 Theoretical contribution to knowledge

From the discipline of sociology, the theoretical underpinnings of social capital were utilised in tourism to define family capital. This definition of family capital within a holiday setting builds on the work of Coleman (1988) and Adler and Kwon (2002). It provides theoretical knowledge within the discipline of tourism. The definition of family capital has been accepted into the forthcoming *Encyclopedia of Tourism Management and Marketing*, (see Appendix 6).

Using analytical tools from marketing and sociology, an effective research strategy was implemented. This plan generated new knowledge by investigating family capital, which was then conceptualised. The conceptual conclusions of Figure 9-2: is a concise visual representation of holidaying through life stages, and a journal article is being prepared for the *Annals of Tourism Research*, (see Appendix 6).

This empirical research, using latent thematic analysis has extended the forefront of the discipline of tourism, by providing twelve themes that at times offer fresh insights into areas of holidaying that have been extensively researched, and on other occasions new and subtle findings. Within the theme of *decision-making*, it was shown that destination choice, specifically, at the latter end of the full nest family stage, is not as democratic a decision, as the literature would suggest. Further research is required, to investigate the strategies used by parents, to entice their adult children to stay participating in the family holiday. The theme of *technical knowledge* provides a subtle but pertinent finding, in that the specific skills required in holidaying are built up over time, and last a lifetime. This knowledge, unique to the family, is developed with each rendition, every holiday adding to the family member's understanding of how to holiday.

Sketching the development of normative holiday behaviour over the last century, provides insights, which may be utilised by researchers, in the use of peer pressure to change behaviour. As tourists, we need to become more accountable for our actions, which is a key strand in the promotion of Responsible Tourism (Goodwin 2016).

Within an Irish context, family holiday research has been advanced, specifically within the middle-income cohort of society.

A knowledge gap in the history of tourism has now been filled with the analysis of oral history accounts through the twentieth century, which has added a contextual understanding of holidays. A submission is being prepared for the *Journal of Tourism History* (see Appendix 6). Furthermore, this study of archival work in chapter five has made methodological contributions which will now be considered.

9.5.2 Methodological contribution to knowledge

The oral history extracts taken from the *Life History and Social Change* records (Gray et al. 2008), provides a comprehensive understanding from an individual perspective of holidaying. The concept of a holiday gradually unfolds over the years, with the holiday embedded within the context of daily life in Ireland. Slowly, as the decades progress the individual understanding of a holiday is revealed. This research displays

its methodological contribution to knowledge by grounding a phenomena within its historical context. The use of life histories demonstrates their value in revealing the meaning of a phenomena, and their ability to be an important "sociological tool" (Faraday and Plummer 1979, p. 796).

A whole family methodology provides a useful understanding of the phenomena of holidaying through all of life stages. The experiences of youth were at times reflected back in old age, with the merits of holidaying seen across an entire life span. To study a family, as a full unit, everyone together, through all of life stages is an effective methodological tool, enabling a deeper and broader understanding of family experiences (Handel 1996). Future tourism researchers could adopt this approach, with the potential to improve research into family holidays.

The supply side of tourism, collectively known as the tourism industry, benefit albeit indirectly from a practical contribution to knowledge, and is the final area to be considered.

9.5.3 Practical contribution to knowledge

The practical contributions to knowledge can be divided into two broad areas of physical space and data archives.

9.5.3.1 Physical space as a concept

Space was a key conceptual pillar within this research in the sense that the holiday affords space for the household to generate family capital. The providers of tourism products, the accommodation, the attractions may consider space in the sense that families have an area within the attraction or accommodation to have some private time. Space is more than the required volume of national quality assurance schemes, of specific square meterage per tourist. It is the extra seating area in the gardens, the discreet alcove, where family members can quietly sit and have time to relax and communicate. Away from daily life and equally, away from the public seating areas

of the product, somewhere quiet that the worries of life, the issues of the day, their day can be reflected upon. It may not be commodified, but that space may provide a more meaningful experience for the family.

Secondly, and related to the point above, destination marketing managers could capture the concept of space in which the family can be themselves, and market an image of the destination providing space, a quiet time for a family. The use of archival data provides a theoretical, methodological, and finally, a practical contribution which will now be considered.

9.5.3.2 Contributing to data archive

The families have given specific written consent in the Participant Agreement Form, for their transcript to be archived, and used by the Irish Qualitative Data Archive, (see Appendix 5). These twenty-seven transcripts will in time be fully anonymised and submitted to the archive, thus offering to the research community, holiday research captured just before the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic. Fresh insights to holidaying may be revealed, with a reuse of the data.

9.6 Further research

Nearer my God was a theme established at the empty nest stage of the life cycle. It encapsulated the finite nature of holidaying, with the couples gaining an understanding that they may not have many more holidays together. The theme gathered further traction at the final life stages, with the issues of holidaying alone, which was an aspect of the theme of *travel companionship*. Social tourism researchers looking at holiday participation for older individuals, could perhaps consider taking their research back to the middle years, the empty nest stages, and explore behavioural changes at this life stage, to increase participation at later life stages. Collaborative work with researchers in the area of social tourism could offer

fresh perspectives on loneliness, which was noted in a previous chapter as a global public health issue (Savage et al. 2020; Park et al. 2021).

Family capital was defined and conceptualised within a holiday setting. Holidays are a form of balance leisure (Zabriskie and McCormick 2001) with core leisure activities the daily routine leisure of watching television or playing board games. An investigation of family capital within core leisure activities may consolidate the definition of family capital across all forms of leisure. This could be viewed as a horizontal form of integration of the definition.

The Central Statistics Office (CSO) in Ireland conducts national statistical work regarding the population of Ireland, with the Quarterly National Household Survey (QNHS) providing in-depth information on labour force estimates. In conjunction with statistical work on employment, social topics relevant to the nation are also investigated when conducting the QNHS. It is within this area of special modules, that aspects of family capital could be considered. This is not quite blue skies thinking as in September 2018, at a national event, I had an informal conversation regarding this holiday research with staff from the CSO. Once the doctorate has been earned, I will contact the tourism department within the CSO to progress this opportunity. This could be regarded as vertical integration of the definition taking it to a macro level.

The *Life History and Social Change* archive (Gray et al. 2008), could be revisited to gain an individual perspective of other aspects of life in Ireland throughout the twentieth century. It is a sustainable source of research material in that you are reusing research already available.

As noted earlier, the primary research took place before the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic. The archiving of the transcripts will offer a practical contribution to knowledge, which will be explored from a different ontological perspective now that humanity has lived through more than a year of a world pandemic. Reading the anonymised transcripts sometime in the future may capture a movement of attitudes to family life and holidays. Finally, in relation to the pandemic, the supply side of tourism has suffered greatly, and is only beginning to reopen, with full recovery some considerable time in the future. The demand for tourism seems to be buoyant, but will this be maintain, or will the constant threat of further lockdowns with new virus variants, erode confidence to holiday. Time will tell.

Four exciting avenues of further research, and the influence of the pandemic on the tourism industry have been considered, with the final area reflecting on the PhD journey to-date.

9.7 Reflections

The creation of new knowledge and the demonstration of academic resilience are the two main learning outcomes of a doctoral degree. The previous sections have described the creation of new knowledge with academic resilience by far the more intriguing outcome. Here, the researcher must demonstrate their ability to deal with complex issues in a coherent manner with grace and fortitude. Described in different ways, academic resilience will now be considered.

In June 2018, I was advised that the success of a doctorate is the ability to keep a record of your decision-making. This could be described as knowing why you pursued certain courses of action, tiptoed around some incendiary areas, and positively barred other areas from the research. What is being described here is the ability to question your actions. Often this is stated as defending your actions, but defence is a negative word. A much more embracing concept is questioning, as sometimes you are wrong, maybe not correct might be softer way to say this. However, it is not how incorrect you are, or how off course the red herring led you, but the ability to adjust, manoeuvre and move on. The constant adjusting of the research to remain on course was fairly automatic. However an example might just clarify this point. The literature review was completed some years ago, but the feedback suggested taking out all of the research dealing with Ireland, and having two chapters, one for theoretical perspectives, and the second chapter solely reviewing the current environment in Ireland. This was taken on board and the work was adjusted. The logic of separating out the literature made each chapter more coherent. This train of thought was then reutilised with the data analysis, breaking it into two areas of inductive and deductive analysis giving a greater depth of enquiry to the work. The ability to assimilate the feedback, adjust the research, and reuse that form of thinking demonstrates academic resilience.

The attainment of a doctoral degree is described as a journey by various academics. This is a useful analogy, but perhaps the journey should be seen as a car travelling in the dark of night. Travelling along in your own little bubble, and the headlights suddenly go out. Not a notion where you are going, yet travelling at speed. Stay going. Don't look back. Round a bend, the lights come on, and you are on the correct side of the road. Sometimes you just have to go with the flow of the work, not the definition of flow by (Csikszentmihalyi et al. 2018) engrossed in the work, but more let the work evolve. Starting the first inductive analysis chapter, and letting the participants speak, strongly recommended by Watts (2014), not knowing how the chapter will develop, described as "grappling with your material" (Charmaz 2014, p. 180). Suddenly the concept of time evolves, depicting a fundamental aspect of the holiday, and you are on the correct side of the road. A complex and unpredictable body of work, when dealing with multiple transcripts that develop into chapters, addressing the objectives of the research, demonstrates doctoral standards.

The summary will draw this chapter, and the final stretch of the written aspects of the doctoral degree journey to a close.

9.8 Summary

The concluding chapter of this research illustrated the creation of knowledge at the forefront of the discipline of tourism. The chapter commenced with a restatement of the aim of the thesis and proceeded with a summary of how each of the first four objectives were achieved. The fifth objective was addressed separately, and by the use of Table 9-1: it displayed the family capital experiences of the holiday within each life stage. Evolving from the conceptual framework, the conceptual conclusions were illustrated in Figure 9-2:, drawing together the five objectives of this research. The conceptualisation of family capital through life stages was theoretically expressed by the definition of family capital. Theoretical, methodological, and practical contributions to knowledge were outlined. Areas of further research showed the potential vertical and horizontal integration of family capital concepts, within the disciplines of tourism and leisure. Personal reflections concluded the chapter.

It is at this stage that the final task remaining must now be considered. In chapter one in his study of tourist motivations Crompton (1979) advised that we do not know why people go on holidays. Over forty years later, McKercher et al. (2021) raised a similar question, as to the behaviour of tourists. Why they do the things that they do. As researchers we are still scratching the surface as to the intent of tourist behaviour. However, families know. They go on holidays to generate family capital.

Enjoy holidays.

References

Abercrombie, N., Hill. S. and Turner, B. S., 2000. *The penguin dictionary of sociology.* 4th edition. London: Penguin Books.

Adler, P. S. and Kwon, S., 2002. Social capital: prospects for a new concept. *Academy of Management Review,* 27 (1), 17-40.

Arensberg, C. M. and Kimball, S. T., 2001. *Family and community in Ireland.* 3rd edition. Ireland, Clasp Press.

Ashraf, M. and Khan, K. M., 2016. Adolescents' role in family decision-making for services in India. *Young Consumers*, 17 (4), 388-403.

Atkinson, W., 2007. Beck, individualization and the death of class: a critique. *The British Journal of Sociology,* 58 (3), 349- 366.

Atrill, P. and McLaney, E., 2017. *Accounting and finance for non-specialists.* 10th edition. Harlow: Pearson.

Bacik, I., 2013. The Irish constitution and gender politics: developments in the law on abortion. *Irish Political Studies,* 28 (3), 380-398.

Backer, E., 2007. VFR travel: an examination of the expenditures of VFR travellers and their hosts. *Current Issues in Tourism,* 10 (4), 366-377.

Backer, E., 2012. Investigating the 'family life cycle' model in tourism. *In:* Schänzel, H., Yeoman, I. and Backer, E., eds. *Family tourism: multidisciplinary perspectives.* Bristol: Channel View, 156-170.

Backer, E. and Lynch, D., 2016. Understanding the proclivity of visiting friends and relatives (VFR) travel across family life cycle stages in Australia. *International Journal of Tourism Research,* 19, 447-454.

Backer, E. and Schänzel, H., 2012. The stress of the family holiday. *In:* Schänzel, H., Yeoman, I. and Backer, E., eds. *Family tourism: multidisciplinary perspectives.* Bristol: Channel View, 105-124.

Bartoletti, S. C., 2001. *Black potatoes: the story of the Great Irish Famine,* 1845-1850. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company.

Beck, U., 2007. Beyond class and nation: reframing social inequalities in a globalizing world. *The British Journal of Sociology,* 58 (4), 679-705.

Beck, U., 2013. Why 'class' is too soft a category to capture the explosiveness of social inequality at the beginning of the twenty-first century. *The British Journal of Sociology,* 64 (1), 63-74.

Begley, I., 2017. Population growth is highest in nine years. *Irish Independent* [online], 29 September 2017. Available from: http://www.independent.ie/irish-news/population-growth-is-highest-in-nine-years-36179997.html [Accessed 03 June 2021].

Belch, G. E., Ceresino, G. and Belch, M. A., 1985. Parental and teenage child influences on family decision making. *Journal of Business Research,* 13, 163-176.

Bernini, C. and Cracolici, M. F., 2015. Demographic change, tourism expenditure and life cycle behaviour. *Tourism Management,* 47, 191-205.

Bilton, T., Bonnett, K., Jones, P., Lawson, T., Skinner, D., Stanworth, M. and Webster, A., 2002. *Introductory sociology*. 4th edition. U.K.: Palgrave Macmillan.

Blackshaw, T. and Long, J., 2005. What's the big idea? A critical exploration of the concept of social capital and its incorporation into leisure policy discourse. *Leisure Studies,* 24 (3), 239-258.

Blichfeldt, B. S., Pedersen, B. M., Johansen, A. and Hansen, L., 2011. Tweens on holidays. *In-situ* decision-making from children's perspective. *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism,* 11 (2), 135-149.

Bloomer, F. and O'Dowd, K., 2014. Restricted access to abortion in the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland: exploring abortion tourism and barriers to legal reform. *Culture, Health & Sexuality,* 16 (4), 366-380.

Bojanic, D. C., 1992. A look at a modernized family life cycle and overseas travel. *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing,* 1 (1), 61-77.

Bojanic, D. C., 2011. The impact of age and family life experiences on Mexican visitor shopping expenditures. *Tourism Management,* 32, 406-414.

Bourdieu, P., 1986. The forms of capital. *In:* Richardson, J., ed. *Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education.* Westport, CT: Greenwood, 241-58.

