



WestminsterResearch

<http://www.westminster.ac.uk/westminsterresearch>

**Social Tourism: a potential policy to reduce social exclusion?
The effects of visitor-related social tourism for low-income
groups on personal and family development.**

Lynn Minnaert

School of Architecture and the Built Environment

This is an electronic version of a PhD thesis awarded by the University of Westminster. © The Author, 2007.

This is a scanned reproduction of the paper copy held by the University of Westminster library.

The WestminsterResearch online digital archive at the University of Westminster aims to make the research output of the University available to a wider audience. Copyright and Moral Rights remain with the authors and/or copyright owners.

Users are permitted to download and/or print one copy for non-commercial private study or research. Further distribution and any use of material from within this archive for profit-making enterprises or for commercial gain is strictly forbidden.

Whilst further distribution of specific materials from within this archive is forbidden, you may freely distribute the URL of WestminsterResearch:
(<http://westminsterresearch.wmin.ac.uk/>).

In case of abuse or copyright appearing without permission e-mail
repository@westminster.ac.uk

377070

**SOCIAL TOURISM; A POTENTIAL POLICY TO
REDUCE SOCIAL EXCLUSION?**

**THE EFFECTS OF VISITOR-RELATED SOCIAL
TOURISM FOR LOW-INCOME GROUPS ON
PERSONAL AND FAMILY DEVELOPMENT**

LYNN MINNAERT

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

With the kind co-operation of the Family Holiday Association

March 2007

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. Abstract	7
II. Acknowledgements	9
III. List of abbreviations	10
IV. List of figures	11
1. Introduction	12
1.1. What is meant by “social tourism”?	12
1.2. Host-related social tourism	13
1.3. Visitor-related social tourism	14
1.4. A brief history of social tourism in Europe	17
1.5. Research questions and overview	21
2. Ethical views of society and social tourism	26
2.1. Introduction	26
2.2. Ethical views on the weaker strata in society	27
2.3. Christian ethics	28
2.4. Marxist ethics	31
2.5. Kantianism	36
2.6. Utilitarianism	38
2.7. Natural law theories	42
2.8. Rawls	44
2.9. Socialised vs. individualized theories	49
2.10 Conclusion	54
3. Social exclusion	55
3.1. Introduction	55
3.2. Social exclusion: definition and characteristics	55
3.3. Social capital	57
3.3.1. Definition	57
3.3.2. Social capital and its effect on well-being	60
3.3.3. Family capital	62
3.4. Levitas’ three discourses of social exclusion	64
3.5. Social exclusion and its link to social tourism in the light of these three discourses	66
3.5.1. The redistributionist discourse	68
3.5.2. The social integrationist discourse	70
3.5.3. The moral underclass discourse	71
3.6. Social differentiation and the concept of class	74
3.7. Social tourism as a potential policy in the moral underclass discourse	76
3.8. Conclusion	82
4. Social tourism as a potential form of experiential learning	84
4.1. Introduction	84
4.2. Experiential learning	84
4.2.1. Single and double-loop learning	88
4.2.2. The “four villages” of experiential learning	90
4.3. Situated learning	91

4.4. Maximising learning	93
4.4.1. Goal difficulty level	93
4.4.2. Contact with new communities of practice	96
4.5. Maximising learning in social tourism	97
4.6. Conclusion	98
5. Methodology	100
5.1. Introduction	100
5.2. Crotty's framework	100
5.3. Epistemology: Constructionism	102
5.4. Theoretical perspective: Interpretivism	103
5.5. Branch of Interpretivism: Phenomenology	104
5.6. Methodology: Grounded theory	107
5.7. Conclusions	111
6. Methods	112
6.1. Introduction	112
6.2. Research methods	113
6.2.1. A qualitative study	113
6.2.2. Conceptual framework	117
6.2.3. Bounding the territory	118
6.2.4. Structured, semi-structured or unstructured interviews	119
6.2.5. Focus groups and individual interviews: strengths and weaknesses	120
6.3. Respondents	127
6.3.1. Sampling	127
6.3.2. Access to the field	130
6.3.3. Number of respondents	130
6.3.4. Specific difficulties related to interviewees	131
6.3.5. Interval	132
6.3.6. Attrition rate	132
6.4. Analysis and coding	133
6.5. Practical organization	136
6.5.1. Creating rapport	136
6.5.2. Questions	138
6.5.3. Pilot interview	139
6.5.4. Conducting the interviews	139
6.5.5. Incentive	140
6.5.6. Photos as a research tool	140
6.5.7. Confidentiality	141
6.6. Conclusion	144
7. Existing evidence	145
7.1. Introduction	146
7.2. Family feedback	146
7.3. Welfare agent feedback	153
7.4. "Public" vs. "private" benefits	156
7.5. Interview questions	157
7.6. Conclusion	159

8. Interview results first round	160
8.1. Introduction	160
8.2. Motivations and benefits of the holiday	161
8.3. Holidays as a break from stressful routines and a chance to make a change	163
8.3.1. Routines and boredom lead to “stress”	164
8.3.2. Holiday as a break from “stress”	165
8.3.3. Holiday as a break from financial “stress”	167
8.3.4. Change of scenery	169
8.3.5. Changing the perspective	171
8.3.6. Making concrete changes	173
8.4. Holidays as a chance for family development	175
8.4.1. Effects of the holiday on the family unit	175
8.4.2. Effects on the children	177
8.4.3. Parents under pressure	178
8.4.4. Playing with the children	180
8.4.5. Entertainment on site	182
8.4.6. Children changing their behaviour	185
8.5. Holidays as a chance for personal development	186
8.5.1. Confidence	186
8.5.2. Mental and physical health	190
8.5.3. Social contact	191
8.6. Individual holidays vs. group holidays	193
8.6.1. Individual holidays	193
8.6.2. Group holidays	194
8.6.3. The role of the welfare agent	197
8.7. Conclusion	199
9. Interview results second round and preliminary interpretation	200
9.1. Introduction	200
9.2. Break from “stress” and routine	200
9.3. Mental and physical health	203
9.4. Family development	204
9.4.1. Family relations	204
9.4.2. Guilt	206
9.5. Personal development	208
9.5.1. Confidence	208
9.5.2. Social contact	210
9.6. Motivational and aspirational effect of holidays	211
9.6.1. Holidays can change aspirations	212
9.6.2. Role of memories	214
9.6.3. Making concrete changes	215
9.6.4. Support is necessary to achieve benefits	221
9.7. Holidays as a learning curve	222
9.8. Conclusion	224
10. Discussion of the two rounds of interviews	226
10.1. Introduction	226

10.2. A MUD perspective on social exclusion	227
10.3. Experiential learning through social tourism	228
10.4. Increasing family capital (“private” benefits)	231
10.5. Social capital (“public” benefits)	232
10.6. Cultural capital	238
10.7. Socio-economic value of these changes	239
10.8. Conclusion	243
11. Conclusions and recommendations	245
11.1. Introduction	245
11.2. To what extent do respondents report long-term benefits of social tourism for low-income groups?	246
11.3. How far are there differences between the benefits of an individual family holiday and a group holiday?	247
11.4. What is the value of social tourism in terms of “private” benefits (family capital) and “public” benefits (net benefits to society)?	249
11.5. Reflecting on the chosen approach	251
11.6. Recommendations for further research	252
11.7. Conclusion	253
12. Bibliography	254
Appendix 1: Respondents	261
Appendix 2: Letter to welfare agents	266
Appendix 3: Letter to families	267
Appendix 4: Fieldwork dates	269
Appendix 5: Letter of informed consent	270
Appendix 6: Research methods and data sources	271

I. Abstract

This study discusses the effects of social tourism for low-income groups on personal and family development. It examines whether social tourism has wider benefits than just providing access to holidays to groups who would usually be excluded from tourism, and whether it could be seen as a potential measure against social exclusion. If social tourism can reduce social exclusion, it benefits not only the participants, but also has wider benefits for society.

In several countries in mainland Europe, such as France, Belgium and Spain, social tourism for low-income groups is supported by public funding. This investment is usually supported by claims that social tourism can help excluded groups achieve greater inclusion through increased confidence, better family relations, greater independence and wider social networks. At present, these claims are rarely supported by research evidence: in academic tourism literature, social tourism for low-income groups is a little researched field. The aim of this study is thus to investigate whether social tourism can indeed reduce aspects of social exclusion, and have a beneficial effect on the holiday participants themselves, and through them, on society. If this is the case, the study will explore whether social tourism could be justified as a social policy.

The study will start by defining the concept of social tourism, and categorise the different forms. Focusing on social tourism for low-income groups, it will then explore the potential ethical foundations of social tourism. It will be shown that for a number of ethical theories, social tourism for low-income groups can only be justified if there are benefits involved not only for the participants, but also wider benefits for society. Because these benefits could present themselves as a reduction of social exclusion, the concept of social exclusion is defined and the different views of the concept are presented. One of these views is potentially compatible with social tourism, on the condition that social holidays can reduce certain characteristics of excluded groups, that form the basis of their exclusion. It will then be argued that if social tourism can reduce these characteristics, it does so via a learning process. Two theories of learning through experience will be examined, and strategies to maximise learning will be discussed: if

social tourism is indeed a form of learning, the benefits could be increased by maximising learning. These theoretical foundations formed the basis of the fieldwork for this study.

In the fieldwork, a group of social tourism participants and their support workers was interviewed in two stages: a first round of interviews and focus groups were conducted in the first month after the holidays; a second round was carried out in the sixth month after the holidays. Participants in individual holidays and support workers were interviewed individually, participants in group holidays were interviewed together in a focus group. The aim of the two rounds was to examine the effects of social tourism in the short term, and in the longer term.

The findings of the fieldwork examine the effects of social tourism for low-income groups, and investigate the conditions for successful social tourism provision (meaning holidays that maximise learning opportunities to reduce aspects of social exclusion). The findings indicate that social tourism for low-income groups generally has beneficial effects on the family development of the participants in the short and the long term. They also provide benefits for the personal development of participants, which are present in the short term and can develop further in the long term. In the long term, it is also shown that the holiday can act as a motivational factor in measurable behaviour change, resulting into a reduction of factors of social exclusion. It is found that an adequate level of support both during and after the holiday is an important condition for successful social holidays.

This study concludes by exploring if social tourism could be justified as a part of social policy. The costs of social holidays will be compared to other social measures with similar aims and outcomes. Social tourism for low-income groups will be presented as potential cost-effective strategies to counter certain aspects social exclusion.

II. Acknowledgments

I would like to start by thanking the University of Westminster, for supporting and funding this PhD research. The opportunity to spend three years studying a subject I am passionate about is a real privilege, for which I am truly grateful.

Many thanks also to the Family Holiday Association, John McDonald and his team, whose assistance has enabled me to gain access to the field. I want to thank them for sharing their extensive knowledge of social tourism in the UK with me, and providing me with much useful information to prepare the fieldwork for this study.

Thank you as well to the respondents of this study, who gave up their time to speak to me. This study would not have been possible without their co-operation. I want to thank the welfare agents for facilitating contact with their clients and giving up their own time to be interviewed. I also thank the holiday participants, for their willingness to share their experiences and stories with me. Some of these were sad, others funny; all were unforgettable and truly inspirational.

I want to thank my husband Pierre, my parents, sister, grand-parents and friends, for putting up with me over the last three years and patiently listening to my endless social tourism ramblings.

Last but by no means least I would like to thank my team of supervisors. I have been very fortunate to be supervised by such dedicated and inspirational people, and could not have asked for better supervisors. I want to thank Robert Maitland, for his encouragement, patience and support, but also for his skepticism and critical stance: he always kept me on my toes and taught me not to take things for granted. I also thank Peter White, for teaching me to be systematic and show attention to detail, and for encouraging me to think outside the “tourism” box. Finally I would like to thank Graham Miller, for being a mastermind in theoretical concepts and guiding me through them, for his sense of humour and his endless enthusiasm.

III. List of abbreviations

ADHD:	Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder
BITS:	Bureau International du Tourism Social (International Bureau of Social Tourism)
EESC:	European Economic and Social Committee
ELT:	Experiential learning Theory
FHA:	Family Holiday Association
HIV:	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
LSE:	London School of Economics
MUD:	Moral Underclass Discourse
nef:	New Economics Foundation
RED:	Redistributionist Discourse
SEU:	Social Exclusion Unit
SID:	Social Integrationist Discourse
WFA:	Welfare Agent
WTTC:	World Travel and Tourism Council

IV. List of figures

- Figure 1: Overview ethical theories
- Figure 2: Kolb's learning cycle
- Figure 3: Richards' adaptation of Kolb's learning cycle
- Figure 4: Hebb's theory of arousal
- Figure 5: Conceptual framework
- Figure 6: In-depths semi-structured interview: strengths
- Figure 7: In-depths semi-structured interview: weaknesses
- Figure 8: Focus groups: strengths
- Figure 9: Focus groups: weaknesses
- Figure 10: What the families liked (i)
- Figure 11: What the families liked (ii)
- Figure 12: What the families liked best
- Figure 13: Aspects social exclusion vs. FHA criteria
- Figure 14: What the families did not like (i)
- Figure 15: What the families did not like (ii)
- Figure 16: What the families disliked most
- Figure 17: Benefits identified by welfare agents (i)
- Figure 18: Benefits identified by welfare agents (ii)
- Figure 19: Welfare agents' view on greatest benefit
- Figure 20: Aspects social exclusion vs. WFA criteria
- Figure 21: Support model

1. Introduction

1.1. What is meant by “social tourism”?

Although the question may sound simple, formulating a specific and all-comprising definition for this branch of the tourism industry is not as straightforward as it may seem, since such a wide variety of holiday types, destinations and target groups can be involved. A group holiday to for example Cambodia, highlighting the local cultures and habits of its inhabitants, could be described as social tourism; but so could the provision of accessible rooms in a seaside hotel in Britain, or the purchase of a set of caravans by a charity to be used by their low-income beneficiaries. All these initiatives distance themselves from the general, mainstream tourism industry; their aim is to offer a value-added holiday, a holiday that involves certain groups that are otherwise excluded from tourism. This aspect is their common ground, and will be the basis for a definition of the phenomenon as a whole.

On an organizational level, the term “social tourism” can be used to describe a variety of different initiatives, commercial and non-commercial, governmental and private: these initiatives range from small charities organising holidays for children from low-income backgrounds, to government plans improving accessibility in hotels, to private tour operators offering community-based tourism products. A general definition of the whole social tourism concept has to incorporate all these different forms, and therefore has to stay rather unspecified towards the individual characteristics of each form. Hall for instance defined social tourism as “the relationships and phenomena in the field of tourism resulting from participation in travel by economically weak or otherwise disadvantaged elements in society” (Hall 2000, 141). A rather similar definition is used by the BITS (Bureau International du Tourisme Social): “By social tourism BITS means all of the relationships and phenomena resulting from participation in tourism, and in particular from the participation of social strata with modest incomes. This participation is made possible, or facilitated, by measures of a well-defined social nature” (BITS Statutes). A later social tourism definition, introduced at the 2003 BITS Congress, is even

less specific: social tourism was described there as the evolution "from a development of tourism towards a tourism of development" (Sangalli 2003).

Although each of these definitions are applicable to social tourism, they will need to be specified further in this study, so that each social tourism form can be rightfully incorporated. As a general classification, one can discern two groups of social tourism initiatives, as the target group of "economically weak or otherwise disadvantaged elements in society" can apply to both the *hosts* and the *visitors* in the tourism context. Some initiatives will thus strive to help local visited communities through tourism (economically and/or ecologically), and concentrate on the hosts in the process; whereas others will aim to introduce non-travelling groups into tourism, and highlight the needs of the visitors.

On the basis of this observation, and with the aim to do justice to all forms of social tourism, the phenomenon will be defined in this study as **tourism with an added moral value, aiming to benefit either the host or the visitor in the tourism exchange.**

1.2. Host-related social tourism

This part of the social tourism industry concentrates on the supply side of the industry, on the host communities active in tourism. Where the *hosts* are concerned, tourism has long been seen as a factor that can introduce greater equality in different parts of the world through investments and the development of tourism facilities. "Many considered the tourism industry to be a virtually costless generator of employment and well-being, offering seemingly limitless opportunities for "real" economic development to countless communities away from the centres of global industry and financial power" (Deakin et al 2000, 1).

Now that the negative effects of mass tourism have become very apparent, the aim of *host-related* social tourism is to establish a form of tourism that brings net benefits to the host community, with respect for the host population, its environment and its culture (for

example “sustainable tourism”, “pro-poor tourism”, “community-based tourism”, “ecotourism”, “responsible tourism”.) Host-related social tourism is a very diverse branch of the social tourism industry, involving different types of organisations and beneficiaries. Charities like Tourism Concern strive for better wages and a fairer treatment of local communities by the tourism industry (www.tourismconcern.org.uk). Private companies can offer responsible holidays to their customers as a more ethical or a “greener” way of traveling. Local governments can be involved as well, for example native tribes in Kenya have been encouraged to work in the National Parks or start their own business for tourists (Akama 1999, 7). There are also examples much closer to home: in France social tourism associations (*le tourisme associatif*) own holiday centres in economically underperforming areas, which boost employment and revenue. As Davidson and Maitland (1997: 146) point out, French Governments have also used “the Cheque Vacances system (holiday vouchers for employees under a tax-free scheme) to achieve their own objectives of stimulating tourism development in specific areas, for example by channeling such holiday-makers to rural areas which are in need of supplementary economic activity”.

Host-related social tourism forms are comparatively well researched in contemporary tourism literature. This study focuses on visitor-related social tourism, an aspect of social tourism which has received less academic attention.

1.3. Visitor-related social tourism

Visitor-related social tourism is that part of the social tourism industry which focuses on groups in society who, for economic or health reasons, are excluded from taking holidays. It is aimed at the demand side of tourism. This implies that these groups are willing to take holidays: visitor-related social tourism is not aimed at people who are able to take holidays and choose not to. *Visitor-related* social tourism is a term that covers two different “disadvantaged” target groups. Firstly there are tourism initiatives that are aimed at travellers with disabilities, seeking equal opportunities for this group to enjoy a holiday in the commercial tourism sector. The Holiday Care Service in Britain is a good example for this group, describing its vision on social tourism or “Tourism for All” as “an

invitation to the tourist industry to take a wholly positive attitude to what have conventionally become known as ‘special needs’” (English Tourist Board 1989, 13). Secondly there are the initiatives for low-income groups, for people who cannot afford a holiday in the commercial tourism circuit. The European Commission has defined this form of social tourism as follows: “social tourism is organised in some countries by associations, cooperatives and trade unions and is designed to make travel accessible to the highest number of people, particularly the most underprivileged sectors of the population” (European Economic and Social Committee 2006, 3). Haukeland provides a more sweeping definition, and refers to tourism as a basic right: “[...] the concept of "social tourism" means that everybody, regardless of economic or social situation, should have the opportunity to go on vacation. Seen in this light, holiday travel is treated like any other human right whose social loss should be compensated by the welfare state” (Haukeland 1990, 178).

A more elaborate description of *visitor*-related social tourism can be found in the Flemish "Tourism for All" decree:

“In this decree, "Tourism for All" will be defined as a non-commercial form of tourism and/or recreation, which is equal in value to other forms of tourism and of recreation and which

1. Pays special attention to and has a mediating function towards all who are prohibited to fully participate in holidays away from home, e.g. families, youth, people with disabilities, the elderly and one-parent families, whatever their age, health, or their economical / social / cultural background may be
2. Aims for a non-consumptive, non-commercial participation in tourism, concentrating not only on pure relaxation, but also on recreation for the family, the group or the individual, with the purpose to improve physical, psychological, social and cultural well-being. This includes day trips and longer stays
3. Works on the basis of a socially and economically acceptable pricing policy, stimulating specific target groups as youth, families, people with disabilities, low-income groups and one-parent families”

The second point in this description draws attention to the fact that social tourism supporters do not see *visitor*-related social tourism as ‘just a holiday’. The decree makes it clear that the Flemish government has decided to invest in social tourism because it believes in the improvement a social holiday can bring in the physical, psychological, social and cultural well-being of the participants. This example can act as an illustration of how social tourism can be projected as a potential measure against social exclusion and its consequences: a holiday can thus be seen as a potential policy to improve physical and mental health, social skills and civic and cultural attitudes.

This view of visitor-related social tourism is demonstrated in many European countries, and social holidays are in many cases funded with public money. The European Economic and Social Committee declare in their Opinion on Social Tourism that “the right to tourism is a keystone of social tourism”, referring to social tourism as a concrete expression of a general right to leisure, “enabling (*individuals*) to develop every aspect of their personality and their social integration (EESC 2006, 3). The Opinion includes a range of examples of social tourism initiatives for low-income groups in Europe: the holiday cheques or Cheques-Vacances in France, the IMERSO initiative for older people in a low income in Spain, and other examples in Belgium, Portugal, Poland, Hungary and Italy (EESC 2006, 10-11).

Government investment in social tourism initiatives stress the special position a holiday seems to have in our society. There are many possible ways to tackle social exclusion, or to bring certain disadvantaged groups into the market for tourism. As Joppe (1989) points out, governments can increase basic income through minimum wage legislation, family, rent, and child allowances and so on, as well as providing direct subsidy to holidays. If incomes are increased, disadvantaged groups are brought into the tourism market and have the opportunity to go on vacation in the sense that they can now afford a holiday, but there is no expectation that that is how they should use their additional funds – they might choose to spend them on clothing or consumer durables or clubbing. Intervention that is specifically targeted at increasing tourism, rather than increasing income, implies that tourism has some particular significance in terms of social exclusion.

The EESC Opinion mentions (apart from economic benefits as an extended season, stable employment opportunities and sustainability as benefits for the host communities) an improvement in well-being and personal development as benefits for the participants to social tourism (EESC 2006, 12). Whereas the economic benefits for the host communities are relatively easy to demonstrate, this is not necessarily the case for the long-term benefits of social holidays for the participants. The EESC goes so far as to describe social tourism for low-income groups as a “miracle”: “all the practitioners and users obtain all kinds of benefits: economic, social employment, European citizenship” (EESC 2006, 12). At the moment, though, there is very little research evidence to support these claims. This means that public money is invested in initiatives like these in many European countries, but there is no clear evidence that this investment produces all the claimed benefits for the participants. For this reason, this study will aim to research the long-term effects of social tourism on low-income families, and through them, on society in general. More specifically, it will raise the question whether social tourism can reduce certain aspects of social exclusion, and support the integration of vulnerable groups into society.

1.4. A brief history of social tourism in Europe

The first signs of social tourism can be dated back to the industrial society at the end of the 19th century. Even though most workers had to work six days a week and leisure opportunities were often a privilege of the highest income groups, holidays now became accessible for the highest earners in the working class. “Although poverty was widespread in the rapidly expanding industrial cities, some working people were able for the first time to accumulate savings to pay for holidays” (Sharpley 1999, 47). It is around this time that the first isolated initiatives appear to allow disadvantaged workers or their children to go on a holiday. These pioneers of social tourism were often socio-educational organisations. “Following the impoverishment of the British aristocracy, a series of well-kept properties surrounded by big parks was put on the market at very low prices, representing only a small percentage of their former value. In this way several organisations, especially the ‘Co-operative Holiday Association’ and the trade unions

have acquired properties that were later turned into family holiday homes" (Lanquar & Raynouard 1986, 14). Other initiatives concentrated on city children who were taken to the countryside or the seaside by charities, which was seen as beneficial to their health (CESR 1999, 2).

A pivotal point in the development of popular tourism was the 1936 Holiday with Pay Convention, put forward by the International Labour Office in Geneva. Article 2.1 of this convention states that "every person to whom this convention applies shall be entitled after one year of continuous service to an annual holiday with pay of at least six working days". The Holiday with Pay Convention is generally considered as the starting point for social tourism in Europe (Lanquar & Rayouard 1986, Chauvin 2002), even though it took many European countries a few years to actually implement this convention into legislation. The UK is an example: "Private holidays-with-pay agreements between employers and workers proliferated throughout the 1920s and 1930s, and despite the slump, holidays-with-pay became a major industrial negotiating point. It was appreciated however that for millions of working people this could only be attained through legislation. The resulting campaign did not succeed in pushing legislation through Parliament until 1938, and only after a Royal Commission" (Walvin 1978, 143). Tourism now became possible for a large number of people, and the holiday was on its way to become part of the national "lifestyle". During the Second World War this process slowed down, but the holiday with pay legislation was implemented for most workers across Europe after the war.

The years following the war were the heyday for social tourism in Europe. The period between 1950 and 1980 is described in French as the "trente glorieuses", the glorious thirty years. Traditional social tourism was based around the holiday centre in mainland Europe, and around the holiday camp in Britain. The holiday centres on the mainland (e.g. in France, Belgium and Italy) created a product that was new, desirable and affordable and helped towards a democratisation of holiday making. Traditionally they offered a stay in full board with all entertainment included. The holiday makers stayed in rather basic accommodation at low rates, and often helped with the daily chores. Most

holiday centres were run by charities or unions. This might have been one of the reasons why over the years their management often became very bureaucratic. Still they developed according to the needs of their public: many switched from full board to half board, the visitors had more freedom when choosing their activities, and help with the chores was no longer required (Chauvin 2002, 67). It is certainly no coincidence that these changes occurred when commercial tourism became more accessible to people from weaker economic backgrounds.

During the same period, low-income groups also participated more in tourism in the UK. The holiday camps in Britain show certain similarities with the holiday centres on the mainland (they offered basic accommodation, full board, with all entertainment included), but there are also great differences. Firstly they were mostly run on a commercial basis. Camps built by education authorities, trade unions or charities existed but were far less common. Another difference is that although the first large camps were introduced in the 1930s, the heyday of holiday camps was later, in the 1950s and the 1960s. A third difference was that whereas in Europe the camps had adaptable rates, depending on family size and income, the British camps had one fixed rate. "During the 1930s, when the average weekly wage was about £3, some of the simpler camps were charging fifty shillings (£2.50) per head, a competitive rate though still beyond the means of the lowest paid and unemployed" (Hardy 1990, 550). So even though this type of tourism reached a large part of the low-income group, the worst off were still excluded from tourism.

During these "trente glorieuses", in 1963 to be precise, BITS, the Bureau International du Tourisme Social or International Bureau of Social Tourism was established. Constituted in Brussels on June 7th 1963, its goal was to "further the development of social tourism within an international framework, by coordinating the tourist activities of its members, and informing them on all matters relating to the evolution of social tourism around the world" (www.bits-int.org).

Until the end of the “trente glorieuses”, social tourism was mainly *visitor*-related. Later, and more specifically since the introduction of mass tourism, *visitor*-related social tourism had to adapt to new demographic developments, and *host*-related social tourism gained more and more attention. On the one hand the traditional target group for *visitor*-related social tourism, notably manual and low-paid white-collar workers, are now able to take holidays in the commercial circuit. This means that they are no longer excluded from the commercial tourism industry, and as per definition not the group social tourism focuses on. On the demand side, different groups have now taken their place: the unemployed, one-parent families, and young families on low incomes. As the economical and social situation of the manual workers changed, social tourism shifted its focus and turned towards other client groups who were not participating in tourism. Since the 1980’s, tourism for persons with disabilities or restricted mobility has also received more attention. On the other hand, the negative effects of mass tourism on local ecosystems and cultures started the search for new and more sustainable forms of tourism. *Host*-related social tourism acknowledges the benefits the tourism industry can bring and aims to transfer these benefits to communities who can either gain economically from tourism, or who are at risk to be negatively affected by the commercial tourism circuit. All this shows that social tourism is not a static concept but a dynamic one.

As a consequence, social tourism today is not obsolete, but faces new challenges and needs to adapt to address them successfully. Over recent years, interest in social tourism has steadily increased, as Mignon points out: “We have gradually evolved, in just a few years, from a period in which social tourism was perceived as, let's be frank, obsolete, negative or reductive, to a situation in which the notions of social policy, solidarity and durable development are, in contrast, viewed very positively - an evolution which, at the same time, puts the concept of social tourism back at the heart of the most up-to-date initiatives” (Mignon 2002, II).

1.5. Research questions and overview

The research question this study aims to answer is threefold.

- 1 To what extent do respondents report long-term benefits of social tourism for low-income groups?
- 2 How far are there differences between the benefits of an individual family holiday and a group holiday?
- 3 What is the value of social tourism in terms of “private” benefits (family capital) and “public” benefits (net benefits to society)?

Key issues

This study identifies three areas of literature as key theoretical issues. A first area of literature is ethics: ethical theories can be used to examine if, and on what basis, social tourism could be ethically justified as a social policy. A second area is the social exclusion literature, as a reduction of social exclusion has been identified as a potential effect of social tourism (EESC 2006, 3). A third area is learning theory, on the basis that if social tourism can lead to behaviour change, it potentially does so through a learning process.

As social tourism has been defined as “tourism with an added moral value”, chapter 2 will analyse different potential ethical foundations for social tourism. The aim of this chapter is to examine why some forms of social tourism seem to be more readily morally accepted than others: for example why host-related social tourism is generally undisputed, whereas visitor-related social tourism for low-income groups is publicly funded in some countries, and largely absent from the political agenda in others. A range of ethical theories are compared around one criterion: the duty of the stronger economical strata in society towards the weaker. It will be found that theories that consider this duty to be *a priori* are supportive of all social tourism forms. Theories that do not accept this *a priori* duty only support social tourism if a wider or net benefit can be identified.

The benefit often connected to visitor-related social tourism for low-income groups is a reduction of social exclusion (see 1.3). Chapter 3 discusses social exclusion and the concept of social capital. Different definitions of these concepts exist, and this directly influences social policy. Levitas' (1998) three discourses are examples of these different interpretations of social exclusion by policy makers. Social tourism, if it is found to reduce exclusion by e.g. raising social capital, is only compatible with one discourse. This discourse claims that the excluded need to overcome certain handicapping characteristics to facilitate their inclusion. The chapter then reviews a set of these handicapping characteristics which social tourism has been claimed to reduce: bad health, low self-esteem, problematic family relations and low travel horizons.

In chapter 4, it is argued that if social tourism can indeed help the participant overcome these handicapping characteristics, this could mean the holiday is a potential learning process. Two learning theories are discussed: experiential learning and situated learning. Experiential learning theory focuses on learning through experience: learning happens when after the experience, the learners reflect and generalise the new knowledge, after which they can test it in new experiences. This can lead to better effectiveness (single-loop learning) or an attitudinal shift (double-loop learning). Situated learning emphasises the social context of learning. When individuals learn a new skill, they enter a new community of practise, which will not only change their knowledge but also their self-perception. This chapter also argues that if holidays can be a form of learning, the most successful holidays are those where learning is maximised. Two conditions for optimal learning are discussed: difficulty level and contact with the community of practise.

Methodology and methods

The following three chapters describe the methodology, methods and secondary materials which formed the basis for the fieldwork.

Chapter 5 discusses the methodology behind this study, on the basis of Crotty's (1998) framework. Starting from a constructionist epistemology, and an interpretivist theoretical perspective, this study is presented as phenomenological, using the principles of grounded theory as a methodology.

In chapter 6, the methods for the study are discussed. The choice to conduct a qualitative study, using in-depth semi-structured interviews and focus groups will be explained and justified. This chapter also discusses the respondent group, and which preparations were made to engage them as fully as possible. The coding and the practical organisation of the research are also included in this chapter.

Chapter 7 then reviews secondary sources that can support the fieldwork. As very few data on the benefits of social tourism are available, the 2004 Feedback report of the Family Holiday Association source was used, together with the literature review, to prepare a set of questions for the interviews and focus groups. A distinction is also made here between the "private" benefits of the holiday (benefiting the individual and the family unit) and the "public" benefits of the holiday (which can also be beneficial to society in general).

Fieldwork

The following two chapters discuss the findings of the fieldwork, which consisted of semi-structured interviews and focus groups and was carried out in two rounds. The respondents were holiday participants and their support workers. The first round was carried out in the first month after the holiday and involved 40 respondents; the second

round was carried out in the sixth month after the holiday and involved 30 of the original 40 respondents.

Chapter 8 presents the findings of the first round of interviews, carried out in the month after the participants returned from holiday. The aim of this round is to examine if social holidays can reduce certain handicapping characteristics of socially excluded groups (see chapter 3) in the short term. The chapter discusses the influence of holidays on the personal development of the participants (in terms of self-esteem, social contact, lifestyle change) and on their family development (in terms of family relationships, parenting and the effect of the holiday on the children). All findings are supported by examples and quotes from the interviews. The findings of this chapter lead into preliminary recommendations for practical social tourism provision.

Chapter 9 presents the findings of the second round of interviews, carried out in the sixth month after the participants returned from holiday. This round aims to examine how far the holidays have reduced the handicapping characteristics of socially excluded groups in the longer term. It does so by examining how far the benefits from the first round have sustained, decreased or increased, and to what degree new benefits have emerged. Again, the research concentrates on the personal development of the participants and their family development. This chapter also focuses on the extent and nature of measurable behaviour change after the holiday.

Analysis and conclusions

In chapter 11, the data of the two rounds of interviews are combined and discussed, and the final results of the study are presented. This chapter links the findings of the fieldwork to the literature review: it discusses if visitor-related social tourism has wider benefits for society, if it can reduce the handicapping characteristics of excluded groups and if they present a potential learning process to the participants. Recommendations are made to improve the learning process, so that the handicapping characteristics can be reduced more effectively and the benefits to society are increased. The financial cost of

social tourism is also compared with other social policies that aim to achieve the same goals.

Finally in chapter 12, the conclusions, the answers to the research questions will be summarised. The potential benefits of social tourism for low-income groups will be presented, and the different organisational formats of social holidays (individual versus group holidays) will be reviewed. Finally, social tourism will be evaluated as a potential social policy in terms of outcomes and cost-effectiveness. This chapter will also include recommendations for further research and reflect on the chosen approach for the study .

2. Ethical views of society and social tourism

2.1. Introduction

Social tourism includes individuals in the tourism process who would otherwise not be a part of it, and seeks to benefit these groups economically or socially. This type of tourism thus has a stronger moral element than most of the commercial tourism industry, and does not purely measure its success in terms of revenue or profit. Success in social tourism is measured by an increase in the (social and/or economic) life standard of the host community, by an increase in physical and emotional well-being of the participants, or by a reduction in the social exclusion of the participants. All these different outcomes can potentially be used as moral justifications for social holidays; still, it seems some of these justifications are more readily accepted than others. An example is the fact that host-related social tourism, in the form of specialised “responsible” or “sustainable” holidays, is now widely available, whereas visitor-related social tourism is a lot less wide-spread. Within visitor-related social tourism, initiatives for persons with disabilities are often judged differently than holidays for low-income groups. There are also geographical differences: visitor-related social tourism is publicly funded in some countries of Western Europe like France and Belgium, whereas other countries do not include it into public policy.

This chapter proposes that how one sees the moral responsibility of society towards people belonging to the weaker economic strata, has a big impact on one’s attitude towards the different forms of social tourism. It examines why different moral acceptance levels exist for investment in host-related social tourism on the one hand and visitor-related forms on the other hand; and why certain societies incorporate social tourism into public policy, and others do not. The chapter concludes by formulating potential ethical foundations for visitor-related social tourism for low-income groups, each with their own measures for success. These measures of success will then be investigated further in chapters 3 and 4, and tested in the fieldwork.

2.2. *Ethical views on the weaker strata in society*

From an ethical point of view, two distinct positions on the responsibility of the stronger strata in society towards the weaker strata are possible. Almost all ethical theories agree that every citizen has the same rights in society and is equal before the law. Members of society should all have opportunities to develop their life to an acceptable standard; it is even the duty of the state to make sure that they have these opportunities. However, some theories will particularly stress how society can be seen as a combination of actors, with each actor shaped by their environment. Hence it is the responsibility of society to bring out the best in every member. If every citizen looks out for their fellow citizens, and the stronger strata support the weaker ones, society reduces the inequality between its members and, it is argued, becomes stronger. Supporting and emancipating the weaker strata can thus be described as an *a priori* predominant moral principle within this view of society.

Alternatively, there are ethical theories that do not support this *a priori* obligation for the stronger economic strata to support the weaker ones: they mainly stress that the opportunities provided to one person should never limit the opportunities of another. Thus, the morality of an action is determined by whether an individual can promote their own welfare, or the welfare of society without hindering the opportunities of others. This does not rule out that the weaker strata could benefit, as their welfare cannot be threatened, but this view of society does not accept the unchanging responsibility to enhance the opportunities of the weaker strata.

The following paragraphs review six ethical approaches and their links to social tourism. This will be a helpful tool to clarify the very different and sometimes conflicting ethical underpinnings of the term 'social tourism' and to better understand where the different attitudes towards the two types of social tourism come from, and why and in what circumstances governments may seek to promote it.

2.3. Christian ethics

One of the most important and evident factors in the formation of ethical beliefs is without a doubt religion. Religious values, for example, are often the first moral judgements children get in contact with through their parents or their education in school. As the case studies involve social tourism in countries that are predominantly Christian, the ethics and values of this religion will inevitably mark their influence on government decisions and policies.

St Thomas Aquinas, author of the *Summa Theologiae* (one of the most influential theological texts in medieval times) wrote that “God is our ultimate goal in life” (Aquinas 1991, 174). “The fulfilment of man’s life as gardener of things is to bring them to fulfilment, *to do things well*, and, in so doing, do his own thing well, to return to his own nature which is the ability to discern goodness and to pursue it” (McDermott in Aquinas 1991, 168).

Christians thus have to seek what is good, and with the help of the Bible and other religious texts can base their search for goodness on various different ethical systems. A first option is the *divine command ethics*: “A divine command moralist holds that the standard of right and wrong is constituted by the commands and prohibitions of God” (Quinn & Taliaferro 1997, 453). This means that right and wrong are determined by the will of God; an action is right because God commands it, rather than that God commands an action because it is right. Behavioural prescriptions are connected to the divine will in the Old and the New Testament, but predominates in the Old Testament: “Hebrew Bible portrays God as a commander legislating about all sorts of things, including clearly moral matters” (Quinn & Taliaferro 1997, 456). A second method to discern Christian ethics are *narrative ethics*, although it must be said that this method can also be used for non-theological ethics. “One of the most basic and natural media presenting (virtue and vice) is the narrative, in which connected sequences of action, intention, thoughts and emotions are depicted in life-contexts that are the natural settings of these occurrences” (Quinn & Taliaferro 1997, 473). The parable of Jesus walking on the water for instance (Matthew

14.22) expresses the faith a Christian needs to have in his religion, even when all things seem to be against it. A third method of studying Christian ethics are *agapeistic ethics*, which concentrate on the “law of love” (agape in Greek means love), and prescribe a practical doctrine to which Christians are necessarily committed (Quinn & Taliaferro 1997, 481). There are three elements in agape: Philia (commitment to God), self-love and neighbour-love. Agapeistic ethics thus makes clear that “reciprocity reigns, precisely in the sense that mutual needs are met, assistance rendered and enrichment provided” (Quinn & Taliaferro 1997, 486).

Christian virtues and charity

Based on these methods one can discern a set of Christian virtues, the most important of which are the theological virtues Charity, Faith and Hope. The Catechism of the Catholic Church describes them as follows: “The human virtues are rooted in the theological virtues, which adopt man’s faculties for participation in the divine nature: for the theological virtues relate directly to God. They dispose Christians to live in a relationship with the Holy Trinity. They have the One and Triune God for their origin, motive and object” (Catechism of the Catholic Church 1994, 402). Charity is superior to all the other virtues, and is defined as “the theological virtue by which we love God above all things for his own sake, and our neighbour as ourselves for the love of God” (Catechism of the Catholic Church 1994, 404). It is clear that whatever ethical system is used, the virtues will always hold the same importance. For divine command moralists there are several statements in the Bible which command the Christians to neighbour-love. The Lord for instance says to Moses: “You shall not take vengeance or bear a grudge against any of your people, but you shall love your neighbour as yourself: I am the LORD” (Leviticus 19.18). From the point of view of narrative ethics the whole of Jesus’ life can be seen as neighbour-love, and a lot of the parables have the same subject. An example is the parable of the lost sheep (Luke, 15.3). The connection between the virtue of Charity and agapeistic ethics is rather self-explanatory, as agapeistic ethics are the interpretation of the Bible and other religious texts in the light of this virtue.

There are various ways in which a Christian can act charitably. A first example is almsgiving to relieve need. According to Aquinas there are seven bodily and seven spiritual acts of almsgiving: “visit, sup, feed, clothe, ransom, shelter and bury” on the bodily side and “teach, advise, reprove, comfort, forgive, support and pray” on the spiritual side (Aquinas 1991, 362). The Catechism also mentions solidarity on different levels: “Socio-economic problems can be resolved only with the help of all forms of solidarity: solidarity of the poor among themselves, between rich and poor, of workers among themselves, between employers and employees in a business, solidarity among nations and peoples” (Catechism of the Catholic Church 1994, 424). All of these are *works of mercy*: “charitable actions by which we come to the aid of our neighbour in his spiritual and bodily necessities” (Catechism of the Catholic Church 1994, 523).

Responsibility of the stronger economic strata towards the weaker

All this points out that the poor and the oppressed are “the object of a *preferential* love on the part of the Church” (Catechism of the Catholic Church 1994, 523). It is the task of every Christian to support the poor in a material and in a spiritual way to the best of his abilities, as this is the will of God. This moral obligation marks out a difference with secular ethics: “Often we consider our secular moral duties to be limited. The claim of respect for persons goes so far, but no further. [...] Christian morality apparently breaks down the limits we normally recognise. There are no limits to love and forgiveness” (Baelz 1982, 86). It is the duty of Christians to make sure all human beings flourish, without holding back, without a cost-benefit analysis. Still, the motives for this neighbour love are different for Christians: “The Christian will be motivated to do what is right not only because he wants human beings to flourish, but also because he is convinced that God wants human beings to flourish and he wants what God wants” (Baelz 1982, 84). There is another motivation though for Christian charity, which can be illustrated by the Christian view of the source of all misery. “In its various forms, material deprivation, unjust oppression, physical and psychological illness and death, *human misery* is the obvious sign of frailty and need for salvation in which man finds himself as a consequence of original sin” (Catechism of the Catholic Church 1994, 523). The

consequence of this is that although man cannot escape from original sin, he can be forgiven in the afterlife. Therefore he will be judged on the degree of charity he displays during his life. As Aquinas defines it: “The goal of charity’s growth is in the next life, not in this. No charity except God’s own love is ever perfect enough to match his lovableness; and creatures can have perfect charity only in the sense that they love to the top of their powers” (Aquinas 1991, 353). The motivation of reward in the afterlife is definitely unique to religious ethics, and implies that the good will always equal the morally right, regardless of the costs or the benefits, as there is no greater benefit than a blessed afterlife. Limitless charity towards the less fortunate is a way to achieve this, and thus the duty of every Christian.

Looking at the responsibility of the stronger strata in society towards the weaker, it is very clear that Christian ethics emphasise preferential love for the poor and the disadvantaged in the community. This view on society can serve perfectly as an ethical basis for many different forms of social tourism. The Church for instance played a big role in one of the earliest forms of social tourism, whereby children from inner city backgrounds were taken to the seaside or the countryside during the school holidays, mainly for health reasons. Christian organisations today are still involved in offering holidays for children, the elderly, the sick and the disabled, and (particularly in mainland Europe) many of them even own their own hotels or holiday centres to accommodate their visitors. In Belgium for example the Christian Labour Union and the Christian “Mutualite” (health insurance organisation) own accommodation facilities both in Belgium and abroad. They organise holidays for children, families, the sick and the elderly. Other examples are “Secours Catholique” in France and the “Associazioni Cristiane Lavoratori Italiani” (ACLI) in Italy.

2.4. Marxist ethics

The earliest forms of social tourism can be traced back to the 19th Century, originating with the development of the industrial society as a form of affordable tourism for the working class, often with an educational or religious undertone. Considering its origin as

the workingman's holiday and the role of the unions in its development, it comes as no surprise that a possible ethical motivation for social tourism can be found in Marxism and socialist ethics.

The Marxist theory can be described as a form of "dialectical materialism". The term "dialectical" refers to the principle that the world cannot be seen as a collection of things, but rather as an evolving process. In other words, the dialectical approach "rejects uncritical acceptance of existing empirical appearances, and seeks instead the inner patterns from which these appearances derive and evolve" (Sowell 1986,7). "Materialism" means that there are no gods or other spiritual forces behind the material reality. This implies thus that the world keeps on changing and evolving, driven by conflicting human forces in society. This is also the basis for Marx's views on history, as is indicated by the famous first sentence of his Communist Manifesto: "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles" (Marx 1967,79).

This process of constant change is an evolution towards a society in which the full and free development of every individual forms the ruling principle (Sowell 1986,14), also described as "communism". In this society, members should be able to develop and exercise their physical and mental faculties without any restrictions. If these faculties are not allowed to unfold freely, continues Marx, they will appear as alienations (god, money), which stand in the way of the full and free development of the individual.

According to Marx, the individual can only fully develop himself within the community, when in other words an identification of private and public life takes place, so that the social life of the community is no longer alienated from the individual. The aim is an absolute community with the "whole", or, as Marx describes it in "On the Jewish Question": "The purpose of human emancipation is to bring it about that the collective, generic character of human life is real life, so that society itself takes on a collective character and coincides with the life of the state" (Marx in Kolakowski 1978, 126).

Marx saw the free development of creative forces in every member of society, communism, as the highest good, the ultimate aim of his work. An increase in the material wealth of the working class was only necessary if a lack of material things

prevented them from developing their creativity. This was also where he saw the greatest difference between capitalism and socialism: “The opposition between capitalism and socialism is essentially and originally the opposition between a world in which human beings are degraded into things and a world in which they recover their subjectivity” (Kolakowski 1978, 287). This aim has both ethical and political implications. In a way, one could say that the Marxist theory has evened the path for social tourism: according to Marx in "Das Kapital", one of the basic prerequisites to make labourers recover their subjectivity was a shortening of the working day. After Marx's death the Unions took over his struggle and not only was the working day shortened, holidays were also made possible for a larger group of workers after the Holiday with Pay convention of 1936 (cf. chapter 2).

Based on the aim of socialism to allow each member in society to develop his or her full potential, two of the main principles in socialist ethics can be described as development and equality. These two principles are to be realised in the community, because “only in community with others has each individual the means of cultivating his gifts in all directions: only in the community, therefore, is personal freedom possible” (Sowell 1986, 35). This implies that individual interest must be made to coincide with the interests of humanity, so that each human being can have an equal opportunity to cultivate his or her gifts. Equality can be defined as: “the possession of legal rights or the possession of extra-legal things like wealth, power or opportunity. Sometimes they are conflated in the notion of a "moral right", thought of as some power, opportunity or share of wealth to which people ought to have a legal right” (Cunningham 1987, 88). These rights do not always have to be of a political or financial nature; Marx himself for instance also stressed more "social rights" in his Communist Manifesto: “The bourgeois clap-trap about the family and education, about the hallowed co-relation of parent and child, becomes all the more disgusting, the more, by the action of Modern Industry, all family ties among the proletarians are torn asunder, and their children transformed into simple articles of commerce and instruments of labour” (Marx 1967, 101).

Responsibility of the stronger economic strata towards the weaker

Although the general class struggle and the reign of the proletariat has never become reality, and although the principles of the communist state have proved to be very hard to uphold in reality, the aims of Marxism are not forgotten. Cunningham states that there are two different groups of socialists: the ones that see socialism as that state form by which the working class exercises power, and those that see rather strive for the state to structurally embody certain valued principles (Cunningham 1987, 94). It is that second group that has made sure that even in capitalist societies the principles of equality and development can be a part of social policy making.

As opposed to the revolutionary aims of Marxism, Crosland describes the main post-war socio-democrat aspirations as:

1. A wider concern for social welfare - for the interests of those in need, or oppressed, or unfortunate, from whatever cause
2. A belief in equality and the class-less society, and especially the desire to give the worker his "just" rights and responsible status at work
3. A rejection of competitive antagonism, and an ideal of fraternity and co-operation (Crosland 1963, 67)

These principles reflect the basis of the socio-democrat attitude towards welfare in 1963: "It is a matter of priorities in the distribution of the national output, and a belief that first priority should always be given to the poor, the unfortunate, the "have-nots", and generally to those in need, from which follows a certain view about collective social responsibility, and thence about the role of the state and the level of taxation" (Crosland 1963, 77). In comparison, the attitude of the European Union towards welfare today is rather based on a cost-benefit analysis: "It is important to reconcile economic and social objectives and to see public services as both a means of sustaining social cohesion and also as a player with a vital role in economic development" (Deakin et al 1995, 15).

Like Christian ethics, Marxist ideas see it as an a priori duty of the stronger strata to support the weaker. The equality of all members in society is an important element of Marxism, and this has had impacts, as stated before, on the introduction of holidays to workers. The ideas of equality and development are in line with visitor-related social tourism initiatives, and definitely in the past, socialist organisations have played an important role in this tourism form. Important examples are the unions, who often owned holiday facilities their members could use at advantageous rates. Typical for the socialist movement is also the network of associations that were formed, concentrating on the needs of different target groups, which often provided a holiday offer: examples are women's associations, youth associations and organisations for the sick and the disabled. Until today, socialist organisations remain important players in social tourism, mainly by means of their accommodation patrimonial (for example in France and Belgium). In France, the "Union Nationale Mutualiste Loisirs Vacances" for example concentrate their efforts around families on low incomes. They offer technical and financial support for not for profit organisations. Another socialist support organisation is the "Union Cooperative Equipment Loisirs". In Belgium, the socialist Labour Unions and Mutualites (health insurance organisations) own an impressive patrimonium of holiday centres and accommodation. They organise holidays for children, families, the disabled and the elderly. An example in Italy is ANCST, part of Legacoop. The idea of equality can also apply to the hosts in the tourism exchange, as they can develop themselves through labour in the tourism industry. Marxist ethics thus provide a moral motivation for both host- and visitor-related social tourism.

Christian and Marxist ethics: attitude towards social tourism

Even though Christian ethics and Marxist ethics are obviously very different, it has become clear that both of them can act (and effectively have acted) as an ethical motivation for both types of social tourism. What they both have in common is the concentration on the weaker strata in society and the will to improve their quality of life. The main difference between the two ideologies is that for the Christians this duty works down from the Divine and for the socialists it works up from the individual. In both cases

the good in society equals the right: meaning that what is morally a good thing to do must be right for society as a whole, even if it means that the stronger strata have to make sacrifices they do not always directly benefit of. As stated before, the emphasis of these theories is not on the average member in society, but on the weakest member in society.

The following ethical theories (Kantianism, Utilitarianism, Natural Law, Rawls) differ strongly from this point of view, and do not put an *a priori* emphasis on the weaker members in society. Even though they are very different and in places they even oppose each other, they all agree that the stronger strata do not have this a priori duty to support the weaker. This strongly influences their inferred attitude towards social tourism, in the host-related and the visitor-related form.

2.5. Kantianism

Kant's views on ethics start from the categorical imperative: one has to act in such a way that the maxim for acting should become a universal law. His theory is non-consequential: moral principles exist *a priori*, and apply irrespective of the consequences of the actions. An action can only be morally right if it is carried out as a duty, not in expectation of a reward (Fisher & Lovell 2003, 77). Each individual should carefully examine the duties he or she comes across, for there are perfect duties (which have to be fulfilled) and imperfect duties (good values, but they have to make way for perfect duties if the two coincide). Another element in his theory is the respect for the individual: "Act in such a way that you always treat humanity [...] never simply as a means, but always at the same time as an end" (Chyssidis & Kaler 1993, 99).

In Kant's ethical theory all moral principles are a priori, they can never be compromised: Kant for instance states that one cannot lie, even if a potential murderer would ask the whereabouts of his victim, one has to tell the truth (Chyssidis & Kaler 1993, 100). This of course has to do with the fact that this theory is non-consequential: Kant does not see the consequence of an action as part of its moral value; in other words, he does not see the death of the victim as a consequence of one's telling the truth. His respect for the

individual principle is one of these *a priori* moral obligations: no-one can be forced to sacrifice their own happiness for the greater good, every person should examine himself if this sacrifice is his duty. This principle represents an unbridgeable gap with the Christian and Marxist ethical theories, as here sacrifice is demanded of every member of a community. In contrast with the previous theories, the stress is on every individual in society, not on the weakest strata.

Responsibility of the stronger economic strata towards the weaker

The Kantian view on the role of the stronger strata in society does not consider the support and sacrifice towards the weaker group as an *a priori* moral responsibility. Although one must respect each member of society as an individual in his or her own right, no member can infringe on another's opportunity merely for their own benefit. According to Kant, the primacy of the individual is central at all times and this would rule out certain social tourism initiatives whereby one group is forced to sacrifice its autonomy for the access to holidays of another group. Thus, according to Kant, the government has no *a priori* moral responsibility to spend public money on improving the access to holidays for low-income groups, as this may not have any clear and equal benefit for the other strata of society, denoting a key difference to the Christian and Marxist ethics discussed above. Social welfare is an important element in the Kantian respect for the individual, but other ways of spending public money might seem more appropriate, as so far it has not yet been researched how the other groups in society would benefit from visitor-related social tourism.

Yet, Kantianism also implies that the tourist should not take advantage of poorly paid staff, lax environmental regulations or oppression of local communities in order to enjoy their holiday as such practices could not be a maxim for a universal law. In this case the local community (the individual and the eco-system) would be used as mere means to an end (the relaxation and enjoyment of the tourist), and a threat to the autonomy of the host community. Forms of social tourism like eco-tourism or socio-tourism, supporting local

cultures, communities and eco-systems would be a preferable alternative for the traditional tourist industry, and would be readily acceptable to Kantian theory.

2.6. Utilitarianism

Utility means usefulness - underlying the point that it is the usefulness of actions which determines their moral character rather than the action itself. Actions are not good or bad in themselves, but only what they are good or bad for (Chyssides & Kaler 1993, 91). Jeremy Bentham defined utility as "happiness", as it is the only thing desirable as an end in itself. Still, this is not an egoist or selfish theory: the common good is the arbiter of right and wrong. This theory can therefore be summarised as follows: "The greatest happiness for the greatest number is the foundation of morals and legislation" (Fisher & Lovell 2003, 95). The basic tool it works with is a cost-benefit analysis: if the benefits outweigh the costs even in the slightest manner, the action is morally right. (It has to be noted that the costs and benefits cannot always be quantified in a monetary manner: determining the exact value of these factors is therefore difficult in certain cases.)

At first sight, there might be a lot of similarities between this theory and the Marxist theory: both strive for the common good, and there are no strict principles for moral behaviour. Harmful "egoistic" motives have to be eliminated in favour of the utility of the community. Still, there are also considerable differences, the most important one being the cost-benefit approach of utilitarianism. Even if this theory strives for development of the common good, it does not strive for equality: it maximises the sum of individual utilities, but it is unconcerned with the distribution of these utilities (Fisher & Lovell 2003, 142). A utilitarian will never allow the common good to marginally decrease to help a smaller group in society. The stress on the "greatest number" in society means that the polarisation between the general public and the people on the edge of society can only increase. In other words, a utilitarian would find it "morally wrong to discriminate against a rich or otherwise fortunate person to reduce the difference between him and the poorer or otherwise less fortunate members of society" (Harsanyi 1993, 134). This also influences the utilitarian view on social policy making: "Even though equality and justice

(including fairness) are of fundamental importance from a utilitarian point of view, they cannot always be the decisive considerations for framing social policies” (Harsanyi 1993, 135). This implies that social policies will not be evaluated on how they improve the quality of life of the weaker group in society, but on how they help the largest number in society. Social policies are thus assessed on the basis of a cost-benefit analysis for society as a whole.

Responsibility of the stronger economic strata towards the weaker: welfare economics

The basics of the utilitarian theory are strongly linked with the practice of welfare through their application in the field of welfare economics. Welfare economics is “the study of the way in which the economic processes of production, consumption and exchange affect the well-being of society. It seeks to indicate how economic systems ought to work, in order that the social welfare can be increased” (Walker 1981, 13). Welfare is then defined as “the vector of individual utilities” (Ng 1979, 3), and since social welfare is an entity composed of individual welfares, it is clear that the appropriate governmental unit should take full cognisance of the tastes and desires of individuals in respect of the nature and purpose of invention (Walker 1981, 97).

A way to satisfy the tastes and desires of as many individuals as possible is the provision of merit goods. These are “goods considered so meritorious that their satisfaction is provided through the public budget over and above what is provided for through the market and paid for by private buyers” (Knapp 1984, 95). Some examples of merit goods are education, health care and defence. To many people the most important objection to the market provision of these forms of social care is the market's inability to allocate services according to need. A perfectly functioning market will allocate services according to the consumers' ability to pay, and there is no necessary correlation between the distribution of income and the distribution of need (Knapp 1984, 96).

This however does not mean that welfare economics supports a vision of perfect equality and that each individual has the same right to the same utility. The primary basis for

economics is that resources are scarce, and therefore they need to be distributed as efficiently as possible. The distribution of the resources will be based on certain well-specified value judgements, which are very similar to the value judgements in utilitarianism. The ideal improvement of social welfare is the Pareto-improvement; this is a situation whereby the welfare of one or more individuals increases and no other individual's welfare decreases. Social welfare is thus at a maximum when no individual can be made better off without one or more being made worse off. Like for utilitarianism, a general cost-benefit analysis is also for welfare economics the basic tool to measure changes in welfare.

The concept of Pareto optimality has been applied to merit goods available to all, and prescribes that "if a merit good is made available to all, the sum of the marginal benefits over all individuals should be compared with the marginal cost of providing for it. This will determine the optimal amount of the merit good" (Ng 1979, 191). But this theory is only applicable in situations where nobody loses, and the question has to be how one can judge changes whereby some win and some lose out, as often is the case in social policies designed for certain target groups (like for instance visitor-related social tourism). Pareto optimality would make these policies impossible, still, for some goods, there is a strong social feeling that the ability to pay should not enter the individual's decision to make use of them (Walker 1981, 83). A series of economists have therefore made adaptations of the Pareto theory, which aim to justify these policies. A first one is the "Compensation Test", which prescribes that the winners should hypothetically compensate the losers (not monetarily, but rather in advantages as special labour schemes for excluded groups for example). Another way of justification is the Weak Majority Preference Criterion, which says that x should be preferred to y if no-one prefers y to x and at least half of the population prefer x to y (Ng 1979, 139). The link with the "greatest number" principle in utilitarianism is extremely clear here. Knapp mentions a cost-effectiveness analysis instead of a cost-benefit analysis, the difference being that in a cost-effectiveness analysis no attempt is made to place monetary values on the output (Knapp 1984, 136).

Finally it needs to be made clear that these views in welfare economics only apply to resources available through taxation. Welfare though works with mixed modes of finance: provision by state-run institutions financed out of taxation is only one of a very large number of alternatives, as there are charities, courts, employers, private donations by families and friends. (Glennerster 1997, 13). These donations do not always need to be justified to the same extent as tax money, and may therefore be distributed in entirely different ways, if it increases the utility or happiness of the donator to do so. Utilitarianism and welfare economics thus leave this possibility open for social measures aimed at one specific target group rather than at the greatest number in society. Initiatives of employers and charities could be perfectly acceptable, if it increases their utility to provide for certain groups and it does not harm the common good.

Social tourism: a merit good?

The key question resulting from this argument is whether social tourism should be seen as a merit good. One needs to keep in mind that for utilitarianism and welfare economics, with their cost-benefit perspective, the ideal improvement is the Pareto-improvement, a situation whereby the welfare of one or more individuals increases and no other individual's welfare decreases. Social welfare is thus at a maximum when no individual can be made better off without one or more being made worse off, a situation that is particularly hard to achieve in public social policy, which usually aims to aid an underprivileged group in society. An example of a Pareto improvement in host-related social tourism could be an ecological holiday provided by a commercial tour operator. The tourist pays extra for an exclusive holiday and supports the destination's eco-system in this way, but the greater good in their home country is not affected in any way. Using the demand side, visitor-related, definition of social tourism, government schemes supporting disadvantaged groups are an entirely different matter as only a small group of society is eligible for these holidays, and the rest of the population does not benefit directly. As the benefits of visitor-related social tourism have not been researched fully at present and are thus somewhat unclear, this means that visitor-related social tourism cannot be considered a merit good to the same degree as education or defense.

Even though there might be disagreement on the value of certain benefits derived of merit goods, government spending can only be justified if it can be shown that social tourism increases utility across society as a whole, for example through the reduction of social exclusion. Public welfare money might instead be spent on services which more clearly benefit the whole of society, and not just a certain social group (e.g. education, health, defense). Charities providing social tourism to particular groups though would not need this justification so strongly, as donating money is not compulsory, and the utility of the greater good is unaffected.

2.7. Natural law theories

The natural law theory is based on a conflation of three sources: the teaching of the bible, the doctrines of Roman law and the principles of Aristotle's politics (Baker 1979, 8). The core of this theory is expressed in St Paul's central dictum in Romans 2.14-15: "For when the Gentiles, which have not the law, do by nature the things contained in the law, these, having not the law, are a law unto themselves: which shew the work of the law written in their hearts, their consciences also bearing witness", and quoted by almost every theorist of natural law from Aquinas onward (Schneewind 1994, 201). The quote implies that there is an innate moral law discoverable by reason, which lies in the nature of men. This objective moral order should be the basis for all laws, and, when in conflict, is more valuable than mere human laws, and so set limits to the powers of rulers.

From a moral point of view, "a theory of natural law claims to be able to identify conditions and principles of practical right-mindedness, of good and proper order among men and in individual conduct" (Finnis 1980, 18). To discover these principles, one needs "a set of basic methodological requirements of practical reasonableness [...] which distinguish sound from unsound practical thinking and which, when all brought to bear, provide the criteria for distinguishing between acts that [...] are reasonable-all-things-considered [...] and acts that are unreasonable-all-things considered [...]" (Finnis 1980, 23). In a rationalist way, the natural law theorist thus seeks criteria that stimulate

“individual human flourishing in a form of communal life”, as Finnis describes it. Hereby some conceptions of human good will be selected, others rejected. It is up to the political community (the citizens, the state) to decide which conceptions ought to be supported.

The social contract

Although the term “natural law theory” is often used, different natural law theories exist. In the 17th century, philosophers like Locke, Hobbes and Rousseau each formulated their own version of a Social Contract philosophy, defining the relationship between the governing bodies of a community and its members, based on the principles of natural law. Each version has two fundamental values in common: “the value of Liberty, or the idea that will, not force, is the basis of government, and the value of Justice, or the idea that right, not might, is the basis of all political society and of every system of political order” (Baker 1979, 8). In other words, the idea of a social contract is composed of two interrelated ideas: government must be based on a contract between ruler and subjects, and there is something in the nature of organised community ready to assume government, a social will (Baker 1979, 11).

Locke's idea of a social contract show similarities with Bentham: he is a hedonist, saying that “only what affects our personal happiness provides motivating reasons” (Schneewind 1994, 208). What is good brings pleasure and what is bad brings pain, and so everyone is his own free agent, with personal experiences determining our moral concepts. Still, there is one major difference with the utilitarian view: whereas the utilitarians denied the existence of absolute moral principles, Locke describes God's laws as the moral guideline, even though each individual might have a personal interpretation of those laws. A community can thus appoint a trustee government, which it may at any time dismiss for breach of trust, as it defines itself what the definition of trust must be (Baker 1979, 13). Locke does not doubt that God is not only just but that he also possesses unlimited goodness, an argument that was often criticised by other philosophers. In fact, Locke did not prioritise his moral theory, which in many places is very unclear and was therefore very contested in his day.

Hobbes represents a very different point of view: “he is obsessed by the idea of the dissolution of authority, the disorder that ensues from the freedom to disagree what is just and what is unjust, and with the disintegration of the unity of power, doomed to become reality when human beings begin to contend that power must be limited” (Bobbio 1993, 29). He describes the state of nature as a state of war, and concludes that the laws of nature alone cannot protect the highest good: life. This means that the state, represented by a powerful sovereign, needs to protect life. “The Hobbesian state is founded on a reciprocal covenant among isolated and scattered individuals, and is therefore much more similar to an association than to a community” (Bobbio 1993, 69).

When *Rousseau* first researches the state of nature, in “A discourse on inequality”, he describes this primitive form of society as the best time men have ever known, “where there were no laws but only the terror of vengeance to restrain men” (Rousseau 1984, 38). The first political societies and the development of industry have created the unequal relationships between men. Later, in “The social contract”, he has changed this point of view: the man in the state of nature has now become “a stupid and unimaginative animal, and it is only by coming into political society that he becomes an intelligent human being and a man” (Rousseau 1968, 26). The members of the community stay free: “A people can be free if it retains sovereignty over itself, if it enacts the rules or laws which it is obliged to obey” (Rousseau 1968, 29).

Responsibility of the stronger economic strata towards the weaker

It has to be mentioned here that the freedom mentioned by Rousseau was only available to citizens, which, in Rousseau’s days, were only a small majority of all male adults. Maurice Cranston therefore rightfully remarks that “the kind of equality Rousseau desired was no more than that desired by Plato: he believed that everyone’s place in society should correspond to everyone’s merits or services” (Rousseau 1984, 48). This attitude is also visible in the work of Locke, Hobbes and many other natural law theorists, and illustrates the fact that “equality” in their day had a completely different definition

than later for Marx. Whereas Marx thought that every member of society should have the same unlimited opportunity for self-development, the natural law tradition linked the right of opportunity much more with merit. An example of this attitude can be found in the concept of “desert”, meaning that the individual can forsake certain actions and opportunities so that Liberty and Justice in the community are guaranteed. George describes desert as “an implication of moral responsibility” of every citizen. The opposite of desert is “entitlement”, “which is based on the application of a rule according to its terms, without regard to individual qualities that the rule ignores” (George 1999, 34-35). A natural law theorist will thus not be in favour of a society with much entitlement, as this restrains the opportunity for desert, which is a free choice and therefore a product of liberty.

In the case of visitor-related social tourism this means that if a citizen wishes to make a holiday possible for another member of the community and therefore forsake other opportunities of his own, it would be right to do so, if he thinks that the community would be better off that way, or in Locke’s philosophy, because it makes him happy to care for others. He is not obliged to act charitably in any way. If certain members of the society would be entitled to (visitor-related) social tourism, this would set limits to the freedom of other citizens. This type of social tourism is then a *good* cause, but for society to lose its freedom would not be *right* (cf. Rawls). This point of view reveals great similarities with the Kantian theory: certain natural laws (e.g. life, property) are higher up the scale than others (recreation), and although the “imperfect duties” are definitely good values, no-one can demand them from us as other “perfect duties” might be harmed (Chyssidis & Kaler 1993, 102).

The Natural Law theories stress the need for Liberty and Justice in society, and aims to make sure that nobody’s rights are harmed. If a tourist can support the local economy of rural areas by taking a holiday there, he has the right to do so, and the opportunity to do so, as he can pay for his stay. People who have no opportunity to travel cannot be *entitled* to a cheaper or free holiday from this point of view, as this would limit the liberty of the other members in society. Initiatives in visitor-related social tourism are thus possible,

but continuous governmental support for them seems unlikely in a society dictated by Natural Law. Only if social tourism would be an accepted way to increase the Liberty and Justice in society (by making certain groups citizens with more merit) could public funding be considered.

2.8. Rawls

A modern theory of justice, incorporating a critique of Utilitarianism and of the social contract theory has been provided by Rawls. He develops the concept of justice as fairness as the basis for a just society. On the one hand, he criticises the lack of rational and objective argumentation in classical utilitarianism, the basis of which he describes as follows: "The principle of utility makes such heavy demands on our ability to estimate the balance of advantages that it defines at best an ambiguous court of appeal for questions of justice. [...] If interpersonal comparisons of satisfaction can be made, these comparisons must reflect values which it makes sense to pursue. It is irrational to advance one end rather than another simply because it can be more accurately estimated" (Rawls 1999, 91). On the other hand, he argues that the social contract theorists like Locke and Rousseau concentrated too much on how to organise and govern society, instead of researching the principles of justice on which that society has to be based (Rawls 1999, 11).

In defining justice as fairness Rawls basically stipulates that men are to decide in advance how they are to regulate their claims against one another. According to Rawls, fairness will be guaranteed by the two principles of justice: firstly, each person is to have an equal right to the most extensive basic liberty compatible with a similar liberty for others; and secondly, while the distribution of income and wealth need not be equal, it must be to everyone's advantage (Rawls 1999, 60). This second principle is very similar to the Pareto principle: it states that the fortunate should be allowed to have better prospects, if it is to the advantage of those less fortunate. Rawls gives the example of the entrepreneur, whose success will benefit the unskilled worker seeking employment (Rawls 1999, 80). A big difference though is that Rawls sees the different "primary social goods" (wealth,

opportunity, liberty) as exchangeable: “A lesser liberty (*of opportunity*) can be compensated for by greater social and economic benefits” (Rawls 1999, 150). Instead of seeking the greatest goods for the greatest number, Rawls operates the principle of the greatest *average* utility.

Finally, Rawls agrees with the natural law theorists that there is a difference between the right and the good. What is good, he states, is different for every individual, and there is no need for an agreement between different members of a society about it (Rawls 1999, 447). There are no rational grounds for what each individual sees as “good”, and therefore goodness can have little to do with the rationalist principle of fairness. Rawls states for instance that “the greater abilities of some may give them a stronger claim on social resources irrespective of compensating advantages to others” (Rawls 1999, 447). “Men's different productive skills and capacities for satisfaction” will determine their right to “satisfaction”. So even though all members of the community might be equal before the law, this does entitle the less fortunate members to greater advantages than the fortunate ones.