Braun, V. and Clarke, V., 2006. Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology,* 3, 77-101.

Brennan, J., 2017. Luxembourg to support Irish appeal over Apple tax ruling. *Irish Times,* [online], 28 March 2017. Available from: http://www.irishtimes.com/business/economy/luxembourg-to-support-irish-appeal-over-apple-tax-ruling-1.3026878 [Accessed 03 June 2021].

Bronner, F. and de Hoog, R., 2008. Agreement and disagreement in family vacation decision-making. *Tourism Management,* 29, 967-979.

Brown, L., 2013. Tourism: a catalyst for existential authenticity. *Annals of Tourism Research,* 40, 176-190.

Brown, T., 1985. *Ireland a social and cultural history. 1922-1985*. Glasgow: Fontana Press.

Bubolz, M. M., 2001. Family as source, user, and builder of social capital. *The Journal of Socio-Economics,* 30, 129-131.

Burt, R. S., 2000. The network structure of social capital. *Research in Organizational Behaviour,* 22, 345-423.

Canosa, A., 2018. 'Mummy, when are we getting to the fields?' Doing fieldwork with three children. *In:* Porter, B. A. and Schänzel, H. A., eds. *Femininities in the field, tourism and transdisciplinary research.* Bristol: Channel View, 170-184.

Carlson, A., 2009. The natural family in an unnatural world. *Australian Family,* 30 (1), 4-14.

Carr, N., 2011. *Children's and families' holiday experiences.* London: Routledge.

Carrillo-Álvareza, E., Kawachi, I. and Riera-Romaní, J., 2017. Family social capital and health – a systematic review and redirection. *Sociology of Health and Illness*, 39 (1), 5-29.

Carrillo-Álvareza, E., Villalonga-Olives, E., Riera-Romaní, J. and Kawachi I., 2019. Development and validation of a questionnaire to measure family social capital. *SSM – Population Health*, 8, 1-10.

Carswell, S., 2017. Citizens' Assembly: reaction from both sides of abortion debate. *Irish Times* [online], 23 April 2017. Available from: http://www.irishtimes.com/news/ireland/irish-news/citizens-assembly-reaction-from-both-sides-of-abortion-debate-1.3058645 [Accessed 03 June 2021].

CEDAW, 2017. Policy, United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), *One Family* [online]. Dublin 7: Cherish Ltd. Available from: https://onefamily.ie/policy/policy-united-nations-convention-on-the-elimination-of-all-forms-of-discrimination-against-women-cedaw/ Accessed 03 June 2021].

Central Statistics Office, 2017. *8. Religion* [online]. Dublin: Stationery Office. Available from: http://www.cso.ie/en/media/csoie/releasespublications/documents/population/2017/Chapter_8_Religion.pdf [Accessed 01 June 2021].

Central Statistics Office, 2017b. *Press statement census 2016 results profile 4 – households and families* [online]. Dublin Stationery Office. Available from: https://www.cso.ie/en/csolatestnews/pressreleases/2017pressreleases/pressstatementcensus2016resultsprofile4-householdsandfamilies/ [Accessed 31 May 2021].

Central Statistics Office, 2017c. *Census 2016 Sapmap area Theme 4: Families, Families by family cycle* [online]. Dublin: Stationery Office. Available from:http://census.cso.ie/sapmap2016/Results.aspx?Geog_Type=S&Geog_Code=S#SAPMAP_T4_450 [Accessed 03 June 2021].

Central Statistics Office, 2017d. *Appendices, Appendix No 8. Social classes – list of constituent occupations* [online]. Dublin Stationery Office. Available

from:https://www.cso.ie/en/media/csoie/newsevents/documents/census2016summaryresultspart2/Appendices.pdf [Accessed 17 August 2021].

Central Statistics Office, 2020. *Household travel survey* [online]. Dublin Stationery Office. Available from: https://www.cso.ie/en/releasesandpublications/er/hts/householdtravelsurveyquarter4andyear2019/ [Accessed 09 June 2021].

Central Statistics Office 2021. *Census 2021 Postponement FAQ* [online]. Dublin Stationery Office. Available from: https://www.cso.ie/en/census/census2021postponementfaq/ [Accessed 28 May 2021].

Charmaz, K., 2014. *Constructing grounded theory.* 2nd edition. London: Sage.

Chen, C. and Chen Y., 2018. Income source effect on retiree's tourism behaviour. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 68, 4-6.

Chen, S. C. and Shoemaker, S., 2014. Age and cohort effects: the American senior tourism market. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 48, 58-75.

Chen, Y., Lehto, X. Y. and Liping, C., 2013. Vacation and well-being: a study of Chinese tourists. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 42, 284-310.

Cheng, I-F., Su, C-J., Liao, H-H., Lorgnier, N., Lebrun, A-M., Yen, W-S., Lan, Y-F. and Huang, Y., 2019. Adolescents' perceptions of mother-father dominance in family vacation decisions: a 25-society study. *Springer Nature*, 13, 755-778.

Cheong, Y. S. and Sin, H. L., 2019. Going on holiday only to come home: making happy families in Singapore. *Tourism Geographies*, 1-22.

Choi, H. Y., Lehto, X. and Brey, E.T., 2011. Investigating resort loyalty: impacts of the family life cycle. *Journal of Hospitality Marketing & Management*, 20, 121-141.

Chung, J. Y. and Simpson, S., 2020. Social tourism for families with a terminally ill parent. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 84, 1-3.

Clancy, P., O'Connor, N. and Dillon, K., 2010. *TASC Mapping the golden circle.* [online]. Dublin: Spectrum Print.

Clear, C., 2007. *Social change and everyday life in Ireland, 1850-1922*. Manchester: University Press.

Cohen, E., 1979. A phenomenology of tourist experiences. *Sociology,* 13 (2), 179-201.

Coleman, J. S., 1988. Social capital in the creation of human capital. *American Journal of Sociology, Vol 94, Supplement: Organizations and Institutions: Sociological and Economic Approaches to the Analysis of Social Structure*, S 95-120.

Conway, B., 2011. The vanishing Catholic priest. *Contexts,* 10 (2), 64-65.

Corcoran, M., 2012. Society, space and the public realm: beyond gated individualism. *Irish Journal of Sociology,* 20 (1), 1-18.

Craib, I., 1997. *Classical social theory, an introduction to the thought of Marx, Weber, Durkheim, and Simmel.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Creswell, J. W., 2013. *Qualitative inquiry and research design, choosing among five approaches.* 3rd edition. London: Sage Publications.

Creswell, J. W. and Poth, C. N., 2018. *Qualitative inquiry and research design: choosing among five approaches.* 4th edition. London: Sage Publications.

Crick, M., 1989. Representations of international tourism in the social sciences: sun, sex, sights, savings, and servility. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 18, 307-344.

Crompton, J. L., 1979. Motivations for pleasure vacation. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 6 (4), Oct/Dec, 408-424.

Crompton, J. L., 1981. Dimensions of the social group role in pleasure vacations. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 8 (4), 550-568.

Crompton, J., 1992. Structure of vacation destination choice sets. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 19, 420-434.

Csikszentmihalyi, M., Montijo, M. N. and Mouton, A. R., 2018. Flow theory: optimizing elite performance in the creative realm. *In:* Pfeiffer, S. I., Shaunessy-Dedrick, E. and Foley-Nicpon, M., Eds. *APA handbook of giftedness and talent.* Washington, DC, USA: American Psychological Association, 215- 229.

Dann, G., 1977. Anomie, ego-enhancement and tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research,* IV (4), 184-194.

Davies, K. M., 1993. For health and pleasure in the British fashion: Bray, Co. Wicklow, as a tourist resort, 1750-1914. *In:* O'Connor, B. and Cronin, M., eds. *Tourism in Ireland: a critical analysis.* Cork: University Press, 29-48.

de Bloom, J., Geurts, S. A. E., Taris, T. W., Sonnentag, S., de Weerth, C. and Kompier, M. A. J., 2010. Effects of vacation from work on health and well-being: lots of fun, quickly gone. *Work & Stress,* 24 (2), 196-216.

Decrop, A., 2000. Qualitative research methods for the study of tourist behavior. *In*: Pizam, A. and Mansfeld, Y., eds. *Consumer behavior in travel and tourism*. New York: Haworth Hospitality Press, 335- 365.

Decrop, A. and Snelders, D., 2004. Planning the summer vacation: an adaptable process. *Annals of Tourism Research,* 31 (4), 1008-1030.

DeFrain, J. and Asay, S. M., 2007a. Strong families around the world: an introduction to the family strengths perspective. *Marriage and Family Review,* 41 (1-2), 1-10.

DeFrain, J. and Asay, S. M., 2007b. Family strengths and challenges in the USA. *Marriage and Family Review,* 41 (3-4), 281-307.

Denscombe, M., 2014. *The good research guide, for small-scale social research projects*. 5th edition. Berkshire: Open University Press.

Denzin, N. K. and Lincoln, Y. S., 2011. *The sage handbook of qualitative research*. 4th edition. London: Sage.

Dickinson, J., E., Filimonau, V., Hibbert, J. F., Cherrett, T., Davies, N., Norgate, S., Speed, C. and Winstanley, C., 2017. Tourism communities and social ties: the role of online and offline tourist social networks in building social capital and sustainable practice. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism,* 25 (2), 163-180.

Diekmann, A., McCabe, S. and Minnaert, L., 2012. Social tourism today: stakeholders, and supply and demand factors. *In:* McCabe, S., Minnaert, L. and Diekmann, A., eds. *Social tourism in Europe: theory and practice*. Bristol, U.K., Channel View, 35-47.

Diekmann, A., Vincent, M. and Bauthier, I., 2020. The holiday practices of seniors and their implications for social tourism: a Wallonian perspective. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 85, 1-13.

Dolnicar, S., Yanamandram, V. and Cliff, K., 2012. The contribution of vacations to quality of life. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 39 (1), 59-83.

Dorney, J. 2012. The perfect symbol – Italia 90 and Irish identity [online]. Available from: http://www.theirishstory.com/2012/06/18/the-perfect-symbol-italia-90-and-irish-identity/#.V8qW5lsrIdU [Accessed 07 June 2021].

Dunne, G., Flanagan, S. and Buckley, J., 2010. Towards an understanding of international city break travel. *International Journal of Tourism Research*, 12, 409 - 417.

Elkink, J. A., Farrell, D. M., Reidy, T. and Suiter, J., 2017. Understanding the 2015 marriage referendum in Ireland: context, campaign, and conservative Ireland. *Irish Political Studies*, 32 (3), 361-381.

Epp, A. M. and Price, L., 2008. Family identity: a framework of identity interplay in consumption practices. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 35 (June), 50-70.

Eyre, R. and Eyre, L., 2014. *The turning. Why the state of the family matters, and what the world can do about it.* Sanger, CA: Familius.

Fáilte Ireland, 2008. *Tourism fact file 2007* [online]. Amiens Street, Dublin 1: Fáilte Ireland.

Fáilte Ireland, 2016. *Tourism fact file 2015* [online]. Amiens Street, Dublin 1: Fáilte Ireland.

Fáilte Ireland, 2019. Fáilte Ireland urges tourism sector to step up preparations for Brexit and diversify into new markets [online]. Amiens Street, Dublin 1: Fáilte Ireland. Available from: https://www.failteireland.ie/Utility/News-Library/Failte-Ireland-urges-Tourism-Sector-to-Step-Up-Pre.aspx [Accessed 03 June 2021].

Fáilte Ireland, 2020. *Key tourism fact 2019* [online]. Amiens Street, Dublin 1: Fáilte Ireland.

Fáilte Ireland, 2021. *Tourism fact file 2019* [online]. Amiens Street, Dublin 1, Fáilte Ireland.

Fallon, B., 2004. Reflecting on Ireland in the 1950s. *In*: Keogh, D., O'Shea, F. and Quinlan, C., eds. T*he lost decade: Ireland in the 1950s.* Cork: Mercier Press, 31-47.

Fandel, C. A., Breshears, D. D. and McMahon, E. E., 2018. Implicit assumptions of conceptual diagrams in environmental science and best practices for their illustration. *Ecosphere*, 9 (1), e02072.

Faraday, A. and Plummer, K., 1979. Doing life histories. *Sociological Review*, 27 (4), 773-798.

Farrell, M., Knirck, J. and Meehan, C., 2015. *A formative decade: Ireland in the 1920's*. Kildare: Irish Academic Press.

Ferriter, D., 2004. *The transformation of Ireland: 1900-2000*. London: Profile Books Ltd.

Filep, S., Macnaughton, J. and Glover, T., 2017. Tourism and gratitude: valuing acts of kindness. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 66, 26-36.

Fitzwilliam Lawn Tennis Club, 2021. *'About Us'* [online]. Available from: http://www.fltc.ie/AboutUs [Accessed 07 June 2021].

Fletcher, J., Fyall, A., Gilbert, D. and Wanhill, S., 2013. *Tourism principles and practice.* 5th edition. London: Pearson Education.

Fodness, D., 1992. The impact of family life cycle on the vacation decision-making process. *Journal of Travel Research*, fall, 8-13.

Fodness, D., 1994. Measuring tourist motivation. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 21 (3), 555-581.

Foster, R. F., 2007. *Luck and the Irish: a brief history of change, 1970 -2000.* London: Penguin Books.

Fukugawa, N., 2018. The contingent effect of social capital on performance of professional athletes: life cycle stages and changes in regulation as moderators. *Applied Economics*, 50 (15), 1676-1694.

Furstenberg, F. F. and Kaplan, S. B., 2004. Social capital and the family. *In:* Scott, J., Treas, J. and Richards, M., eds. *The Blackwell companion to sociology* [online]. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 218-232.

Furstenberg, F. F., 2005. Banking on families: how families generate and distribute social capital. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 67, 809-821.

Gaffney, M., 2011. *Flourishing, how to achieve a deeper sense of well-being, meaning and purpose – even when facing adversity*. Dublin: Penguin.

Galway Races, 2021. *'Information, History of Galway Races* [online]. Available from: http://www.galwayraces.com/general-info/history-of-galway-races [Accessed 07 June 2021].

Garvin, T., 2010. *News from a new republic, Ireland in the 1950s.* Dublin 12: Gill & Macmillan.

Giddens, A. and Sutton, P. W., 2013. *Sociology.* 7th edition. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Gilbert, D and Abdullah, J., 2004. Holidaytaking and the sense of well-being. *Annals of Tourism Research,* 31 (1), 103-121.

Gillies, V., 2005. Raising the 'meritocracy': parenting and the individualization of social class. *Sociology*, 39 (5), 835-853.

Gillmor, D., 1973. Irish holidays abroad: the growth and destination of chartered inclusive tours. *Irish Geography*, 6 (5), 618-625.

Gioia, D. A., Corley, K. G. and Hamilton, A. L., 2012. Seeking qualitative rigor in indictive research: notes on the Gioia methodology. *Organizational Research Methods*, 16 (1) p 15-31.

Glaser, B. G., 1978. *Theoretical sensitivity.* Mill Valley, CA: Sociology Press.

Gleeson, C. and Logue, P., 2018. Referendum on 'sexist' reference to women's place in the home postponed. *Irish Times* [online], 5 September 2018. Available from: https://www.irishtimes.com/news/politics/referendum-on-sexist-reference-to-women-s-place-in-the-home-postponed-1.3619116 [Accessed 27 May 2021].

Goldthorpe, J. H., 2002. Globalisation and social class. *West European Politics,* 25 (3), 1-28.

Goodwin, H., 2016. *Responsible Tourism: using tourism for sustainable development.* 2nd edition. Oxford: Goodfellow Publishers.

Gram, M., 2005. Family holidays. A qualitative analysis of family holiday experiences. *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism,* 5 (1), 2-22.

Gram, M., 2006. "If we're not going to Italy, I'm not coming" Children as co-decision-makers in the family? The case of family holidays. *European Advances in Consumer Research,* 7, 112-118.

Gram, M., 2007. Children as co-decision makers in the family? The case of family holidays. *Young Consumers,* 8 (1), 19-28.

Granovetter, M. S., 1973. The strength of weak ties. *American Journal of Sociology,* 78 (6), 1360-1380.

Granovetter, M., 1983. The strength of weak ties: a network theory revisited. *Sociological Theory,* 1, 201-233.

Gray, J., Geraghty, R. and Ralph, D., 2016. *Family rhythms, the changing textures of family life in Ireland.* Manchester: University Press.

Gray, J., O'Carroll, A., O'Riain, S. and Geraghty. R., 2008. *Life history and social change collection* [online]. Maynooth Ireland: Irish Qualitative Data Archive. Available from: https://repository.dri.ie/catalog/9593xq018 [06 May 2021].

Griffin, K. and Stacey, J., 2011. Towards a 'tourism for all' policy for Ireland: achieving real sustainability in Irish tourism. *Current Issues in Tourism,* 14 (5), 431-444.

Guiney, D., 2002. *The tourism and travel industry in Ireland,* Dublin 12, Gill & Macmillan Ltd.

Guohe, J., Fei, S. and Flavio, M. F., 2016. Rural-urban disparities in adolescent risky behaviors: a family social capital perspective. *Journal of Community Psychology,* 44 (8), 1027-1039.

Gursoy, D., 2000. The couple life cycle: an alternative approach and the empirical evaluation of the couple life cycle. *Journal of Hospitality and Leisure Marketing,* 6 (4), 67-90.

Hagan, R., Manktelow, R. and Taylor, B., 2020. Loneliness, cumulative inequality, and social capital in later life: two stories. *Irish Journal of Sociology*, 28 (2), 192-217.

Hamilton, J. and Fielding, R., 2018. Safety first: the biases of gender and precaution in fieldwork. *In:* Porter, B. A. and Schänzel, H. A., eds. *Femininities in the field, tourism and transdisciplinary research.* Bristol: Channel View, 10-22.

Handel, G., 1996. Family worlds and qualitative family research: emergence and prospects of whole-family methodology. *The Methods and Methodologies of Qualitative Family Research,* 335-348.

Hanrahan, J., 2017. *Tourism and hospitality research in Ireland, entrepreneurs driving tourism and hospitality*. Institute of Technology Sligo: School of Business and Social Science.

Harrington, M., 2014. Practices and meaning of purposive family leisure among working-and middle-class families. *Leisure Studies,* 34 (4), 471-486.

Hay, B., 2017. Missing voices: Australian children's insights and perceptions of family holidays. *Hospitality & Society,* 7 (2), 133-155.

Hederman, M. P., 2017. *The opal and the pearl.* Dublin 2: Columba Press.

Heimtun, B., 2010. The holiday meal: eating out alone and mobile emotional geographies. *Leisure Studies,* 29 (2), 175-192.

Hess, R. D. and Handel, G., 1959. *Family worlds.* Chicago: The University Press.

Heuston, J., 1993. Kilkee – the origins and development of a west coast resort. *In:* O'Connor, B. and Cronin, M., eds. *Tourism in Ireland: a critical analysis.* Cork: University Press, 13-28.

Hilbrecht, M., Shaw, S. M., Delamere, F. M. and Havitz, M. E., 2008. Experiences, perspectives, and meanings of family vacations for children. *Leisure/Loisir,* 32 (2), 541-571.

Holloway, C. J. and Humphreys, C., 2020. *The business of tourism.* 11th edition. London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Hong, G-S., Fan, J. X., Palmer, L. and Bhargava, V., 2005. Leisure travel expenditure patterns by family life cycle stages. *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing,* 18 (2), 15-30.

Inglis, T., 2007. Catholic identity in contemporary Ireland: belief and belonging to tradition[1]. *Journal of Contemporary Religion,* 22 (2), 205-220.

Inglis, T., 2014. *Meanings of life in contemporary Ireland, webs of significance.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Ireland West Airport Knock, 2021. *About Us, History, Monsignor James Horan* [online]. Ireland West Airport Knock, Continuum. Available from: https://www.irelandwestairport.com/about_us [Accessed 07 June 2021].

Irish Qualitative Data Archive, 2021. *Life histories and social change collection* [online]. Maynooth, Digital Repository of Ireland. Available from: https://www.maynoothuniversity.ie/iqda/collections/life-histories-and-social-change-collection [Accessed 07 June 2021].

Irish Tourist Industry Confederation, 2019. *Year-end review 2019 & outlook for 2020.* [online]. Sandyford, Dublin 18: ITIC.

Jepson, A., Stadler, R. and Spencer, N., 2019. Making positive family memories together and improving quality-of-life through thick sociality and bonding at local community festivals and events. *Tourism Management,* 75, 34-50.

Johns, N. and Gyimóthy, S., 2002. Mythologies of a theme park: an icon of modern family life. *Journal of Vacation Marketing,* 8 (4), 320-331.

Johnston, T., 2019. Welcome to THRIC 2019. *In*: Tourism at the heart of it? Athlone Institute of Technology 17-18 June 2019. Athlone: Institute of Technology. 1.

Jones, J., 2017. Are men not fed up being the family bread winners? *Irish Times* [online], 8 August 2017. Available from: https://www.irishtimes.com/life-and-style/health-family/are-men-not-fed-up-being-the-family-bread-winners-1.3172481 [Accessed 03 June 2021].

Kang, S. K. and Hsu, C. H.C., 2005. Dyadic consensus on family vacation destination selection. *Tourism Management*, 26, 571-582.

Karsten, L. and Felder, N., 2015. Parents and children consuming the city: geographies of family outings across class. *Annals of Leisure Research*, 18 (2), 205-218.

Kavanagh, P., 1942. *The Great hunger*. All poetry, [online]. Available from: https://allpoetry.com/The-Great-Hunger [Accessed 07 June 2021].

Kelly, C., 2020. Beyond 'a trip to the seaside': exploring emotions and family tourism experiences. *Tourism Geographies*, 1-22.

Kennan, D. and Dolan, P., 2017. Justifying children and young people's involvement in social research: assessing harm and benefit. *Irish Journal of Sociology*, 25 (3), 297-314.

Kennedy, F., 2002. Report – abortion referendum 2002. *Irish Political Studies*, 17 (1), 114-128.

Khoo-Lattimore, C., Prayag, G. and Cheah, B. L., 2015. Kids on board: exploring the choice process and vacation needs of Asian parents with young children in resort hotels. *Journal of Hospitality Marketing & Management*, 24, 511-531.

Kim, E. J., Tanford, S. and Choi, C., 2020. Family versus couples: how travel goal influences evaluations of bundled travel packages. *Journal of Vacation Marketing*, 26 (10, 3-17.

Kirillova, K. and Lehto, X., 2015. An existential conceptualization of the vacation cycle. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 55, 110-123.

Kirillova, K., Lehto, X. and Cai, L., 2017. Tourism and existential transformation: an empirical investigation. *Journal of Travel Research*, 56 (5), 638-650.

Kohn, M. L., 1969. Social class and parental values. *In:* Carter, G. L., ed. 2004. *Empirical approaches to sociology, a collection of classic and contemporary readings.* 4th edition. Boston US: Allyn and Bacon, 155- 167.

Kotler, P. and Keller, K. N., 2016. *A framework for marketing management, global edition* [online]. 6th edition. Harlow: Pearson.

Kozak, M. and Duman, T., 2012. Family members and vacation satisfaction: proposal of a conceptual framework. *International Journal of Tourism Research,* 14, 192-204.

Krippendorf, J., 1987. *The holiday makers: understanding the impact of leisure and travel.* Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann.

Kroesen, M. and Handy, S., 2014. The influence of holiday-taking on affect and contentment. *Annals of Tourism Research,* 45, 89-101.

Kuhn, T. S., 1996. *The structure of scientific revolutions.* 3rd edition. London: University of Chicago Press.

Lansing, J. B. and Kish, L., 1957. Family life cycle as an independent variable. *American Sociological Review,* 512-519.

Lareau, A., 2002. Invisible inequality: social class and childrearing in black families and white families. *American Sociological Review,* 67, 747-776.

LaRossa, R., Bennett, L. A. and Gelles, R. J., 1981. Ethical dilemmas in qualitative family research. *Journal of Marriage and the Family,* May, 303-313.

Larsen, J., 2008. De-exoticizing tourist travel: everyday life and sociality on the move. *Leisure Studies,* 27 (1), 21-34.

Larsen, J. R. K., 2013. Family flow: the pleasure of "being together" in a holiday home. *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism,* 13 (3), 153-174.

Larsson, S., 2009. A pluralist view of generalization in qualitative research. *International Journal of Research and Method in Education,* 32 (1), 25-38.

Lawson, R., 1991. Patterns of tourist expenditure and types of vacation across the family life cycle. *Journal of Travel Research,* 29 (4), 12-18.

Leahy, B., 2015. Launch of new Catholic religious education curriculum and programme [online]. *In:* Liffey, K., ed. *Irish Catholic Bishops' Conference, Maynooth* 28 September 2015. Maynooth: Columba Centre. Available from:

http://www.catholicbishops.ie/2015/09/29/launch-catholic-religious-education-curriculum-programme/ [Accessed 03 June 2021].

Lehto, X. Y., Choi, S., Lin, Y. and MacDermid, S. M., 2009. Vacation and family functioning. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 36 (3), 459-479.

Lehto, X. Y., Lin, Yi-Chin, Chen, Y. and Choi, S., 2012. Family vacation activities and family cohesion. *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing*, 29, 835-850.

Leiper, N., 1979. The framework of tourism: towards a definition of tourism, tourist, and the tourist industry. *Annals of Tourism Research*, Oct/Dec, 390 - 407.

Levin, I., 1999. What phenomenon is family? *Marriage and Family Review*, 28 (3-4), 93-104.

Levine, S. S., Apfelbaum, E. P., Bernard, M., Bartelt, V. L., Zajec, E. J. and Stark, D., 2014. Ethnic diversity deflates price bubbles. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America*, 111 (52), 18524-18529.

Li, M., Lehto, X. and Li. H., 2020. 40 years of family tourism research: bibliometric analysis and remaining issues. *Journal of China Tourism Research*, 16, (1) 1-22.

Loomis, C. P., 1936. The study of the life cycle of families. *Rural Sociology*, 1 (2), 180-199.

López, M. P., 2019. Church communication highlights 2018. *Church, Communication and Culture*, 4 (1), 5-24.

Loyal, S., 2017. From the sanctity of the family to state sovereignty: the Irish supreme court's changing role in maintaining national sovereignty. *Critical Sociology*, 43 (1), 73-90.

Lunn, P., Fahey, T. and Hannan, C., 2009. *Family figures: family dynamics and family types in Ireland. 1986-2006.* Dublin 2: The Economic and Social Research Institute.

Lyons, F.S.L., 1985. *Ireland since the Famine.* 2nd edition. London: Fontana Press.

Lyons, S., Mayor, K. and Tol, R. S. J., 2009. Holiday destinations: understanding the travel choices of Irish tourists. *Tourism Management*, 30 (5), 683-692.

MacCannell, D., 1999. *The tourist, a new theory of the leisure class*. 3rd edition. Berkeley: University of California Press.

MacLaren, A. and Hill, E., 2014. Finding a project. *In:* O'Gorman, K and Macintosh, R., eds. *Research methods for business and management: a guide to writing your dissertation.* Oxford: Goodfellow, 19-36.

MacMahon, T., 2012. The Sunshine Fund, Ireland. *In* McCabe, S., Minnaert, L. and Diekmann, A., eds. *Social tourism in Europe, theory and practice*. Bristol: Channel View, 104-107.

Majoribanks, K., 1992. Family capital, children's individual attributes, and academic achievement. *The Journal of Psychology*, 126 (5), 529-538.

Majoribanks, K., 1998. Family capital, children's individual attributes, and adolescents' aspirations: a follow-up analysis. *The Journal of Psychology*, 132 (3), 328-336.

Martin, D., 2017. *Homily notes of Archbishop Martin from launch of World Meeting of Families 2018, Knock* [online]. Drumcondra: Holy Cross Diocesan Centre. Available from: https://dublindiocese.ie/homily-notes-of-archbishop-diarmuid-martin-launch-of-world-meeting-of-families-2018/ [Accessed 16 June 2021].

Martinez, E. and Peters, C., 2018. Gender bias and marine mammal tourism research. *In:* Porter, B. A. and Schänzel, H. A., eds. *Femininities in the field, tourism and transdisciplinary research.* Bristol: Channel View, 109-125.

Maslow, A. H., 1943. A theory of human motivation. *Psychological Review*, 50 (4), 370-396.

May, V., 2018. Belonging across the lifetime: time and self in mass observation accounts. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 69 (2), 306-322.

McCabe, S., 2020. "Tourism for all?" considering social tourism: a perspective paper. *Tourism Review*, 75 (1), 61-64.

McCabe, S. and Qiao, G., 2020. A review of research into social tourism: launching the Annals of Tourism Research curated collection on social tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 85, (103103), 1-19.