It is clear that a principle as fairness as “the greatest average utility” will not be *a priori* supportive of initiatives that concentrate on target groups outside this “average”, as visitor-related social tourism initiatives do. If it can be shown though that these initiatives have clear benefits for the greatest average utility, this can change the perspective: here some society members would experience a lesser liberty of opportunity, but they could be compensated by greater social or economic benefits. If visitor-related social tourism can indeed cause greater social inclusion and encourage pro-social behaviour, these benefits could make the investment worthwhile for society as a whole. Host-related social tourism does not affect the greatest average utility as such: the tourist pays for his own holiday and by choosing a host-related social holiday he makes a contribution to a fair treatment of the destination's workers, culture and environment. This means that his liberty is not affected, and still the opportunity of others is enhanced. The average utility in the host community is given a chance to rise: The distribution of the revenue will be to the advantage of the people most affected by tourism, which can be seen as a fair decision.

Kantianism, utilitarianism, natural law, Rawls: inferred attitude towards social tourism

As suggested earlier, even though the above-mentioned theories (Kantianism, Utilitarianism, Natural Law theories and Rawls' theory of justice) are very different and sometimes even oppose each other, they all agree on the fact that the stronger social strata do not have the *a priori* social responsibility to support the weaker in every way and to their own disadvantage. The good in society does thus not automatically equal the right. They all agree on the fact that every citizen has the same rights in society and is equal for the law. He or she should have all opportunities to develop his life to an acceptable standard, it is even the responsibility of the state to make sure that he has these opportunities, but the opportunities of one person should never limit the opportunities of another.

This would mean that it is every person's right to spend money on visitor-related social tourism as an individual, through for example a charity; but that public expenditure is only justified if there are overall net benefits for society. Whilst these benefits are not shown, social tourism cannot be considered a "merit good", as for example education. If it can be shown that social tourism can indeed reduce certain aspects of social exclusion, as is often claimed (see chapter 1), this could potentially be an acceptable moral justification to make it a "merit good", provided the total benefits outweigh the costs.

2.9. Socialised vs. individualised theories

In the previous paragraphs different ethical theories can be thought of as having been placed on a continuum depending on the a priori moral responsibility they allocate to the stronger strata in society to support the weaker ones. An overview of all the theories discussed and their main attributes is provided below.

Figure 1

<i>Ethical theory</i>	<i>Main concepts</i>	<i>Criteria for social tourism</i>
Christian ethics	Charity, preferential love for disadvantaged groups	Charity as a Christian duty, what is good is also right
Marxist ethics	Equality and development	To provide opportunities for greater equality and development
Kantianism	Respect for the individual, universality of principles	To seek fairer holiday alternatives is a perfect duty, but the individual cannot be sacrificed
Utilitarianism	The greater good for the greatest number in society	Cost-benefit-analysis
Natural Law	Liberty and Justice, Right and Opportunity	Providing equal opportunities is a duty, but entitlement restricts personal liberty
Rawls	Fairness Average utility	Cost-benefit analysis for the average member of society

Firstly there are moral theories which place great emphasis on this duty towards the weaker strata: Christian and Marxist ethics are examples. However different these theories are (in many ways they even oppose each other), they have this aspect in common: for Christian ethics the duty to support the weaker strata of society comes down

from God, Marxist ethics pursue the same goal of helping the most disadvantaged, but do so because of a duty to the individual. From this moral point of view, social measures are successful if the weaker strata in society benefit, and there is no difference between what is morally good and what is the right thing to do. Within the context of this study, these theories can be labelled as “*socialised*”: they view society as a combination of actors, and each of these actors is influenced by the others in his place in society. To make the community move forward, the stronger strata have the duty to help and support the weaker strata in every possible way.

Secondly there are the theories that do not stress this duty, but which focus more on the utility of society as a whole. These theories stress the autonomy and opportunity of every individual in society, not just of the weaker strata: each member has to be protected and his rights cannot be harmed. This does mean that social welfare is an important element, but this view of society will more readily support forms of social welfare where all stakeholders benefit, or where the benefits outweigh the costs for the majority of individuals in society.

Kantianism, utilitarianism, the Natural Law theories and Rawls are all examples of theories on this end of the continuum. Even though they are very different and usually not classified together, they both view society as a collection of individuals who should all be respected, and their autonomy should not be breached except if society as a whole benefits. From this point of view, these theories could be called “*individualised*”. This does not imply that these theories are necessarily egoist or against social welfare, quite on the contrary, they all stress the duties of the individual towards the community. But the *a priori* preferential beneficiary of this duty should not necessarily be the weaker member in society, but its average member, or the greatest number in society.

Based on this functional classification, it is now possible to determine which views on society could support which forms of social tourism and how. The fact that host-related social tourism and visitor-related social tourism for people with disabilities are generally more accepted and supported than visitor-related social tourism for low-income groups

can now be explained: stereotypical assessments would find that Westernised countries more readily accept the individualised approaches; and social tourism in line with this ethic may prove more acceptable than a form of social tourism that is based on a more socialised approach.

Where the *hosts* are concerned, tourism has long been seen as a factor that could introduce greater equality in different parts of the world through investments and the development of tourism facilities. Socialised views of society are compatible with this type of social tourism because it can offer a means towards greater economic equality, and a chance for the weaker strata to benefit more from the opportunities of tourism. This type of social tourism is also compatible with individualised perspectives provided it does not require a reduction in the utility of visitors. In a cost-benefit analysis, this form of tourism can be justified both by an economic and an ethical argument. From an ethical point of view, tourists can enjoy a (rather exclusive) holiday, as long as the host community can benefit from the revenue that is created in this way. This form of tourism seeks to ensure that the negative effects of tourism are reduced to a minimum. The economic argument for host-related social tourism is that even though it can become more expensive to travel this way (as employees are paid a fairer wage, local products and logistics can be more expensive than international imports), there is a customer group who is willing to pay this financial difference on his own accord. The exclusiveness of the experience can make it rather sought after for a group of affluent tourists who want to do and see things that are not yet discovered by mass tourism, and see the conditions in which people live without losing the pleasantness of a holiday.

When it comes to *visitor*-related social tourism, initiatives are mainly targeted at two, rather different, disadvantaged groups. One set of tourism initiatives is aimed at travellers with disabilities, and strive for equal opportunities for this group to enjoy a holiday in the commercial tourism sector. The second set are initiatives for low-income or socially excluded groups; for people who cannot afford a holiday in the commercial tourism circuit. In each case, for those who take an individualised approach, justification for

supporting social tourism will depend on there being net social benefits which can increase the utility of society as a whole.

So far as travellers with disabilities are concerned, initiatives to tackle shortcomings in the accessibility of accommodation and attractions can open up new and potentially lucrative markets to the provider of the accommodation or attraction. The UK government recently declared the combined spending power of people with disabilities to be £80bn (Department of Work and Pensions, 9th February 2006, www.dwp.gov.uk/mediacentre/pressreleases) and thus a considerable market for those organisations prepared to make changes to their business practices. Persons with disabilities are largely excluded today because they cannot access tourist facilities, not because they cannot afford them. Demographic changes which increase the numbers of the 'affluent old' will make this even more so in the future. Promoting 'Tourism for All' might therefore be seen simply as an initiative to deal with market failure, where unmanaged markets fail to respond efficiently to changing demand. Improving accessibility increases opportunity for disabled people, but also is an investment that can be financially worthwhile, so the non-disabled members in society do not have to sacrifice their own utility, and there are likely to be net social benefits, and ones that are increasingly widely perceived. Visitor-related social tourism for people with disabilities can thus be justified by both the socialised and individualised views on society. Socialised theories appreciate that the benefits go to a weaker group in society, in that sense that they would have not been able to access holidays without this intervention. Individualist theories justify this form of social tourism by highlighting that the investments made for visitors with disabilities can be rewarded by the extra revenue that is created through their custom.

By contrast, low-income groups cannot afford a holiday, and the wider benefits for society of offering them one are largely uncertain, as there is very limited academic research around this subject. This is no objection for socialised theories, as visitor-related social tourism for low-income groups supports and helps the weaker strata in society, and is thus *a priori* good and right. From an individualist point of view though, it is important

to note that as long as there is no indication of the potential benefit of this type of social tourism for society as a whole, stronger social groups would be required to make a certain sacrifice without being sure that the benefits of this operation would outweigh the costs for the general utility. Individualised theories would thus not *a priori* support visitor-related social tourism for low-income groups.

This does not mean that from an individualised point of view, public funding can never support this type of social tourism initiatives. It will do so provided it can be shown that social tourism initiatives can have positive implications for the rest of society, for example via a change in the behaviour and attitudes of the target groups, with a reduction in associated costs for society. If visitor-related social tourism can bring about changes in the target groups that in turn generate net social benefits, then it may be plausibly seen as not just charity, but a merit good and an investment, a sort of social policy with benefits for every citizen. In the case of low-income or socially excluded groups, the target could be re-integration through tourism, improvements in family relations and parenting skills, creating a greater willingness to travel (thus improving job search) or an improvement in mental or physical health.

There is some limited evidence to support these beneficial effects of social tourism. A study by the English Tourist Council for example showed that holidays had a beneficial effect on the mental and physical health of the holiday makers, and led to a reduced number of visits to health professionals (English Tourist Council, 2000: 5). Holidays are also believed to have beneficial effects on interpersonal relationships, to increase self-esteem and to widen travel horizons. A study in Quebec for example has shown the beneficial effect of visitor-related holidays on the relationships within the family, with an increase in overall well-being as a result (Gaudreau et al 1999). By aiming to bring dysfunctional families closer together, the holiday was a success, although in monetary terms no profit was made, and no immediate change in the economic situation of the family was noted. These studies will be reviewed in more detail in chapter 3.

2.10. Conclusion

As social tourism has been defined as “tourism with an added moral value”, this chapter has examined the potential moral foundations for visitor-related social tourism for low-income groups. It was found that from a *socialised* point of view, this form of social tourism is intrinsically morally good and accepted. From an *individualised* point of view, the wider benefits to society need to be shown before it can be ethically justified. The ethical foundations for visitor-related social tourism have thus helped to define a measure of success: visitor-related social tourism is successful if there are overall net benefits for society. As visitor-related social tourism for low-income groups has been linked to a reduction in social exclusion, this is the overall net benefit to society this study will focus on. The next chapter will look at the concept of social exclusion in more detail, and examine which aspects social holidays can beneficially influence. Chapter 4 will then discuss how social holidays can influence aspects of social exclusion, and examine learning processes based in experience.

3. Social exclusion, social capital and Levitas' three discourses

3.1. Introduction

Supporters of visitor-related social tourism for low-income groups like to view it as a potential measure against social exclusion. In the last chapter, it was argued that the reduction of social exclusion would be a measure of success for visitor-related social tourism: this reduction would have net benefits for society, and thus make social tourism a potential “merit good”. Still, different perceptions of social exclusion exist, and how social exclusion is viewed strongly influences the measures that are proposed to reduce it.

This chapter starts with an analysis of the concept and of the related term “social capital”. It will focus on the benefits of increasing social capital, not only for the individual, but also for society, and make a link with social policy. Levitas' classification of the three discourses of social exclusion allows analysing social exclusion from this public policy point of view. Again, this analysis will emphasise how the way one perceives social exclusion (and the reasons behind it) influences the potential of social tourism as a measure to counter it. The chapter will conclude by determining which views of social exclusion and policy are potentially compatible with visitor-related social tourism.

3.2. Social exclusion: definition and characteristics

The term “social exclusion” was originally coined in France in 1974 to refer to various categories of people who were unprotected by social insurance at the time but labelled as “social problems”, for example: the disabled, substance abusers, delinquents, single parents, aged invalids. However, in the 1980's, this stigmatising and narrowly social view was superseded as the term became central to French debates about the nature of the “new poverty” associated with technological change and economic restructuring (Rodgers *et al* 1995, 1). Since then, the term is widely used internationally, and the range of definitions attached to it have become more diverse over time. The literature shows that, despite the growing use and apparent acceptance of the term social exclusion, there

are still many (contested) definitions of what it means exactly and confusion about the relationship between social exclusion and poverty (Hodgson & Turner 2003, 266).

Walker and Walker define social exclusion very generally as “a dynamic process of being shut out, fully or partially, from any of the social, economic, political and cultural systems which determine the social integration of a person in society” (Walker & Walker in Hodgson & Turner 2003, 266). Another general definition is the one by Burchardt: “An individual is socially excluded if (a) he or she is geographically resident in a society and (b) he or she does not does not participate in the normal activities of citizens in that society” (Burchardt *et al* in Hodgson & Turner 203, 267). Rodgers et al opt for a more sociological and psychological definition: “Social exclusion refers, in particular, to inability to enjoy social rights without help, suffering from low self-esteem, inadequacy in their capacity to meet their obligations, the risk of long-term relegation to the rank of those on social benefits, and stigmatisation” (Rodgers et al 1995, 45). Often definitions of social exclusion also stress a geographical or spatial factor, and concentrate on neighbourhoods where many problems are related to social exclusion. An example is this definition by Madanipour, describing social exclusion as “a multi-dimensional process, in which various forms of exclusion are combined: participation in decision-making and political processes, access to employment and material resources, and integration into common cultural processes. When combined, they create acute forms of exclusion that find a spatial manifestation in particular neighbourhoods” (Madanipour et al in Hodgson & Turner 2003, 267). The UK Index of Multiple Deprivation, developed by the University of Oxford, also includes this geographical aspect of social exclusion. It measures exclusion in terms of six “dimensions”: income, employment, health deprivation and disability, education and training, housing, and finally the geographical access to services (Miller 2003, 5). These dimensions were used to select respondents for this study: all respondents reported at least one dimension of social exclusion, and in many cases they were affected by multiple dimensions.

Another way of defining social exclusion (and a way around the theoretical differences in accents and definitions) is to describe the concept via its consequences or effects. These

effects are situated on the negative side of the spectrum of the six dimensions mentioned earlier, and influence the individual as well as society as a whole. The costs to the individual affect different aspects of their daily life: social exclusion for instance can lead to individuals not realising their full educational potential and, as a result, a higher risk of unemployment. Other related problems are poorer physical health and crime or the fear of crime (Social Exclusion Unit 2004, 7). Low travel horizons, or a person's fear to travel outside his or her own environment, is also connected to social exclusion. Mohan illustrates this with the example of marginal owner-occupiers in Swindon, who, "facing severe pressure on household budgets, found that their everyday lives were concentrated around their homes, which had almost become prisons" (Mohan 2002, 66). Different studies report that on average unemployed people (one of the groups more liable to be socially excluded) spend around 50% of their waking day at home. Television is the major leisure pursuit, consuming two to three hours a day as a main activity and another hour or two alongside other activities (Glyptis 1989, 109). This suggests low involvement in social leisure activities and indicates isolation. Leary then describes the psychological effects of social exclusion, and links the concept to social anxiety, jealousy, loneliness, depression and low self-esteem (Leary 1990, 221). All these effects of social exclusion have a powerful influence on the excluded individual, but also affect society as a whole, and translated in an increased public expenditure in the form of income support, housing benefit, council tax benefit and public health services for this group.

3.3. Social capital

3.3.1. Definition

An alternative way to describe social exclusion is to define it as a lack of social capital. This sociological concept is valuable in the theoretical discussion of social exclusion because of the fact that it is more strictly defined (even though also for this concept different definitions exist). Coleman contrasts social capital with two other forms of capital: Physical capital on the one hand (machines, tools, productive equipment), and human capital on the other hand (training). (Another form of capital, cultural capital, is

coined by Bourdieu and will be discussed further in 3.6.) If physical capital is wholly tangible, being embodied in observable material form, and human capital is less tangible, being embodied in the skills and knowledge acquired by an individual, social capital is less tangible yet, for it exists in the *relations* among persons (Coleman 1998, 100). Coleman defines social capital by its function. “It is not a single entity but a variety of different entities, with two elements in common: they all consist of some aspect of social structures, and they facilitate certain actions of actors -either persons or corporate actors- within the structure. Like other forms of capital, social capital is productive, making possible the achievement of certain ends that in its absence would not be possible (Coleman 1998, 98).

As mentioned before, different definitions of social capital exist, each describing the relationship between actors as a resource from a different angle. Still, despite these differences, the consensus is growing that social capital stands for the ability of actors to secure benefits by virtue of membership in social networks or other social structures (Portes 1998, 6).

According to Coleman, there are three forms of social capital (Coleman 1998). Firstly there is the form of social capital that consists mainly of obligations, expectations and the trustworthiness of structures. This form ideally leads to co-operation and a smooth solving of collective problems. Connected to this form is the second one: norms and effective sanctions. These norms regulate the co-operation and punish actions that go against the set obligations and expectations. The third and last form of social capital are information channels, as a network of close contacts can provide access to the network of information each of these contacts possesses. These three forms of social capital illustrate the fact that social capital is beneficial to the individual on the one hand and the other individuals inside or outside of the network on the other hand. Putnam calls these two aspects of social capital the “private” and the “public” face of social capital, whereby the private faces are the connections individuals form that benefit their own interests (Putnam 2000, 20). At the same time, “social capital can also have “externalities” that affect the wider community, so that not all the costs and benefits of social connections accrue to the

person making the contact. [...] If the crime rate in a neighbourhood is lowered by neighbours keeping an eye on one another's homes, a person can benefit even if he personally spends most his time on the road and never even nods to another resident in the street" (Putnam 2000, 20). This means that social capital can be simultaneously a "private good" and a "public good". Some of the benefit from an investment in social capital goes to bystanders, while some of the benefit rebounds to the immediate interest of the person making the investment.

The private and public face of social capital shows in the benefits of social capital. Apart from benefits as co-operation, trust and trustworthiness (as mentioned earlier), Putnam also mentions social capital as a tool that "helps develop and maintain character traits that are good for the rest of society" (Putnam 2000, 288). Fighting social exclusion through the development of social capital is thus not only beneficial to the individual being included in a social network, but also for society, which gains members that can be of greater merit. If this refers to the rather public face of social capital, the last benefit refers more to the private face: social capital is also said to "help people cope better with trauma's and fight illness more effectively" (Putnam 2000, 289). From this point of view, social capital can be seen as an important element in the overall physical and mental well-being of the individual.

As any form of capital, social capital has positive, but also negative uses. As stated before, one of the forms of social capital is providing norms and sanctions, based on the obligations and need of trustworthy structures in a network. More than once the question has then been asked if social capital is at war with liberty and tolerance (Putnam 2000, 351). This has to do with the concept of "closure", which means "the existence of sufficient ties between a certain number of people to guarantee the observance of norms" (Portes 1998, 6). Closure is thus a form of social control and a reliable frame for the judgment of actions within a certain group. Close social control might on the one hand guarantee the smooth functioning of the network, it may also imply conformity. To integrate in a certain group members might have to assimilate, and all "deviant" individuals may not be allowed access to the group. Closure thus protects the interests of

the insiders of a group, but can also reduce the chances of outsiders to be allowed into the group. This illustrates the link between social capital, closure and social exclusion, and even the link between social exclusion, poverty and social capital. Putnam argues that “precisely because poor people (by definition) have little economic capital and face formidable obstacles in acquiring human capital (that is: education), social capital is disproportionately important to their welfare” (Putnam 2000, 318). Their exclusion might thus have greater consequences, as they often lack the other forms of capital to form the so valuable connections. Not only their psychological well-being is affected; economists have developed an impressive body of research suggesting that social ties can influence who gets a job, a bonus, a promotion and other employment benefits” (Putnam 2000, 319). This means that social networks are often absent for people who need them the most: the unemployed, the excluded, the poor.

If it can be shown that visitor-related social tourism can help to increase social capital, this would be a way of ethically justifying it. Increased social capital is linked to better employment opportunities, a reduction in benefit dependency and thus a net benefit for society. It is also linked to lessening illness, thus reducing the public cost of healthcare. The public face of social capital (for example through greater safety in the community) is another example of how increasing social capital can have wider benefits for society.

3.3.2. Social capital and its effect on well-being

The importance of social and family capital has recently been emphasised by the new economics foundation or nef. Nef describes itself as “an independent think-and-do tank that inspires and demonstrates real economic well-being” (www.neweconomics.org). This registered charity lobbies the government and major companies to work in a more socially accountable way, and researches methods and policies to improve quality of life by promoting innovative solutions that challenge mainstream thinking on economic, environmental and social issues. (Nef 2004, 1). The focus is on the concept of well-being, which is described as more than just happiness. “As well as feeling satisfied and happy,

well-being means developing as a person, being fulfilled, and making a contribution to the society” (Nef 2004, 4).

American research by Lykken (Nef 2004, 20) suggests there are three main sources for well-being, the first of which being our parents, through our genes and upbringing. This source influences well-being for about 50%. A second influence comes from our circumstances such as income, where we live, the climate. This source only accounts for 10% of our happiness, suggesting that money, after our basic needs are met, does not make us fundamentally happier. The reason for this low percentage is that a person adapts very quickly to material gains which come from increases in income and we also compare ourselves to others who have more, which can lead to dissatisfaction. The remaining 40% of our well-being is influenced by our outlook and activities, like our friendships, being involved in our community, sport, hobbies as well as our outlook on life. This is where the biggest difference to well-being can be made (Nef 2004, 4). In line with these findings, the new economics foundation aims to encourage social policies that strengthen civil society, social well-being and active citizenship. In their well-being manifesto, the Nef also highlight the positive knock-on effect these measures can have on the rest of society, which shows great similarities with Putnam’s theory of the public and private face of social capital. Nef also points out that many governmental policies focus too much on the economic situation of the individual, thereby ignoring his well-being. “By focusing purely on economic indicators, we have missed the negative side effects of economic growth and efficiency. These might include the depletion of environmental resources, the stress from working long hours, and the unravelling of local economies and communities when the out-of-town supermarket settles nearby” (Nef 2004, 8). Policies that are aimed to improve community engagement and social well-being (in other words: increase social capital) would be positive in two directions: “involvement increases well-being and happy people tend to be more involved in their community. Therefore, interventions in this area should lead to a positive upward spiral” (Nef 2004, 18).

If visitor-related social tourism can be shown to have a beneficial effect on the levels of social capital, this would be not only an ethical justification for individualised theories,

but also a potential argument to include social tourism as part of public policy. The three discourses of social exclusion in public policy will be discussed in 3.4.

3.3.3. Family capital

In recent studies, mainly in the field of education and learning, the terms “family capital” and “family social capital” have been used to define the nature and value of social capital within the family. Parcel and Dufur describe the concept as “the bonds between parents and children that are useful in promoting child socialization. *(It)* reflects the time and attention parents spend in interaction with children, in monitoring their activities, and in promoting child well-being, including academic achievement. As such it refers to parental resources used in the socialization process (Parcel & Dufur 2001, 882). These parental resources are distinguished from “parental financial capital such as family financial resources, and from human capital such as parental years of schooling (Parcel & Dufur 2001, 883). This means that families on low incomes or parents with limited schooling are not necessarily low on family capital. Family capital is determined by the stability of the family on the one hand, and the social contacts of the parents on the other hand. “*(Family capital)* is greater when the family system is characterized by time-closure; when the parents’ commitment to each other is long term, children benefit from the stability of the union. In addition, children benefit from continued exposure to the social connections parents have with others outside the family group, such as neighbours, school personnel or work colleagues” (Parcel & Dufur 2001, 882-883).

For socially excluded families, both stability within the family unit and social contacts can be particularly problematic. In families where the family capital is particularly low, this can affect the children in their academic development. Two studies by Marjoribanks have shown that “family environmental contexts are moderately to largely associated with children’s academic performances and adolescents’ aspirations” (Marjoribanks 1998, 328).

Although mainly used in the context of education and learning, the concept is not only useful to describe the children's development. The level of family capital can also affect the resilience of the family as a whole, and thus influence (being part of social capital) each member of that family. Belsey describes the concept of family capital from this angle, as having three dimensions: "relations and the family network; family resources (knowledge, skills and material resources); and resilience. Resilience has much in common with the more widely understood concept of social capital, which, when applied to the family, includes one or a combination of the following: a sense of personal security, religious affiliation/practice, and social and moral points of reference" (Belsey 2003, 3). In his study the value of family capital was examined for families confronted with AIDS. Being confronted with AIDS can sometimes make the family capital diminish rapidly if "family decision makes react to the disclosure of the HIV status with anger and rejection [...], the bonds of trust and affection (*can be*) severely strained both within and beyond the family as a result of discrimination and stigmatization" (Belsey 2003, 6). The report goes on to say that both for the well-being of the family itself, and to optimize its functioning in society, a focus on family policy is required. "The overall objective of family policy is to promote, protect and support the integrity and functioning of the family by ensuring that family capital can be accumulated and strengthened" (Belsey 2003, 10).

Both examples show that family capital is a very important aspect of social capital, both for the family members and for society as a whole. Family capital can improve the children's academic performance and aspirations, making them valuable members of the workforce in the future. It also plays an important role in the resilience of the family, and its well-being and functionality when faced with adversity. The distinction between family and social capital will be important in the classification of the potential benefits of social tourism: whereas some effects could be mainly felt within the family unit (e.g. improvements in family relations, parenting, relief from stress to spend quality time together), others could be more geared towards improving the relationship between the individual family members and the rest of society (confidence, social contacts, proactive attitude to life). The first group of benefits will thus directly influence the family capital

of the whole family unit, whereas the second group will generally influence the social capital of each individual member.

In the previous paragraphs, the increase of both social and family capital has been indicated to have beneficial effects both for the individual, and for society, in terms of a reduction of social exclusion. Considering the wider benefits for society, increasing social capital could thus potentially be included into social policy. If visitor-related social tourism can be shown to increase social or family capital, this would then be an argument to include it into social policy, from a socialised as well as an individualised point of view. The following section will examine the three “discourses” in social policy, and highlight which discourse could be compatible with social tourism as a social policy.

3.4. Levitas’ three discourses of social exclusion

The term social exclusion has become increasingly important in discussions of poverty and inequality in the 1990s, not only in Europe where the term originated, but also in Britain (Watt & Jacobs 2000, 15). However, social exclusion is a rather flexible concept, more defined by its effects than by its causes, it comes as no surprise that it can also take different accents in political discourse. Silver describes the concept as “evocative, ambiguous, multidimensional and elastic” (Silver 1994, 536), and points out that it “can serve a variety of political purposes” (Silver 1994, 541).

In “An inclusive society? Social exclusion and New Labour”, Ruth Levitas has analysed these different accents of social exclusion and organised them in a system of three discourses. A first discourse she describes is the *redistributionist* discourse (RED), which intertwines social exclusion with poverty. It emphasises poverty as a prime cause of exclusion and implies a reduction of poverty through increases in benefit levels. It contrasts exclusion with citizenship, and addresses the social, political, cultural and economic aspects of citizenship, so that it can also be described as a general critique of inequality. It aims to remove the factors that produce inequality and to redistribute resources and power (Levitas 1998, 14).

A second discourse of social exclusion is the *moral underclass discourse* (MUD), which concentrates on the cultural explanations of poverty. It presents the underclass or socially excluded as culturally distinct from the mainstream, and focuses on the behaviour of the poor rather than on the structure of the whole society. It implies that benefits are bad, rather than good, for their recipients, and encourage “dependency”. Levitas describes this discourse as “gendered”, stating that it is about idle criminal young men and single mothers (Levitas 1998, 210). This is the discourse that focuses on the effects of social exclusion (like there are also teenage pregnancy, benefit dependency, substance abuse), and transforms these in a sort of “culture” of the underclass, representing it as a cause rather than a result of their exclusion.

The third discourse mentioned by Levitas is the *social integrationist discourse* (SID), linking inclusion to labour and market attachment. It narrows the definition of social inclusion or exclusion to participation in paid work. It does not imply a reduction of poverty by an increase in benefit levels, and obscures the inequalities between paid workers (Levitas 1998, 26).

These three discourses of social exclusion can be linked to the different ethical attitudes described in the previous chapter. The RED discourse, with its emphasis on citizenship and a caring society, is in line with the Christian and Marxist ethical theories: it is the task of society to give every member the possibility to develop himself to the full. Marxism aims to radically reduce inequalities, whereas Christian ethics rather stress the task to relieve poverty; still, in both cases society is responsible for the redistribution of resources where market forces fail. MUD and SID show more resemblance with the individualised theories, which link the reasons for inclusion or exclusion to the individual rather than to society. In case of MUD, the behavioural characteristics of the individual influence the degree of inclusion, whereas with SID, the abilities and qualities for the labour market will be the most deciding factors. Social policies using the SID or MUD discourse will aim to increase opportunity with respect for every individual, in other words will have the utility of the greatest number of society in mind. The opposition to

increasing benefit levels shows a resemblance to the question of the “free rider problem” raised in welfare economics. In the following paragraph, the three discourses will be connected to social exclusion and social tourism in more detail, to illustrate the different accents and stresses each discourse attributes to these concepts.

Before doing so, it needs to be stressed that Levitas’ three discourses are not the only attempt to organise the rather abstract concept of social exclusion in an operational framework. Another example are the three paradigms of Hilary Silver, who connected social exclusion exclusively to the economical and political organisation of society. A first paradigm is *solidarity*, with the French Republican thought as a typical example. In this paradigm, “exclusion occurs when the social bond between the individual and society known as social solidarity breaks down” (Silver 1994, 542). In Anglo-American liberalism, the more individualist paradigm of *specialisation* is operated, assuming that individuals differ, giving rise to shifting alliances, of which some might not be a part (Silver 1994, 542). The third paradigm, influential on the European Left, is *monopoly*: this paradigm sees exclusion as a consequence of the closure of certain classes, who create boundaries and perpetuate inequality (Silver 1994, 543). These paradigms certainly help to explain cross-national differences in the attitude towards social policy, but are on the other hand rather rigid, and do not leave room for differentiation between different attitudes in one political system.

3.5. Social exclusion and its link to social tourism in the light of these three discourses

Although social exclusion and social tourism are basically two entirely different concepts, and the participants in visitor-related social tourism are not always socially excluded (e.g. a lot of persons with physical disabilities), the two concepts have since long been linked to each other. Social tourism is often described as a potential measure against social exclusion, and this for different reasons. A first reason is the importance society attaches to a holiday away from the home. Already in 1979, Peter Townsend included holidays in his “deprivation index”, as 53.6% of the population considered an individual deprived if he had not had a week’s holiday away from the home in the past

twelve months (Mack & Lansley 1985, 33). In the study by Mack and Lansley six years later, this percentage had grown, and 63% of the interviewees considered a holiday a necessity (Mack & Lansley 1985, 39). Not having a holiday is thus a socially perceived necessity and therefore a sign of deprivation or poverty; social tourism is thus a possible strategy to relieve the exclusion of the “deprived” of this necessity. Until today, this criterion is used in many studies measuring poverty in Europe.

Another way to connect social exclusion and social tourism is via the field of leisure studies. Terrence White for example linked factors such as low education and low income (also main factors in social exclusion) to a low degree of outdoor leisure participation (Kelly 1997, 328). Charles Brightbill concluded that “leisure and education were inextricably related in a kind of circle in which leisure leads to education and education to leisure” (Kelly 1997, 328). Social tourism can thus be seen as a way for low-income groups to learn to enjoy outdoor recreation and reap the benefits of this activity. If occupation, social status and income are related to leisure in terms of opportunities and limitations, social tourism is a way to broaden opportunities and overcome limitations.

Leisure studies also show a link between unemployment, a major factor in social exclusion, and social tourism. Glyptis stresses the need for the unemployed to engage in leisure activities as much as (or even more than) the working population. She describes unemployment as a removal of “the central source of routine, purpose, social interaction and affluence” (Glyptis 1989, 1). Although it is true that nobody prevents the unemployed from creating their own time structure and social contacts, from sharing goals with others and exercising their skills as best as they can, the psychological input to do so is colossal (Jahoda in Glyptis 1989, 76). Jahoda explains unemployment is a boring state of mind, and the unemployed often feel guilty when spending their time in idleness, which can lead to inertia, loss of confidence and a sense of isolation. Social tourism would be a possible tool to help the unemployed rediscover leisure and tourism and to counterbalance some of the effects of unemployment.

A final connection between social exclusion and social tourism are the main actors who are active in both fields, like trade unions, social enterprises, associations and the state (Rodgers et al 1995, 260). The French trade unions are a typical example of organisations that combine both causes, and have integrated social tourism in their campaigns for equality for their members.

3.5.1. The redistributionist discourse

As stated before, the RED discourse aims to correct inequality in society and makes that society responsible for a redistribution of resources and power. The Walker and Walker definition of social exclusion (“a dynamic process of being shut out, fully or partially, from any of the social, economic, political and cultural systems which determine the social integration of a person in society”) fits well in this discourse. It concentrates on the right of every citizen to benefit equally from his membership in society. With regard to social tourism, the right to leisure and tourism is officially recognised in for instance France and the Scandinavia, and the state thus actively provides social tourism as one of its welfare services. In Scandinavian countries, the concept of “social tourism” means that everybody, regardless of economic or social situation, should have the opportunity to go on vacation (Haukeland 1990, 178). In Flanders also, the “Tourism for All” decree is linked to the concept of leisure as a basic human right. The RED discourse has as a consequence that every citizen is entitled to have these basic human rights fulfilled, and that the state has to take responsibility for the fulfilment of them (cf. 1.3).

One can then ask what exactly these basic human rights are, and where the responsibility of the state ends. Does every citizen’s right to own an expensive car need to be fulfilled by the state as well? In other words, why should the state provide social tourism, and not social cars or other luxury goods? Where exactly does one draw the line between a luxury and a necessity? The answer lies in the concept of “relative deprivation”, which was developed when researching the concept of poverty. A very influential study by Rowntree in 1899 described primary poverty as “an income insufficient to obtain the minimum necessities for the maintenance of merely physical efficiency” (Mack &

Lansley 1985, 17). Rowntree was trying to establish a rigid poverty line by defining the absolute minimum for survival in Britain at that time, and ruling out all spending on “the maintenance of the mental, moral or social side of human nature” (Mack & Lansley 1985, 17).

Townsend in 1979 developed a more dynamic definition of poverty, to be more adapted to the situation in many Western countries then, and based it on a relative perception of poverty. “Individuals, families and groups in the population can be said to be in poverty when they lack the resources to obtain the type of diet, participate in the activities and have the living conditions and amenities which are customary, or at least widely encouraged or approved, in the societies to which they belong” (Townsend 1979, 31). Relative deprivation may vary in magnitude, frequency or degree. “The magnitude of a relative deprivation is the extent of the difference between the denied situation and that of the person desiring it (as he sees it). The frequency of a relative deprivation is the proportion of a group who feel it. The degree of a relative deprivation is the intensity with which it is felt” (Runciman 1972, 10). To objectively assess which amenities were “widely encouraged or approved” in the society he lived in, Townsend conducted a household survey which then led to the famous “deprivation index”: a list of items of which was agreed that only a minority of the population should lack them. The first characteristic on the index was “has not had a week’s holiday away from home in the last twelve months”, which 53.6% of the respondents saw as a sign of deprivation (Mack & Lansley 1985, 33) (see also 3.5.1).