McCabe, S., Minnaert, L. and Diekmann, A., 2012. *Social tourism in Europe: theory and practice*. Bristol: Channel View.

McGreevy, R., 2021. Citizens' assembly votes to delete and replace Constitution's 'women in home' clause. *Irish Times* [online], 24 April 2021. Available from: https://www.irishtimes.com/news/social-affairs/citizens-assembly-votes-to-delete-and-replace-constitution-s-women-in-home-clause-1.4546882 [Accessed 27 May 2021].

McKercher, B., Filep, S. and Moyle, B., 2021. Movement in tourism: time to re-integrate the tourist? [online], In Press. Available from: https://www-sciencedirect-com.libezproxy.bournemouth.ac.uk/journal/annals-of-tourism-research/articles-in-press [Accessed 19 September 2021].

McKercher, B. and Yankholmes, A., 2018. Travel as learned behaviour: western migrants in Hong Kong and Macau. *Tourism Management*, 67, 191-200.

McShane, I., 2017. *Sunday Times/Behaviour & Attitudes July 2017 Opinion Poll* [online]. Dublin 6: banda. J.8351.

McVeigh, P., 2021. Introduction. *In:* McVeigh, P., ed. *The 32*. London: Unbound. 1-7.

McWilliams, D., 2019. Our cheese-eating, Dunnes-living, unsqueezed middle. *Irish Times*, 16 March 2019. News review 5.

McWilliams, D., 2021. Housing won't be fixed on Twitter time. *Irish Times*, 22 May 2021. News review 2.

Mehta, G., 2007. *The welcome business, tourism and travel in Ireland*. Dublin 12: Gill & Macmillan.

Miles, M. B. and Huberman, A. M., 1994. *An expanded sourcebook qualitative data analysis*. 2nd edition. London: Sage Publications.

Miles, M. B., Huberman, A. M. and Saldaña, J., 2014. Q*ualitative data analysis*. 3rd edition. London: Sage Publications.

Milkie, M. A., Mattingly, M. J., Nomaguchi, K. M., Bianchi, S. M. and Robinson, J. P., 2004. The time squeeze: parental statuses and feelings about time with children. *Journal of Marriage and Family,* 66, 739-761.

Mills, C. W., 2000. *The sociological imagination,* fortieth anniversary edition. With new afterword by Todd Gitlin, New York, Oxford University Press.

Minnaert, L., Diekmann, A. and McCabe, S., 2012. Defining social tourism and its historical context. *In:* McCabe, S., Minnaert, L. and Diekmann, A., eds. *Social tourism in Europe: theory and practice*. Bristol, U.K., Channel View, 18-30.

Minnaert, L., Maitland, R. and Miller, G., 2009. Tourism and social policy: the value of social tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research,* 36 (2), 316-334.

Monaco, S., 2018. Tourism and the new generations: emerging trends and social implications in Italy. *Journal of Tourism Futures,* 4 (1), 7-15.

Morgan, N., Pritchard, A. and Sedgley, D., 2015. Social tourism and well–being in later life. *Annals of Tourism Research,* 52, 1-15.

Mottiar, Z. and Quinn, B. 2012. Is a self-catering holiday with the family really a holiday for mothers? Examining the balance of household responsibilities while on holiday from a female perspective. *Hospitality and Society,* 2 (2), 197-214.

Munar, A. M., 2018. Researching in a men's paradise: the emotional negotiations of drunken tourism fieldwork. *In:* Porter, B. A. and Schänzel, H. A., eds. *Femininities in the field, tourism and transdisciplinary research.* Bristol: Channel View, 170-184.

Munck, R., 2007. Social class and inequality. *In:* O'Sullivan, S., ed. *Contemporary Ireland: a sociological map.* Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 301-307.

Murphy, P. E. and Staples, W. A., 1979. A modernized family life cycle. *Journal of Consumer Research,* 6 (1), 12-22.

National Strategy Women Girls, 2017. *National Strategy for Women and Girls 2017-2020: creating a better society for all* [online]. Dublin: Department of Justice and Equality.

Neal, J. D., Sirgy, J. M. and Uysal, M., 1999. The role of satisfaction with leisure travel/tourism services and experience in satisfaction with leisure life and overall life. *Journal of Business Research,* 44 (3), 153-163.

Nickerson, N. P. and Jurowski, C., 2001. The influence of children on vacation travel patterns. *Journal of Vacation Marketing,* 7 (1), 19-30.

O'Carroll, A. and Gray, J., 2010. *A life history and mixed methods approach to examining turning points as the intersection between biography and history*. Maynooth: NIRSA Working Paper Series. Report 58.

O'Donoghue, D., 2015. *Financial accounting for the hospitality, tourism, leisure, and event sectors.* Dublin: Orpen Press.

O'Gorman, K., Lochrie, S. and Watson, A., 2014. Research philosophy and case studies. *In:* O'Gorman, K and Macintosh, R., eds. *Research methods for business and management: a guide to writing your dissertation.* Oxford: Goodfellow, 57-78.

O'Leary, D., 2021. Big ideas to build on now. *Irish Times,* 22 May 2021. News Review 2, d.

O'Reilly, S., 2005. *The decision-making process for the main Irish family holiday*. Unpublished Master's thesis, Dublin Institute of Technology.

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.

OED, 1969. Capital. *In:* Coulson, J., ed. *The little Oxford dictionary of current English.* 4th edition. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 74.

OED, 1969. Goodwill. *In:* Coulson, J., ed. *The little Oxford dictionary of current English.* 4th edition. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 232.

OED, 1969. Responsibility. *In:* Coulson, J., ed. *The little Oxford dictionary of current English.* 4th edition. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 458.

Offer, S., 2013. Family time activities and adolescents' emotional well-being. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, February 26-41.

Olson, D. H., Waldvogel, L. and Schlieff, M. 2019. Circumplex model of martial and family systems: an update. *Journal of Family Theory & Review*, 199-211.

Page, S. J., 2014. *Tourism management, managing for change.* 4th edition. Oxford: Elsevier.

Parcel, T. L. and Dufur, M. J., 2001. Capital at home and at school: effects on student achievement. *Social Forces*, 79 (3), 881-912.

Park, N. S., Chiriboga, D. A. and Chung, S., 2021. The effect of social capital and family support on loneliness among Korean adults: intergenerational differences. *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships*, 19 (1), 109-123.

Pearce, P. L. and Lee, U-I., 2005. Developing the travel career approach to tourist motivation. *Journal of Travel Research*, 43 (February), 226-237.

Peillon, M., 1993. The Irish on holidays: practice and symbolism. *In:* O'Connor, B. and Cronin, M., eds. *Tourism in Ireland: a critical analysis.* Cork: University Press, 258-271.

Pew, 2012. *The lost decade of the middle class: fewer, poorer, gloomier* [online]. Washington D.C.: Pew Research Centre.

Pew, 2015. *A global middle class is more promise than reality* [online]. Washington D.C.: Pew Research Centre.

Pew, 2017. *Are you in the Irish middle class?* [online]. Washington D.C.: Pew Research Centre.

Phillimore, J. and Goodson, L., 2004. Progress in qualitative research in tourism: epistemology, ontology, and methodology. *In:* Phillimore, J. and Goodson, L., eds. *Qualitative research in tourism ontologies, epistemologies, and methodologies* [online]. New York: Routledge, 3-29.

Poria, Y. and Timothy, D. J., 2014. Where are the children in tourism research? *Annals of Tourism Research*, 47 (July), 93-95.

Porter, B. A. and Schänzel, H. A., 2018. *Femininities in the field: tourism and transdisciplinary research.* Bristol: Channel View.

Portes, A., 1998. Social capital: its origins and applications in modern society. *Annual Review of Sociology,* 24, 1-24.

Portes, A., 2014. Downsides of social capital. P*roceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America,* 111 (52), 18407-18408.

Putnam, R. D., 2000. *Bowling alone: the collapse and revival of American community.* New York: Simon & Schuster.

Quinn, B., Griffin, K. and Stacey, J., 2008. *Research working paper: poverty, social exclusion and holidaying: towards developing policy in Ireland.* Tourism Research Centre, Dublin Institute of Technology, Dublin 1, Cathal Brugha Street.

Quinn, B. and Stacey, J., 2010. The benefits of holidaying for children experiencing social exclusion: recent Irish evidence. *Leisure Studies,* 29 (1), 29-52.

Rapley, M., 2003. *Quality of life research, a critical introduction.* London: Sage Publications.

Rapoport, R. and Rapoport, R., 1965. Work and family in contemporary society. *American Sociological Review,* 30 (3), 381-394.

Rodgers, R. H. 1964. Toward a theory of family development. *Journal of Marriage and Family,* August 262 -270.

Rojas-de-Gracia, M. M., Alarcón-Urbistondo, P. and Casado-Molina, A.M., 2019. Is asking only one member of a couple sufficient to determine who influences tourism decisions? *Journal of Destination Marketing & Management,* 12, 55-63.

Rojas-de-Gracia, M. M., Alarcón-Urbistondo, P. and Robles, E. M. G., 2018. Couple dynamics in family holidays decision-making process. *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management,* 30 (1), 601-617.

Rose, G., 1997. Situating knowledges: positionality, reflexivities and other tactics. *Progress in Human Geography,* 21 (3), 305-320.

Ross, S., 2009. *The bankers: how the banks brought Ireland to its knees*. Dublin: Penguin.

Sanders, M. and Hume, S., 2019. *Social butterflies, reclaiming the positive power of social networks.* London: MOM Books.

Savage, M., Devine, F., Cunningham, N., Taylor, M., Li, Y., Hjellbrekke, J., Le Roux, B., Friedman, S. and Miles, A., 2013. A new model of social class? Findings from the BBC's Great British Class Survey Experiment. *Sociology*, 47 (2), 219-250.

Savage, R. D., Stall, N. M. and Rochon, P. A., 2020. Looking before we leap: building evidence for social prescribing for lonely older adults. *Journal of American Geriatrics Society*, 68 (2), 429-430.

Schänzel, H., 2010. Whole-family research: towards a methodology in tourism for encompassing generation, gender, and group dynamic perspectives. *Tourism Analysis*, 15, 555-569.

Schänzel, H. A., 2013. The importance of 'social' in family tourism. *Asia-Pacific* J*ournal of Innovation in Hospitality and Tourism* [online], 2 (1), 1-15.

Schänzel, H. A., 2018. Motherhood within family tourism research: case studies in New Zealand and Samoa. *In:* Porter, B. A. and Schänzel, H. A., eds. *Femininities in the field, tourism and transdisciplinary research.* Bristol: Channel View, 185-199.

Schänzel, H. A., 2021. Connecting through family tourism and social inclusion: at the heart of society. *In*: Trussell, D. E. and Jeanes, R., eds. *Families, sport, leisure and social justice: from protest to progress* [online]. London: Routledge, 127-138.

Schänzel, H. A. and Carr, N., 2016. *Children, families and leisure*. London: Routledge.

Schänzel, H. A. and Lynch, P. A., 2016. Family perspectives on social hospitality dimensions while on holiday. *Tourism Studies*, 16 (2), 133-150.

Schänzel, H. A. and Smith, K. A., 2011. The absence of fatherhood: achieving true gender scholarship in family tourism research. *Annals of Leisure Research*, 14 (2-3), 143-154.

Schänzel, H. and Yeoman, I., 2014. The future of family tourism. *Tourism Recreation Research,* 39 (3), 343-360.

Schänzel, H., Yeoman, I., Backer, E., 2012. *Family tourism multidisciplinary perspectives.* Bristol: Channel View.

Schwab, K. A. and Dustin, D. L., 2015. Towards a model of optimal family leisure. *Annals of Leisure Research,* 18, (2), 180-204.

Sedgley, D., Pritchard, A. and Morgan, N., 2012. Tourism poverty in affluent societies: voices from inner-city London. *Journal of Tourism Management*, 33, 951-960.

Seow, D. and Brown, L., 2018. The solo female Asian tourist. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 21 (10), 1187-1206.

Shakespeare, W., 1623. Mr William Shakespeare's comedies, histories, & tragedies: published according to the true originall copies. London: Printed by Isaac Iaggard, and Ed[ward] Blout. P. 194 OCLC 606515358.

Share, P., Corcoran, M.P. and Conway, B., 2012. *Sociology of Ireland*. 4th edition. Dublin: Gill & Macmillan.

Shaw, S. M. and Dawson, D., 2001. Purposive leisure: examining parental discourse on family activities. *Leisure Sciences,* 23, 217-231.

Shaw, S. M., 2008. Family leisure and changing ideologies of parenthood. *Sociology Compass,* 2 (2), 688-703.

Shaw, S. M., Havitz, M. E. and Delemere, 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, 13-26.

Silverman, D., 2017. *Doing qualitative research.* 5th edition. London: Sage Publications.

SIPTU, 2014. *Discussion paper on Ireland's housing crisis* [online]. Dublin 1: SIPTU.

Sirr, L., 2021. Big ideas to build on now. *Irish Times*, 22 May 2021. News Review 2, e.

Small, J., 2005. Women's holidays: disruption of the motherhood myth. *Tourism Review International*, 9, 139-154.

Solomon, M., Bamossy, G., Askegaard, S. and Hogg, M. K., 2010. *Consumer behaviour a European perspective.* 4th edition. FT Prentice Hall: Pearson Education Ltd.

Spillane, M., 2015. The Irish rainbow, how gay-marriage activists won a resounding victory. *The Nation*, 300 (24), 5-8.

Stylos, N., 2020. Technological evolution and tourist decision-making: a perspective article. *Tourism Review*, 75 (1), 273-278.

Taylor, C., 2016. Squeezed middle is paying too much tax. *Irish Times* [online], 23 September 2016. Available from: https://www.irishtimes.com/opinion/cliff-taylor-squeezed-middle-is-paying-too-much-tax-1.2803158 [Accessed 03 June 2021].

Taylor, C., 2020. How do you know if you are wealthy? It's not straightforward. *Irish Times* [online], 20 February 2020. Available from: https://www.irishtimes.com/business/personal-finance/how-do-you-know-if-you-are-wealthy-it-s-not-straightforward-1.4179620?mode=sample&auth-failed=1&pw-origin=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.irishtimes.com%2Fbusiness%2Fpersonal-finance%2Fhow-do-you-know-if-you-are-wealthy-it-s-not-straightforward-1.4179620 [Accessed 16 August 2020].

Therkelsen, A., 2010. Deciding on family holidays–role distribution and strategies in use. *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing*, 27, 765-779.

Thompson, P., 2000. *The voice of the past: oral history*. 3rd edition. Oxford: University Press.

Thornton, P., R., Shaw, G. and Williams, A. M., 1997. Tourist group holiday decision-making and behaviour: the influence of children. *Tourism Management*, 18 (5), 287-297.

Tiago, M. T. B., Tiago, F. G. B., 2013. The influence of teenagers on a family's vacation choices. *Tourism and Management Studies*, 9 (1), 28-34.

Tobin, B., 2016. Marriage equality in Ireland: the politico-legal context. *International Journal of Law, Policy and the Family,* 30, 115-130.

Tol, R. S. J., 2010. *The research output of business schools and business scholars in Ireland*. Dublin: Economic Social Research Institute Ireland. Report 364.

Trussell, D. E., 2017. Families as agents of social change and justice in communities through leisure and sport experiences. *Annals of Leisure Research,* 1-8.

Trussell, D. E. and Jeanes, R., 2021. *Families, sport, leisure and social justice: from protest to progress* [online]. London: Routledge.

United Nations World Tourism Organisation, 2010. International recommendations for tourism statistics 2008. [online]. New York: United Nations Publications. Available from:

https://unstats.un.org/unsd/publication/Seriesm/SeriesM_83rev1e.pdf#page=21 [Accessed 08 April 2021].

Urry, J. and Larsen, J., 2011. *The tourist gaze*. 3rd edition. London: Sage.

Uysal, M., Sirgy, M. J., Woo, E. and Kim, H. L., 2016. Quality of life (QOL) and well-being research in tourism. *Tourism Management,* 53 (April), 244-261.

Van Raaij, W. F. and Francken, D. A., 1984. Vacation decisions, activities, and satisfactions. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 11, 101-112.

Vento, E., Tammi, T., McCabe, S. and Komppula, R., 2020. Re-evaluating well-being outcomes of social tourism: evidence from Finland. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 85, (103085), 1-23.

Wahyuni, D., 2012. The research design maze: understanding paradigms, cases, methods and methodologies. *Journal of Applied Management Accounting Research,* 10 (1) pp. 69-80.

Wang, Y. and Li, M., 2020. Family identity bundles and holiday decision making. *Journal of Travel Research,* 60 (3) 486-502.

Ward, A., 2014. Segmenting the senior tourism market in Ireland based on travel motivations. *Journal of Vacation Marketing,* 20 (3), 267-277.

Watson, D., Maître, B., Whelan, C. T. and Russell, H. 2017. Poverty, economic stress and quality of life – lessons from the Irish case. *International Review of Economics,* 64 (2), 125-143.

Watson, D., Whelan, C. T., Maître, B. and Williams, J., 2016. Socio-economic variation in the impact of the Irish recession on the experience of economic stress among families. *The Economic and Social Review,* 47 (4), 477-498.

Watts, S., 2014. User skills for qualitative analysis: perspective, interpretation, and the delivery impact. *Qualitative Research in Psychology,* 11, 1-14.

Weaver, D. and Lawton, L., 2014. *Tourism management.* 5th edition. Milton: Wiley.

Wells, W. D. and Gubar, G., 1966. Life cycle concept in marketing research. *Journal of Marketing Research,* (III), 355-363.

Wheaton, B., 2017. Surfing through the life-course: silver surfers' negotiation of ageing. *Annals of Leisure Research,* 20 (1), 96-116.

Whelan, C. T. and Maître, B., 2014. The Great Recession and the changing distribution of economic vulnerability by social class: the Irish case. *Journal of European Social Policy,* 24 (5), 470-485.

Whelan, C. T., Nolan, B. and Maître, B., 2017. The Great Recession and the changing intergenerational distribution of economic stress across income classes in Ireland: a comparative perspective. *Irish Journal of Sociology,* 25 (2), 105-127.

Whelan, C. T., Russell, H. and Maître, B., 2016. Economic stress and the Great Recession in Ireland: polarization, individualization or 'middle class squeeze'? *Social Indicators Research,* 126, 503-526.

Wilson, E., Mura, P., Pahlevan Sharif, S. and Wijesinghe, S. N.R., 2020. Beyond the third moment? Mapping the state of qualitative tourism research. *Current Issues in Tourism,* 23 (7), 795-810.

Wirtz, C. and Mejer, L., 2002. The European Community Household Panel (ECHP) [online]. *European Data Watch*, Available from: ftp://ftp.iza.org/idsc/25/lit/122_2002_1_143_153.pdf [Accessed 29th April 2016].

World Health Organisation, 2020. *Naming the coronavirus disease (COVID-19) and the virus that causes it* [online]. Geneva: World Health Organisation. Available from: https://www.who.int/emergencies/diseases/novel-coronavirus-2019/technical-guidance/naming-the-coronavirus-disease-(covid-2019)-and-the-virus-that-causes-it [Accessed 13 February 2020].

Wright, A. and Linehan, M., 2004. *Ireland – tourism marketing*. Dublin: Blackhall Publishing.

Wu, W., Kirillova, K. and Lehto, X., 2021. Learning in family travel: what, how, and from whom? *Journal of Travel and Tourism Marketing*, 38 (1), 44-57.

Yang, M. J. H., Khoo-Lattimore, C. and Yang, E. C. L., 2020. Three generations on a holiday: exploring the influence of Neo-Confucian values on Korean multigenerational family vacation decision making. *Tourism Management*, 78, 104076.

Yeoman, I., 2012. *2050 – Tomorrow's tourism*. Bristol: Channel View.

Yeoman, I., and Schänzel, H., 2012. The future of family tourism: a cognitive mapping approach. *In:* Schänzel, H., Yeoman, I. and Backer, E., eds. *Family tourism: multidisciplinary perspectives.* Bristol: Channel View, 171- 193.

Young, M. and Willmott, P., 1973. *The symmetrical family*. Pantheon Books, New York: Random House.

Yousaf, A., Amin, I. and Santos, J. A. C., 2018. Tourists' motivations to travel: a theoretical perspective on the existing literature. *Tourism and Hospitality Management*, 24 (1), 197-211.

Zabriskie, R. B. and McCormick, B. P., 2001. The influences of family leisure patterns on perceptions of family functioning. *Family Relations*, 50 (3), 281-289.

Legislation

Bunreacht na hÉireann (Constitution of Ireland, enacted in 1937), Article 40.3.3° (right to life).

Bunreacht na hÉireann (Constitution of Ireland, enacted in 1937), Article 41.2.1° (woman support in the home).

Bunreacht na hÉireann (Constitution of Ireland, enacted in 1937), Article 41.2.2° (woman engage in labour).

Appendix 1: Postcard

Bournemouth University | Doctoral College

Creation of family capital through life stages for middle income families in the context of the Irish holiday

Susanne O'Reilly
087 9594050
soreilly@bournemouth.ac.uk

Appendix 2: Checklists before, during and after the interviews

Checklist before the interview

1. Check there are spare copies of all paperwork:
   Participant information sheet/participant agreement form/postcards

2. Check that I have both recording devices
   Sony 560 audio recording/mobile phone

3. Check that I have given location and time of the interview to a third party.
   Give phone number of participant and advise when to expect a call after the interview.

4. Read notes before-hand to focus on area and check stage within the life cycle model.

5. Turn off my own mobile just before the interview.

6. Ensure I have gift for the family.

Checklist at interview

1. Participant information sheet, offer to the family
   a. Advise approx. length of time of interview
   b. Debrief at the end of the interview, recorder can be on/off for this stage
   c. Next stage of the research, analysis and findings

2. Participant agreement form, signed and filed

3. Check general area for acoustics.

4. Turn on recording device:
   Slide button on side of recorder to turn on. Go to record menu using arrow buttons in the middle. Press record. Must have a red light on. Keep recorder upright and near the participants.

5. Commence interview, with topic guide near at hand.

6. Debrief at the end
   a. Answer any further questions
   b. Recommend names of other participants
   c. Advise of the next stage in the research

7. Turn recording device off.

8. Thank participants and give postcard.

Checklist after the interview

1. Download the audio recording:

   Plug in the Sony recorder to the computer. Go to rec files. Copy over the file. Should be today's date. Copy over to the ZZZ cut-offs folder as well. Note the size of the file.

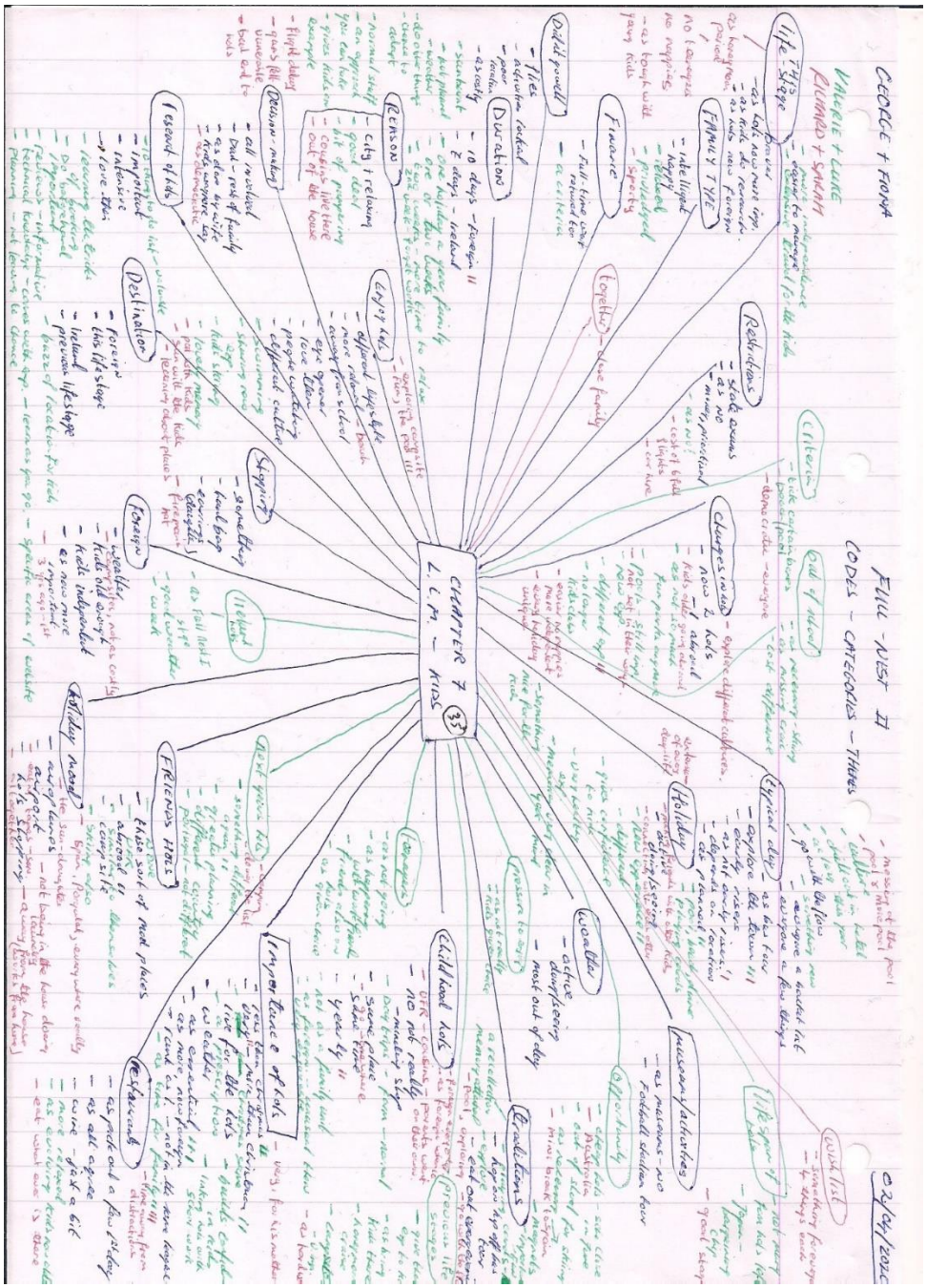
2. Write out notes regarding the interview, time it started, info gained before and after the recorder was in use. Gifts if any, given.

3. File participant agreement form, notes taken during the meeting and any photos.

4. Send the recording out for transcription. Advise of the number of minutes of recording time.

5. Write and post a card to the participant, the day after the interview. Should now have full address and surname.

Appendix 3: Mind map Full Nest II stage; codes, categories, and themes



Appendix 4: Interview transcript Valerie and Luke

F = Female, M=Male

F: So where we live is kind of a very open, kind of easy for friends to get to and all of that. Enjoy maybe watching movies and you know going out for meals, the usual things.

Yes grand, grand and the four of you is the family, this is the family unit?

F: Yes.

Grand.

M: And Buddy.

And Buddy the dog, right grand, and when was the most recent family holiday?

F: Just recently we went to Malta for a week. August 1st is when we went.

Ok grand and why did you pick Malta?

F: Well we like to try different places really and Malta this summer, we hadn't been before and there was a good deal on flights as well when we started doing our research. So I suppose we wouldn't just because there is a good deal on a flight, we like to like the idea of the place as well and do a little bit of checking about it. So they are the main reasons yes.

M: I suppose the kids like to go somewhere different so I think between…

F: And dad likes it, well I do too.

M: I think between them they have been to about 12 or 13 different countries at this stage.

F: I like to go to as many different countries.

M: Yes, so I like to experience different cultures I suppose to get a taste of it and I suppose build up their confidence as well you know. I suppose when we were younger, I think I was 17 before I was on a plane so it is very different now. But yes I think… I remember [daughter] actually said a few years ago, she said lets go somewhere different you know, they have been to all the usual countries and this was… they have been lucky, they have been to two different countries this year also.

F: This was out of the norm, now this year we got a skiing holiday in February, our friends live outside Zurich, so we had a very lovely opportunity to visit them and one of them is a skier himself and you know, so he gave us a lovely week of skiing.

Oh wow.

F: We were well looked after. But yeah normally we are a one holiday a year family but this year we got the two holidays which was lovely.

Grand, grand and so it was the four of you that went on the holiday?

F: Yes.

There was nobody absent?

F: Nobody absent.

And did the four of you go to Switzerland?

F: Yes.

Very good, is that my tissue, oh god lovely.

[Laughs]

F: He spotted that. [the dog]

And so there was nobody absent and are all your holidays a week-long or are they usually longer?

F: It varies.

F: Some of them are two weeks.

Some are two and some are one?

F: Yes.

Grand ok and as a family unit do you take an annual holiday?