A similar study in 1985 by Mack and Lansley revealed that that percentage had gone up to 63%, which meant that holidays were perceived as more important than a TV, a car and a telephone by the general population (Mack and Lansley 1985, 39). It needs to be noted here that social classes D and E did not agree with this rating and regarded a TV as being more important than a holiday (61% versus 57%) (Mack & Lansley 1985, 61). This suggests that “the distinction between a necessity and a luxury is not easily made by those who can afford both. An objective definition of a social necessity is an item people are least prepared to sacrifice, leaving for luxuries these items people can (in practise) do

without; and the measurement must be done by the section of society that actually has to make the choice. On this basis television has become a necessity, fresh fruit a luxury” (Berthoud 1976, 20). This shows just how dynamic deprivation indices are, and how difficult it is to generally establish what is a basic human right and what is a luxury, which is why deprivation indices are no longer established today. An example is the growing importance of communication via the internet, and the efforts that are internationally made to increase access to it, which indicate that this is becoming a necessity rather than a luxury. Still, the high percentages of respondents (even in classes D and E) who rated holidays as a necessity show just how important they are in Western societies since many years, and explain how social tourism in the RED discourse could be seen as a partial answer to relative deprivation.

3.5.2. Social Integrationist Discourse

The SID discourse also describes the main difference between the excluded and the non-excluded as a difference in behaviour but narrows it down to one aspect of this behaviour: work. The SID discourse is based on the hypothesis (already expressed by Townsend in 1970) that “if poor (or excluded) people can be provided with good jobs and satisfactory incomes, they will cease to suffer from the non-economic deprivation of poverty, and will not pass these deprivations on to their children” (Townsend 1970, 149]) Another argument for this discourse is the theory of Pierre Bourdieu, who “demonstrated that work is not simply a way to make a living and to support one’s family. It also constitutes a framework for daily behaviour and patterns of interaction because it imposes disciplines and regularities. Thus, in the absence of regular employment, a person lacks not only a place in which to work and the receipt of regular income but also a coherent organisation of the present – that is, a system of concrete expectations and goals” (Wilson 1996, 73). SID thus equals work to social integration and thereby declared it to be the only solution to the social exclusion problem. This explains why SID opposes high benefit rates: they take away the monetary motivation for the individual to work and are thus a threat to the complete reintegration of the unemployed.

Unemployment is a major cause for social exclusion and often triggers other excluding factors. “Neighbourhoods plagued by high levels of joblessness are more likely to experience low levels of social organisation: the two go hand in hand. High rates of joblessness trigger other neighbourhood problems that undermine social organisation, ranging from crime, gang violence and drug trafficking to family break-ups and problems in the organisation of family life” (Wilson 1996, 21). The provision of jobs might be a solution to a lot of problems for a part of the excluded, but on the other hand it can never be the one and only answer to the problem as a whole. For certain groups like the disabled, the sick and the elderly jobs may not be a feasible option, or single parents might find it hard to combine a job with the care for their family. SID is thus a discourse that is only applicable to part of the social exclusion problem. Any social policy that has no relation to work cannot be combined with this discourse, which means that social tourism cannot be justified in terms of SID.

3.5.3. The moral underclass discourse

The distinction between the RED and the MUD discourse shows great similarities with two other concepts about social exclusion introduced by John Veit-Wilson, who called them the “weak” and the “strong” version of the perceived solution to social exclusion. “In the “weak” version of this discourse, the solutions lie in altering these excluded peoples handicapping characteristics and enhancing their integration into dominant society. “Stronger” forms of this discourse also emphasise the role of those who are doing the excluding, and therefore aim for solutions which reduce the powers of exclusion” (Veit-Wilson in Byrne 1999, 4). This basically means that in the MUD discourse, the excluded are marked by personal deficits, and their exclusion can be remedied by the correction of these deficits (Byrne 1999, 168). Not only the structure of society determines and influences the exclusion, but certain characteristics of the excluded. Wilson describes them as “individuals whose behaviour contrasts sharply with the behaviour of the rest of the population”, and gives examples of joblessness, teenage pregnancies, out-of-wedlock births, female-headed families, welfare dependency and serious crime (Wilson 1987, 3).

In Veit-Wilson's definition, the excluded are experiencing social exclusion because of certain characteristics or deficits in their personality or in their family structure. Still, psychological and sociological studies have shown that these deficits are often the result of other aspects of social exclusion, and not the cause. A good example is Carol Stack's study of a low-income Afro-American community: Stack linked teenage pregnancies here with the small housing these (often bigger) families are putting up with. Small housing leads to a lack of personal space, and "the lack of privacy is distressing especially to teenage girls. They spend more time at home, not on the streets in gangs as do their brothers, and until they establish their status as adults by having a child, they must share a bed and a room with their younger sisters. When they have a child, they are accorded new privileges" (Stack 1974, 70). This research shows on a very practical level how social exclusion can be a vicious circle, with certain "deficits" as both a cause and an effect of the general problem.

Psychological research has also linked social exclusion to different forms of anti-social or self-destructing behaviour. A series of experiments by Baumeister, Twenge, Leary and others has highlighted the effects of exclusion on different aspects of human behaviour. The essence of their argument is that "because being part of a social group increases the individual's likelihood of survival, human beings possess an innate drive to avoid being excluded by others and experience anxiety whenever they perceive their status within an important group to be in jeopardy" (Leary 1990,221). To manipulate social exclusion, the researchers gave a set of psychology students a questionnaire about their personality followed by a false, randomly assigned feedback. This feedback either stated that (i) the respondents were likely to be surrounded by people that care about them for the rest of their lives (future belonging group), or that (ii) they would be increasingly accident prone and suffer from broken bones and other mishaps (misfortune control group), or that (iii) they would end up alone in life (future alone group). The misfortune control group functioned as a control group, testing if they would show other reactions than the future alone group, considering that both groups received a negative feedback.

The results of this series of experiments were very consistent. First, it was illustrated that the future alone participants reacted more aggressively to insults and even to people who were neutral towards them (Twenge *et al* 2001). In a second experiment, social exclusion was linked to unintentionally self-defeating behaviour: the future alone respondents took higher risks at gambling, procrastinated more before a test and chose healthier options than the other groups. It was shown that the respondents did not deliberately seek these negative outcomes, but that the exclusion impaired their ability to self-regulate their behaviour effectively and do things that are good for them in the long run (Twenge *et al* 2002, 614). A third experiment by Baumeister even indicated that social exclusion caused a decline in cognitive performance: complex tasks such as effortful logic and reasoning were affected. The future alone participants also attempted a lot less questions than the other groups. The cause for this intellectual decline would be that people found the prospect of social exclusion so threatening they responded by stifling their emotional reactions. If the self's resources are thus used in suppressing emotion, they would be less available for controlling cognitive processes (Baumeister *et al* 2002, 818). All these studies clearly indicate that on a psychological level, certain behaviours are definitely a result rather than a cause of social exclusion.

In the MUD discourse, social policy aims to change certain characteristics in the situation of the excluded to break this vicious circle and to make integration into mainstream society possible again. MUD is thus a very important discourse of social exclusion and perhaps the most accepted of the three. Wilson describes it as dominant in the American belief system, because here "it is the moral fabric of the individual, not the social and economic structure of society, that is taken to be the root of the problem" (Wilson 1996, 164). A change in behaviours and opinions is considered to be a way of tackling the problem in a more realistic way than changing the whole economical or social structure of a community. This is why in general, public policy sees social exclusion in "the weak sense" (Byrne 1999, 128). Social tourism, if it can be shown that it improves the self-esteem of the participants and that it causes changes in behaviours and attitudes, is an example of a social policy aiming to target social exclusion from a MUD point of view.

This thesis will investigate if social tourism effectively is a useful strategy within the MUD discourse.

3.6. Social differentiation and the concept of class

The MUD discourse is based on a differentiation between various groups in society, some of which are socially excluded because they belong to a “moral underclass”. The need and desire for social differentiation in society is a theme in the work of Bourdieu: he argues that “social classes wage ‘classificatory struggles’ seeking to distinguish themselves from each other by education, occupation, residence and so on [...]. They achieve this by constructing lifestyles (Jenkins 1992, 112). One of the main characteristics of social differentiation is that “social classes are in a constant struggle to ensure that differentiation from class fractions above and below are maintained (Mowforth & Munt 1998, 118). Two concepts at the basis of class differentiation are *cultural capital* and *habitus*.

Holden describes *cultural capital* as “the acquirement of a significant amount of knowledge, understanding and ‘taste’, which is not formally learned but unconsciously acquired through the family environment” (Holden 2005, 52). The concept has close links with social and family capital; while these refer to the valued relationships with significant others, cultural capital refers to the tastes, preferences and knowledge these relations equip the individual with. The dominant culture –or cultural arbitrary - is mostly represented by the higher social classes, and often recognised as legitimate by the subordinate classes (Jenkins 1992, 112). Bourdieu makes this a central theme in his analysis of education, arguing that pupils with “the appropriate level of cultural capital – both more of it and of the ‘right’ kind – will necessarily achieve more academically than those whose relationship to the cultural arbitrary is more distant” (Jenkins 1992, 112). Mowforth and Munt apply the concept more generally, and describe it as “to ‘know’ and ‘appreciate’ what to eat, drink, wear, watch and what types of holidays to take. In other words, it requires the skill of reading the cultural significance of certain types of consumption” (Mowforth & Munt 1998, 120).

Habitus can be defined as “a kind of grammar of actions which serves to differentiate one class (e.g. the dominant) from the other (e.g. the dominated) (Lechte in Holden 2005, 52). It refers thus to the way people act to differentiate their behaviour from that of other classes. “Habitus gives individuals the sense of how to act in specific situations, without continually having to make a fully conscious decision” (Mowforth & Munt 1998, 118). If cultural capital thus roughly refers to what a particular class typically likes, habitus refers to what a social class typically does.

Habitus and cultural capital form the basis of class differentiation, and the MUD discourse is aimed to reduce elements in these areas that are associated with social exclusion. MUD does not aim to abolish class differentiation: it aims to reduce the “handicapping characteristics” that lead to social exclusion or inhibit people’s integration into society. This has significant implications for social tourism. Tourism is an increasingly important factor in social differentiation. “Social differentiation through tourism may be characterised by at least three variables: (i) those who can and cannot participate in it, (ii) where the people choose to go to, (iii) the type of tourism activities they pursue while on holiday” (Holden 2005, 52). The first variable is particularly useful in terms of social tourism: it lifts the differentiation between those who can and those who cannot go. But to fit into the MUD discourse, the holiday needs to have further impacts, and change the “damaging characteristics” in the habitus and cultural capital of the participants. If the holiday can introduce the participant to alternative actions and behaviours, this might change the habitus of the participant and reduce the negative elements in it. The holiday could also change the participants’ tastes and view of the world, giving rise to new aspirations and supporting behaviour changes. Mowforth and Munt describe tourism as “an important means to stock up on cultural capital” (Mowforth & Munt 1998, 121).

3.7. Social tourism as a potential policy in the Moral Underclass Discourse

This thesis will concentrate on the MUD discourse and the value of social tourism for this discourse. The value of social tourism will thereby depend upon the degree to which the “deviant” attitudes and behaviours of the socially excluded will be changed more towards the “socially accepted” after a social holiday, and if this is the case, if this is a lasting effect. If the outcome of this investigation were positive, it would mean that social tourism could support social integration by reducing some of the handicapping characteristics of the socially excluded. These characteristics are situated on a physical or psychological rather than on a material level: a social holiday will not change the housing or employment status of the participants directly, nor will it provide them with extra cash to spend. Social tourism is rather an *indirect* way of changing people’s situation: by making the target group acquainted with a different lifestyle or different points of view, policy makers aim to give them the change to re-evaluate their own attitudes and actions in life. Policies within MUD can address very different aspects of the target group’s lives, and some of those (like health, pro-social behaviour, self-esteem, family relations and travel horizons) can be the possible effects of social tourism.

Health

Social exclusion and poor health often go hand in hand. Men born into the bottom class are likely to live seven years less than those in the professional classes. Poorer diets, lack of physical exercise and higher rates of smoking and drug use are seen among deprived groups of people (Social Exclusion Unit 2004, 7). Deprivation can also cause psychological problems, which can result in the use of anti-depressive and sleeping medicines. These health-related problems do not only affect the excluded themselves but also society as a whole in the form of a cost for the National Health Service or as a cause for unemployment and thus a higher expenditure on Income Support. There is generally little research evidence about the potential health benefit of holidays. In 2000, the English Tourist Council carried out a study, inviting 271 GPs to fill in a questionnaire regarding the possible health benefits of holidays. “A vast majority of the GPs reported that

holidays are beneficial in alleviating the symptoms that stem from poverty, isolation, lack of family / community support, stress at work and living in an unsafe neighbourhood” (ETC 2000, 5). According to this report, the health benefits could last from a month for short breaks (of one to three nights) to over two months for longer holidays. 65% of the interviewed GPs considered the inability to go on a holiday as a factor negatively affecting health and well-being (ETC 2000, 7). The beneficial effects of holidays were mostly noted on symptoms of depression, stress-related illness, drug and alcohol dependencies and insomnia (by 89% of all GPs). 82% believe that a holiday could benefit the whole family, not only by alleviating these adult symptoms but also childhood ones like behavioural problems, asthma and allergies. Finally, 91% agreed that a holiday can enhance quality of life (ETC 2000, 8). The researcher attempted to obtain the original data-set for this study, to gain a better insight into how the questions were asked and carry out closer analysis. These data were no longer available since the English Tourist Board had been merged with Visit Britain.

In 2005, a study by Burls and Caan describes the potential effects of “ecotherapy”, healing through contact with nature. “People who take part in conservation projects report subjective health benefits, ascribed to being outdoors and feeling part of a greater system connecting beyond the individual.” (Burls & Caan 2005, 1222). In one case a participant with learning difficulties started the project for health reasons, but later focused his whole life around it: “Conservation led him to a recognised qualification and paid employment in urban gardening” (Burls & Caan 2005, 1222).

Pro-active behaviour

Social holidays could potentially increase the involvement of the participant in the social organisation through which he or she received the holiday. The involvement in organisations and the creation of social capital can have implications for well-being, and can reduce the level of exclusion. Vicky Cattell investigated this hypothesis on two housing estates in London and pointed out that the majority of the residents “do not join activities and organisations. Constraints include poverty, attendant feelings of defeatism, and the neighbourhood’s reputation” (Catell 2001, 1505). Her conclusion was that “the

more highly active residents interviewed, involved in tenants groups or campaigns, tend to feel in control of their lives, their self-esteem is high, and they are more likely to express hope for the future, for themselves, their families and their community” (Catell 2001, 1509). Involvement in organisations or pro-social behaviour in any other shape or form is per definition the antithesis of social exclusion, and thus a valuable aim in social policies concentrated on integration and participation.

A similar effect was noted in a study of school trips to National Trust sites. The emotional involvement on these visits resulted in a more proactive attitude, namely the “continuing concern of the pupils to protect the local environment visited” (Peacock 2006, 16).” Other benefits were “a development of pupil’s confidence and the expansion of their outlook; pupils looked back at their school more positively as a result of their experience. [...] The biggest impact was on social skills such as self-esteem, confidence building, personality development, self direction, teamwork, working with adults and community spirit” (Peacock 2006, 30)

Another aspect of social exclusion can be low travel horizons, or the reluctance to travel long distances. This is a particular problem for jobseekers, who may be unwilling to look for or consider job vacancies outside a narrow geographic area, even where the opportunities appear to be accessible. Individual’s travel horizons can be limited because of different factors like trust (they do not trust public transport to get them to their destination on time), knowledge (poor knowledge of how to get to places using the transportation network), fear of unfamiliar places (Social Exclusion Unit 2003, 31). Social tourism can offer an opportunity to make use of the public transport network, to experience new places and to build confidence for using transport facilities in everyday life.

Self-esteem

Leary described self-esteem as a “sociometer” that monitors the degree to which the individual is being included versus excluded by other people and that motivates the person to behave in ways that minimise the probability of rejection or exclusion (Leary 1995, 518). Self-esteem and inclusion / exclusion influence each other in both directions: an individual’s perception of his or her “inclusionary status” influences his or her self-esteem on the one hand; and the level of self-esteem will influence the individual’s reactions to social cues indicating inclusion or exclusion. In other words, a person has low self-esteem because he feels excluded from important groups, and will be much more susceptible to negative or threatening feedback than will high self-esteem people (Baumeister 1993, 10). The reason for this is that “everyone desires or is motivated to hold positive beliefs about the self, but people will tend cognitively to accept information that is more consistent with their current self-view” (Baumeister 1993, 16).

This attitude has very important implications for the behaviour of people with low self-esteem: the fact that their self-image is often under greater threat, and that the costs of rejection are higher for them than for high self-esteem people, can result in actions aimed at *self-protection* rather than *self-enhancement*. Apathy and avoidance are a possible result, which would explain why in psychological tests the “future alone” respondents (see 3.5.3: participants who were told they would end up alone in life) attempted fewer problems than the other groups. Avoidance of failure, rejection and humiliation becomes thus more important than the aspiration for success. People with low-self-esteem also resort to self-handicapping strategies, not to enhance potential success but to protect themselves from the implications of failure (Baumeister 1993, 38). Finally, they also show failures in self-regulation. “Individuals self-regulate when they set their own goals or standards and try to attain these goals or standards” (Baumeister 1993, 131). People with low self-esteem set humble goals and thus attain lesser outcomes, to minimise the likelihood of failure.

Self-esteem thus is a very important factor in people’s attitudes and behaviour and will often determine people’s reactions. Persons with high self-esteem not only feel better about themselves, but also act differently and more actively than persons with low self-

esteem. The famous hierarchy of needs of Abraham Maslow supports this hypothesis. In Maslow's theory, there are four types of human needs: the safety needs, the belonging or love needs, the esteem needs and self-actualisation. Gratification is as important a concept as deprivation in motivation theory, for it releases the organism from the domination of a relatively more physiological need, permitting thereby the emergence of other more social goals (Maslow 1954, 17). The lower needs are thus relatively more physiological, the higher needs have a more social nature. The lowest needs are the safety needs, then follow the belonging needs or love needs, one step higher are the esteem needs, and at the top of the hierarchy there is the need for self-actualisation. Maslow describes the esteem needs as "the need or desire for a stable, firmly based, usually high evaluation of themselves, for self-respect and self-esteem, and for the esteem of others" (Maslow 1954, 21). In his view there are two different types of gratification for the self-esteem needs: achievement, mastery, competence and confidence on the one hand; and status, fame, glory, recognition and appreciation on the other hand. If the self-esteem needs are not gratified, the individual cannot move on to self-actualisation, and cannot develop to his or her full potential. Again, low self-esteem is described as a hamper on constructive, self-enhancing behaviour.

When investigating self-esteem, it is important to remember that persons with low self-esteem do not necessarily describe themselves as terribly bad in all aspects of their life. "People with high self-esteem are those who really endorse very positive statements about themselves- basically, people who claim to be terrific in many ways. Low self-esteem, however, is not the opposite. People with low self-esteem do not depict themselves as worthless, incompetent losers. Rather, they are people who are essentially neutral in their self-descriptions, attributing neither strongly positive nor strongly negative traits to themselves. They are low in self-esteem only in a relative sense, that is, in comparison to the very flattering way that people with high self-esteem portray themselves" (Baumeister 1993, 41). This would mean that, if participants describe themselves after a social holiday no longer in neutral but in more positive terms, the holiday has had a positive influence on their self-esteem and is thus valuable from a MUD point of view.

Family relations

Family relations are very important in the construction of social capital and thus an important factor in the risk of social exclusion for the children in a family. As stated before, family relations are often more complex in socially excluded households, and single parents and female-headed families make up a large part of this group. Coleman (1988) and Marjoribanks (1998) linked the lack of social capital (or more specifically, family capital) in a family also to certain educational outcomes like dropping out of school. Stack and Wilson also suggested that rebuilding family relations is the most important way for a child to gather social capital and for a family to break the vicious circle of exclusion (Stack 1974, Wilson 1987). In their Well-Being Manifesto, The New Economics Foundation emphasises the importance of investment in parenting, definitely during the very early years of a child's life. "It is increasingly recognised in policy circles that the earliest years of a child's life are very important for their well-being. Cost-benefit analyses show that investment in the area will pay itself back many times over both financially and non-financially through increased academic achievement, enhanced health outcomes, and reduced social disruption" (nef 2004, 15). Nef also add parents should be supported to be the best parents they can be. If a social holiday can indeed be shown to help towards bringing the parents in the children in a family closer together, this would be a considerable argument for the value of social tourism from a policy perspective.

The study "The impact on the family life of community action by the Mouvement des Camps Familiaux" (Gaudreau et al 1999) investigated the effect of social tourism on family relations in Quebec. More precisely it investigated the effects of a social holiday on the interpersonal relationships of the participants, how far these effects are due to the holiday, the importance of the change and how the participants judge the long-term effects of the holiday. The study was conducted on the basis of focus groups with adults and their children in six different holiday camps, and has argued that the effects on family relationships were important and positive. However, the long-term effects of these improvements were judged moderate by the interviewees. No second interviews were

conducted in this research, instead the families were asked to estimate the long-term effects of the holiday. A second round of interviews would have shown more objectively in what way the family relations developed after the holiday.

Not only holidays, but also leisure has been researched for its value for family cohesion. “Since leisure is a major element in family interaction, in the development of intimacy through the life course [...] it is not only opportunity and freedom, but the locus of considerable personal investment. When leisure is given a high priority in the allocation of resources and in self-definition the investment is not entirely misplaced. In so far as leisure provides a context for intimacy as well as the expression of personal identities, it is critical rather than trivial” (Cricher *et al* 1995, 53).

3.8. Conclusion

This chapter has introduced the concepts of social capital and social exclusion, and has clarified the three different “discourses” that are present in the social exclusion policy context. It has become clear that social tourism could have a potential value from a RED and MUD perspective. From a RED point of view social tourism includes groups in the tourism exchange who otherwise would be excluded from it and thus creates a more equal distribution of opportunities. From a MUD point of view social tourism could be a valuable social policy if it would be shown that holidays can change some of the “deviant” attitudes and behaviours, or “handicapping characteristics”, of the socially excluded group. As social holidays do not automatically provide the participants with jobs, social tourism has less immediate value from a SID point of view.

The different aspects of social exclusion (health, pro-active behaviour, self-esteem, family relations) will be used in the fieldwork as key indicators to evaluate social tourism as a social policy. Relating these back to the ethical foundations of visitor-related social tourism, they will be the specific “measures of success” that can ethically justify social holidays. Only if the benefits of the holidays outweigh the costs, can individualised

theories morally justify them. The study will aim to clarify if social holidays can achieve these measures of success, what the extent of the changes are and how long they last.

If social tourism can reduce the “handicapping characteristics” or “deviant attitudes” in socially excluded groups, the holiday could be seen as a learning process. In this case, the most successful social holidays would be those where learning is maximised and social or family capital most increased. These holidays would provide the greatest benefits compared to the cost involved, and maximising learning would help the participant to achieve the measures of success. The next chapter will review two theories of learning through experience, experiential learning and situated learning. For both theories, strategies will be proposed to optimise the learning process.

4. Social tourism as a potential form of experiential and situated learning

4.1. Introduction

Over the last two chapters, the moral justifications for visitor-related social tourism have been examined, and a series of “measures of success” have been established. These measures of success, like better family relations, higher self-esteem and a more pro-active attitude to life, benefit not only the participant in social holidays, but also have wider net benefits to society. From a MUD point of view, they can be seen as a reduction of “handicapping characteristics” or “deviant behaviours” of socially excluded groups.

If a participant in visitor-related social tourism has changed his or her behaviour after the experience of the holiday, this would indicate that the holiday is more than just “a break”, after which the participant settles back into his or her old routines. This would indicate that the holiday could be a learning process. This chapter will discuss two educational theories that discuss learning based in experience. These theories lead to recommendations to increase the learning potential of the experience, or in this case, the holiday. From an individualized point of view, optimizing the learning process would increase the benefits of the holiday compared to the cost involved, which would strengthen the ethical justification for social tourism, and could even be used as an argument to include visitor-related social tourism into social policy.

4.2. Experiential learning

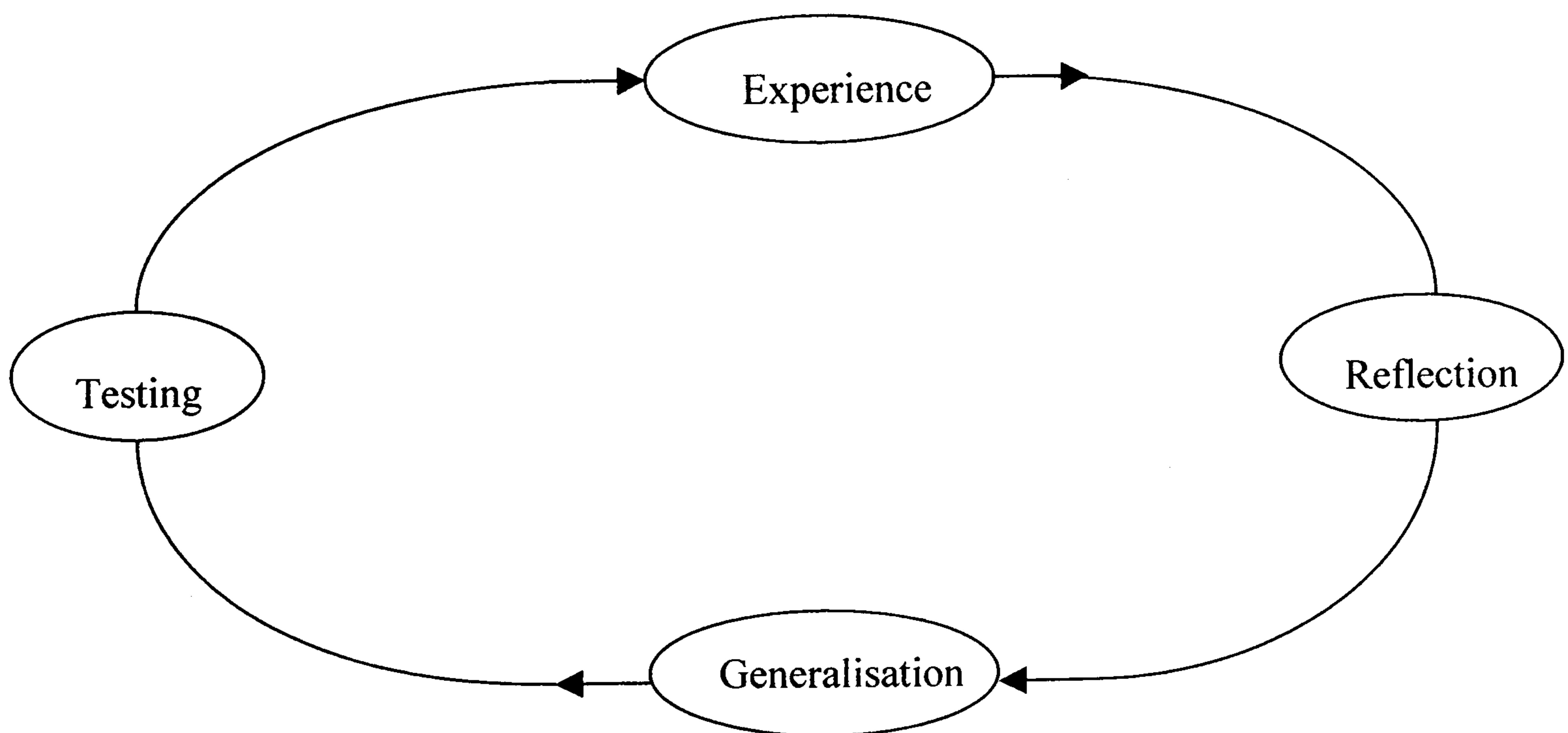
As the name suggests, experiential learning is learning rooted in experience. This form of learning received a high level of attention at the end of the 1970s and during the 1980's, and represented an alternative to the more traditional, cognitive learning theories. In Boydell (1976) it is defined as a form of learning that “begins with the experience followed by reflection, analysis and evaluation of the experience. The assumption is that we seldom learn from experience unless we assess the experience, assigning our own meaning in terms of our goals, aims, ambitions and expectations” (Boydell 1976, 17).

The results of this process are “the insights, the discoveries, the understanding. The pieces fall into place, and the experience takes on added meaning in relation to other experiences. All this is then conceptualised, synthesised and integrated into the individual’s system of constructs which imposes on the world, through which he views, perceives, categorises, evaluates and seeks experience” (Boydell 1976, 17).

Experiential learning, in contrast to traditional classroom learning, engages more than just the cognitive side of the learner. Learning from experience automatically implies the learner is actively engaged in the learning process, physically, cognitively and emotionally. This is why the learning outcomes of experiential learning are equally diversified: “the learning outcomes involve at one and the same time a cognitive element (increased awareness), an emotional element (changed attitudes) and a behavioural element (changed, interpersonal competence)” (Boydell 1976, 19).

The most famous model of experiential learning is Kolb’s “learning cycle”, which shows the four different steps within experiential learning .

Figure 2



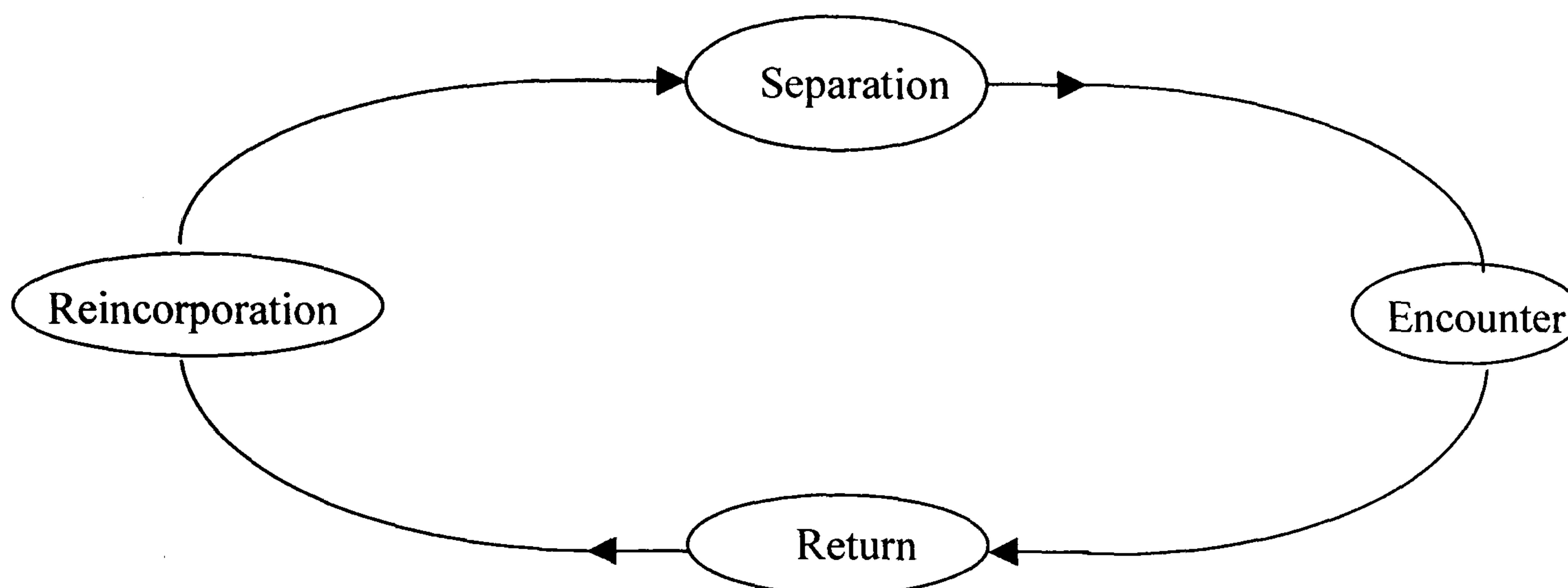
(Kolb & Fry 1975, 35)

This cycle explains how the learner goes from experience to knowledge in four steps: first he experiences a new situation, then he reflects on the experience, after which he starts to make generalisations about the experience. These can then be tested in new experiences, which also allow the learner to gain new knowledge. Boud *et al* emphasise how the knowledge takes on a deeper meaning throughout the process: “through entering into a dialogue with our experience, we can turn experiential knowledge, which may not be readily accessible to us, into propositional knowledge, which can be shared and interrogated” (Boud *et al* 1993, 10).

The learning cycle illustrates that “while experience may be the foundation of learning, it does not necessarily lead to it: there needs to be active engagement with it” (Boud *et al* 1993, 9). The learning process can be supported and facilitated by a teacher or facilitator, or by a group of other persons: “Reflection is not just an individual activity; engaging in the process with another person or with a group can change the meanings we draw from experience. [...] Formulating and articulating experience transforms it in ways that can allow us to see it anew” (Boud *et al* 1993, 10). This highlights the potential role of a facilitator in experiential learning: this can be a teacher (in a formal learning environment) or any other person or group with whom the learner can reflect on his or her experience. The facilitator can also help to incorporate what is learnt in the general knowledge and behaviour of the learner.

The potential value of holidays for the experiential learning process was highlighted by Richards in his adaptation of the Kolb learning cycle:

Figure 3



(Richards 1992, 158)

The concept of *separation* is particularly useful for social tourism. Richards describes it as leaving behind old ideas, experimenting with new ones, and be open-minded (Richards 1992, 159). Even though this is thus rather a form of psychological separation, this might well be supported by a geographical separation. Also the concept of encounter can be strengthened by a holiday. *Encounter* means being faced with problems that need to be solved, and includes an element of risk. A sense of mastery can result from successful problem solving (Richards 1992, 159). Being on holiday means being faced with an environment that is usually less familiar than the home environment, and problems may well occur: finding the way around, dealing with rainy days in holiday accommodation, being away from family and friends are examples. All these can be seen as potential “risks” or conflicts with the participant’s usual behavioural patterns. On their *return* the participants can reflect and consolidate the experience, making the connections with everyday life. In the *reincorporation* stage, the participant can prepare for the next challenge ahead, and use previous experiences to stimulate new ones (Richards 1992, 160).

Kolb's theory was originally developed for management and organisations learning, but has been used in many other sectors (higher education, nursing, job counselling) Kayes links its appeal to the fact that it is a "positive ideology", which maintains "the humanistic belief in every individual's capacity to grow and to learn" (Kayes 2002, 140) "Despite its persistent popularity or possibly because of it, Kolb's theory has also been the target of much critical scrutiny" (Kayes 2002, 140). Academics have pointed out as the main theoretical limitation of the model that "experiential learning theory (ELT) decontextualises the learning process and provides only a limited account of the many factors that influence learning. Critics propose that emphasis on individual experience comes at the expense of psychodynamic, social and institutional aspects of learning (Kayes 2002, 141). From a psychodynamic point of view, academics have criticised how ELT places too much emphasis on the experience, and call for greater emphasis on reflective practices in the learning process. From a social point of view, the criticism has been that ELT over-emphasises the role of the individual, and does not account explicitly enough for the social aspects of learning. Institutional researchers have pointed out ELT has strayed too far from its origins to have strong "institutional standing", and have criticised its humanist epistemology (Kayes 2002, 141).

4.2.1. Single and double-loop learning

In connection to Kolb's learning cycle, two other theoretical concepts from the organisational learning field can be of use to analyse the potential of social tourism for experiential learning: single and double-loop learning. These terms refer to two types of learning (or problem solving) processes, and are defined on the basis of the concept of the "theory-in-use". "People's theories-in-use are the master programmes by which they make sense of, and maintain some semblance of control over, their world. It makes sense for people to protect their theory-in-use by questioning the validity of any data or attributions that threaten it" (Argyris 1982, 164).

Single-loop learning then occurs when "members of the organisation respond to changes in the internal and external environments of the organisation by detecting errors, which

they then correct, so as to maintain the central features of organisational theory-in-use” (Argyris & Schön 1978, 18). Alternatively single-loop learning can be described as “the organisation’s ability to remain stable in a changing context” (Argyris & Schön 1978, 18). Applied to the individual, this means that when the individual is faced with a problem or error, he or she will try to rectify this without changing the underlying norms or attitudes for behaviour. This can also be described as “learning for effectiveness” (Argyris & Schön 1978, 28). An example related to social tourism could be a family who have never booked tickets on public transport before. When calling a reservations number (experience) they notice that booking tickets is not very complicated (generalisation). They can test this new knowledge again in the future when booking tickets. This example illustrates that single-loop learning is “relatively straightforward learning because the errors are usually attributable to defective strategies or actions” (Argyris 1982, 104).

Double-loop learning is used in situations where simple error correction is not possible, and where the theory-in-use of the organisation or individual has to be adapted. In case of an organisation, this could mean for example that not only the strategies for effectiveness are reviewed, but also the very norms which define effective performance (Argyris & Schön 1978, 22). Rather than just changing defective strategies or actions, “the error is diagnosed as incompatibility of governing values or as incongruity between organisational espoused theory and theory-in-use” (Argyris 1982, 106). This can also be described as “learning to resolve conflicting norms for performance” (Argyris & Schön 1978, 28). Miller and Ritchie describe double-loop learning as requiring a “paradigmatic shift” (Miller & Ritchie 2003, 165), referring to a concept introduced by Kuhn in “The Structure of Scientific Revolutions”. Kuhn defined the concept as “a characteristic shift in the scientific community’s conception of its legitimate problems and standards” (Kuhn 1962, 108).

Double-loop learning describes the potential value of social tourism from a MUD perspective. If this experience can do more than just change knowledge (single-loop learning) and actually change the underlying “theory-in-use” of the “deviant” behaviour, the argument for social tourism could be strong. An example of how this could work in

the context of social tourism could again be the family who have never booked tickets for public transport before. If the booking process and the trip went well, this might not only give the participants the knowledge of how to book transport in the future, it could also improve their general self-confidence. Now that the family knows how to book tickets they could travel more, increasing their travel horizons and lowering their level of exclusion. The general confidence could support them when making other changes to their lifestyle. In this case, the holiday caused a “paradigmatic shift”, affecting many areas and changing the theory-in-use of the participants.

4.2.2. The “four villages” of experiential learning

Within the experiential learning field, four clusters of ideas and people can be distinguished (Weil & McGill 1996, 3). *Village one* focuses on assessing and accrediting learning from life and work experiences as the basis for creating new routes into higher education. *Village two* sees experiential learning as the basis for bringing about changes in the structures, purposes and curricula of post-school education. The first two villages are thus concentrated in the field of formal education, and see experiential learning as an alternative for traditional in-class teaching. The other two villages rather emphasise the potential of experiential learning outside formal education. *Village three* is based on experiential learning as a strategy for consciousness raising, community action and social change. *Village four*'s version is more aimed at the individual: it is concerned with personal growth and development, and experiential learning approaches that increase self-awareness and group effectiveness.

Social tourism, as a form of experiential learning, could fit into village four. Its overall aim is :

“increasing personal and group effectiveness, autonomy, choice and self-fulfilment. Personal development is seen by this village as providing opportunities to explore new ways of being in this world; to recognise unproductive patterns in our ways of responding; to learn how what we say we do might be contradicted by our behaviour; to change old ways of responding to inter-personal situations; and to affirm aspects of ourselves which we have perhaps undervalued” (Weil & McGill 1996, 16).

The traditional methods this village of experiential learning uses are group-counselling and role play.

4.3. Situated learning

Situated learning, as opposed to experiential learning, does not focus on the individual learning in itself, but rather on how the individual learns in the social reality around him. This theory was developed in the 1990s, mainly by Jean Lave and Etienne Wenger, and had great influence in the field of organisational learning. The situated learning theory draws attention to the fact that “learners inevitably participate in communities of practitioners and that the mastery of knowledge and skill requires newcomers to move toward full participation in the socio-cultural practices of a community” (Lave & Wenger 1991, 29). This means that learning is a social activity, and is largely rooted in participating in activities with a “community of practice”, who come together precisely to carry out these activities (in school, at work, at home, in leisure activities). This view on learning emphasises “comprehensive” understanding involving the whole person rather than “receiving” a body of factual knowledge about the world; on activity in and with the world; and on the view that agent, activity, and the world mutually constitute each other’ (Lave & Wenger 1991, 33).

Every person is thus a member (sometimes a core member, sometimes more on the periphery) of a number of communities of practice. The aim of this involvement can be described as “negotiation of meaning”, a process by which we experience the world and

our engagement in it as meaningful (Wenger 1998, 53). Each community of practice develops and appropriates a shared repertoire of ideas, commitments and memories, and resources as routines, vocabulary and symbols that carry in some way the accumulated knowledge of the community (Smith 2003, 6). Referring back to the previous chapter, communities of practice also generate social capital (Smith 2003, 6).

The difference between experiential learning and situated learning lies mainly in the focus of the theories. Experiential learning concentrates mainly on the process of “learning by doing”, whereby the situation offers certain opportunities for learning. Situated learning still focuses on practice, or “doing”, but ‘not just doing in and of itself. It is doing [*learning*] in an historical and social context that gives structure and meaning to what we do. In this sense, practice is always social practice’ (Wenger 1998, 47). Learning is thus ‘taken to be an integral aspect of practice (Lave & Wenger 1991, 34-35), and influences the individual as a whole, not just his or her skills and knowledge.

When learning a new skill, the learner joins a new community of practice. To join, he or she will need to go through a process of “catching up”, because practice ‘is not an object that is handed down from one generation to the next. Practice is an ongoing social, interactional process, and the introduction of newcomers is merely a version of what practice already is’ (Wenger 1998, 102). Joining a new community of practice does not only influence the learner’s knowledge levels, but also his or her identity as a whole. The identity of an individual is greatly influenced by the (non-) participation in certain activities and communities of practice, because ‘we know who we *are* by what is familiar and by what we can negotiate and make use of, and who we are *not* by what is unfamiliar, unwieldy and out of our purview’ (Wenger 1998, 164). The mix of participation and non-participation influences the relations of the individual with the world around him, and will determine important aspects of life: how we locate ourselves in a social landscape; what we care about and what we neglect; what we attempt to know and understand and what we ignore; with whom we seek connections and whom we avoid; etc. (Wenger 1998, 167).

The relationship between identity and learning forms the basis of Lesser and Storck's claims that situated learning and the thinking of a community of practice are "engines for the development of social capital". They argue that "the social capital resident in communities of practice leads to behavioural change – change that results in greater knowledge sharing, which in turn positively influences [...] performance" (Lesser & Storck 2001, 833). If social tourism can indeed be seen as a form of situated learning, it can potentially increase the social capital of the participants and change their behaviour. The advantages of increased social capital have been discussed in 3.3, and include factors as better ability to cope and increased employment potential. A change in behaviour could potentially be linked to a reduction of the MUD "handicapping characteristics" mentioned in 3.7. The chances to achieve these measures of success can in this case be increased if learning is maximised. The following paragraph will discuss two components of maximised learning, both for experiential learning and situated learning.

4.4. Maximising learning

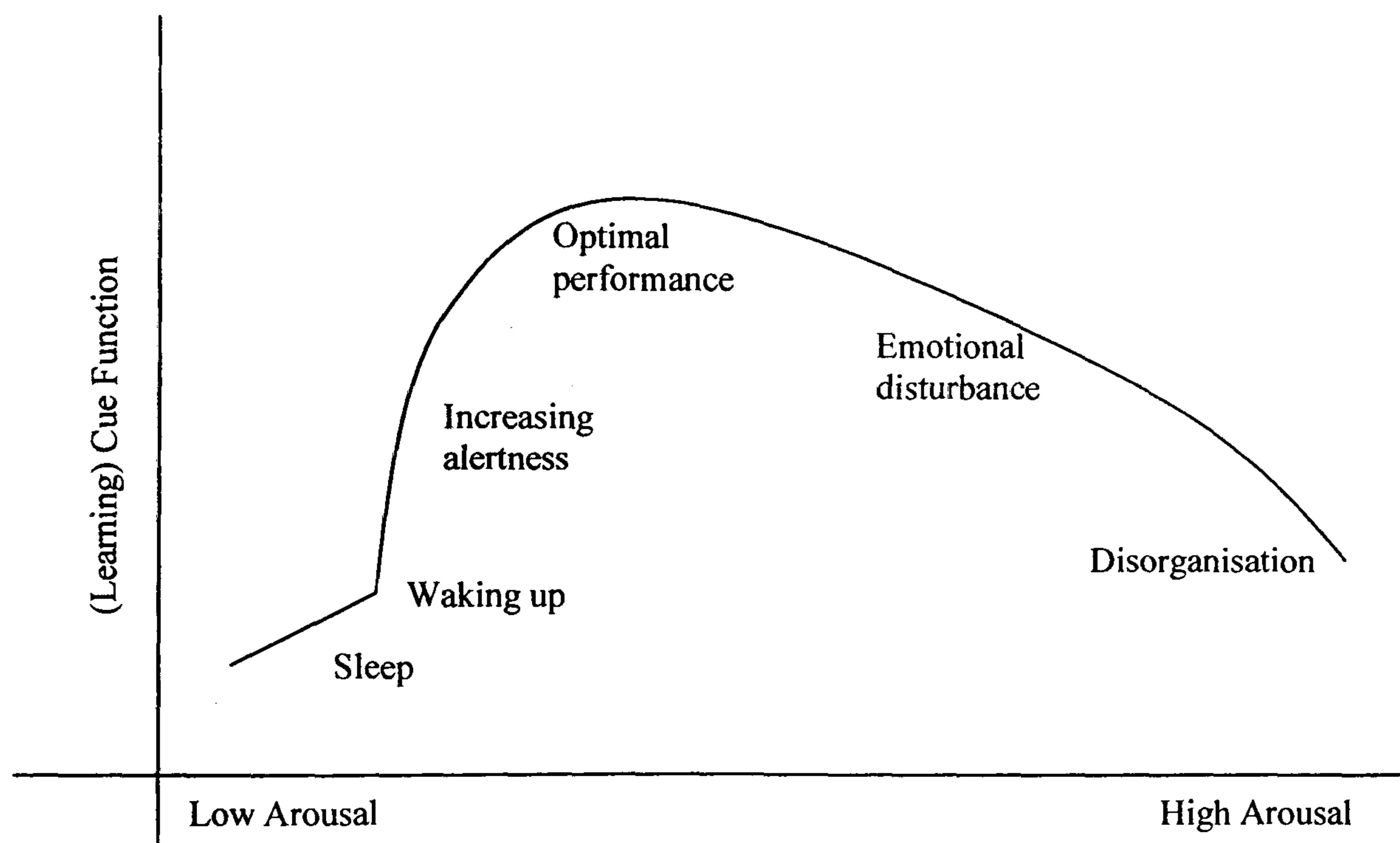
Both experiential and situated learning focus on learning as an interaction between the learner and his or her environment. If social tourism is to be seen as a learning process that can help reduce certain aspects of social exclusion, then the most successful holidays are those which offer the greatest learning potential. Two factors have a considerable impact on learning: levels of difficulty of the experience (mainly important in experiential learning) and the level of contact with a new community of practice (mainly important for situated learning).

4.4.1. Goal difficulty level

Successful learning aims to increase achievement in learners, and makes learners reach set goals. An important factor in achievement is the perceived difficulty of the task at hand, and how the learner judges his own likelihood of success.

An early visual representation of the role of difficulty for learning can be found in Hebb 1966, which focuses on the relationship between cue function and arousal function. The cue function is the “guiding, steering, informational effect” (Hebb 1966, 209), which rationally underpins behaviour. The arousal function “determines the level of excitement or excitability or wakefulness of the animal, without determining what the behaviour will be (Hebb 1966, 209). The graph shows that arousal or emotion can be “both organising (making behaviour more effective) and disorganising; it is both energising and debilitating.” (Hebb 1966, 235)

Figure 4



(Hebb 1966, 235)

Figure 4 suggests that “as tension (*cue function*) increases (along the horizontal axis), so does motivation to learn (along the vertical axis), up to a certain point. Then motivation declines. Motivation is defined as the tendency to produce organised, effective behaviour” (Luft 1984, 28). This means that when arousal is really low, learning is rather low because the person is not sufficiently stimulated. In the case of over-stimulation learning is equally low, and the person becomes disorganised. The curve above is an

indication of what this relationship could look like, but “the shape of this curve must be different for different habits” (Hebb 1966, 235).

Motivation to learn thus fluctuates with the level of arousal, but which exact goal difficulty is chosen depends on a series of factors. Some of these are situational, others personal factors. Examples of situational factors are prior success or failure on the task, incentives, feedback and participation. More personal factors are self-assurance and maturity (Campbell 1982, 79). Campbell reviews a series of empirical studies addressing these factors, and mentions as one of the pertinent relationships in goal difficulty: “there was a significant *positive* relationship between goal difficulty and increased effort for (respondents) high in self-assurance [...]. For (respondents) low in self-assurance, the relationships between goal difficulty and increased effort were also significant, but *negative* (Campbell 1982, 86). While the respondents with high confidence levels thus tried harder to achieve the higher goals, the respondents with lower confidence levels reacted to higher goals with less effort. It seems thus that the higher goal for confident respondents presented a more positive level of arousal, whereas the arousal level might have been too high for the less confident ones.

This idea is explored further in studies regarding the dichotomy between performance-approach and performance-avoidance. Rawsthorne and Elliot reviewed the experimental literature in this field, and concluded an important factor in performance is “whether participants pursuing a performance goal are focused on the possibility of a positive or negative performance outcome” (Rawsthorne & Elliot 1999, 328). This means individuals are oriented either towards the attainment of success, or towards the avoidance of failure. Again, the positive and negative influence of arousal levels is highlighted:

“Striving to attain success, however defined, may lead individuals to view the task as a challenge, elicit feelings of excitement, and encourage cognitive and affective immersion in the activity. In contrast, performance-avoidance goals, which are focused on the possibility of failure, are hypothesised to produce threat appraisals and elicit anxiety, processes that are detrimental to intrinsic motivation” (Rawsthorne & Elliot 1999, 329).

Performance-avoidance is thus “grounded in fear of failure” (Silver *et al* 2006, 30).

Avoidance affects the individual in various ways:

“Particularly challenging tasks with relatively high risks of failure associated with them will be avoided. As a result, (individuals with this orientation may succumb to, and engage in, maladaptive, “helpless” patterns of behaviours such as personal anxiety, task distraction, and a focus on failure-relevant information. [...] Other behavioural outcomes such as procrastination and reduction in effort toward the assigned task may result as well” (Silver *et al* 2006, 30).

This study illustrates once again how fear of failure and avoidance can inhibit positive performance. For successful learning, this once again means that learners have the most chance of learning effectively when the arousal level is not overly high, and when the learner assesses his goals as sufficiently high to be motivated on the one hand, but still sees them as attainable on the other hand.

4.4.2. Contact with new communities of practice

In situated learning, contact with a community of practice is seen as the basis for all learning. To learn new skills and become proficient in new “practices”, the learner needs to come in contact with new communities of practice, and “builds legitimacy through learning interactions with other members of the community” (Lesser & Storck 2001, 832). The handicapping characteristics of social exclusion could thus be directly linked to the exclusion from communities of practice, and become reinforced by it over time. As stated before, there are similarities between situated learning and acquiring social capital; and a deficiency in one field will thus often indicate a deficiency in the other.

Lesser and Storck define the most successful communities of practice along three dimensions:

- There must be a series of connections that individuals have to others. In other words, individuals must perceive themselves to be part of a network (the structural dimension).

- A sense of trust must be developed across these connections (one aspect of the relational dimension).
- The members of the network must have a common interest or share a common understanding of issues (the cognitive dimension). (Lesser & Storck 2001, 833)

This means that for a community of practice to be successful, the members must meet or communicate more than just once, and form a rather structured network based on trust and common interest. This indicates how situated learning differs fundamentally from experiential learning: for the latter the social context of the experience is much less important than the individual assimilation of the experience.

4.5. Maximising learning in social tourism

Social tourism could be a potential learning experience for participants, and if this is the case, the most successful social holidays are those where the potential for learning is maximized. The previous paragraph identified two factors that can influence the motivation for learning and the effectiveness of the learning experience, and these can affect social tourism in the following ways.

An attainable *difficulty level* of the experience encourages motivation for learning. This would imply that the holiday should offer the participant a sufficient level of challenge, without becoming too daunting so that the participant loses motivation. Different types of holidays will be examined in this study (individual holidays, group holidays, holidays to holiday camps, visits to family), and as the respondents will probably have different levels of confidence and independence, different levels of difficulty can be encountered. How daunting the participants will find an individual holidays will depend for example on their previous experience of holidays, their relationship with the other family members and their ability to cope with unexpected problems. The study will examine which holiday type (if any) is most beneficial to which type of participant. Allocating the holiday with the right difficulty level to a participant is thus very important, as this will have an immediate effect on their learning potential, and their chances of making positive changes (and reaching the measures of success set out in chapters 2 and 3).

As stated before, the most beneficial *communities of practice* are structured networks based on trust and common interests. The study will examine in which cases (if any) the holiday can lead to an introduction to this type of community of practice, and what the effects of this introduction can be. If social tourism can be an opportunity for situated learning (for example through group holidays or social contact whilst away from home); the results from the field work can indicate how this type of learning could be maximised to yield positive behaviour change.

4.6. Conclusion

At the end of the first four chapters, the theoretical basis for the study of the effects of visitor-related social tourism can be reflected upon. In chapter 2, the possible ethical foundations for visitor-related social tourism for low-income groups have been clarified. One justification could be found in “socialised” theories, whereby what benefits the poorer strata in society is automatically morally good. Another justification could be found in “individualised” theories, but only if this form of social tourism can have wider net benefits for society.

These potential net benefits were then situated in the realm of social exclusion. In chapter 3, social exclusion and social capital have been defined, and linked to three policy “discourses”. It was concluded that social tourism could potentially increase social capital, which is beneficial not only to the individual, but also to society. From a policy point of view, this would fit into the Moral Underclass Discourse. Concrete measures of success were defined to evaluate social holidays for this discourse: health, pro-active behaviour, self-esteem and family relations.

Finally, chapter 4 discussed social tourism as a potential learning process, in the form of experiential or situated learning. If the holiday can help reduce aspects of social exclusion and change “deviant” behaviours through a learning process, it is important that learning is maximised, so that the holiday can achieve the greatest reduction of social exclusion.

These three chapters have aimed to provide a broad theoretical framework for the study. This data collection and analysis stages are aimed to be supported by this framework, but not *led by* it: in this sense the literature can provide a starting point for the fieldwork, but the direction this will take will be determined by the respondents. Although this literature review has aimed to present concepts that can potentially be linked to the effects of visitor-related social tourism, only the fieldwork can determine whether these are useful or not. The following chapters will discuss the methodology and methods for the study in more detail.

5. Methodology

5.1. Introduction

Before introducing the concrete methods used in this study (chapter 6), it is essential to clarify the methodological underpinnings for these methods. These underpinnings are a result of the assumptions of the researcher about reality, and how valid knowledge of this reality can be gained. This chapter aims to answer the three essential questions in critiquing and conducting research: “questions of *ontology* (what is the form and nature of reality and what can be known about it), *epistemology* (what is the nature of the relationship between the knower and what can be known); and *methodology* (how can the enquirer go about finding out whatever they believe can be known) (Laverty 2003, 12). The aim of this chapter is thus to provide the philosophical link between the aim of the research, the literature and the chosen methods.

In order to establish this philosophical link, researchers can draw from a vast array of methodologies and philosophies to underpin their methods. Still, “there is much talk of their philosophical underpinnings, but how the methodologies and methods relate to more theoretical elements is often left unclear. To add to the confusion, the terminology is far from consistent in research literature and social science texts. One frequently finds the same term used in a number of different, sometimes contradictory ways” (Crotty 1998, 1). In an attempt to clarify these questions in an orderly and structured manner, Crotty’s framework of epistemology, theoretical perspective, methodology and methods (Crotty 1998, 2) will be used and applied to this study.

5.2. Crotty’s framework

Crotty (1998) proposes four basic elements of the research process, which interlink and influence each other. The first and most abstract element is the *epistemology*: the theory of knowledge embedded in the theoretical perspective and thereby in the methodology.

The *theoretical perspective* is the philosophical stance informing the methodology and thus providing a context for the process and grounding its logic and criteria. The *methodology* then is the strategy, plan of action, process or design lying behind the choice and use of particular methods, and linking the choice and use of methods to the desired outcomes. The final element, the *methods*, are the techniques or procedures used to gather and analyse data related to some research question or hypothesis.

A first observation about this framework is that there is no mention of *ontology*. Crotty says that if it would be included in the framework “it would sit alongside epistemology informing the theoretical perspective, for each theoretical perspective embodies a certain way of understanding *what is* (ontology) as well as a certain way of understanding *what it means to know* (epistemology) (Crotty 1998, 10). In other words, the construction of meaning always refers to the construction of meaningful reality. “Because of this confluence, writers in the research literature have trouble keeping ontology and epistemology apart conceptually” (Crotty 1998, 10).

In this specific study, which investigates a concrete social phenomenon and its outcomes (and not the philosophical fundamentals of its being), ontology does not play a very big role. For this reason, it was decided to adopt Crotty’s framework and incorporate ontological and epistemological considerations in the new category “theoretical perspective”. This does not mean that ontology is not a useful concept in other research areas. In hermeneutic phenomenology for example, a discipline strongly influenced by the work of Heidegger and Gadamer, the nature of reality and Being (*Dasein*) in the world is the central question. *Dasein* translates as “the mode of being human”, or “the situated meaning of a human in the world”. Understanding for Heidegger is not a way to know the world, but a way to be: there is no intrinsic difference between the individual and experience, they interact in the hermeneutic circle (Lavery 2003, 8-13). The focus on “being” makes ontology a very useful concept in hermeneutic phenomenology. In this study though, where the relationship between the individual and the experience is examined, “theoretical perspective” is deemed more useful in explaining the philosophical stance of the researcher. Interpretivism and phenomenology describe the

philosophical stance of the researcher in a more specific and detailed way than ontological categories such as realism or idealism (see paragraph 5.4).

In the following paragraphs, the four elements of the framework will be specifically applied to this research. Starting from *constructionism* as an epistemology, the theoretical perspective is *interpretivism*, and more specifically *phenomenology*. *Grounded theory* is the methodology, and as clarified in the chapter 6, focus groups and in-depth interviews are the specific methods.

5.3. Epistemology: Constructionism

“In the constructionist view, as the word suggests, meaning is not discovered but constructed. Meaning does not inhere the object, merely waiting for someone to come upon it.[...] Meanings are constructed by human beings as they engage with the world they are interpreting. Before there were consciousnesses on earth capable of interpreting the world, the world held no meaning at all” (Crotty 1998, 42-43).

This does not mean that constructionism equals subjectivism. Constructionism is often referred to as “social constructionism”, because of the social origin of meaning and the social character with which it is inevitably stamped (Crotty 1998, 52). This does not mean this epistemology is only applicable to social research: “The “social” in social constructionism is about the mode of meaning generation and not about the kind of object that has meaning” (Crotty 1998, 55). It refers to knowledge about reality, not constructing reality itself. Humans do not have access to a singular, stable and fully knowable external reality. All of our understandings are contextually embedded, interpersonally forged, and necessarily limited (Patton 2002, 96).

Constructionism is also called perspectivism in contemporary epistemology. This term again refers to the view that all knowledge claims and their evaluation take place within a conceptual framework through which the world is described and explained. Constructionism or perspectivism opposes a naïve realist and empiricist epistemology

that holds that there can be some kind of unmediated, direct grasp of the empirical world and that knowledge simply reflects or mirrors what is “out there” (Schwandt 2000, 197).

5.4. Theoretical perspective: Interpretivism

The theoretical perspective in Crotty’s framework refers to the philosophical context for the methodology, the basis for its logic and criteria. The interpretivist theoretical perspective is in itself based on a constructionist epistemology.

“Interpretivists assume that knowledge and meaning are acts of interpretation, hence there is no objective knowledge which is independent of thinking, reasoning humans. Interpretivism often addresses essential features of shared meaning and understanding (Gephart 1999, 4). Interpretivism arose from the thoughts of Weber and the neo-Kantian German historians and sociologists in the late 19th and early 20th Centuries to the then-dominant philosophy of positivism. At the heart of the dispute was the claim that the human sciences (*Geisteswissenschaften*) were fundamentally different in nature and purpose from the natural sciences (*Naturwissenschaften*). Defenders of interpretivism argues that the human sciences aim to understand human action (*Verstehen*). Defenders of positivism and proponents of the unity of the sciences held the view that the purpose of any science (if it is indeed to be called a science) is to offer causal explanations of social, behavioural and physical phenomena (*Erklären*). (Schwandt 2000, 191).

A consequence of the difference between *Verstehen* and *Erklären* is that the purpose of the two types of sciences might appear different. Natural sciences appear to be looking for consistencies, regularities, the “law” (*nomos*), and can thus be called *nomothetic*. Human sciences appear more concerned with the individual case (*idios*) and can thus be called *ideographic* (Crotty 1998, 67). This view has implications for the general validity of the two types of sciences, and implies that a human sciences study cannot do more than describe individual cases. Weber strongly opposes this view. For Weber, as far as human affairs are concerned, any understanding of causation comes through an interpretive understanding of social action and involves an explanation of the relevant

antecedent phenomena as meaning-complexes (Crotty 1998, 69). In other words, in the human sciences *Verstehen* can (and is the only way to) lead to *Erklären*.

5.5. Branch of Interpretivism: Phenomenology

Within interpretivism and the tradition of *Verstehen*, different branches have developed with their own emphases and orientations. Symbolic interaction, hermeneutics, constructivism and phenomenology are examples of these branches. The one which applies most to this research is phenomenology, as the aim is to examine the “essence” of social tourism by researching various individual experiences.

Phenomenology interrogates the very nature of a phenomenon, for what makes something what it is. Although this might be a straightforward definition, the term has become so popular and has been so widely embraced that its meaning has become confused and diluted (Patton 2002, 104). Basically phenomenology explores how human beings make sense of experience and transform experience into consciousness, both individually and as shared meaning. This requires “methodologically, carefully and thoroughly capturing and describing how people experience some phenomenon – how they perceive it, describe it, feel about it, judge it, remember it, make sense of it and talk about it with others. To gather such data, one must undertake in-depth interviews with people who have directly experienced the phenomenon of interest” (Patton 2002, 104).

Phenomenology as a philosophical tradition was first used in the development of a rigorous science by the German philosopher Edmund H. Husserl. The work of Alfred Schultz was an important influence in applying and establishing phenomenology as a major social science perspective (Patton 2002, 105). As a branch of interpretivism, phenomenology equates understanding of an experience to an interpretation of the experience. What differentiates phenomenology is that there is an essence or essences to shared experience. These essences are the core meaning mutually understood through a phenomenon commonly experienced. The experiences of different people are bracketed, analysed and compared to discover the essences of the phenomenon (Patton 2002, 106).

The concept that a common essence can be discovered by researching different individual experiences highlights a search for objectivity. Even though the world is a construction interpreted by the thinking consciousness, there is a common essence on the basis of all these different interpretations. This influences the role of the researcher: he or she has to set aside or “bracket” his or her personal judgements and ideas to discover “the things themselves”. In other words, “phenomenology suggests that, if we lay aside, as best as we can, the prevailing understandings of the phenomena and revisit our immediate experience of them, possibilities for new meanings emerge for us or we witness at least an authentication and enhancement of former meaning” (Crotty 1998, 78). Schultz describes it this way: “The phenomenologist does not deny the existence of the outer world, but for his analytical purpose he makes up his mind to suspend belief in its existence – that is, to refrain intentionally and systematically from all judgements related directly or indirectly to the existence of the outer world. Borrowing terms from mathematical technique, Husserl called this procedure “putting the world in brackets” or “performing the phenomenological reduction” (Schultz 1973, 104).

Schultz describes phenomenological research as research “of the second degree”, which according to him is the biggest difference with positivism. Positivist scientists base research on what they assume is the reality. In phenomenological research

“the thought objects constructed by the social scientists, in order to grasp social reality, have to be founded upon the thought objects constructed by the common-sense thinking of men, living their daily life within their social world. Thus, the constructs of the social sciences are, so to speak, constructs of the second degree, that is, constructs of the constructs made by the actors on the social scene, whose behaviour the social scientist has to observe and to explain in accordance with the procedural rules of his science” (Schultz 1990, 32).

One of the main procedural rules in phenomenological research is (as stated above) the bracketing of as many value-judgements and preconceptions of the phenomenon as possible. “The purpose of this reflection is to become aware of one’s biases and

assumptions [...] in order to engage the experience without preconceived notions about what will be found in the investigation. This awareness is seen as a protection from imposing the assumptions or biases of the researcher on the study (Laverty 2003, 17). Participants for these research projects are generally selected on different criteria compared to the ones used in positivist enquiry. “The aim of participant selection [...] is to select participants who have lived the experience that is the focus of the study, who are willing to talk about their experience, and who are diverse enough from one another to enhance the possibilities of rich and unique stories of the particular experience (Laverty 2003, 18).

In order to draw more generalisable conclusions from these subjective meaning structures, the scientist aims to form ideal, typical constructs. These are constructs on a second level, and thus of a different kind from those developed on the first level of common-sense thinking which they have to supersede (Schultz 1990, 34). In other words, the scientist does not just describe a series of non-connected individual cases, but aims to develop “ideal types”: typical patterns of the actors’ motives and ends, even of their attitudes and personalities, of which their actual conduct is just an instance or example (Schultz 1990, 33). The risk is then that subtle differences are omitted from the description or that certain cases are *a priori* excluded from research as they do not reflect the “ideal type” first set out. It is important to mention here that the participants for this research were not selected on an “ideal type” basis by the researcher, but by recommendation of a group of welfare agents (see 6.3.2).

The search for objectivity and the focus on essence constitutes the greatest difference between phenomenology and constructivism. Often in methodological writings constructionism and constructivism are used as synonyms, but there are substantial differences between the two. In terms of classification in Crotty’s framework, constructionism is an epistemology, whereas constructivism is a theoretical perspective, which is based on constructionism. Constructivism is a branch of interpretivism, but in contrast with phenomenology, it does not accept the existence of essence and does not aim for objectivity. The main difference between the two lies in their ontology:

constructionists can accept a realist ontology, which believes there is one reality that is independent of the observer's interests. Constructivists on the other hand accept a relativist ontology: this means that they believe that there are multiple, socially constructed realities ungoverned by any natural laws, causal or otherwise (Guba & Lincoln 1989, 84). Constructivists do not accept the social dimension of meaning to be centre stage in research, and state that what is accepted as objective knowledge is always a result of perspective (Crotty 1998, 57). Bracketing is thus impossible and what the essence is of a phenomenon will always depend on personal interpretation rather than "what is out there".

5.6. Methodology: Grounded theory

The basic elements of phenomenology already provide the researcher with some general guidelines on how to conduct research (sampling, bracketing) to examine the essence of a phenomenon. Rather than just describing the essence of the phenomenon of social tourism, this study aims to build a theory which links social holidays to their potential benefits. A methodology that is more focused on the generation of theory is Glaser and Strauss's grounded theory.

"Grounded theory is based on the systematic generating of theory from data, that itself is systematically obtained from social research. Thus the grounded theory method offers a rigorous, orderly guide to theory development that at each stage is closely integrated with a methodology of social research. Generating theory and doing social research are two parts of the same process (Glaser 1978, 2). It is based on comparative analysis as a strategic method for generating theory. In discovering theory, one generates conceptual categories or their properties from evidence, then the evidence from which the category emerged is used to illustrate the concept. The evidence may not necessarily be without a doubt [...], but the concept is undoubtedly a relevant theoretical abstraction about what is going on in the area studied (Glaser & Strauss 1967, 23).

Comparative analysis in grounded theory has many functions. It can lead to empirical generalisations, which will make the theory more applicable and give it greater predictive power. It can specify a concept, and verify an emerging or existing theory. Finally, and most importantly, comparative analysis can help generate theory systematically from the data of social research. (Glaser & Strauss 1967, 24-28).

Glaser and Strauss differentiate between substantive and formal theory. Substantive theory is developed for a substantive, or empirical, area of sociological enquiry (e.g. delinquency, race relations; or in this case, social tourism). Formal theory is developed for a formal, or conceptual, area of sociological enquiry (e.g. stigma, deviant behaviour; or in this case: personal development, family development). Both types are considered middle-range: they are between minor working hypotheses and “grand theories”. (Glaser & Strauss 1967, 32). Substantive and formal theories thus exist of distinguishable levels of generality, which differ only in terms of degree, and the two types can shade into the other in any study (Glaser & Strauss 1967, 33).

Generating theory is thus a process based on continuous comparative analysis, a process that can be used as an effective methodology within a phenomenological theoretical framework. The researcher needs to ground the theory firmly in the data, and the concepts that emerge bring him closer to the essence of the phenomenon at hand. The researcher also needs to “enter the research setting with as few predetermined ideas as possible to gain theoretical sensitivity” (Glaser 1978, 3), which shows great similarities to the concept of “bracketing” in phenomenology. As in the phenomenological framework, sampling in grounded theory is not based on statistical criteria. Grounded theory uses “theoretical sampling”: this is the process of data collection for generating theory whereby the analyst jointly collects, codes and analyses his data and decides what data to collect next and where to find them, in order to develop his theory as it emerges. The process of data collection is controlled by the emerging theory, whether substantive or formal (Glaser & Strauss 1967, 45).