M& F: Yes.

And when do you normally go on that holiday?

F: Between June and July usually yes, this year it was the first week in August but I think that is the very first time, so usually during the school summer holidays.

M: I suppose in the past it has generally been the end of June because it's a quieter time but also a cheaper time as well for flights and holidays you know, so probably the last week in June has been the norm, but this year…

F: Once they are off yes.

M: Yes so this year has been different in that we took it in August I suppose, yeah.

F: Because [daughter] went to Irish College this year so that kind of changed the dates around a little bit.

Yes, yes we had a similar experience ourselves. And have you taken family holidays in previous life stages say when the kids were younger?

F: Yes we stayed in Ireland until [daughter] was 7 actually and [son] was 4 and then that was our first holiday, we got the ferry to Brittany and did the, you know, park… the mobile home…

Yes, yes, yes.

F: So that was our first holiday out of Ireland.

And would you regard the breaks before that when [daughter] was younger, six, five, four, in Ireland, were they holidays?

F: They were yes.

M: Actually we are very lucky, I suppose living in the, I suppose the middle of Ireland the West Coast it's either Kerry or Westport or something like that so we did one or two trips to Westport and one or two trips to Kerry and we have been lucky, we have also had good weather as well.

F: It has always been a week-long you know when we have stayed in Ireland.

M: Yes.

F: A week self-catering somewhere.

Yes grand and I suppose this is specifically for yourselves, when you were younger Valerie were you taken on family holidays?

F: No I grew up on a farm so we did a lot of day trips and then we would have rented a caravan every so often you know, I can remember maybe 4 or 5, maybe 3 or 4 of those kind of holidays and where

my mother would come with the two youngest in the family, myself and my sister, and my father and my four brothers would stay at home and he'd come down maybe for the middle of the week, three days and then go back. You know so it was kind of we got away but not as a family unit by any means.

Right and that was because of the occupation, farming?

F: Yes.

Grand, grand.

F: And it was pretty normal as well amongst all my friends you know it wasn't unusual you know to… I suppose growing up on a farm anyway, there is going to be lots of farms around as well and it was pretty normal yes.

Yes grand.

M: I suppose myself, my parents were from a farming background as well, I grew up in a town but I spent a lot of the summers on farms so I stayed with different cousins. My parents were I suppose they liked to bring us travelling as well so we would have been to England, Isle of Man and to France you know, taking 3 or 4 weeks and doing a camping holiday and so we would have done France, Spain, Switzerland, Italy, and you know touching on those areas which was probably unusual back then.

It was yes because you are a similar age to myself

M: Yes but you know they weren't expensive holidays, they were budget you know. We had a trailer tent and we would have budgeted food and everything else as well like but very enjoyable holidays, you know.

And have you many brothers and sisters?

M: I have two sisters, two younger sisters.

Right.

M: But yes we all look back and I suppose that experience would have made it a lot easier for us then to, I suppose travel you know, give us confidence to go out there and go on holidays and bring the kids to different places as well.

So I suppose then the obvious from it… has that influenced then holidaying for you now as a family?

M: Oh definitely yes, yes.

Yes.

M: We would have gone on a lot of… I suppose the children we would have brought them to either apartments or camping holidays as in mobile homes to France, Italy, Spain, and I suppose Malta recently as well and I suppose skiing to Switzerland and I suppose [daughter] then, I suppose she would have the confidence now. She was in Norway and Sweden last year with another group as well.

F: With her music school.

M: You know, yes with her music and were able to travel as well you know.

F: Yes.

Good and that would be important for you?

M: Oh yes.

F: Yes I think something different is very healthy isn't it, just to experience something yes.

Good, good, grand. And has the holiday changed over the years, say over the last 5/10 years?

F: A little bit.

Daughter: When we were younger we would be very focused on like the slides and the fun parks and now not so much, we still like that but that wouldn't be the main event of the holiday.

F: We would like a little village or a small little town…

F: Yes like swimming pools or at the beach or like a…

F: Yes.

You like swimming pools now or you used to like them now back then?

F: We like the swimming pools now.

F: We still love them yes and I suppose [son] being the youngest definitely, but no that would be high up on the list, we wouldn't really go to a place without a swimming pool I would say.

Good.

M: New experiences, like the skiing was something totally different yes.

F: We wouldn't have done that years ago so yes.

Yes.

M: And I suppose every time we go skiing it would be like this time around snorkelling was something different. Last time in Italy we took out a speedboat, we would have gone paddling, canoeing and paddle boarding. You know so all the different experiences I suppose on each trip.

Good and would it be important for you that you would have some of these lined up or know that you would possibly…?

M: Well I suppose going on holiday you'd… like even planning looking at next year now we are talking about two weeks and one would be on a boat, maybe another would be say a holiday camp which has water sports as well, maybe something different again, so yes we'll try that.

Grand, grand, and where do your peers go, where do your kind of work colleagues go?

F: Oh our peers, I thought you were talking to the kids.

Well I suppose everybody… where are your friends going on holidays [son]?

Son: My friends, like one of my friends went skiing as well around the time we went skiing.

F: And [friend] was in Spain wasn't he?

M: Yes.

Good.

M: Went to Spain recently.

Good, good. And [daughter]?

Daughter: Like not all of my friends went on holidays but the ones that did… one of my friends went to America for 3 weeks and then one of my friends went like, she didn't go on holiday, she just went back home to the Netherlands. Then one of my friends went to Abu Dhabi but like she used to live there.

Oh right.

Daughter: I don't really think any of my friends went on actual holidays, I don't think, I think [friend] went to Portugal didn't she?

F: Yes they always go to Portugal.

F: Some of my friends went to like different places in Ireland as well.

Yes, yes good and would you think that's a holiday?

F: Yes.

Good, grand, grand. And where are your friends?

F: Work colleagues and friends very similar to us. Yes I mean like even the places we were in Italy, other people have since gone there and you know kind of similar places. One of the friends that you talked about there [daughter], they go to Portugal every year you know so they go back to the same place. Another friend they have a mobile home in Kerry and they go there every year but they might fit somewhere else in. So in work it is definitely similar to us, it is a week or two weeks depending on circumstances that year and one holiday a year really in most cases.

Yes.

M: I suppose money does play a part in it you know, the value in the holiday as well, like we went to Malta recently, we went Thursday to Thursday because the flights were €1,000 cheaper you know. But I suppose yeah a lot of the colleagues, even around here, I would say one of our neighbours here would swap houses, actually the other neighbour swapped house recently as well, so that is something we might try in the future as well.

Yes.

M: But I suppose depending… we worked in the States for 4 years as well, so we did a lot of travelling and all the holidays would have been around the States you know, Hawaii, Canada, Mexico, places like that.

Yes.

M: And we've worked around Europe a fair bit and we were on holidays in Japan and you know so places like that so I suppose we want to give the kids that experience as well you know to be confident to be able to travel. Definitely you learn a lot, the more you travel and working abroad as well, but yes we made a conscience effort to come back here again but to still enjoy going abroad with the family you know.

Yes so would it be fair to say that you have kind of holidays from a previous time, maybe when you were just a couple?

F: Yes.

And you've done sort of lined up so to speak, that you'll go as a family unit at some stage maybe?

F: You mean?

Say back to America or Japan and things?

F: Umm yes again it all depends on budget and all of that yes. I mean it would be lovely, I would love to bring them to America and go to some of the places we lived in and visited when we were there yes, it's lovely but it is kind of more of a sometime maybe…

Yes on that famous bucket list, it's a stupid phrase but there we are.

M: Yes.

Grand and are you restricted on the type of holiday you can take?

F: No.

M: No I don't think so.

You are not restricted by times that you go or..?

F: Oh well I mean, school, outside of school times, we don't have any other restriction really I mean we both can just book our days you know, it's not like we are teachers that you know have to take…

M: Yeah we can't go during Halloween as well because we have a big Halloween party here so that's…

Oh yes Halloween yes, nearly getting more important than Christmas in ways isn't it?

M: Actually a good few friends would have gone to… probably use that time of year for a Disney trip to the States.

Grand, grand.

F: Are they the kind of restrictions you were thinking of like work wise or health wise or anything?

Sometimes it's health wise, like I mean I have been studying this for years and I was at a conference and some person said you know we are restricted because of our age and a few health problems have come long and we can't for insurance reasons go to…

F: Yes.

And like the word restricted stuck with me and I said yes…

F: Umm.

You know so I just started throwing it out there because some people are, you could say in your youth your parents were restricted because of the occupation that they couldn't go you know…

F: Yes true.

Farming and stuff, so restrictions can mean many things to many people and would you have taken the children out of school for a holiday?

F: We did one year, I remember the school closed for a week the beginning of June…

Yes.

F: So we took a second week with that and we did Disney in Paris for the first week and did a holiday camp then for the second week and it just was too good of an opportunity as regards to how much quieter the park was and how much cheaper it was to go that time of the year.

Yes.

F: So that was the longest, I mean we have taken them a day here and there if it you know… like in February now for the skiing [daughter] was out for… [son] was out for 5 days that time, I forgot that but [daughter] was out for one extra day I think.

Yes.

F: Because she was mid-term, he only had a two-day mid-term you see, so he had the extra days.

Yes.

F: So we would but we would try not no and actually it's kind of driven by… they kind of don't want to miss the last few weeks of school because they are the best craic and they don't really get homework and it's a bit of fun.

Yes, yes, yes it is wrapping up and stuff, like some families have a very tight kind of policy you know.

F: Yes.

And you can get very contentious you know, 'what do you mean we don't get a holiday if we don't go at the end of June' or whatever.

F: Yes there is a huge difference in cost.

It does yes.

F: And it's funny the primary school here never gave that week in June again you know, but actually it works better because next year I think he is off 23rd June you know, so I would rather they got off earlier for the proper summer holidays anyway.

Yes grand and I suppose this one, advise of a typical day and holidays, so [daughter] what is a typical day, so day two, so you have got to wherever?

Daughter: Well usually when we were younger we wake up quite early but in the last holiday we would wake up around 12 or 1 o'clock.

F: Well by the time we had left the room…

Daughter: By the time we had left the room it would be about 1 and then we would go get breakfast somewhere and then maybe go to the pool or the beach and we would spend quite a while there, and then we might go get dinner, and then we would just hang out, maybe walk around, go to shopping if there are shops, check out the village and then go to bed.

F: Play cards, you forgot the cards, which is a huge part of the holiday for us isn't it?

So tell us about the cards [son].

Son: Well we just have, I usually if there is a balcony we go and we play cards, usually like poker or 45 and we just like… it's kind of our tradition.

Good, good, grand ok.

F: End the day like that…

Yes, yes.

M: I suppose some of it you would have planned out, like for example this time round do a bit of research beforehand and we would spend a day snorkelling. That was something new for the kids as well so they enjoyed that. Probably like with the trip to Italy we would have done some research beforehand you know, market is always in one day. Then you've got the town, maybe see the village another day. Like we do the speedboat another day, we did…

F: We did a lot of Italy.

M: Yes we did paddling one day and I suppose we did another Italian trip as well where we went to Siena you know…

Yes

M: The horse, the Palio. We did Florence. So they would be two days and then maybe the countryside maybe see if there is some sort of trip around or a meal and then the market there and whatever. So there will be certain things that you would do but I suppose we have some research done beforehand and plenty of pool and swimming.

F: Lazy days mixed in with active days would be really.

M: Yes.

F: Just this year we were particularly lazy because it was a week instead of two weeks and I suppose we were a little bit under the weather health wise you know colds and that.

Yes, yes.

F: And it was a hotel for the first time this year for the week, so it was very comfortable to just chill out in the hotel and finally get ourselves moving.

M: And generally we like to do maybe a day of culture, it was fairly limited this year but we still went to the old quarter in Malta…

Yes.

M: But even getting there was something different you know on a small little boat across the bay and like that in itself is an experience and then the old quarter into a market and then, so there is something different about the day you know.

Yes, yes.

M: Up on a lift up to the park at the very top and then watch the gun salutes and all that kind of stuff so you know.

Yes very scenic, it is, James Bond type of thing.

M: Yes exactly.

Malta, I thought so anyway. Isn't it? I was like wow.

F: Like where we stayed was probably way overdeveloped, beautiful hotel and all that but once you went down a few streets you're seeing all the beautiful old architecture and I loved that actually where the gun salute was, I can't remember the name.

Yes.

M: Victorial, not Barrica.

And why did you stay in a hotel this year?

F: Because I suppose because it was just for the week and we were landing late enough, I think it was getting in around midnight. I think again because it was a new place nobody we knew had really been there to kind of say, 'oh stay at this part of the island', you know so we were reading hundreds of reviews but in the end we got a nice deal in this hotel and it looked just like, 'do you know what that will be nice and easy going', you know a bit of pampering I suppose for ourselves for the week.

Yes.

M: I suppose the more you travel you learn certain tricks as well as in you know, book somewhere and then as you get closer then you know better deals come up and so you know, we stayed in a five star this time round and it was…

F: For a very, very, very good deal.

M: And you know compared with…because we did look at maybe staying on the North Island and Gozo and…

F: We couldn't have got a ferry there at the time we landed so we couldn't do that.

M: You know but it would have been very quiet and just a pool there, whereas I think this time round I think the kids enjoyed the buzz about the place you know.

F: Yes it is a busy little place wasn't it and that Bay Street Shopping Centre was nearby.

Yes.

F: How long ago were you there?

Two or three years ago, off a cruise ship, like for one afternoon, in and out you know?

F: Oh yes, well there is a shopping centre anyway, it was nice.

And would you let [daughter] and [son] off on their own?

F: No, no we did… just say we were having dinner in a restaurant beside the hotel, they would head off on their own and [daughter] would text me to say that we were home now.

Yes.

F: But I mean no, generally we are not that bothered, we have never really you know… well we wouldn't need to use a babysitter now at this age, but even when they were younger it's like we would just go out for an early dinner and hang out with them.

Yes.

M: Yes cruise with the kids, our honeymoon we went Antigua for one week and then on a cruise then for the next week and we had a great time, it was lovely, very nice.

F: And that was, the cruise was paid for by all our flying when we worked in America and all the airline miles, yes it was very good.

God you were highflyers then.

F: Well that's just the way the jobs were you know.

Very good.

F: Now I would say when the kids were younger the hotel wouldn't had been as good you know because a lot of the things at campsites is they get to socialise so much and that was a huge part you know, they made so many friends on the holiday.

Yes.