In their later work, Glaser and Strauss disagreed about the role of the literature in a research project. Strauss accepts the use of literature prior to the fieldwork (to formulate the questions for the interview for example) (Strauss & Corbin 1990, 52). Glaser on the other hand is adamant that “there is a need not to review any of the literature in the substantive area under study” because the researcher must take care “not to contaminate, be constrained by, inhibit, stifle or otherwise impede (*his*) effort to generate categories (Glaser 1992, 31). This quote refers to related literature, literature in the same research area as the study being conducted. This literature can, according to Glaser, only be consulted when the theory is sufficiently developed (Glaser 1992, 32). The researcher is encouraged to read unrelated literature though from the outset, to encourage theoretical sensibility (Glaser 1992, 35).

For this study, literature was reviewed before the data collection stage, thus opting for a mainly Straussarian approach. The main reason for choosing this approach was the perceived impossibility for the researcher to examine this area in an “uncontaminated” way. Not only has the researcher worked in the social tourism field, and thus has pre-conceived knowledge from this experience, it can also be argued that one generally has come in contact with views on social policies and exclusion via the media, education, political affiliation etc. From this perspective, it seemed advisable to build on a general theoretical framework that could *support* the study, rather than *lead* it. By reviewing the literature the researcher can examine a variety of concepts, that can help support to “bracket” his or her own, preconceived ideas (through formulating alternatives to own preconceptions). It can be argued though that in a Glaserian fashion, the literature reviewed was not social tourism literature, but literature from research areas that might be relevant on a more conceptual level. The data of the fieldwork determine their relevance, and concepts that have proved relevant have been examined in more depth after the data collection process, as Glaser advises.

Finally, there is the question of what constitutes a theory and when a set of ideas can be called a theory. In “Discovery” Glaser and Strauss describe a theory as follows:

“To make theoretical sense of so much diversity in data, the analyst is forced to develop ideas on a level of generality higher in conceptual abstraction than the qualitative material being analysed. He is forced to bring out underlying uniformities and diversities, and to use more abstract concepts to account for differences in the data. To master his data, he is forced to engage in reduction of terminology” (Glaser & Strauss 1967, 114)

There are two levels of abstraction in generating theory. At the first level, substantive theory is generated: this theory is developed for a substantive, or empirical area of sociological enquiry. This theory only applies to that specific area. A substantive theory “may have important general implications and relevance, and become almost automatically a springboard or stepping stone to the development of a grounded formal theory” (Glaser & Strauss 1967, 79). Both types of theory can be described as “middle-range” between a “minor working hypothesis” and “grand theories” (Glaser & Strauss 1967, 32).

In their later work, Glaser and Strauss disagreed about the role and the development of theory. Whereas Strauss encourages researchers to build a theory more or less systematically around a chosen core category (Strauss 1987, 34); Glaser believes that the theory needs to “emerge” from the data via connections between categories (Glaser 1992, 63).

This study aims to generate a formal theory about the potential benefits of social tourism based on a substantive theory about the experiences of a group of UK participants and their welfare agents. The theory emerged from the data rather than one specific core category was chosen: because of the wide range of potential benefits (in terms of family relations, confidence, health, pro-active attitude, travel horizons) it was not deemed useful to make one a core category over the others.

5.7. Conclusion

This chapter has aimed to provide an overview of the methodological considerations underlying the concrete research methods, which will be explained in detail in the next chapter. There is no denying that only the most prominent characteristics of each theory have been discussed in this chapter, and that each of them (and their relations) would demand greater attention outside the scope of this study. Still, without this “theoretical” basis the more “practical” methods discussed next were deemed incomplete, as the methods a researcher uses are firmly embedded in his epistemological, philosophical and methodological standpoints.

The theories presented in this chapter have a great influence on the methods to be used in this study. A constructionist epistemology implies that no independent knowledge of reality is possible, and that reality can only have meaning when interpreted by a consciousness. The meaning constructed in this consciousness then has to be, according to interpretivism, “interpreted” by the researcher. This methodological view point towards a qualitative research method, rather than a quantitative one, as quantitative methods are more applicable to a positivist epistemology. Qualitative methods like interviews and focus groups allow the researcher to collect rich data that can then be interpreted. These rich data can help to identify the essence of an experience, as is the aim of phenomenology. Also in grounded theory qualitative methods are necessary to allow the researcher to build conceptual categories from the data. Quantitative methods require the researcher to rather put certain categories forward and test them: grounded theory is aimed at *creating* theory rather than test it. The analysis of the data will also be influenced by the rules of grounded theory: the data will be analysed by means of a constant comparison during and after the data gathering process, and new concepts will be allowed to emerge and be the basis for further enquiry.

This chapter serves as the theoretical basis for the next chapter, which looks in more detail at which concrete methods are to be used in the study. More specifically, it justifies a qualitative approach based on semi-structured in-depth interviews and focus groups.

6. Methods

6.1. Introduction

This study aims to examine the potential long-term benefits of visitor-related social tourism for low-income groups, and compare individual social holidays with group holidays. These benefits can be demonstrated on different levels: they could present themselves as beneficial effects on mental or physical health, as an improvement in family relations, as a change in attitudes or outlook on life, as a broadening of travel horizons. It was deemed important to design the research in such a way that leaves the respondents free to add more benefits to this list if needed, and also gives them the chance to allocate relative importance to these benefits. These respondents can be subdivided into two groups: the participants of the social holidays on the one hand, and their “welfare agents” on the other hand (social workers, health workers, advocacy workers, the persons who put families forward for social holidays). The questions used are based on the literature around the topic of social exclusion (see chapter 3) and on quantitative data collected by the Family Holiday Association (see chapter 7).

The focus for the research could thus be subdivided into the three different research questions:

- 4 To what extent do respondents report long-term benefits of social tourism for low-income groups?**
- 5 How far are there differences between the benefits of an individual family holiday and a group holiday?**
- 6 What is the value of social tourism in terms of “private” benefits (family capital) and “public” benefits (net benefits to society)?**

6.2. Research methods

6.2.1. A qualitative study

A first reason to opt for a qualitative research method is the nature of the research question. As very little academic literature about the effect of social holidays is available, certain questions will probably arise from the interviews with the respondents rather than from pre-existing research. Qualitative research methods, more specifically the ones based on grounded theory, are more flexible than quantitative methods, as they allow the researcher to code and analyse the data constantly, and then react swiftly by including new questions (see chapter 5 on methodology).

As introduced in the last chapter, “a grounded theory analysis starts with data and remains close to the data. Levels of abstraction are built directly upon the data and are checked and refined by gathering further data” (Charmaz 2004, 479). The original version of grounded theory stressed that “careful analysis of data items using the constant comparative method would lead to the emergence of conceptual categories that would describe and explain the phenomenon under study. Several explanatory or conceptual categories would be integrated around a core category and so the theory would emerge. The idea was to follow up conceptually fruitful avenues and follow emergent concepts to dictate the direction and nature of the data collection” (Miller & Dingwall 1997, 31). In practice this means that “hypotheses and concepts not only come from the data, but are systematically worked out in relation to the data during the course of the research” (Glaser & Strauss 1967, 6). The researcher thus is simultaneously involved in data gathering, analysis, investigating new themes and integrating all these data into a more abstract theory. The importance of developing theory in grounded theory research was highlighted in chapter 5. This theory will develop from one that is fully centered on the cases under study, to one that has more general validity. Glaser and Strauss describe this process as the development from substantive into formal theory (see chapter 5).

A second reason why a qualitative research method was judged most appropriate for this study, is the complexity of the causal relations between the holiday and the everyday life of the participants. If a social holiday indeed influences the health, the self-esteem and the social relations of the participants, as some studies suggest, then these effects are most probably interrelated in various ways. A qualitative method is preferable over a quantitative approach for two reasons. Firstly, a quantitative method would be constrained to only measure the benefits that other studies have already hinted upon. A qualitative method would allow respondents to bring forward additional benefits or weaknesses if applicable. Secondly, the relations between the holiday and the benefits reported afterwards are often too complex to express numerically “on a scale from one to ten”, as this would insufficiently represent the links between them. A quantitative method would mainly highlight the *outputs* of the holiday, rather than investigating the *outcomes*.

The evaluation of social policies is often limited to direct outputs: number of jobs created, amount of private money attracted. Often a measurement of the outcomes, rather than the outputs, of the policy is missing. Bradford and Robson describe the outcomes of (in this case: urban) policies as follows: “By outcomes, we mean the much wider measures that reflect the quality of lives of those residing and working in cities, such as reduced levels of crime and unemployment, and improvement of residential environments. Unlike direct outputs, outcomes are more difficult to measure and data for them are less available over both time and space” (Bradford & Robson 1995, 37).

Visitor-related social tourism can influence the participants’ life indirectly; e.g. in positively affecting their health, relationships, self-esteem and attitudes during and after the holiday; hence it is very relevant to stress the outcomes rather than the outputs of this type of social tourism. These effects rarely present themselves as direct outputs: participants suffering from depression will not be cured instantly after the holiday, neither will unemployed participants be overwhelmed by job offers after their return. It is believed though that social holidays can have significant outcomes, and that the changes in attitudes, improved family relations or reduced stress levels can cause other improvements in the quality of life of the participants. An example of such indirect

improvements is a child going on a holiday to a holiday centre, where he decides he wants to work when he grows up. After the holiday his attendance and behaviour at school improve dramatically, which also positively affects the relationships within the family. The new experience of the holiday thus gave rise to new attitudes, which become concrete as “outcomes”. Quantitative methods do not suffice to unravel the complex ties between the immediate effects of the holiday and their long-term outcomes. Only in-depth qualitative methods can do this.

The fact that the outcomes of social policy are so difficult to measure is caused by the six “Cs”:

- The *counterfactual* problem: problem of assessing what would have happened in the absence of intervention
- The *confound* problem: outcomes can be affected by other social policies
- The *contextual* problem: the personal context of each of the families will affect their capacity for improvement
- The *contiguity* problem: intervention can have positive or negative spill-over effects in other areas not subject to intervention
- The *combinatorial* problem: occurs when different programmes are mixed in different cases, affecting their outcomes
- *Changes* in social policies, undermining the consistency of the results

(Bradford & Robson 1995, 38)

For this study, the contextual and the combinatorial problems are very important. They will define differences between the participants from the start of the holiday, and it is most likely that these differences will affect the outcomes of the holiday. With a qualitative method, these differences can be embraced more easily, as the respondents have the opportunity to relate their holiday experiences back to their everyday life all the time. The research will be focusing on the counterfactual and contiguity problems, and investigate the difference in attitudes before and after the holiday, and how the different aspects of daily life are affected. In other words, the core of this study will be if and how

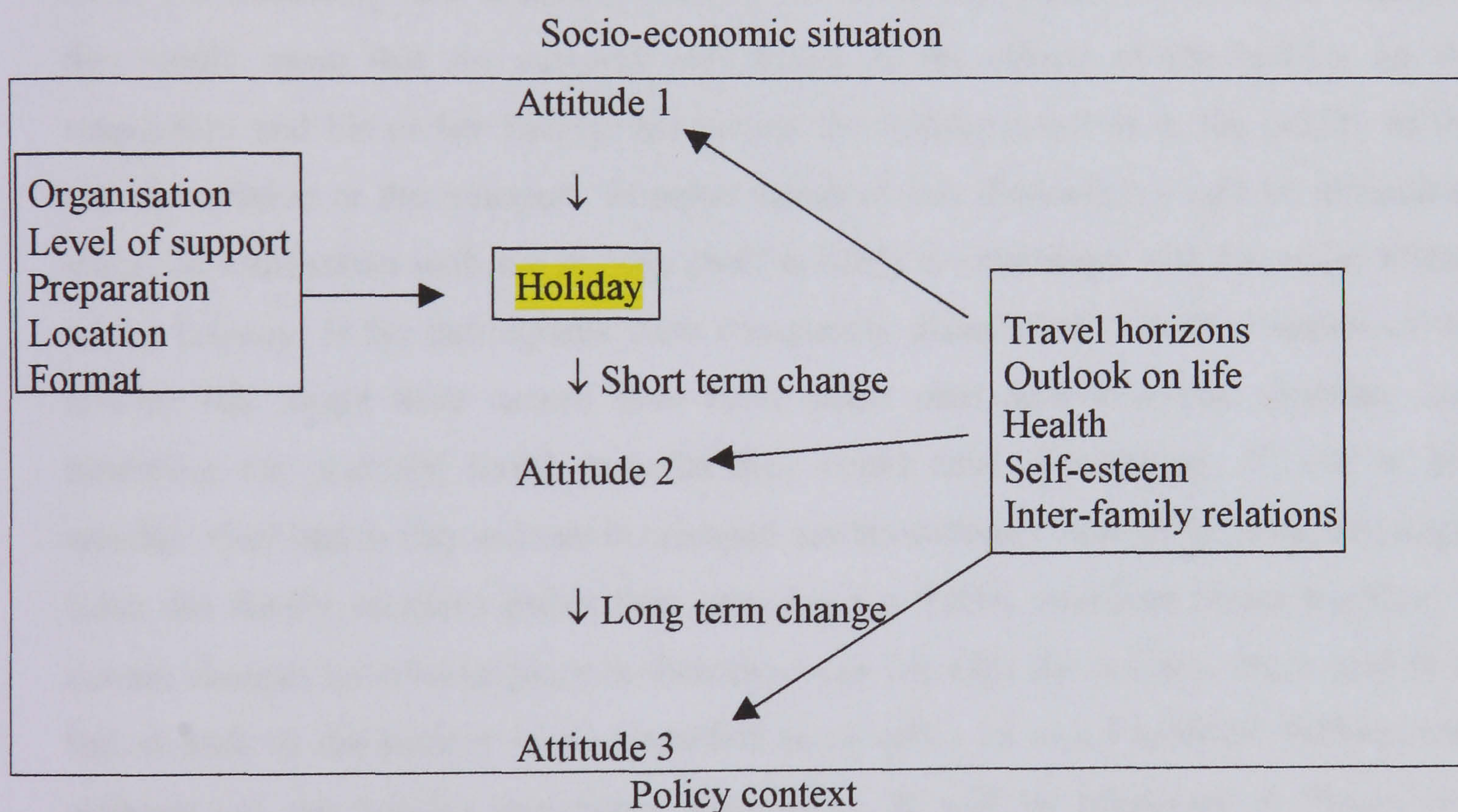
the holiday changed their everyday lives after they returned. The contrast between the situation before and the situation after will highlight changes that would most likely not have been made without the holiday (or “intervention”, referring to the counterfactual problem). The study aims to discover the positive and negative spill-over effects of different types of social holidays (referring to the contiguity problem). The confound problem is important, and will need to be integrated into the research. The long-term effects of the holiday should not be confused with the effect of changes in for example benefit allocation, public housing provision. A change in the organisation of social holidays in the UK is less likely but not impossible: a change of government might mean that the topic receives more or less attention during the course of this study, and may affect the holidays themselves indirectly. To account for these six problems, a long and intensive quantitative survey method over several stages would have been a potential alternative to qualitative methods, but this was judged too time-consuming to carry out within the time frame of PhD research.

The third and final reason for choosing a qualitative research method is the nature of the respondents. The common problem of illiteracy immediately made written questionnaires a less favourable method. (Figures of the National Literacy Trust from 2003 suggest that more than 5 million adults in the UK, most of them from a low-income background, would fail to pass an English GCSE.) The rather formal and rigid nature of quantitative methods also might put certain respondents off: as they are often confronted with questions about their personal life and financial situation by social services and other welfare organisations, a very formal academic study might not appeal to them at all. A flexible and qualitative method seemed appropriate to overcome this problem and to create a more informal atmosphere.

Naturally there are also disadvantages connected to a qualitative research method. The last paragraph referred to the sensitivity of certain questions about the personal life and financial situation of the respondents. Talking about these issues with a researcher might cause embarrassment or defensive reactions. Another possibility is that the respondents will try to give the “right” or socially most accepted answers, which would bias their

responses. If respondents bring up personal experiences that drift too far from the topic, it may become painful to redirect them towards the topic. Finally, there is the difficulty of analysing the great amount of data collected during the course of the interviews. "Access to a world of fleeting, contradictory, murky, incoherent realities demands selective attention from the fieldworker. For everything that is noticed a multitude of other things go unseen, for everything that is written down a multitude of other things are forgotten. Great parts of the real world experienced by the participant observer, probably the greater part, is *selected out*" (Ball in Bryman 1988, 49).

6.2.2. Conceptual framework



This representation of the conceptual framework of the study aims to integrate three elements. First of all, the study takes place within the specific socio-economic context of the respondents, and within a certain social policy context. Both influence the context in which the respondents will judge their experience. A second element is the holiday itself and how it is organised. The study has compared the effects of individual holidays with those of group holidays, and investigated how the differences in organisation, level of

support, location influence the experience and related effects. The third element of the study is the possibility of an attitude change within the respondents. Different attitudes were researched: attitudes towards the self, towards other, towards certain behaviours. The ultimate aim was to discover patterns in the links between holiday types on the one hand and certain attitude changes on the other hand.

6.2.3. Bounding the territory

The aim of “bounding the territory” is to clearly define the “case”, what exactly is going to be the subject of the research, so that at a certain point conclusions can be drawn and the study can be rounded up. The case can be abstractly defined as “a phenomenon of some sort occurring in a bounded context” (Miles & Huberman 1994, 25). In this case this would mean that the research will focus on the effects of the holiday on the respondent and his or her family, but not on the holiday itself as in the quality of the accommodation or the transport. In some instances this distinction might be difficult to make, as satisfaction with the holiday itself is likely to interrelate with the wider effects of the holiday. If the participants were completely dissatisfied with the location of the holiday this might have caused even more stress than their everyday situation, thus hindering the potential health benefits they could have experienced. If, due to bad weather, they had to stay indoors in cramped accommodation most of the time, this might harm the family relations rather than bringing the family members closer together. If certain changes have taken place in their everyday life after the holiday, these need to be linked back to the holiday to be classified as an effect of social tourism. Without thus shutting out the holiday experience completely, it will be important to “bound the territory” roughly to the effects of the holidays, what caused them, and how they affect life after the holiday. It will thus be vital for the interviewer or moderator to judge when accounts of very specific holiday experiences are useful and when they are drifting too far from the research topic. When redirecting the respondents, it is important not to appear impolite or uninterested, as they should be encouraged to speak freely and openly in an informal atmosphere. The same applies for the welfare agents: it was important to

separate the effects of the holiday from other changes that have developed differently. Questions repeating more relevant elements in the narrative were used for this purpose.

6.2.4. Structured, semi-structured or unstructured interviews

The research designs used in qualitative research can be seen as on a continuum between very structured and completely unstructured. “Structured approaches can help to ensure the comparability of data across sources and researchers, and are particularly useful in answering variance questions, questions that deal with differences between things and their explanation. Unstructured approaches, in contrast, allow the researcher to focus on the particular phenomena studied; they trade generalisability and comparability for initial validity and contextual understanding and are particularly useful in understanding the process that led to specific outcomes” (Maxwell 1996, 64). “Many qualitative researchers believe that, because qualitative research is necessarily inductive and grounded, any significant pre-structuring of the methods leads to a lack of flexibility to respond to emergent insights and creates methodological blinders in making sense of the data” (Maxwell 1996, 63).

A semi-structured design was deemed most useful for this study. This leaves the researcher with enough flexibility to adapt the questions if new themes would emerge from the responses. As stated before, there is very little scientific research about the effects of social holidays, so it would not be advisable to construct all questions based on evidence alone. In some way, this view is the most common in qualitative field research: “The conventional image of field research is one that keeps pre-structured designs to a minimum. [...] Social researchers often prefer a more loosely structured, emergent, inductively “grounded” approach to gather data. The conceptual framework should emerge from the field in the course of the study; the important research questions will come clear only gradually; meaningful settings and actors cannot be selected prior to fieldwork; instruments, if any, should be derived from the properties of the setting and its actors’ view of them (Miles & Huberman 1994, 17).

The above quote highlights the value of very loosely structured research designs, still, for this study a slightly more structured approach was chosen. This has to do with the limited experience of the researcher on the one hand, and the existence of certain valuable data that can be used as a starting point for the study on the other hand. These data (for example statistics and data material of the Family Holiday Association, the charity who has enabled access to the field for this study) can guide the research and help “bound the territory” (see 6.2.3). This was preferred over an unstructured design whereby respondents talk loosely about their holiday and provide the researcher with an overwhelming amount of data, which would take a lot of time to sort through, code and analyse. After this exercise the researcher would have only cleared the ground and identified some first themes, which in this case can be identified already. Miles and Huberman also agree that “if you’re new to qualitative studies, and are looking at a better understood phenomenon in a familiar culture or subculture, a loose, inductive design might be a waste of time” (Miles & Huberman 1994, 17).

6.2.5. Individual interviews and focus groups: strengths and weaknesses

For the aim of this study, two research methods seem to have particular advantages: the semi-structured in-depth interview and the focus group. In the following section, the two methods will be compared with their general strengths and weaknesses on the one hand, and their particular value for this study on the other hand.

At the root of the *semi-structured in-depth interview* is “an interest in understanding the experience of other people and the meaning they make of that experience” (Phillimore & Goodson 2004, 221). The general strengths and weaknesses of this method are:

Strengths

<p>An <i>adaptable</i> technique enabling probing of specific themes taking account of each participant's particular experiences. This in turn makes it a <i>flexible</i> technique because as data collection progresses and new ideas relevant to understanding the research topic emerge, interview schedules can be refined to reflect these insights.</p>
<p>The <i>face-to-face</i> nature of the encounter enables the researcher to read body language and other non-verbal forms of communication in addition to speech, which can elicit valuable insights.</p>
<p>The <i>personal</i> nature of interviews may enable the researcher to develop <i>empathy</i> with participants, thereby creating a more comfortable environment for both parties.</p>
<p>Little equipment is required, so the <i>location</i> can be varied easily to accommodate preferences of the researcher and the participant.</p>
<p><i>Possible interconnections</i> between experiences and views can be explored.</p>
<p>The technique is useful for generating <i>experiential data</i> that can then be theorised.</p>
<p>It can provide <i>contextual background</i> for studies using contextual methods.</p>
<p>Semi-structured interviews provide inexperienced researchers with some <i>structure</i> while also allowing them to develop their own approach to interviewing.</p>
<p>Semi-structured interviews can also allow for <i>comparability</i> across interviews, as the same questions are asked for each respondent.</p>
<p>They can provide <i>rich, descriptive data</i> with many colourful and illustrative examples of different tourist experiences.</p>
<p>The technique has high <i>validity</i>, as interviewers can ensure that questions are understood by the interviewees by adapting the wording, or probe to elicit more in-depth responses.</p>

Weaknesses

<p><i>Misinterpretation</i> of views by the researcher and/or the participant is possible. It will be necessary to check if the concepts that will be brought up in the interviews mean the same to the respondent as to the researcher.</p>
<p>The method requires <i>training and confidence</i> to be fully effective in data-gathering, and some theoretical insight to be able to probe for more detail on valuable ideas as an interview is conducted.</p>
<p>It can be difficult to replicate, i.e. it has lower <i>reliability</i> (although one could argue that this is not necessarily a disadvantage in qualitative research, as what you sacrifice in reliability you gain in validity)</p>
<p>The researcher may consciously or unconsciously <i>steer</i> the interviewee towards expressing views that agree with the research themes sought.</p>
<p>Interviewing can be an <i>awkward</i> and uncomfortable experience, especially for inexperienced researchers.</p>
<p>The value of the data is dependent on the <i>honesty</i> of the interviewee (or their desire to say what they think the interviewer wants to hear).</p>
<p>The interviewer might be <i>reactive</i> to the responses of the interviewee rather than structuring the interview itself.</p>
<p>Finding a <i>location</i> to suit both the interviewer and the interviewee might be problematic.</p>
<p>The technique relies on interviewees to <i>volunteer</i> to participate in what can be a time-intensive process.</p>
<p><i>Recording</i> of interviews can be problematic if the interviewee does not want to be taped or is conscious of being recorded.</p>
<p>Interviews, transcription and analysis of interview data are all <i>time-consuming</i> activities.</p>
<p>Interviews can generate a large amount of <i>data extraneous to the topic</i>, and it may be problematic to generate comparable themes.</p>

(Phillimore and Goodson 2004, 222-223)

In the case of this specific study, there are five main advantages of the semi-structured in-depth interview. The first one is the fact that the method is flexible, and allows the researcher to adapt the interviews when certain new themes emerge. This is a particular advantage in cases where only limited research evidence is available, and whereby new categories might still emerge. In this study it was important to allow the respondents to suggest eventual benefits of the holiday on their daily life afterwards. A second advantage is the ability of this method to discern interconnections between certain views and behaviours of the participants. The aim of this study is to examine the relationship between the holiday and eventual changes in behaviours or opinions afterwards: the chosen method needs to enable the researcher to make this relationship explicit. Also, it allows the researcher to explore the contextual background of the participants in detail, so that differences in attitudes can be linked to eventual contextual differences (see 5.2.1). The fact that these semi-structured in-depth interviews are conducted face-to-face is another advantage in this study, as the respondents might be less strong verbally or have literacy problems. Finally, there is the practical advantage that semi-structured in-depth interviews can be easier to conduct than focus groups, as the interviewer only needs to deal with one interviewee at a time.

The main disadvantages of this method are the fact that it is very time-consuming, and that it depends on participants in social tourism volunteering to be interviewed. This disadvantage is described in a study in Quebec by Gaudreau, Jolin and Buissonet-Verger, who aimed to interview participants during their holiday. Many participants refused, and the others only wanted to participate as a group, not individually, because they found it would interrupt and spoil their holiday experience. Only two participants wanted to be interviewed individually, and these interviews were ended prematurely (Gaudreau et al 1999, 37). To counter this potential problem the respondents for this study were interviewed after the holiday. Another preparatory measure was to pilot the interviews. For group holidays, a focus group was deemed a more appropriate method, so that interviewing respondents individually was automatically avoided for this group. The welfare agents were always interviewed individually, because of privacy concerns for the

families involved on the one hand, and because of the fact that they are spread out all over Britain on the other hand, which makes the organisation of focus groups particularly difficult. The same format was used in the first and the second round of interviews.

There are two other disadvantages for this method that were specific concerns for this study. One is that the respondent might want to give “socially acceptable” or “right” answers, and might aim to please the interviewer, or the Family Holiday Association, the charity who paid for the holiday. Therefore the interviewer needed to stress that the answers given were by no means linked to their chances of receiving another holiday grant. Finally there is the risk that the interviewer would steer the interview in the direction of certain desired answers. Asking questions about the benefits of holidays might somewhat imply that these benefits exist. All care needed to be taken to leave the option open that the holiday did not influence the everyday lives of the respondents after their return. The respondents should not be encouraged to link every change back to the holiday either.

“*Focus groups* are regarded as being particularly effective in capturing the complexities of motivation [...]” (Phillimore & Goodson 2004, 200). The effect of group interaction and the rather informal atmosphere are typical for this research method. The general strengths and weaknesses are:

Strengths

The <i>synergistic</i> effect of group interaction: participants can react to and build upon the responses of other group members. The participants can thus pick up on the topics that are introduced and assess them as a group.
The potential to break down the researcher - researched <i>power relationship</i> : to empower participants and encourage a more collaborative process of knowledge production.
<i>Flexibility</i> . The questions can be adapted easily as new topics emerge.
The ability to explore how participants value <i>and define key concepts</i> , in their own words. This is important for the participants' responses, as they belong to a distinctly different social group as the researcher. Concepts might have different meanings, and focus groups allow the participants to define these concepts collectively.
The ability to allow participants to <i>rationalise</i> views and experiences/ expose reasoning behind perceptions.
The potential to see <i>visual stimuli</i> .
<i>Time efficiency</i> .

Weaknesses

The <i>artificial nature</i> of the research setting. This might hold some participants back from disclosing more personal information.
The fact that <i>the influence of the peer group</i> and/or dominant individuals may bias the results, increasing the potential for social desirability bias.
The fact that the influence of <i>the researcher as the moderator</i> may influence participants.
The need for a <i>skilled moderator</i> .
The fact that the <i>small number of participants</i> limits the ability to generalise to a wider population.

(Phillimore and Goodson 2004, 225)

Two important advantages of this method for this study are its time efficiency and the potentially synergistic effect. Respondents can immediately respond to the answers of others, agree or disagree with them, put them into perspective. Another advantage is the fact that respondents are encouraged to define key concepts, which is particularly useful in this case as the respondents might belong to a significantly different social group than the researcher. The main disadvantages of focus groups are of a practical nature for the inexperienced researcher: some group members might be difficult to manage, and the moderator needs to make adaptations to the questions instantly when interesting new themes emerge.

The difficulty in managing a focus group is related to the fact that it balances on the line between formality and informality. "Focus groups are not slices of mundane conversation picked out in a conveniently recordable form. They require the participants to give certain types of contributions, and they require the interaction to be organised in certain ways. In this sense, they are situations of formal interaction. Yet [...] moderators attempt to generate a situation where interaction seems fluid and spontaneous" (Puchta & Potter 2004, 28). Combining these formal and informal elements is difficult for an inexperienced researcher, definitely considering the fact that the target group of this study can be rather demanding and "vocal". The difficulty of managing the group becomes even bigger when evaluations of experiences are concerned: this can lead to lively talk between the participants and generate lots of opinions, which is positive, but these benefits come at a cost. The interaction might become very complicated and hard to direct as it turns from participant to participant instead of through the moderator (Puchta & Potter 2004, 83). In the case of the welfare agents (representatives of bodies who can apply for holidays on behalf of their clients, like health workers, social workers, charity workers), this method seems less useful, due to confidentiality restrictions and the sensitivity of some of the topics that will be discussed. The physical distance between the welfare agents could also pose a problem, as the Family Holiday Association is used by welfare agents nation-wide.

As a general rule in this research, the participants of individual holidays are interviewed individually, and the participants of group holidays (if more than one participant volunteers to be interviewed) are taken together in focus groups where possible. Definitely where participants went on a group holiday, it was considered a bonus to interview them together. As social support and group dynamics are a potential benefit of group holidays, it seemed interesting to investigate how these relations would present themselves in a research situation. In the case of individual family holidays, interviewing the participants separately was aimed at lowering the risk of respondents feeling uncomfortable and holding back in the presence of other people they might not know.

Another case where the focus group method was particularly useful was the group holiday of an African organisation involved in health promotion (particularly HIV-related issues). The majority of the users of this organisation have a visa status that is unresolved, and individual interviews could seem rather intimidating to these respondents. The respondents are used to coming together and feel comfortable in each other's presence, which can make them more forthcoming. The focus group was very informal, and the respondents could help each other to define certain concepts as they share an African background and upbringing.

6.3. Respondents

6.3.1. Sampling

The bulk of the sample consisted of low-income families who had been on a holiday provided by the Family Holiday Association. Miles and Huberman sum up some general rules for effective sampling, and stipulate that (i) the sample must be relevant, (ii) the phenomena investigated can appear in them, (iii) is generalisable, (iv) the descriptions derived from them can be believable, (v) the sampling plan is feasible and (vi) is conducted ethically (Miles & Huberman 1994, 34). The sampling method was “purposeful sampling” as opposed to “probability sampling”: “selecting a truly random

and statistically representative sample that permits confident generalisation from the sample to a larger population” (Patton 1990, 169). More specifically, this study used a technique between two subcategories of purposeful sampling: typical case sampling and random purposeful sampling. Patton describes typical case sampling as follows: “In describing a program or its participants to people not familiar with the program it can be helpful to provide a qualitative profile of one or more “typical cases”. These cases are selected with the co-operation of key informants, such as program staff or knowledgeable participants, who can help identify what is typical” (Patton 1990, 169). In this case the welfare agents were asked for help when selecting participants for the research, and they made a selection among their clients. From these participants (and the respondents who react to the invitation letters and volunteer to participate in the research) a random sample was taken to be interviewed. The aim of these different recruitment techniques was to interview a number of rather typical cases.

For geographic reasons (definitely in the case of a focus group method being chosen), the respondents concentrated around specific areas in the UK. As FHA is a charity that operates nation wide, there were no immediate restrictions in the choice of a location, but most interviewees were interviewed in the locations where FHA traditionally helps the greatest numbers of disadvantaged families. An example of such a location is Rotherham, where a “Friends of FHA” group is based. These groups raise a substantial amount of funds, which are used specifically to facilitate access to holidays for disadvantaged families in that area. Another region where FHA recruits a large number of participants is London. In 2004, the London boroughs accounted for roughly 35% of all participants.

Another group of respondents to the interviews were the welfare agents: these are health workers, social workers, advocacy workers. who apply for holidays on behalf of the families. The welfare agents were interviewed because they can judge the evolution of a family objectively, and because they can make generalisations between different families who have been on a social holiday. They will thus place the findings into a wider context and bring in experiences of families who chose not to be interviewed.

This method of “collecting information from a diverse range of individuals and settings, using a variety of methods” is called triangulation (Maxwell 1996, 75). Patton calls it “an important way to strengthen a study design” (Patton 1990, 187). There are four basic types of triangulation: (1) *data triangulation* – the use of a variety of data sources in a study; (2) *investigator triangulation* – the use of several different researchers or evaluators; (3) *theory triangulation* the use of multiple perspectives to interpret a single set of data; and (4) *methodological triangulation* – the use of multiple methods to study a single problem or program (Patton, 1990, 187). The interviews with the welfare agents are an example of data triangulation, and the quantitative data collected by FHA in their feedback reports (see chapter 7) can be used as a source for methodological triangulation. This strategy reduces the risk of chance associations and of systematic and allows a better assessment of the generalisability of the findings.

It is important to note here that the welfare agents by no means form a homogenous group. Their roles, education and responsibilities varied widely, as did the nature of the organizations they belonged to. Some for example were volunteers for charities, others worked for government-funded institutions like Homestart or Personal Care Trusts. In four cases, the welfare agents were originally clients of the organization, who went on to work part-time with other disadvantaged families. Some welfare agents see their clients at very regular intervals, whereas others are only contacted when there are specific problems.

These differences influenced the depth and quality of some of the responses, particularly during the second round of interviews. Most welfare agents still had contact with the family who went on holiday and could thus judge their situation compared to before the holiday. In some cases though, the welfare agent had not had any contact with the family anymore, so that an interview could not be conducted. In the case of the group holidays, it was quite common for welfare agents to be more involved with certain families, whereas others had not been in touch as often anymore. This means that welfare agents were a useful additional source of information for a number of respondents, but that this

was not always the case, as the ability to make a professional judgment and level of record keeping varied greatly between them.

6.3.2. Access to the field

In February 2005, telephone contact was made with the most important welfare agents for FHA. These are the welfare agents that use their services most frequently and have created a firmer link with the organisation. They were presented with a summary of the research aims and a brief description of how the research was to be conducted (see appendix 4). As the study would be helped enormously by their co-operation (because they help a large number of families access holidays), it was important to create a positive attitude towards the research within this group. A more personal approach, via contact over the telephone, was aimed at achieving this. The aim of involving the welfare agents into the research was for them to be a link between the researcher and the participants, by introducing the research to them and asking them if they are willing to participate. If the families are introduced to the study by someone they know and trust, their attitude towards it is expected to become more positive. The welfare agents could also supply the families with the camera and the holiday pack (see incentives), and give some brief explanations about the use of the camera and the refunds available.