F: But that is one change as you get older that doesn't seem to be as important to you, you probably still wouldn't say no to it if that came about but it wasn't… you know the kids clubs are on the campsites and all that so they kind of always wanted to go.

Yes so you've moved beyond that?

F: Probably. Again they wouldn't say an absolute no to it either I would say, if it was for their age.

Daughter: It's not like we would be flat out looking for it though.

F: Exactly yes, it wouldn't be on the list of oh we can't go there because there are no activities.

So you wouldn't be flat out looking for it, sorry.

Daughter: We wouldn't be looking at it as the only option…

Yes, yes.

F: …to go to somewhere with kids' clubs and stuff.

I didn't just catch it, grand ok. So are there certain activities/traditions that you do when you are on holiday, so we are on holiday we are doing…? [Son] do you want to kick off with that one? What's a holiday tradition do you think for yourself?

Son: Maybe the cards.

F: Yes.

Good, do you play cards at home?

Son: Yes, but not as much.

And do you like that?

Son: Yes I like playing cards when we go on holiday because it is kind of like something nice before we go to bed.

Good and how did that evolve?

Son: Ermm I am not sure I think we just kind of started playing them one year, dad taught us some new games that we didn't know and then we just kind of turned it into, 'oh do you want to play cards', and then it just kind of turned into a tradition.

F: Well we wouldn't have had a TV ever, even this year there was a TV in the room but we didn't really make much use of it so probably it has just evolved like that. Sitting out on the deck of the mobile home or whatever and kind of…

Good and you enjoy it?

Son: Yes.

And what is enjoyable about it?

Son: About the cards?

Yes.

Son: Well, it's like it's, we talk at the same time and it's something like to entertain us, it is fun, some competitiveness.

F: Stopping people cheating.

[Laughs]

F: Nobody is looking at anyone in particular.

M: You would learn more playing cheat like.

Very good, it's all coming out now lovely. So cards that has evolved over the last few years.

Son: Yes.

So the last 4 or 5 holidays anyway?

F: Yes.

M: Yes.

Very good and is there anything else, something that makes you feel 'wow I am on holiday?'

F: Well we always have to have an explore of… like even this year getting in at midnight we had to walk the whole way round the hotel and check the pools and what they are like for the next day and all of that.

So you do a quick reki when you arrive?

F: Yes a reki when we arrive just to see what's happening, what else?

M: I suppose we would always do a market.

F: Oh yes we always do the market yes.

M: We do our history tour and we do, I suppose the water is a lot to do with it you know, water sports and I suppose for ourselves just having one or two beers on the balcony, so a balcony is important in the sun I suppose. But one very small tradition we always do is we always get a few magnets, so our fridge is covered in holiday magnets.

Holiday magnets oh yes.

M: And we get one for our Christmas tree as well, so our Christmas tree is full of decorations from all the places that we have been to as well.

Aww and that's a longer tradition say than card playing is it?

M: I say yes.

F: Magnets have been forever.

M: Forever yes.

So did you do that when say you were a honeymoon couple?

F: Yes.

M: Yes.

Before the kids?

F: Well I think actually no, we used to be Christmas decorations first and then our fridge used to magnetic and then when we got that it might have been…

M: Funny enough I used to collect magnets because I knew one day…

F: That would be typical yes.

Did you?

M: Yes.

So when you were together you collected magnets knowing that you would have a fridge.

M: It was always yes important because there is some out there…

F: We do actually from when we lived in the States yes.

M: From all the different States there and you know, Mexico, Hawaii, Japan and all these places yes.

F: That's true yes.

So I suppose…

F: I suppose we just didn't put them up for a few years yes.

Yes it begs the question then, did you collect magnets or something similar when you were a child?

M: No actually not on the fridge.

Or some other similar thing?

M: I still collect now, coins.

Oh you're a collector anyway are you?

F: Yes.

M: I never did it on purpose, it was just that we always had change at the end of the holiday so it just started from there. I used to do beer mats as well, I would write down where we were on a certain night and sure, all my relations would be travelling and they would bring back stamps and postcards and things like that. It wasn't the case that I'd collect them, it was just a case that I would have a box and I would just throw them in.

F: And you would never throw them out.

[Laughs]

M: But you look back now and you say, 'oh yes that's the time we were in so and so', because back then cameras weren't as easy you know, everyone didn't have a camera.

Yes.

M: And you look back on tours and you say, 'oh yeah', but you probably have very few photographs but you might have a magnet or you might something or whatever so.

Very good, grand, so it has actually come up through previous life stages really?

M: Yes.

Yes and it has moved on now, lovely it is a very good one. And is there certain food or drinks that you have on holiday?

F: Not really drinks, we might try a local beer alright.

Daughter: You probably let ourselves get more sugar on holidays than we would at home.

F: Yes we are easier on ourselves.

Daughter: Because we're like on a break.

F: That's true, more ice cream definitely. Food like if you are in Italy you would try and go somewhere with the really nice Italian food and when you are in the parks, campsites… not as much I suppose when they were younger because you just probably eat at the campsite mainly, unless we do one of our little excursions out you know.

Yes.

F: But yes I suppose try the local food and more ice creams and stuff like that.

More ice creams.

F: Yes I would say.

Good, good and is it important for you to bring home a fridge magnet?

F: It is nice yes, I suppose we wouldn't be devastated if we forgot or anything.

Daughter: We try to look for one.

M: And the kids would usually pick them as well you know so.

F: Sometimes we come home with four but sometimes we only have one, like this year.

F: Yes it is just a nice little tradition.

Grand and what does it mean to you?

F: The magnet?

Yes.

Daughter: Well it's nice to look at the fridge and be like, 'oh I remember that', and remember the memories that come along with the magnets I suppose. Like you'd look, like at a helmet from Rome and I would be like, 'oh I remember when dad took me to Rome and they are nice memories that are attached to them.

Yes lovely, nice way to put it, yeah very good. And do you enjoy the holiday?

F: Yes.

And what are the best bits?

Son: Probably the swimming.

F: Yes [son], usually we are all sitting on the side of the pool ready to finish up and then [son] does another half an hour or an hour.

Very good.

F: You're throwing the rings in for him to get, they are strong swimmers and Luke is a strong swimmer and I can swim so you know I am fine but some days there is loads of fun to be had by them yes.

And Luke the best bits for you?

M: I suppose definitely sharing experiences with the kids as well, new experiences as well, it could be something as simple as, you know, [daughter] scuba diving in a pool but even for to, I suppose, experience that and she can look back maybe, because I suppose when we're, well years ago when we were all young there were certain things that you found out that you were good at this, but by that stage you are in your 30's or something.

Yes, yes.

M: But even the skiing now that they have experienced it, it was great to see them, they took to skiing like ducks to water, way better than us. We have been two or three times before but the kids were really ermm…

F: I think as well, you were saying [daughter] scuba diving and that year [son] was 4, still 4 yeah, and it was an awful heatwave and we were in a non-air-conditioned mobile home and so we spent a lot of time at the pool and he just started swimming one day, like two of us were with him and he just suddenly started doggy paddling. So that was like, 'ok', so there is a reason why we are all roasting you know but it was a lovely memory, I clearly remember him doing that.

M: We were coming back from a holiday actually as well and [son] started walking.

F: Crawling?

M: Yes crawling yes.

F: He just crawled across the floor all of a sudden, one of those play area-places we stopped on the way home.

Yes.

F: So, I suppose when it happens on a holiday like that it's clearer in your mind and I think you do remember it as a big part of the holiday, don't you? It's a lovely thing.

It is yes, that's exactly what we are getting into, very good. And do you regard the holiday as an important aspect of family life?

F: Yes.

M: Oh yes, it is a necessity.

Necessity.

F: I'd nearly call it like a prescription you know, just for everyone to just… we are all so busy…

Daughter: There is not a lot of time in the normal year where we are all together for a long period of time. Then on holiday there are no distractions, we get to spend time with each other and like just hang out which is something that we do a lot more in the holidays than we would be able to do for the rest of the year.

F: Yes.

Grand so it is an important aspect?

F: Yes.

This might be a tricky one, has it got more important as the years have gone by or is it the same?

F: I would say the same, I'd say it hasn't got any less important you know to say it like that.

Yes.

F: It has been equally important every year yes, in my mind anyway. What do you think guys?

M: Yes.

Has it got more important or less important for you [daughter]?

Daughter: Well I would say that my life has definitely been busier now than when I was younger because of like school and friends and everything, there is more like, not stressful but kind of the same time now and then the holiday is a really good break so in that aspect it would be more important.

F: That's a good point.

Daughter: It's more of a break than when your… because when you are really young, you kind of, everything is kind of like fun and stuff, well like everything is fun now still but it's more… and then the holiday is more of like you don't have to think about anything like that, you just relax and spend time with your family, so that's good.

Good, good, grand.

M: I suppose the travel is an education as well, they always say I mean, my grandparents said and you know education you know is that travel will make a person of you. Even something small like you are in a restaurant and encourage the kids to learn a few phrases of Italian or French or Spanish and ask for and say thank you and whatever. You can see the confidence like… [daughter] and [son] would have no fear about you know, a foreign country and going up and asking for something or saying please and thanks and no thank you. And it definitely happened to us I suppose the more we travelled the more you say, 'oh yes I'll try this', and give it a go so you can see that in the kids as well, they try everything you know so as long as they're safe.

Good, good and would you all agree that it is an important aspect of your family life yes? And is there anything more important, would you rank it I know kind of its hypothetically but…

F: As in the type of holiday?

No as in the full year sort of June to June you know.

F: As a family?

Yes.

F: Outside of a holiday?

Yes of everything you do like, you know mass on Sunday or school or football matches or the hurling or whatever, where does it fit in the whole year of living?

F: Where does the holiday fit?

Yes.

F: That is a tough question, I am thinking now I think we would still be quite happy if for some reason we just couldn't go on holiday this year, we would get over it.

M: I suppose we generally approach a lot of things like you know, we go to a good few matches, say matches and we travel together you know like last year we went up to the All-Ireland, we had our Galway tickets and Valerie is from Limerick, so we were on one side and Valerie was on the other side. That was a family experience and we are all very comfortable doing that because you know we might go down to Limerick the odd time or out to my Mother in Mountbellew and spend a few nights and meet up with relations so that is important but in a way that's kind of like a holiday as well. Like travelling up to Dublin or travelling to these matches is a break, it's a holiday.

Yes.

M: Christmas holidays are important for us you know, it's a tradition putting the tree up and all the places we have been and then as we put them up, [daughter] will always put the angel up on top of the tree and [son], you would take it down, I suppose you would help [daughter] actually put the tree up.

F: The two of them put it up together.

M: Yes and then all the places we have been then, as we put the up on the tree we would say, 'oh yes I remember this and I remember when we got this', or whatever, so you are remembering the holidays as well like. So Easter holidays we would usually go to my mother's, for a few days and that's a holiday but that's again the same thing and I suppose from Valerie's point, we wouldn't miss the holiday as much because we continue that throughout the year as well.

F: Yes I suppose it's like getting time out together is very important even if it is only a drive you know down to Clare, just something where we can just chill out and you know that's important too.

Good.

F: We would miss it like but it's… so I don't know for ranking.

No its…do you know what…different families have different perspectives and stuff you know and you get completely different answers and things.

F: Yes.

That's why we are here, for everybody it falls differently.

M: I suppose you get some families that you are talking you know relations as well and they say, 'oh yes we are all not going together this year', and whatever and some children at young ages might not go on holiday with their family. I consider that unusual because and I don't know about you, but you know, I like think to that even over the next few years they would still like to go on holidays and enjoy the holidays because I think you've probably got some friends already who don't go on holidays with their parents you know.

Daughter: Really?

Daughter: As in like the friend goes off or the…

F: Oh the friend goes with another family.

M: No, no, no maybe they all might not go on holidays you know. Talking to some people at work now and the kids in fifth year didn't go on holidays with them.

F: Oh yes. That's true.

Is that Leaving-Cert year or the one before?

M: The one before even transition…

F: Going into Leaving.

Going into Leaving.

M: They get to a certain age where they are going to go off…

F: They could be 18 though at that stage and you know.

M: In transition year?

F: Going into leaving.

16 and 17 yes, yes. And they wouldn't go and that would jar with you?

M: No it wouldn't jar with me but it would be… I suppose, I suppose you would like to think that you know it would be another few years hopefully we'll enjoy holidays together, you know.

F: Yes it would be sad to think that's it then and you know, even if it was I'd say as you get older again you might try and do, you know, holidays when they are in their 20's.

M: It does mean you'll miss out on Australia and Japan.

Good, good and are you going on holidays in the near future?

F: Yes, yes do you mean…this is just a general question?

Yes, yes, yes.

F: We will continue to go on holidays yes.

Grand and is there anything you would do differently the next holiday?

M: I think so we have already talked about it…

F: We have a better plan ahead of time because it was a bit last minute our planning this time.

M: I would like to do the two weeks again.

F: Yes

M: And a different country like Croatia was an idea that… we mentioned, maybe say do a boat the first week with lots of swimming and then the second week on a campsite with lots of water sports or something.

And just to…on the boat do you mean hire a boat or a cruise ship?

M: A cruise, kind of a small cruise sailing ship you know so yes.

F: I think about 30 people would be on it.

M: Yes.

Oh right and you just join that group.

M: Yes we just join that and then it's all coves you go into them and swimming and you know that kind of thing. That is an idea that I put out there but again it something different you know.

Yes, yes, yes…. it would be important for you to make sure you have something different? It seems to be coming across.

M: Well I suppose.

F: Umm hum.

M: But even for ourselves, you know because…

F: We all enjoy it yes but I think you would be the most maybe… and you [daughter]?

Daughter: I like it, like I wouldn't like to be doing the exact same thing every year.

F: No I suppose I wouldn't either yes.

Daughter: I like to get as much different things as possible like.

F: Yes.

M: I suppose I still look at myself as a kid as in holidays are not going to be just going to Spain every year for me, they want to experience something different each time.

Yes.

M: Like Malta was a new country for us like if we go to… like am, Switzerland was a new country for the kids now but I have been there before, but if we go somewhere like Croatia it's a new country for me, for Valerie you know.

F: Mmm hum.

M: A cultural experience.

F: It is exciting to go somewhere different but yes.

M: Again I suppose you mentioned Portugal at the start you know a few months back as a possible place and I said no, I would like to do something different.

Has Portugal been done?

M: Yes it's been done and [daughter] has been there before.