Once this initial contact was made, a snowball effect often provided new interviewees. Some participants to the study convinced their friends to participate as well, and some welfare agents suggested others to the researcher who might be willing to participate in the research.

6.3.3. Number of respondents

Oppenheim stresses that “a sample’s accuracy is more important than its size” (Oppenheim 1992, 43). Specifically about in-depth interviews he states that there is no definitive amount that is in some way compulsory, but “30 to 40 is probably typical” (Oppenheim 1992, 68). Patton adds that “there are no rule for sample size in qualitative

enquiry. Sample size depends on what you want to know, the purpose of the enquiry, what's at stake, what will be useful, what will have credibility, and what can be done with available time and resources (Patton 1990, 184). Furthermore, "the validity, meaningfulness, and insights generated from qualitative enquiry have more to do with the information richness of the cases selected and the observational/analytical capabilities of the researcher than with sample size (Patton 1990, 185).

Interviews were conducted until the researcher felt a point of theoretical saturation was reached. In the first round, which took place between April and July 2005, 40 respondents were interviewed, a group which consisted of 25 family respondents and 15 welfare agents. All welfare agents were interviewed individually. Of the family participants, 12 were interviewed individually and 13 in focus groups (three focus groups of four, two and seven respondents). The second round of interviews took place between November 2005 and March 2006. In this round 30 respondents were interviewed, of which 18 were family respondents and 12 welfare agents. Of the family participants, nine were interviewed individually and nine in focus groups (two focus groups of two and seven respondents).

6.3.4. Specific difficulties related to interviewees

Interviewing was at times hampered by certain characteristics shared by the majority of the family respondents (or holiday participants, not welfare agents). A first difficulty was that this group often found it difficult to schedule appointments more than a week in advance. In a number of cases scheduled interviews could not go ahead because the interviewees had forgotten or something had come up last minute. Definitely when the interviews were conducted outside of London this meant a lot of wasted time.

Keeping this in mind the researcher started to call the respondents the day before the interview. This improved the attendance rate, but did not root out the problem completely: some respondents were still unreachable (or in one case had fallen asleep) before the interview.

Other issues were that the offer of a free development of the pictures was generally not taken up before the interview, so that the pictures could not be used as cues (see 7.5.6), or that no babysitter could be found to look after the children, so that they had to come to the interview, which could cause lapses in concentration on the part of the respondents.

6.3.5. Interval

There are no clear guidelines as to when an effect becomes “long-term”, so pragmatic motivations have guided the study in this matter. In the ETB study, the doctors stated the health benefits of a holiday lasted for about three months. This was dismissed as a useful general interval period for two reasons. Firstly three months seemed a rather short time to accord the term “long-term” to any changes that might have occurred. If this interval would be chosen it would also mean that interview period 1 (April-July) and interview period 2 (June-October) would overlap. It was judged a great amount of pressure on the researcher to analyse the first data and prepare the second interviews at the same time, and better to be avoided. An interval period of six months on the other hand allowed for more time to prepare the second set of interviews, whilst also leaving a more convincing period of time for real “long-term” effects to develop. An interval longer than six months was deemed unfavourable, because the holiday would then be so long ago that many other influences would become intertwined with it, making it very difficult to differentiate between the motivations behind attitude changes or changes in well-being.

6.3.6. Attrition rate

There are no clear figures available about the attrition rate when interviewing low-income families specifically. A higher than average drop-out rate could have been expected though, seeing the often greater mobility and changeability of their lives. As no incentive was offered for participation in the second round, this could also have influenced the respondent’s willingness to participate again, although this factor did not seem to play a major role in this study. All reasonable effort was made to include all respondents in the

second round, and 30 of the 40 respondents (or 75%) participated again. This group consists of 18 participants to the holidays, and 12 welfare agents.

Of the 25 original family participants, seven could not be interviewed. No contact could be established with three of them, even with the help of the welfare agent. The other four did not attend for a number of personal reasons, like childcare issues or other problems. The category of non-participating respondents has very few common characteristics: it was generally unpredictable who would be willing and able to participate again. Only one category had a high drop-out rate: of the three male participants to individual family holidays of the first round, none participated in the second round.

Of the 15 original welfare agents, three were not interviewed. One had left social work, one had no more contact with the participant, and one had insufficient time.

6.4. Analysis and coding

“Codes are tags or labels for assigning units of meaning to the descriptive or inferential information compiled during a study. Codes are usually attached to “chunks” of varying size – words, phrases, sentences or whole paragraphs – connected or unconnected to a specific setting” (Miles & Huberman 1994, 56). Glaser and Strauss both discuss coding procedures for grounded theory researchers, and in their later work they have each developed a different approach to coding.

Strauss differentiates between three types of codes. The first codes to be introduced to a transcript are part of the *open coding*, which aim to produce concepts that seem to fit the data. They are at this first stage entirely provisional, but try to be more than purely descriptive. The researcher can choose to use *in vivo* codes (terms used by the interviewees) or constructed codes (terms the researcher has chosen) (Strauss 1987, 28). On a second level of conceptualisation, there is *axial coding*. This type of coding is a form of intense analysis around one category at a time. This stage in the coding process runs parallel to the increasing number of relationships becoming specified among the many categories (Strauss 1987, 32). Finally there is *selective coding*: “selective coding

pertains to coding systematically and concerted for the core category [...] The core category becomes a guide to further theoretical sampling and data collection. The analyst looks for the conditions, consequences and so forth, that relate to the core category, coding for them” (Strauss 1987, 33).

Glaser objects to this systematic form of coding and recognises just two forms of coding. He insists connections need to emerge from the data, and not be formed around one chosen core category (see chapter 5). His codes operate on two levels, depending on the level of conceptualisation. First there are the *substantive codes*: “the conceptual meanings given by generating categories and their properties, which conceptually sum up the patterns found in the substantive incidents in the field” (Glaser 1992, 27). On a higher level of conceptualisation are the *theoretical codes*: “the conceptual models of relationships that are discovered to relate the substantive codes to each other theoretically” (Glaser 1992, 27).

In this study, a Straussarian coding approach was adopted, relying closely on the text for building categories and codes, and the increasing the level of conceptualisation until leads to a theory. In the case of this study open coding was done during and after interviewing: the questions were the basis for some of the codes, but new codes were also prompted by the interviewees. These codes were then the basis for new questions in following interviews. Many codes were thus already in place before the transcripts were researched in their totality: “no matter how the researcher actually *does* inductive coding, by the time he or she has identified the themes and refined them to the point that they can be applied to an entire corpus of text, a lot of interpretive analysis has already been done” (Ryan & Bernard 2000, 780). After the interviews, the transcripts were colour-coded different provisional, open codes, such as playing with the children, relationships with partner, contact with welfare agents, making new friends, going out and about more. After the open codes were decided upon, each category was explored in more depth and relations between codes became clearer (*axial coding*). For example the different types of family-related changes were distinguished (adult-adult, adult-child, child-child) and

combined into an axial code called “family relations”. Other examples were codes as self-esteem, social contact and pro-active behaviour. When all categories were explored in this manner, the relations between the different categories were examined, and *selective* codes were applied to generate a theory. This type of coding was achieved to distinguish between behaviour changes on a personal and family level, and to describe how the two areas inter-relate. The different stages of coding did not follow a strictly linear pattern but could intertwine and overlap: when many open codes were developed already, axial codes started to present itself. Not all these codes proved useful over time: some were taken forward, others were abandoned when it became clear that the relation between categories that was suspected, was not highlighted by any of the other interviewees.

Miles and Huberman describe the four coding procedures that can be used to achieve axial and selective codes later in the study cycle. The first one is “filling in”: adding codes, reconstructing a coherent scheme as new insights and new ways of looking at the data set emerge. An example is the code “playing with the children” which was added to “family relations” in the first round, after this point returned in several of the interviews with the family respondents and the welfare agents. A second procedure is “extension”: returning to material coded earlier and interrogating it in a new way, with a new theme, construct, or relationship. An example for extension is the code “motivation” which was added to “outlook on life” in the second round: this code was not sufficient in the light of this new theme and needed to be extended. Thirdly there is “bridging”: seeing new or previously not understood relationships within units of a given category. Again the “family relations” code can serve as an example: the link between the alleviation of the sense of guilt of the parents and the relation with their children became a code in itself. Finally there is “surfacing”: identifying new categories. In the second round “budgeting” and “learning curve” are examples of such surfacing codes. (Miles & Huberman 1994, 62).

Different computer programmes that have been designed to this effect can be helpful tools in the analysis of qualitative data. The choice of the most appropriate programme is

based on different aspects of the research, like the number of interviewees, the type and nature of the data and the depth of the analysis. In this case, the data were coded manually, for several reasons. The first is that the researcher felt more confident and comfortable using manual coding. Limited experience using the appropriate software and a preference for a flexible analysis strategy were the basis of this attitude. Other factors were the relatively small sample size and the fact that data often had to be coded under several concepts at a time. The respondents did not use a common or uniform vocabulary to explain their experiences, which resulted in a very nuanced and hard to codify set of concepts that were closely interlinked. The complaint of certain families for example that there were not enough activities on site was important in three categories: the role of stress on the holiday, the attitude towards children on holiday and the comparison between individual and group holidays. Even though multiple coding is possible with several data analysis programmes, it was deemed simpler and less time-consuming to just code the data manually, also because of the fact that the researcher transcribed all interviews and focus groups herself. A final reason to use manual coding was that it was felt computer programmes could distance the researcher from the data – making it harder to build links, taking sections out of context.

6.5. Practical organisation

6.5.1. Creating rapport

“Rapport” is a term used to describe the degree to which the respondent is able to speak freely and let the researcher gain insight into his or her thoughts and feelings. It is created by a sort of relationship of trust between the interviewer and the interviewee: the guarantee that all answers will remain anonymous for example can add to the trust between the respondent and the interviewer. Another way of creating rapport is to minimise the gap that might exist between the social worlds of the interviewer and the interviewee by not giving any judgmental answers, and treating the interviewees with

respect no matter what their background or history may be. All these elements can improve the rapport, but are no guarantees to maximise it.

Silverman describes the aim of rapport as “getting the respondents to talk back”: “rapport involves more, however, than provisions of confidentiality, non-judgemental responses and other offerings from the interviewer. It involves the interviewee feeling comfortable and competent enough in the interaction to “talk back”. When respondents talk back they provide insights into the narratives they use to describe the meanings of their social worlds and into their experience of the worlds of which they are a part (Silverman 1997, 106). There are various ways of “talking back”, all centred around interweaving one’s own experience into larger “cultural stories”: for example about poverty and exclusion. They are usually accepted public views on certain themes, but the interviewee can contrast himself against them, identify with them. Stories that directly challenge public views are called “collective stories” (Silverman 1997, 108). Talking back is thus creating a link between different referential frameworks and clarifying where the differences lie, which is exactly what a lot of social research aims to do.

An often-returning problem in social research is that the interviewer belongs to a different social group than the interviewees, and thus has different referential frameworks, which can make creating rapport more difficult. This problem also presents itself in this study, whereby the researcher is from a middle-class background, and has not personally experienced many of the difficulties the respondents have to deal with. This stresses the need for the research to be well contextually situated so that the referential frameworks of the interviewer can align itself with that of the target group.

A way to do this is to either talk about the background of the respondents before the interview or the focus group, so that the researcher can get to know them better, or to administer a survey beforehand that can be filled out either by the welfare agent or the family themselves. This last technique was chosen by researcher Gale Miller, who interviewed adolescent female gang members, mostly African American. She herself was white and ten to fifteen years older. There also was a difference in class background.

“These young women are members of a group frequently stigmatised by the social groups to which Miller herself belongs, a reality known to both the interviewees and the interviewer. Fortunately, Miller’s research design proved useful in alleviating tensions that could result from this schism. Her administration of a survey interview with detailed questions about histories of delinquent involvement and arrest neither condemned nor praised interviewees’ responses, even on occasions when individuals reported brutal acts of violence. The benefit of administering a survey first (in addition to its value in providing collaborative evidence or “triangulation”) was that this layer of understanding was already in place when the in-depth interviews occurred” (Silverman 1997, 106).

In the case of this research, a short round of closed questions was asked first to break the ice. These questions applied to the destination of the holiday, the accommodation, the dates, the weather. This was followed by a few general questions about the holiday, whereby the interviewees were encouraged to speak freely with as little interruption by the interviewer as possible. In these brief conversations often the respondents talked about themselves, their likes and dislikes, their problems and expectations for the future. As the interviews progressed, the interviewer became more confident in this technique and allowed more time for informal exchange, as it was noticed that other information flowed more naturally afterwards.

6.5.2. Questions

The questions to be asked were based on the Family Holiday Association’s feedback report of 2003. After each holiday, the participating families receive a feedback form they are asked to fill out. (To stress the importance of the feedback, FHA even made this one of the conditions for receiving a holiday grant.) The questions on the feedback form address three themes: the preparation for the holiday and transport issues; the quality of the holiday site and the accommodation; and a general evaluation of the holiday experience. It is this last section which has served as the basis for the research questions. Chapter 7 gives a short overview of the FHA data and their implications for the research.

6.5.3. Pilot interview

Pilot interviews are necessary to test out the different aspects of the interview or focus group, like the setting, the questions, the instrumentation. Oppenheim writes that “in principle, almost everything about a social survey can and should be piloted, from the method of drawing a sample to the type of paper on which the interviewer will have to write, for almost everything that can go wrong, will go wrong” (Oppenheim 1992, 48). If the pilot suggests improvements in the wordings of the questions, the new questions should be piloted too. A pilot of the participants’ and the welfare agents’ interviews was conducted in March 2005.

6.5.4. Conducting the interviews

The whole interview or focus group was digitally recorded on a digital voice recorder. This device records interviews up to 8 hours in length in standard quality, which can be stored in different folders and transferred onto computer as voice files. This way results could be shared easily with supervisors (whilst preserving anonymity), the intonation of the respondent would not be lost and the researcher could leave the writing up of the interview until later, so that all attention can be given to the respondents themselves. Permission for the recording was asked before the interview started (together with a guarantee of the respondent’s anonymity). During or immediately after the interview the interviewer wrote some reflective remarks down, like mental notes, cross-allusions or new hypotheses. After the interviews the recordings were transcribed in a word processing programme. On print-outs (which are easier to read) the interviewer then made some marginal notes.

Holloway and Jefferson also stress the fact that, although during the course of the research the large sets of data will be broken down to smaller chunks, it is also important to keep the whole in mind (Holloway & Jefferson 2000, 71). They advise that for each respondent, the researcher should have a pro forma sheet with some basic data, and a written portrait bringing the person to life.

When it comes to the duration of an in-depth interview, again there are no strict rules. “The actual interview session will obviously vary in length.” (Robson 1993, 229). During the first round, the interviews generally took about one hour. The second round of interviews was generally shorter, with most interviews taking about 30 minutes.

Oppenheim describes some guidelines for the setting of the interview. “The setting for the interview or focus group should ideally be a meeting room or another quiet space where distractions like noise or passing people are not present. Refreshments should be available. The room should be comfortable and not intimidating. If there is a desk in the room it should not form a barrier between the interviewee and the interviewer.” (Oppenheim 1992, 69). In the case of this study, the welfare agent was asked if they knew of an appropriate location first (like a meeting room, community room). If there was no such room available, the respondent was consulted to find another appropriate location (a quiet coffee house, a public space).

For the safety of the interviewer, it was agreed that all interviews would be held in either a room at the welfare agent’s office or at another appropriate public space convenient for all parties. As a rule, contact was made with the welfare agents first so that they could notify the researcher of eventual safety concerns related to the respondent. The interviewer would carry a mobile phone, switched on and in silent mode. She also informed a family member of the exact location of the interview.

6.5.5. Incentive

There are no strict rules in qualitative research about the payment of incentives to interviewees. Whyte argues that “if we do not impose lengthy and repeated interviews on the same few individuals and confine our interviewing to leisure hours or to the job situation (but where the informant does not lose pay), then it seems preferable to avoid cash payments. There are, of course, cases where payment cannot and should not be

avoided. If the informant is not wealthy and has to make a financial sacrifice to talk with us, then clearly some material compensation is needed” (Whyte 1984, 108). Holloway and Jefferson, who conducted research which involved follow-up interviews, decided to offer participants a £15 payment after the second interview. “The timing of the payment at the end of the second interview may have induced people to continue when otherwise they would have wished to withdraw” (Holloway & Jefferson 2000, 84).

In this case, the participants were reimbursed for their travel expenses at the beginning of the interview or focus group, so that there was no confusion about this and the matter does not distract them from the actual interview. Coffee, tea, water and biscuits were provided by the researcher or the venue. As an extra incentive, the respondents were provided with a “holiday pack” at the start of their holiday: although this did not guarantee their actual participation after the holiday, the hope was that it would create a positive emotional involvement in the project. This pack contained the disposable camera, together with a couple of presents (beach ball, sun tan lotion, sponge bag, obtained free or cheaply by the researcher). This was an inexpensive way to grab their attention, and to present the research as something fun, informal and interesting.

For the second round of interviews no incentive was offered as the interviews were willing to co-operate voluntarily. These interviews were a lot shorter and thus did not take up too much of the interviewees’ time.

The welfare agents were asked to co-operate without compensation.

6.5.6. Photos as a research tool

Photographs, often associated with holidays and happy memories, have been used in this research for two main purposes. On the one hand they were part of a reward scheme for the participants, and on the other hand they were aimed to play a role as a projective research technique. They were very useful in their first capacity, but less so in the second. As this study was conducted on restricted financial means, there was no room for extensive monetary incentives for the participants. As an alternative, a holiday pack was

offered to the interviewees (see 7.5.5) with a disposable camera in it. As the families going on FHA holidays might not own a camera, this was judged a fun and useful gift for their holiday. On their return, the respondents could send the camera back in a freepost envelope for development or have the pictures developed themselves at the expense of the researcher. The role of photographs as part of reward schemes is documented by Collier: "Rather than creating barriers between the fieldworker and his subjects the camera can help to reduce barriers. The photographs can become something the fieldworker can reward the informant with" (Collier 1967, xi).

Photographs can also be used to become a more integral part of the research design, as part of a projective research method. "In essence, projective techniques involve the presentation of stimuli designed so that their meaning or interpretation is determined by the respondent who has to structure and impose meaning into the task. The basic assumption is that this injection of meaning will reflect the personality, concerns and interests of the respondent" (Walker 1985, 102). Projective research was originally used in psychology, to "demonstrate that internal physiological and psychological motives are revealed in the processes of sensory perception and selective interpretation of events" (Walker 1985, 103). In other words, the aim was for respondents to let go of their self-awareness and the pressure of social norms, to find out what motivations lie behind.

The photographs are thus not used as data themselves, but as data generators. This is called photo-elicitation, and can take two forms: the researcher can take the pictures and present them to the respondents, or, as this study aimed to do, the photos can be taken by the interviewees themselves. "This form of photo-elicitation was termed autodiving, indicating that the interview is driven by informants who are seeing their own behaviour (Heisley & Levy in Hurwoth 2003,2). The underlying idea is that "photographs presented to others are typically embedded in a verbal context delineating what should be attended to and what significances are located in the image, and providing contextual data necessary for understanding them" (Musello in Schwartz 1989, 121). Photographs thus elicit narratives from the respondents about their lives, experiences and attitudes. Moreover, they generally create a flow of information that verbal cues can not always

provide. Collier compared interviewing with photographs and interviewing with strictly verbal probes, and discovered that “the cycle of verbal interviewing went from good to poor, and second and third interviews were difficult and sometimes impossible to make. Interviews with photographs retained the same level of return from the first to the third visit” (Collier 1967, 47).

Photographs thus seem to have significant benefits when used in the interview context. Hurworth mentions them as “a bridge between psychological and physical realities”, “assisting in building rapport and trust” and “preferable to conventional interviews for many participants” (Hurworth 2003, 3). Collier also states that “photographs sharpen the memory and give the interview an immediate character”. Another benefit is that “skilfully presented photographs prevent the informant from wandering out of the research area. “Without verbal pressure, another photograph drawn from your briefcase will bring the conversation back into the field of study. Photo-interviewing allows for very structured conversation without any of the inhibitive effects of questionnaires or compulsive verbal probes. Photographs reduce stress by relieving the informant of being the *subject* of the interrogation” (Collier 1967, 48).

Still, the technique also has certain disadvantages. First of all there is the technical side of things: the informants were provided with disposable cameras, and although they are of a good standard, there was no guarantee that the pictures would be of sufficient quality to be used in the interview. The respondents could forget the camera, not take any pictures or not get them developed in time. There is also a privacy issue here: some respondents might not have been willing to share pictures of their holiday with the researcher. Keeping these disadvantages in mind, it was decided that the photographs would be a useful, but not essential part of the interview. They would partly replace the verbal prompts in interviews where they are available, but in cases where there are no photographs verbal prompts will take over.

In the case of this research, most interviews were conducted with verbal cues, as only a small minority of the respondents had the pictures developed by the time of the interview. Even though the respondents could have the development of the pictures reimbursed, or they could send the film via freepost to the researcher to develop, the response to this offer was very low. Seeing that a financial incentive was in place, it can only be assumed that the timescale (2 weeks to 1 month) was too short for this particular group to get the development organised. Another possible explanation was that the respondents simply did not believe it was worth the effort. In the 3 cases where pictures were used, they were found to be a very useful “ice-breaker” and a pleasant introduction to the interview.

6.5.7. Confidentiality

At the beginning of the interview, the interviewees were asked to sign an agreement of informed consent (see appendix 5), specifying that they contribute to this study on their own accord and that they have the right to withdraw their co-operation at any time. Their consent to be tape-recorded was itself recorded on tape. A technique to make this procedure less daunting was to ask the participants if they have any preference about a certain pseudonym. This pseudonym will then be used to refer to them in the study. The aim of this question was to break the ice at the beginning of the interview and to make the atmosphere more informal. In the cases where the respondents did not express a preference for a particular pseudonym, one was allocated arbitrarily by the researcher.

6.6. Conclusion

Based on the methodological observations of chapter 5, this chapter has justified the research methods, and has elaborated on the practical organisation and coding procedures of the study. Due to the specific characteristics of the respondent group and the potentially sensitive nature of the interview or focus group, great care was taken to adopt a sensitive approach that would result in a high response rate for both rounds of the fieldwork. The whole interview process was planned in great detail; some elements proved very successful (e.g. creating rapport through informal interview style and setting), whilst others were less so (e.g. photo-elicitation methods).

The next chapter reviews one main source of existing data evidence, which was used to prepare the questions for this study: the 2004 Family Holiday Association feedback report. The measures for success in this document are analysed and compared to the ones that were proposed in chapter 4. This report, together with the concepts from the literature review, will also support the formulation of the basic questions that were used to guide the interviews and focus groups.

7. Existing evidence

7.1. Introduction

There is very little research evidence which examines the potential benefits of social tourism on its participants. An interesting source of information was the feedback record of the Family Holiday Association, the only national social tourism charity in the UK. These data are extracted from their 2004 feedback report, assembled on the basis of feedback forms the participants and their welfare agents sent back in the month after their return. The data are useful as an indication of which aspects of the holiday the participants experienced as benefits and how their welfare agents viewed the role of the holiday. The results were helpful material when designing the questions for the interviews in this study.

7.2. Family feedback

(Data collected from 419 families)

Families were asked to tick from a list provided all the things they liked about the holiday, and then to tick the one they liked the most. However, the results presented show an inconsistency with these instructions. Some respondents did not identify the one they liked the most. Quite a number ticked more than one item for “liked the most”, some even ticked them all, or ticked more items here than in the list of things they liked. This has resulted in a greater number of responses than the number of respondents for “the very best thing”, even though this is technically a single-response question. Data presented below reflect total numbers ticked for each item. This study aims to minimise the effects of misinterpretation by using qualitative, face-to-face methods. If it would become clear that the respondent has misunderstood the question, it can be rephrased immediately.

What the families liked

Figure 10: What the families liked (i)

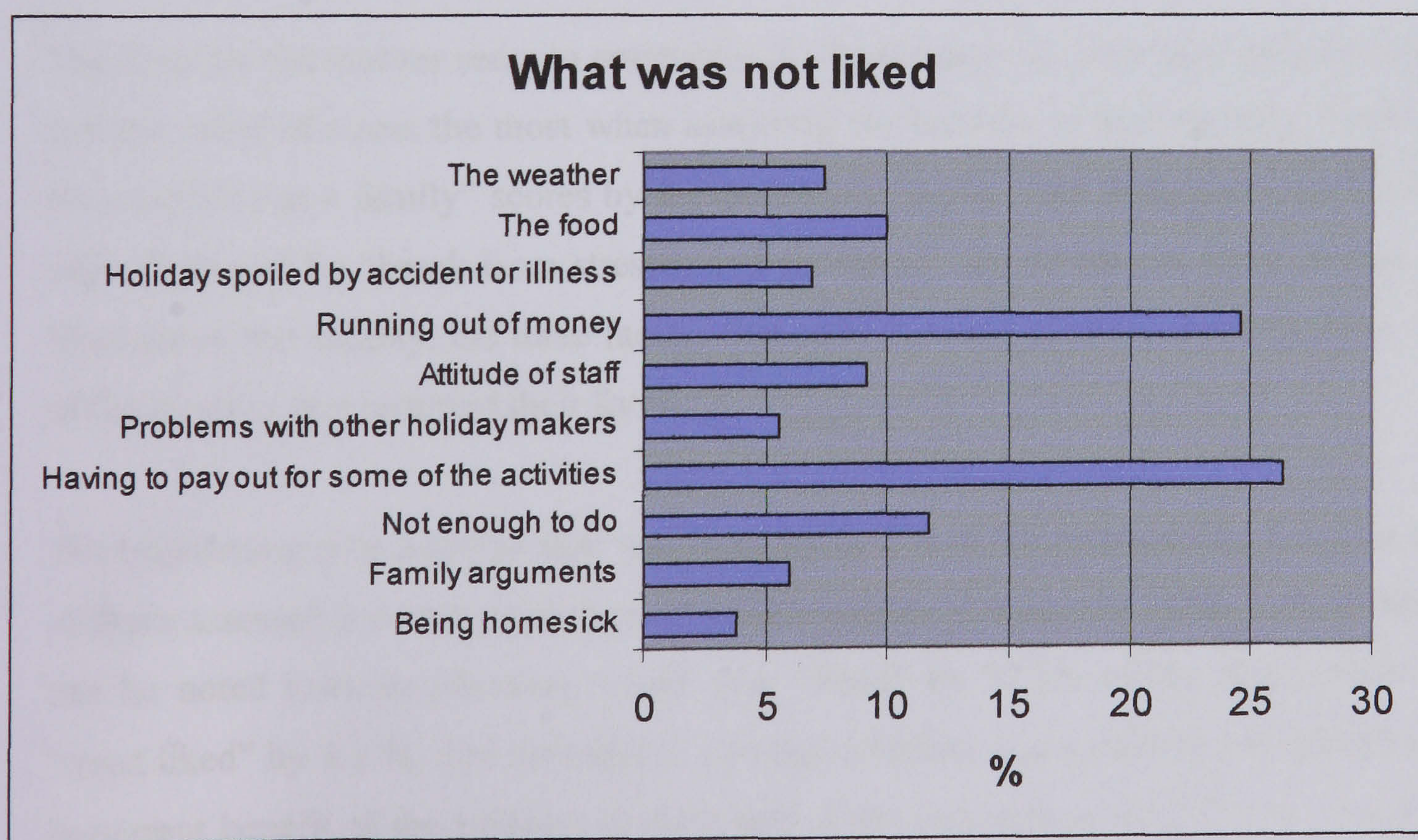
What was liked about holiday	Ticked as liked		The very best thing	
	No.	%	No.	%
Spending time together as a family	242	57.8	160	38.2
Trying out new activities	225	53.7	27	6.4
Going to new places	278	66.3	28	6.7
Freedom to choose what to do all day	285	68.0	23	5.5
Getting away from home	328	78.3	57	13.6
Break from stresses and problems	279	66.6	100	23.9
Meeting new people, making friends	213	50.8	23	5.5
Excitement of planning/getting ready	242	57.8	38	9.1
Having store of happy memories for future	262	62.5	47	11.2
Total			503	120

**PAGE
NUMBERING
AS ORIGINAL**

Figure 14: What the families did not like (i)

What was NOT liked about holiday	Ticked as not liked		The very worst thing	
	No.	%	No.	%
Being homesick	16	3.8	4	1
Family arguments	25	6.0	18	4.3
Not enough to do	49	11.7	23	5.5
Having to pay out for some of the activities	110	26.3	45	10.7
Problems with other holiday makers	23	5.5	11	2.6
Attitude of staff	38	9.1	11	2.6
Running out of money	103	24.6	94	22.4
Holiday spoiled by accident or illness	29	6.9	16	3.8
The food	42	10.0	13	3.1
The weather	31	7.4	15	3.6
Total			250	59.6

Figure 15: What the families did not like (ii)



The options the families can choose from can be linked to more general aspects of social inclusion. Although the concrete examples given in the list are not synonyms of the more general inclusion factors, they can generally be seen as steps towards achieving a greater level of inclusion. They can be linked as in the following table.

Figure 13

<i>Aspects linked to combating social exclusion</i>	<i>FHA criteria</i>
Building internal and external relationships, increasing social capital and social opportunity	Spending time together as a family Meeting new people, making friends
Broaden travel horizons	Going to new places
Relieve stress, improve mental (and physical) health, encourage to analyse and improve own situation	Freedom to choose what to do all day Getting away from home Break from stresses and problems
Boost self-esteem and confidence, provide learning opportunities	Having store of happy memories for the future Trying out new activities

The families themselves seem to emphasise the importance of good internal relationships and the relief of stress the most when assessing the benefits of their holiday. “Spending time together as a family” scores by far the highest in the “best thing about the holiday” table, followed by “break from stresses and problems”. In the general table of what was liked about the holiday, the three factors that refer to relief of stress were ticked by 65% of the families that returned their form.

The broadening of travel horizons was liked by 66.3% of the respondents, but only 6.7% of them assessed it as the major benefit of the holiday. An equally rather neutral attitude can be noted towards planning, which was “liked” by 57.8% of the respondents, and “most liked” by 9.1 %. The building of external relations was generally considered a less important benefit of the holiday, as only half of the respondents ticked it as “liked” and

only 5% as “most liked”. Trying out new activities also scores relatively low as “liked” by 53.7% and “most liked” by 6.4%.

One can thus conclude that although each benefit has a score of minimally 50%, the ones that refer to the family unit and operate on “private” level generally score higher than the ones operation on a more “public” level (social capital), like trying new things, going new places and meeting new people. The respondents seem to be grateful for being away from stresses and worries, as on holiday they have time to develop better relationships with themselves and the people closest to them. A question to consider in the research is thus if these more positive internal relationships also reflect on an external level after the holiday, when the respondents have the opportunity to apply this newfound well-being in daily life. One can ask if higher self-esteem and better relationships give the respondents more strength to deal with the daily routine, or if on the contrary these improvements do not stand a chance when the reality of daily life takes over. The welfare agents’ feedback generally supports these conclusions, as will be explained in more detail in 7.3.

What the families did not like

Families were asked to tick from a list provided those things they did not like about the holiday, and then to tick the one they disliked the most. As with the previous question, there are inconsistencies between the question asked and the consequent response, as some did not identify the one most disliked. And again, quite a number ticked more than one item. Many respondents on the other hand did not answer this question at all, or did not tick “the very worst thing” because they found the question inapplicable. This reflects very positively on the holiday experience of these respondents. Data presented below reflects total numbers ticked for each item.