F: Only when [daughter] was a year old though. Anyway to me, see Portugal as well was, kind of you can fly out at Shannon you know, I was looking at the whole thing but I was very happy to go to Malta too you know, it was kind of thrown in there. You kind of ruled out Portugal because it was maybe in your head more familiar than you know.

M: Actually I would say about five people at work were going to Portugal or Spain and we have been there before and I didn't see anything new in Portugal as in the culture, we have been there before, we have experienced it and depending on where you go as well, there is not an awful lot, it is just sun really.

Yes, yes, yes and golf as well if you are a golfer.

M: Yes.

Good, good, good. So just to clarify the two weeks, you want to go back to two weeks, why?

F: Just because you're kind of, you're not feeling like the holiday will be over now in a few days. Basically you are just totally chilling out knowing you have loads of time ahead of you.

M: Yes.

F: And more time to do things I suppose as well.

M: Yes, we work in IT as well so it does take a week to wind down, to shut your brain off because it's you know, your brain is going non-stop the whole time.

Yes.

M: So yes I think it is the second week you really feel like god yeah, just forgetting about work.

Yes, yes and would you be cool with that?

Daughter: Yes.

You wouldn't feel you have missed your friends, 2 weeks away?

Daughter: No.

Son: No.

F: Well it might come into it a little bit, but only if you also went to Irish College as well or something, and then that's you're gone for five weeks.

Daughter: But yes most of my friends have gone on holidays as well.

F: Yes.

Daughter: So you kind of like… most of my friends would be gone… usually when we go around July or like June most of my friends would be gone around the same time anyway.

F: Yes.

Daughter: So I know when we went this year actually I think only a couple of my friends were at home anyway.

Yes.

Daughter: So I don't really feel like I am missing out on much.

F: But probably because of that… whereas if we said we are going now for three weeks or two weeks when everyone else is just back you know, it's not that you wouldn't not want to go or whatever but it would be a little bit of…

F: Yes.

Yes ok. Maybe just advise of a time when a holiday didn't go well, who wants to kick off with that one?

Daughter: I don't think there has ever been a time where like a holiday didn't go well.

Son: There might have been sometimes where like if you got sunburnt on the first day and then you have to like… every time it would be kind of annoying.

Yes.

Son: It is never really a holiday didn't go well but there's stuff that didn't go as planned in the holiday sometimes.

Yes.

F: Yes and it's…

Son: It's just a bit annoying.

F: Yes.

Can you remember any one in particular for yourself [son]?

Son: Well probably the sunburn.

F: In Greece yes.

Greece ok.

F: When we went to Crete and [son] had sun cream on and there was waves you know the strong waves and it obviously washed it all off. He never gets sunburnt usually, he got bad sunburn on his shoulders and it was sore wasn't it [son]? You didn't need any medical aid or anything.

M: Yes.

It is on the shoulders, I know all about sunburn.

F: That's the only thing that I am thinking, weather related, Brittany we had a bit of rain and then the pools were coldish but there was an inside pool as well so it was fine and then the heatwave but then [son] learnt how to swim that year.

M: I remember one evening, typical Irish, it was kind of a bit chilly but 8 o'clock in the evening we were still in the Pool and said we're going to get the best out of this.

[Laughs]

Yes.

M: But I think travel does make you, it does open you up and does make you realise to make the best out of every situation. So if it's lashing rain outside well then it's a good chance to play cards and we have done that many times, play cards when we might have had thunderstorms and played cards on the porch and enjoy that as well. That's an experience in itself.

Yes.

M: I suppose hopefully we give that to the kids as well so no matter what situation there is always something to be done, you can make the best of a situation you know.

Good, good.

F: I am still here trying to think, I wouldn't not go on any of the holidays we have been on you know.

Yes, it came up in research and then up came, do you feel under pressure to enjoy the holiday and I kind of went, 'oh', it kind of just hit me in the face that you are under pressure to enjoy it like you have to enjoy it, it's your holiday.

F: I don't think so, I think we just enjoy hanging out anyway and you know we are not afraid to say…

Daughter: Yes if there is something we didn't enjoy we would say it and then we would do something else.

F: Yes.

M: Malta was a good example, we said to the kids, 'ok the choice now, we are going on a boat, we are going to Blue Lagoon, we're going snorkelling, the choice is you can go snorkelling for a few hours and then go on a trip, historical around the island or else go snorkelling for six hours?' Of course the kids chose the six hours, you know, and we were fine with that as well.

F: Yes I would say definitely not under pressure.

Yes it threw me the comment in the research, I went 'oh right', and then I thought well do I feel under pressure myself like you know, when we're on holidays and stuff.

F: Yes.

Yeah, it sort of stops you in your tracks a bit, good, good. And did you enjoy the six hours of snorkelling?

Daughter: Yes definitely.

And did you enjoy the fact that you were given the choice?

Daughter: Yes I don't think… it's good that we got to choose instead of them just saying, 'right we are doing this'. It's nice that we got to give some input and then we all decided as a family instead of you know we made sure everyone was happy with the choice and not just being dragged along because that is what the rest of them wanted to do.

M: I suppose actually [daughter] was asked one or two years ago, so would you like to go back to France? I would like to go somewhere different. So it's fairly traditional at this stage to go somewhere different to experience somewhere different as well.

I would say that was music to your ears was it?

[Laughs]

M: I mean there is still plenty of countries out there like Croatia, Cyprus, all those countries you know.

Yes very exciting, yes especially Europe there is so much.

F: Oh yes.

M: And each of them are so different, I suppose at a certain age you know like for a guy… we grew up in an area when there is only 15/20 years after a war like, so you grew up with TV and all the documentaries and all that experience. So then maybe say we were in Rome, we went to the Colosseum and you know I did Latin and you do history and all that but I think [daughter] you found the Roman history very interesting as well.

Daughter: Yeah it was really cool.

M: And [son] I suppose in Italy you then go onto a lot of these as well like, we've watched Roman history a few times on TV you know, so you are bringing the holidays kind of into that as well you know the experience so then when you look at something again you say, 'oh yes'.

You are re-living it again.

M: Yes.

Good, good, and so nothing really has gone too badly wrong?

F: No I mean when they were younger they would have had more ear infections or whatever on holidays, that kind of thing but no I don't think… other than the normal stuff that might go wrong but yes.

M: There is probably an approach you can take to holidays as well, as in if you are travelling and the flight is delayed and you know you could make a big song and dance and say, 'this is ruined', ok it just gives us a chance to sit down and look around or read a book or whatever it is and hopefully again we've given the kids that attitude to say, 'look things will go wrong no matter where you go but just make the best of it', I suppose look on the bright side, look at the opportunities, you might meet somebody that you haven't met in a while or whatever so make the best of it.

Good, good, grand ok, just the last question then. So as a family unit then, are there aspects of the holiday that are important to you like, when you heard that I was coming today, that we haven't discussed yet and you think, 'god we didn't chat about this?'

M: Again take it as it comes, when you said, I didn't even think about what we would or wouldn't say, just you know.

F: I suppose… are there aspects that are important to us that we haven't… no I suppose once there are…they are something nice for the kids to do. Also as well you know, if we went to a hotel or a campsite with no pool or you couldn't swim in the sea because it was polluted or whatever that would be a big downer alright.

Daughter: Maybe it would be nice to have restaurants nearby.

F: Yes we do like somewhere that you can… you don't have to drive, so it is nice to just stroll out and tour round a little bit.

M: Yes.

F: Yes but I think we have kind of said all that already.

M: I suppose the holiday planning really you know, usually we leave things to the last minute, but there is… you might think, oh yes we left everything to the last minute but there is a certain amount of planning there.

F: Yes.

M: And even the hotel we picked it was… we rely a lot on reviews and experience and what people say like you know, three reviews can tell you a lot more like, is there mosquitos there, is the food good there.

F: Yes.

M: Is it noisy, what is there to do within walking distance, is the food good and all that kind of stuff and you might think there is a lot of research there but you can pick it up in a few minutes by looking at a few reviews. So there is a bit of experience I suppose in planning a holiday as well…

Yes.

M: And making sure that it is a good holiday. You know we looked at many different hotels and we chose one in the end, it was something different but again reviews said that it wasn't a bad old place you know.

Yes.

F: Based on the accommodation as well I suppose the accommodation that… we are not all going to be like, it's going to be comfortable for everyone, that's what we want. So we wouldn't leave that to chance I suppose.

Yes.

M: It has to tick certain boxes, like this hotel we stayed in was, now it was a five-star and it was really nice, the room was very big and it had a balcony. We had two pools, it had its own private beach and you know, there was shopping and there was the food area. And so it doesn't always have to be the same sort of food or same beach or same pool but you know, as long as it has a certain kind of a list that you tick off.

Yes, so you have kind of a list there in your head?

M: I suppose in your head yes you would… you know I suppose next year it will have to be a beach, pools, water sport and maybe say good food, maybe in walking distance of a nice village.

F: Yes. That's kind of the standard

M: Pretty simple but…

Have you used travel agents?

F: No.

Obviously, you're IT literate but…

F: Well the first year ever we went we were a bit clueless actually when we went to Brittany that first year and getting the ferry and all of that, no we did it ourselves but I remember thinking why isn't there a travel agent just to ring up and tell us you know, you are better to get this ferry and then you book the ferry first and book the campsite after, you know, all those obvious things once you do it once but no we have never booked through a travel agent.

And [daughter] would have been what age about for the Brittany holiday?

F: When we first went [son] was 3 or 4, yeah so [daughter] anyway was 6 or 7.

Yes grand so that was your first away holiday and it was a lot of work there but you have learnt from that?

F: Yes.

M: Oh yes, I suppose things to do is an important thing you know and it is very simple to look up a website and say ok, ten things to do in the area. A good example of that would be we brought my mother, my sister, and my mother to, last year we brought her to the Chelsea Flower Show, this year we went to the Cotswolds, you know gardens and houses.

Yes.

M: And we went to the Shakespeare Theatre in Stratford and we went one evening for a meal, instead of just an ordinary meal we actually went on a barge and had a meal. And again that was something very different, it didn't cost anymore and we just mentioned it to a few other people as well and they say, 'brilliant idea', you know and that's just very simple looking up beforehand, ten things to do when you are in so and so and we will do this and that, that's good you know. And the same when we went to Malta I was looking up the snorkelling you know for the day…

Yes.

M: And very simple you know, no matter where you go just do a small bit of research beforehand and it's the same with the reviews as well.

And just as a quick side, do you do a yearly holiday with your mum and your sister?

M: The last few years we have yes.

F: The last couple of years yes, this is Luke would go with his mum and sister.

Yes and what about three or four days is it?

M: The first time, the Chelsea Flower Show was about three days, this one was about four days so yes.

Oh right.

M: But even again it's different you know, some people might come and say, 'oh yes there is a lot of old people there', or something like that but some of them have a great craic you know.

Yes, yes.

M: And again it is a different experience, you really slow down, like my mother, she is nearly eighty now but she likes going places too.

Good, good, and finally is there something else that I should know, have I missed something?

F: I can't think of anything Susanne unless anyone else has anything?

No? Do you feel you have given me your holiday story?

F: Pretty much yes.

Good, good that was lovely.

F: I hope that was helpful to you.

Oh no it was brilliant, do you want to ask me any questions before I turn off the tape recorder?

M: What will this research be used for?

Yeah I didn't really say a whole lot at the beginning. I can turn it off now because it just gets transcribed and I am listening to myself.

Appendix 5: Participant information sheet and participant agreement form

Information Sheet

Thank you for your interest in this research project entitled: "Creation of family capital through life stages for middle income families in the context of the Irish holiday."

The research is being conducted as part of a PhD degree at the School of Tourism, Bournemouth University, UK.

The purpose of this study is to provide fresh insights into the experiences of the family holiday and develop a greater understanding of the value of a holiday for family life. Families at different life stages are being interviewed. Some families have young children and others have teenagers in the household and other families may have adult children.

You and your family's participation will involve an interview at your home which may take about ninety minutes. Ideally, all or most family members will participate in the interview so that a fuller picture of the holiday experience for the family unit can be presented. As a family you may gain a deeper understanding of the value of holidays for all members of the household. At a broader level, the effect a holiday has for families at each life stage will be identified.

The interview will be recorded for later analysis. Any information provided will be held confidentially and you and your family will not be identified in any reports or publications. At the end of the study all digitally recorded data will be anonymised and submitted to the Irish Qualitative Data Archive.

It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you do decide to take part, you will be given this information sheet to keep and be asked to sign a participant agreement form. You can still withdraw at any time even after the interview.

If you would like further information please contact myself or Professor Adele Ladkin, aladkin@bournemouth.ac.uk

If, in the unfortunate circumstance you have any complaints please contact Professor Michael Silk, Deputy Dean for Research and Professional Practice, msilk@bournemouth.ac.uk

Thank you for considering participating in the above research project.

Susanne O'Reilly

soreilly@bournemouth.ac.uk

087 9594050

Participant Agreement Form

CREATION OF FAMILY CAPITAL THROUGH LIFE STAGES FOR MIDDLE INCOME FAMILIES IN THE CONTEXT OF THE IRISH HOLIDAY

Susanne O'Reilly, PhD student, soreilly@bournemouth.ac.uk 091 776041 or 087 9594050

Professor Adele Ladkin, Research Supervisor, aladkin@bournemouth.ac.uk

Please initial

or tick here

I have read and understood the participant information sheet for the above research project.	
I confirm that I have had the opportunity to ask questions.	
I understand that my participation and that of my family is voluntary.	
I understand that we are free to withdraw up to the point where the data are processed and become anonymous, so our identity cannot be determined.	
During the interview, we are free to withdraw without giving reason and without there being any negative consequences.	
Should we not wish to answer any particular question(s), we are free to decline.	
I give permission for members of the research team to have access to our anonymised responses. I understand that our name will not be linked with the research materials, and we will not be identified or identifiable in the outputs that result from the research.	
I agree to our anonymised data being archived and offered for storage and use at the Irish Qualitative Data Archive, Maynooth Ireland.	
Optional: I agree to any photographs taken during the interview.	
I agree to the family and I taking part in the above research project.	

_____ _____ _____

Name of Participant Date Signature

_____ _____ _____

Name of Researcher Date Signature

Appendix 6: Publication strategy

1. O'Reilly, S., (forthcoming 2022). 'Family Capital' *In:* Buhalis, D., ed. *Encyclopedia of Tourism Management and Marketing*. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing.

2. Definition of family capital within a holiday setting. – submit to Annals of Tourism Research

3. The history of holidays in Ireland: Oral history accounts from 1920-2010. Submit to Journal of Tourism History