Figure 14: What the families did not like (i)

What was NOT liked about holiday	Ticked as not liked		The very worst thing	
	No.	%	No.	%
Being homesick	16	3.8	4	1
Family arguments	25	6.0	18	4.3
Not enough to do	49	11.7	23	5.5
Having to pay out for some of the activities	110	26.3	45	10.7
Problems with other holiday makers	23	5.5	11	2.6
Attitude of staff	38	9.1	11	2.6
Running out of money	103	24.6	94	22.4
Holiday spoiled by accident or illness	29	6.9	16	3.8
The food	42	10.0	13	3.1
The weather	31	7.4	15	3.6
Total			250	59.6

Figure 15: What the families did not like (ii)

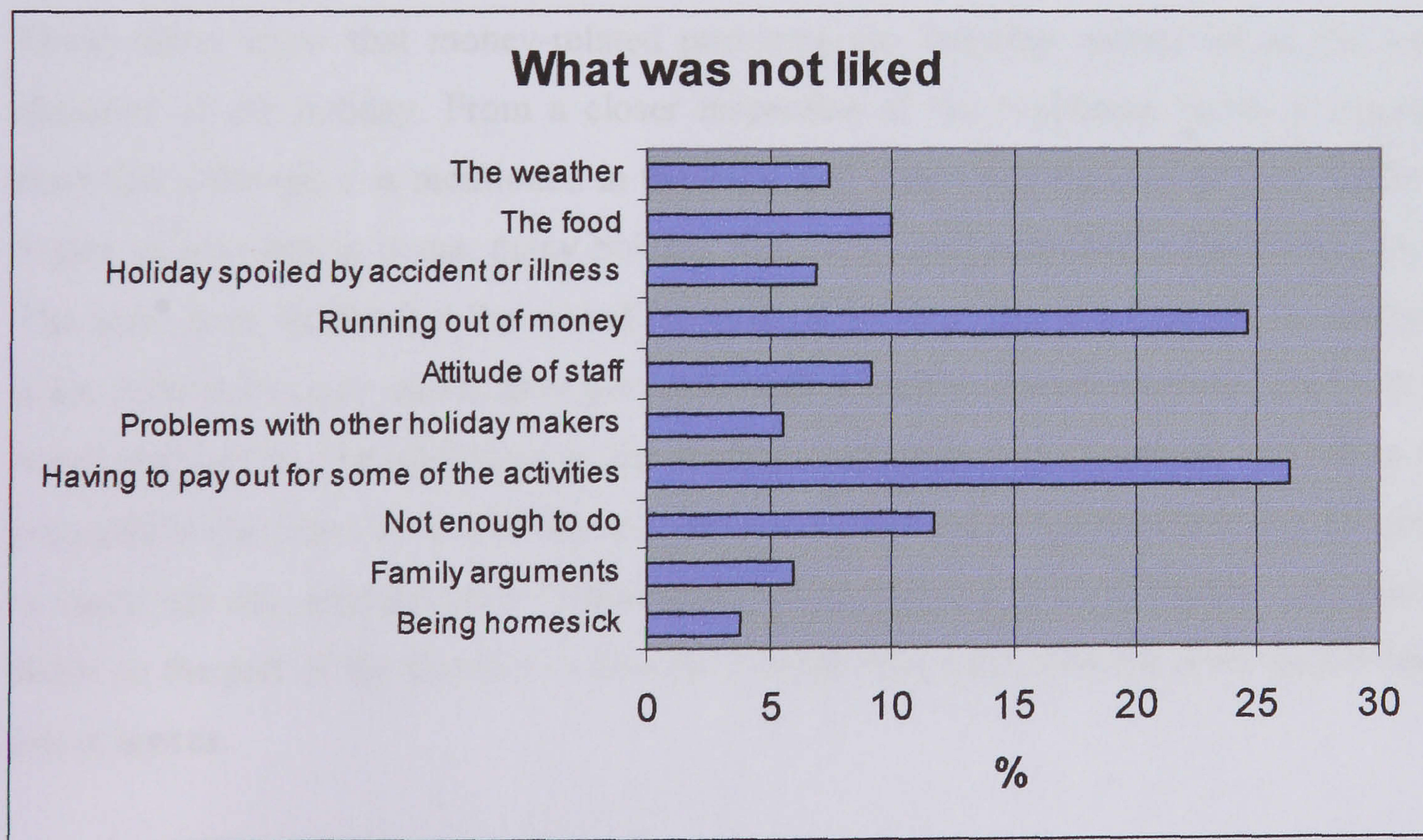
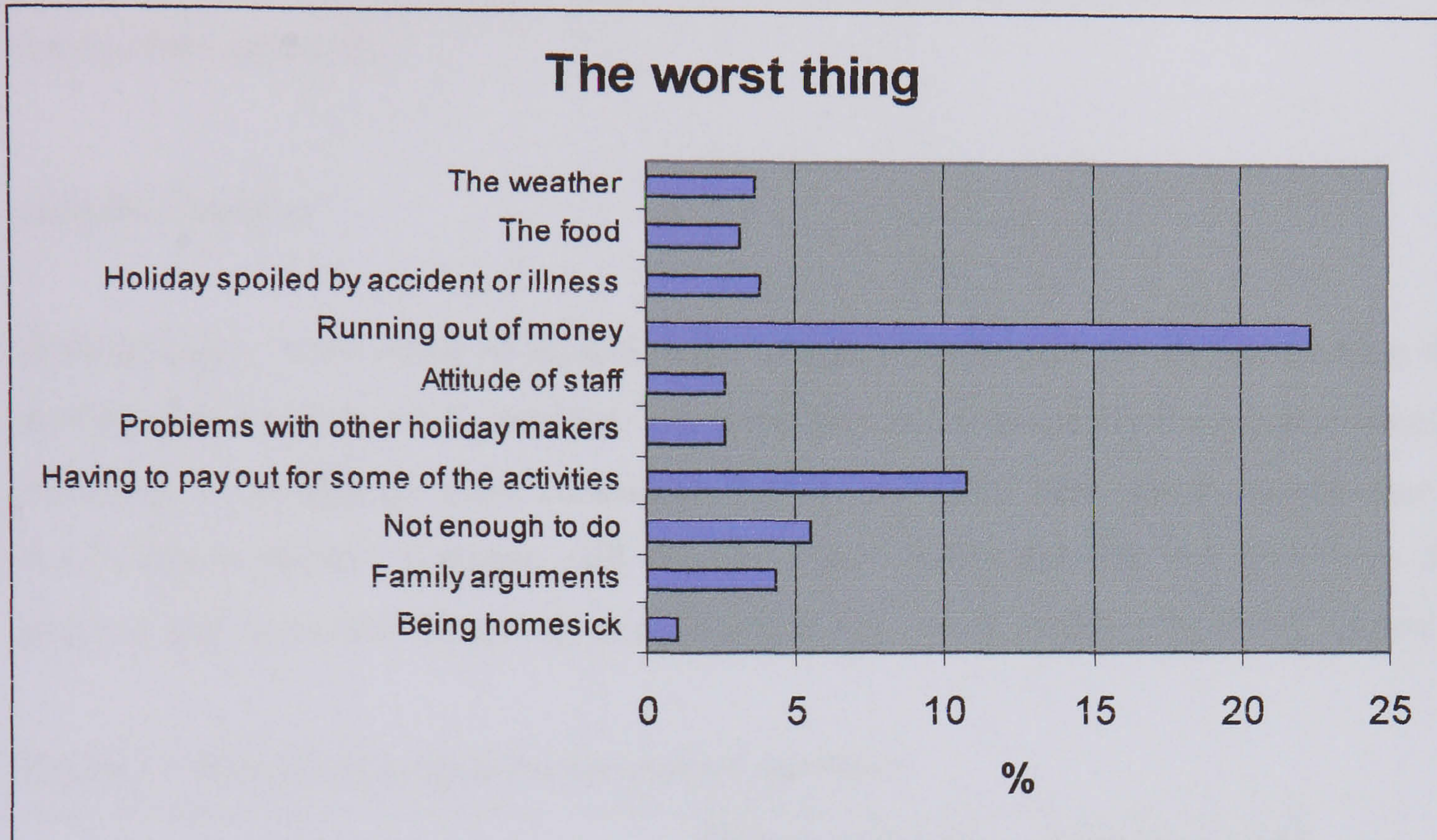


Figure 16: What the families disliked most



These tables show that money-related problems are definitely perceived as the worst elements of the holiday. From a closer inspection of the evaluation forms it becomes clear that although it is mentioned in the FHA fact sheets that the cost of food might be higher on site than at home, many holiday makers are still surprised at the higher prices. The same goes for the fact that not all attractions are free. One can thus ask the question if the reported money issues have got to do with a fault in communication (maybe these issues need to be stressed more in the correspondence before departure), a fault in the preparation (families have read the correspondence but fail to react upon it, e.g. by going to shops off-site, packing own food/cleaning products) or a lack of budget management skills on the part of the families in general. All the other categories received significantly lower scores.

7.3. Welfare agent feedback

(based on data from 204 welfare agents, 158 coupled with a family form, 46 with no family form returned)

Benefits identified

Welfare agents were asked to identify what benefits they felt the family gained from the holiday, ticking from a list provided, and were then asked to specify the greatest benefit. Although the results are more consistent with the questions here, some irregularities in the “greatest benefit” question still remain. Many WA’s did tick one benefit as the greatest, but others did not specify any particular one, which explains these irregularities.

Figure 17: Benefits identified by the welfare agents (i)

Benefits	Ticked as benefit		Greatest benefit	
	No.	%	No.	%
Improvement to general relationships	118	57.8	32	15.7
Improvement in specific relationships	80	39.2	8	3.9
Improvement in mental health	99	48.5	78	38.2
Improvement in physical health	51	25.0	4	2
Better able to cope	119	58.3	16	7.8
Appreciation of culture	9	4.4	1	0.5
Expanded social opportunities	124	60.8	17	8.3
Gained new skills	59	28.9	3	1.5
Broadened horizons	139	68.1	8	3.9
Total			167	81

Figure 18: Benefits identified by welfare agents (ii)

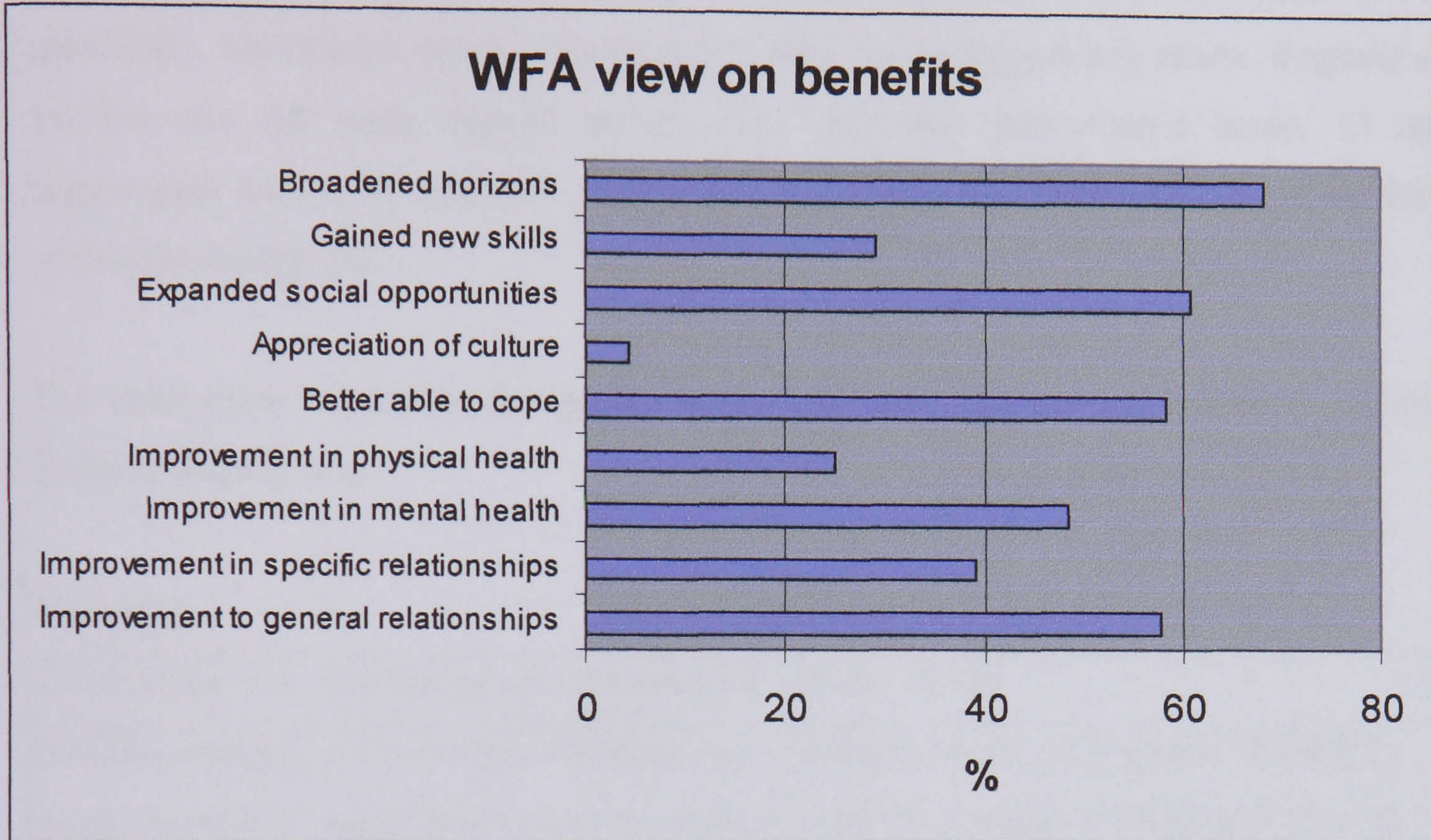
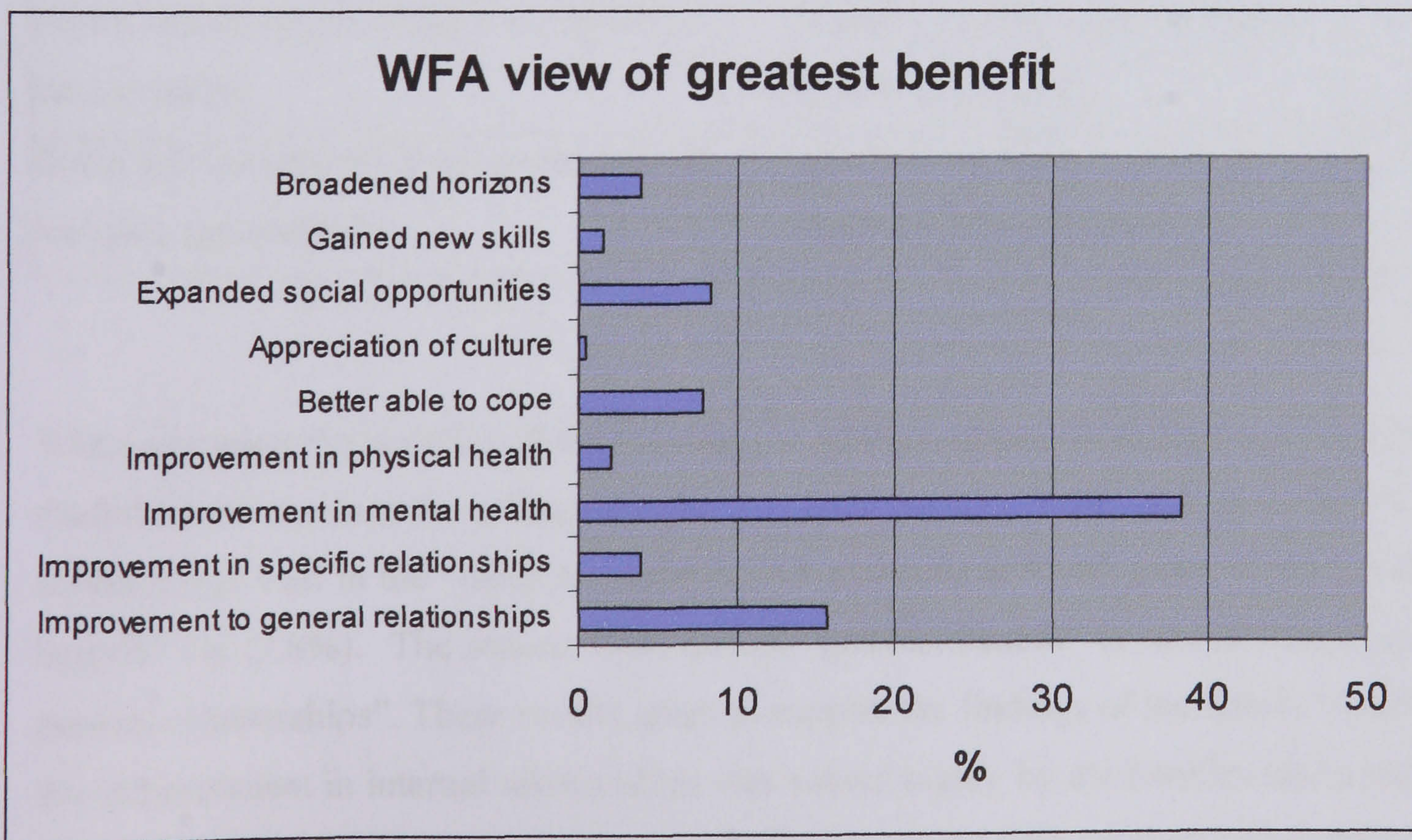


Figure 19: Welfare agents' view on greatest benefit



The welfare agents were also asked to identify any negative effects on families, from two specified – not enough money, and missed home – or to suggest any others. 6 agents said families did not have enough money, one said they had missed home. 13 other suggestions had to do with the accommodation (4), health issues (5) and other issues within the family (4).

The assessment criteria for this group can be linked to more general inclusion categories in the following way:

Figure 20

<i>Aspects linked to combating social exclusion</i>	<i>WA criteria</i>
Building internal and external relationships, increasing social capital and social opportunity	Improvement in general relationships Improvement in specific relationships Expanded social opportunities
Broaden travel horizons	Broadened horizons
Relieve stress, improve mental (and physical) health, encourage to analyse and improve own situation	Improvement in mental health Improvement in physical health Better able to cope
Boost self-esteem and confidence, provide learning opportunities	Gained new skills Appreciation of culture

When assessing the benefits of the holiday, the welfare agents value the improvement in mental health the most by a large margin. A related issue is “better able to cope”, which scores rather well in the “benefits” list (58.3%), and ends at fourth place in the “greatest benefit” list (7.8%). The second most quoted “greatest benefit” is “the improvement in general relationships”. These results seem to support the findings of the family feedback: the improvement in internal relationships was valued highly by the families and seems to still be in place after their return. The welfare agent agrees with the high value placed on

this improvement. A break from stress seems to result in the improvement of mental health, which is valued highly by both the families and their welfare agents. In comparison with the family assessment criteria, the rather general “broadening of horizons” can be interpreted in two ways: going to new places and trying new activities. It follows the family feedback’s trend though that it is much “liked” by the welfare agents (68.1%), but not often seen as the greatest benefit (3.9%). The introduction of culture was valued as rather unimportant (4.4% as benefit, 0.5% as greatest benefit).

Rather problematic is the general “expanded social opportunities”. The word “opportunities” here is confusing: one can ask if it refers to the theoretical possibility of the family interacting with others, or to actual external interactions. Based on the families’ rather low appreciation of “meeting new people, making new friends”, one tends to prefer the first meaning, which then stresses the families’ break from social isolation in general. This would be a possible explanation why this criterion is assessed as a benefit by 60.8% of the responding welfare agents (ending in 2nd place after the equally general “broadening horizons”), and as the greatest benefit by 8.3% (ending in 3rd place).

7.4. “Private” vs “public” benefits

Based on the data in this feedback report, it seems important to make a distinction between “private” benefits (improvement in mental health, in family relationships, in the ability to cope) on the one hand and “public” benefits (relations with new people, trying of new activities, learning new skills) on the other hand. This report indicates that the holiday seems to affect the private aspects more than the public aspects, which would mean social holidays could improve family capital, but are less likely to influence the social capital of the individual family members. This could be related to the fact that all feedback forms need to be sent back to FHA within four weeks: how the benefits of the holiday develop after those four weeks is not taken into account by this feedback report.

This distinction between “private” and “public” benefits could play an important role in the ethical justification of visitor-related social tourism. Individualised theories can only

justify public funding for this form of tourism if a number of measures of success are achieved, and if the holiday benefits more than just the participants, but also society itself. Although it was shown in chapter 3 that an increase in family capital benefits both the individual and society, the argument for social tourism as a policy would be stronger if it also increases the social capital of the individual family members.

The feedback report does not differentiate between holiday types when discussing the benefits of social tourism, so it is unclear if individual and group holidays result in the same benefits, or if they vary. In this study, group holidays and individual family holidays will be compared to see if these differences exist, and if so, if recommendations can be made to maximise the benefits, both “public” and “private”.

7.5. Interview questions

The questions for the interviews and focus groups were based on the concepts of the literature review on the one hand, and the statistical data from FHA on the other hand. They aim to evaluate the social holiday from the participant’s point of view and from the welfare agent’s point of view. They focus on both the “public” and the “private” benefits of the holiday, and are designed to be very open, so that the respondents can add new benefits if applicable.

The following questions were used to guide the interviews and focus groups with the participants:

Why did you apply for a holiday?
Was the holiday as you expected it to be?
Did this holiday have any benefits at all?
What would you consider to be the most important benefit of this holiday for yourself?
What would you consider to be the most important benefit of this holiday for other family members?
Has your outlook on life changed since the holiday ?
Have your family relations changed since the holiday? How?
What, if any, were the benefits of this holiday on your state of mind?
Did it have any effects on your stress levels? (or of other members in your family?) If probed: do you feel more relaxed? Less stressed? More in control?
Did it have any effect on your emotional state of mind? (or of other members in your family?) If probed: do you feel happier? Less anxious? Better able to cope?
What, if any, were the benefits of this holiday on your physical well-being?
Has your self-confidence changed since this holiday? How? Do you judge yourself differently now?
Has this holiday encouraged you to visit more new places in your local area? How many new places have you visited? Is that more than before? Why?
Has this holiday changed how you interact with other people? How?
Would you say you have learnt anything from this holiday?

The constant link of the questions to the holiday aims to establish causal relations between the holiday experience and the change in attitude of the participant. This is to target the confound and the counterfactual problem of assessing social policies (see chapter 6): this study wants to investigate the effects of the holiday in particular, not of another social policy. It is interested in effects that would not have occurred without the

holiday. When causal relationships between the holiday and the changes are discovered, it will be researched how the participants value these changes. The same principles have guided the question for the welfare agents.

The following questions were used to guide the interviews with the welfare agents:

How did the holiday affect the family?
What do you think was the most important benefit for the family?
Were there any negative effects on the family?
Can you think of concrete examples of changes in their behaviour/attitudes/everyday lives?
Have you noticed any changes in their physical health/mental health/self-esteem/travel patterns/personal relations (whichever were not mentioned before)
How would you describe your role in their holiday experience? (facilitating only – help preparing – discussing afterwards)

7.6. Conclusion

Chapters 5, 6 and 7 have discussed the methodology, methods and existing evidence on which the fieldwork of this study is based. They result in a carefully planned, but still open research design: this study does not test an already existing theory, but aims to construct a theory on the basis of the respondents' answers. The open nature of the questions allows respondents to add new elements to the discussion, and also aims to create a more informal atmosphere, which should increase the trust of the respondents and their rapport with the interviewer.

The next chapter will present the results of the first round of interviews and focus groups, conducted in the first month after the holiday. It will discuss the effects of the holiday on the personal and family development of the participants, and draw preliminary conclusions about the conditions for successful holidays.

8. Interview results first round

8.1. Introduction

The following three chapters present the findings of the fieldwork for this study. This chapter is based on the findings of the first round of interviews, conducted in the first month after the holiday. The findings include benefits for the family development of the participants, and their individual personal development. This can be linked to the “private” (family capital) and “public” (social capital) benefits as discussed in chapter 7.

Chapter 9 will discuss the results of the second round of interviews, carried out in the sixth month after the holiday. Again, both the effects on family and personal development will be discussed. In this chapter, some elements will also be interpreted further. This has to do with the research design: because of a grounded theory approach, data collection and analysis happen almost simultaneously, so that the acts of reporting the findings and preliminarily analysing them are often hard to separate. This continuous comparative analysis makes it almost inevitable that when the results of the second round are presented, they should be related back to the results of the first round.

In chapter 10 the two rounds of interviews are then formally analysed and linked back to the literature of chapters 2, 3 and 4. The benefits of visitor-related social tourism for low-income groups will be presented over time, different holiday forms will be compared and recommendations will be made for successful social holidays.

In all three chapters, the answers of the respondents have been quoted literally and without changes to vocabulary and grammar, to preserve their authenticity. It also needs to be noted here that the word “family” in the context of this research is used in the non-nuclear sense of “household” and describes people living together as a unit. This does not automatically mean they are married or the children in the family are biologically related to all adults. In many cases the respondents were single parents. Often they took an adult

on holiday who is not strictly part of the family unit: an ex-partner living at another address, a family member or a friend.

8.2. Motivations and benefits of the holiday

Of the 25 families interviewed, only four spoke of slight worries before leaving on the holiday. One was worried about her daughter who had hypoglycemia, one had just moved into a new home and found the timing a bit difficult, and two were slightly worried if they would get along with the group they were going on holiday with. Still, even in these cases the families were looking forward to going, and generally the period of looking forward to the holiday was described as a very enjoyable part of the process. This applied to the families who organized the whole holiday themselves, as well as to families who received a lot of help of their welfare agent. Lindsey, a single mother who went on a group holiday with some of her friends, said:

Lindsey (participant): It was quite good actually, to actually be able to think about them (holidays)

Interviewer: Do you mean the preparation to go away?

L: Yeah. It's quite exciting. Just getting all that stuff sorted and getting cracking on.

Int: And you thought that was a fun thing to do?

L: Yeah. Normally it's an annoying thing to do. I remember when I went a few years ago, in fact, many, many years ago, oh my God. But the fact that it was all organised... This time I really enjoyed it. (post-holiday interview 1)

Of the welfare agents, seven mentioned the importance of the build-up process for the holiday experience, saying it gives the family something to look forward to in the future.

Welfare agent Leanne describes it as follows:

Leanne (WFA): It's knowing that you go on holiday gives them something to look forward to, which is nice, and the children talk about it beforehand. It is nice to have something to look forward to, because very often these families don't have much to look forward to. Just more debts. [...] So I've heard mum say "you won't do that when we're on holiday", or "you must be good or you won't go on holiday". You know it is something that they are working towards, looking forward to. (post-holiday interview 1)

As the main reason for going, two issues stand out for 23 of the 25 family interviews. The first one is the fact that the family has not been away for a long time. One of the criteria of the Family Holiday Association is that the family should not have taken a holiday in the last four years, but for many families it has been a lot longer since they left the house for a couple of days. Often the FHA holiday is the first holiday as a family, or in the family unit as it stands at the time. Five families also mentioned the sense of shame at not being able to afford a holiday, which is seen as something “all other families do”.

The second reason for wanting a holiday is the opportunity it provides to work on family relations. This can take many forms: nine families wanted to spend more time with their children, four families wanted to work on the relationship between the parents as a couple, and three families wanted to use the holiday as a way of letting the children get used to a new family structure (e.g. new sibling, mother left the abusive partner, father has taken children out of care). In one case the family used the holiday money to visit family abroad. The importance of a holiday for the family relations will be discussed further in 8.4.

As the biggest benefit of the holiday, the aspects most often mentioned by the families and the welfare agents were: (i) spending time as a family and working on family relations, (ii) getting away from the daily worries and stresses, (iii) meeting new people and (iv) doing new activities. The first two were mentioned by the majority of the interviewees, and, as will be discussed in more detail in the following paragraphs, often go hand in hand on the holiday. It needs to be stressed that the results were very similar for most interviewees, even though they often come from very different backgrounds. Rachel, a very independent single mother of an autistic son who works full-time, described the major benefit of her holiday as:

Rachel (participant): Relaxing time... yeah, putting my thoughts together. Like I had been, for 10 years, working non-stop. And then I realised that, maybe for someone in my situation it is a bit too much. I needed to think what I really want, and need a break of at least three months, and then carry on. Otherwise I am going to break myself in pieces. (post-holiday interview 1)

Vicky equally describes the biggest benefit of the holiday as “a break away from the routine”, even though her situation is completely different: she has a partner and is a full-time mother of two young children. Her answer was:

Vicky (participant): Yeah, just being away doing something fun, rather than sitting at home nagging the kids all day, all the time. Because they get up to mischief, but there they could go swimming and stuff, and playing. They were well behaved too, that was good. (post-holiday interview 1)

The greatest motivation for the holiday and the biggest benefit of the holiday are very similar in many cases. The satisfaction of the holiday is often measured by the degree to which the motivation for going was fulfilled: families who wanted to spend a lot of time together and got to do exactly that, were in many cases satisfied with (at least that aspect of) their trip. Still, more conditions need to be fulfilled than just being in the same place together at the same time: a lot of full-time parents for example already spend a lot of time together, but would not necessarily classify this as “quality time”. What sets a holiday apart is often the degree to which the family can get away from routines that put a strain on them, as will be discussed in the next paragraph.

8.3. Holidays as a break from stressful routines and a chance to make a change

Relaxation and a break from stress are key to most holidays, and this is no different for social tourism. This paragraph illustrates the stresses the interviewees generally described in their daily routines, and to what degree they could leave these behind on the holiday. In 8.3.6 it will then be explained further how relaxation is often an important condition for the holiday to generate positive impacts on the daily lives of the respondents.

8.3.1. Routines and boredom lead to “stress”

(It is important to note here that stress is used not in the medical sense, but as a general sense of pressure and haste, as a term quoted from the interviews.)

Most tourists, whether they participate in social tourism or pay for their own holiday, go on a holiday because it takes them away from their daily routines and gives them the opportunity to experience a different lifestyle for a while. In the case of the interviewees for this study this was no different. A problem that was reported by the great majority of welfare agents and families was that daily life for families who experience financial difficulties, or who could be described as socially excluded, is a very boring routine. The quality of the daily life is thus very low, which in many cases was connected to feelings of depression and low self-esteem. As before, there was very little difference between the working parents and the ones that were unemployed. As a working parent of an autistic son, Rachel said:

Interviewer: So that is basically why you wanted a holiday, to relax and get away from all of that?

Rachel (participant): Oh yes, because as I am working 9 to 5 every single day of the week, Monday to Friday, not on Saturdays of course. This is a lot of pressure. My life goes around getting up at 6 – we need a lot of time for him in the morning to get ready. He needs time to wake up, to dress up, do this, do that, so we leave home at 8. Then I take him to breakfast club, then I go to work, coming back at 5, and every day is exactly the same. (post-holiday interview 1)

Kloey, a single mother with two children, describes the same experience:

Kloey (participant): By the time I finish I put my head down, I mean really at 6 o'clock I am just worn out.

Interviewer: What kind of work do you do?

K: Sales assistant, so it's long days. When I am in the store I manage it all, they leave it all to me. In stock, out, everything, dealing with customers... I come from work and I just sleep. Then I have to pick my kids up from after school club, rush home, cook dinner, I

am just worn out, really. Sometimes by eight o'clock I am in bed. Because of all the stress, I am getting tired. (post-holiday interview 1)

Shirlene (who is partially blind and does not work) and David describe the same problems for respondents who are unemployed.

Shirlene (participant): I found it very interesting, I think for everyone, because... most of the time you sit at home, you don't have anywhere to go, you just go to college twice a week. Then you come back in the house, you haven't got anything to do, nowhere to go, you have psychological problems. So you find your mind... you can't think ahead. All the time, you just think: eat and sleep, eat and sleep.

David (participant): Or drink.

S: You become very very stressed. So when you get a holiday like that, you go with your children, you meet different people, you go out, you are happy... you feel your life has changed a bit.

Interviewer: You get away from the routine and doing the same thing all the time?

S: Yeah, I found it very interesting, I didn't want to come back. I met different people, it was good. (post-holiday interview 1)

Katherine is a full-time mother of three children, of which one has severe Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD) and one has behavioural difficulties. The only thing that gets her through the days is her television.

Katherine (participant): Yes, because that is my life at home, my TV, I don't get out at all. When I am home, in every room the TV has got to go on, so I feel I have company in the house. And if it is that mad with the kids, then at least the telly will catch their attention. (post-holiday interview 1)

8.3.2. Holiday as a break from "stress"

Respondents who were generally satisfied with their holiday often described the biggest benefit as getting away from the stress of the daily routine. The holiday gives the families

respite: there are no bills to pay, no cleaning to do. During a successful holiday, even daily chores that still need to be done do not seem as bad according to Kelly:

Kelly (participant): And me doing the same thing day in day out, it's the same routine, day after day, you know, doing the washing and the ironing and the cooking and the cleaning. Well you (partner) do it sometimes but you know. It felt different cooking in the chalet to cooking in the house, for some weird reason, I don't know why, but I enjoyed cooking in the chalet. I don't even enjoy cooking at home! (post-holiday interview 1)

Zoe enjoyed the holiday so much, she called it a *substitute for therapy* (post-holiday interview 1), and her welfare agent Tom agreed that for many participants it was a *relaxation zone* (post-holiday interview 1). Carol, a welfare agent who works with families affected by HIV, also saw the benefit of relaxation on her clients:

Carol (WFA): Definitely, even for me it's very fulfilling if I can see most of my clients who are otherwise miserable and sad and stressed, because of whatever situation, come out feeling relaxed, you know seeing them in a more relaxed atmosphere, out of the HIV environment. (post-holiday interview 1)

Some respondents though experienced the holiday as more stressful still than their everyday life. In many cases these were single parents who went on an individual holiday with small children, and families who were disappointed about the entertainment facilities on the holiday site. Rupert, a single father looking after two toddlers and a daughter from a previous relationship, said:

Rupert (participant): I found it very difficult, I found it no better than being at home really, I still had to cook three meals a day, I still had to look after three kids. There was no babysitting service. [...]

Interviewer: And if you could choose an ideal three-day break away, what would it have looked like, what would you have changed?

R: More activities for the little ones, yeah. More activities for them, or at least a babysitting service. So if there's a parent on their own, they can get help for an hour, even if it's only an hour. Just for a walk, you know, it would have helped a little. (post-holiday interview 1)

The relaxation factor on the holiday is very important as it affects the impact of the holiday to a great extent, as will be shown in the following paragraphs. This is also the reason why certain welfare agents encourage single parents to take a family member or friend on the holiday with them, or to travel in a group. Still, “stress” on a holiday is by no means restricted to single parent families, which emphasises the importance of choosing the right type of holiday for the right family: some will feel comfortable on their own, whereas others might benefit more from supported or group holidays (see also 8.6.2).

8.3.3. Holiday as a break from financial “stress”

Financial stresses are often a very heavy burden on the family life of respondents to social holidays, and many respondents have expressed the joy of being free of financial worries for a period of time. In the case of one group holiday, the welfare agents provided the families with food and even toiletries for four days. The reason they preferred this method over handing out cash, was that this alleviated the stresses of having to spend money.

Abdul (volunteer): What we did, after we were funded by the Family Holiday Association, we got a coach, and all the families were given their compartments, and food for four days, drinks and everything. So we said “this food is for four days, it is up to you, you can take more, but it is for four days”. [...] No, nobody spent anything. We told them we are transferring your home from Croydon to Camber Sands. Even Colgate, we gave them Colgate, foam bath we gave them, for four days. (post-holiday interview 1)

Rachel, who stayed with her family, also describes the joy of not having to spend money:

Rachel (participant): I didn't need to spend extra money at my mum's place, so it's four weeks that I have no money to spend. I think it will be good as well if you book a holiday somewhere else, you know, two weeks with everything included. One of these places that you have in the UK or in Europe. But In my case it works out the same way, I didn't spend any money during these four and a half weeks. (post-holiday interview 1)

Rachel is not the only one who likes the idea of an all-inclusive holiday: the idea is generally popular with welfare agents and families. Katherine, who went to Butlins, describes it as one of the great benefits of the destination:

Katherine (participant): But because of the Butlins holiday, there are that many free things, you can spend as much as you want there or you can spend as little as you want. Even in the wet weather as well, there was always something to do there in the wet weather which was free, like go-carting or swimming, or there's Bob the Builder's Yard, there's the free fair... Something for all the ages. (post-holiday interview 1)

Even so, Katherine was one of the five families who borrowed money to go on a holiday. In most cases these were small loans from family members (mostly parents), but Katherine took out a £1000 loan for the holiday. Kelly borrowed £50 from her father, and Ellie also had to ask her mother for money, which she found stressful:

Ellie (participant): My mum actually paid out for a lot, because I didn't have any other money than what had been sent. So I now owe my mum a lot of money, which is a bit of a nightmare really. I really wasn't expecting you would have to pay for everything. I was not really impressed with that. (post-holiday interview 1)

Six welfare agents described how spending a lot of money is connected to the concept of holidays for their clients. An often-recurring example is the fact that families feel they need an entire new wardrobe for the holiday, and the fact that they don't want to deny their children a lot whilst on holiday. Having enough money to spend on holiday is so important that in one case, families pulled out of a group holiday (a weekend self-

catering in a holiday centre) because the spending money was only £25 per person. The welfare agents of this particular group, Gemma and Katie, testify:

Gemma (WFA): They also said the £25 each spending money wasn't enough to go, so that is why a couple of them didn't go. [...] We find that with some of our families, even though we go on day trips, they take quite a lot of money and they spend on the children. They don't do it very often, so they want to do it right, they want to go over the top. And I think that was probably the case for some of our families as well, because they couldn't, they rather not go.

Katie: We had one family who went to buy new clothes

G: Yeah they went and bought all new clothes, and we are like...why? Some people were shocked, that me and Katie took us own food. "You are working, what are you taking your own food for?" (post-holiday interview 1)

Gemma and Katie actively try to set an example of a more low-cost way to enjoy a family outing, by taking lunches on day trips and by taking their own food on the self-catering holiday, as shops on big holiday sites are often rather expensive. Still, welfare agent Lisa also stresses the importance of money on holiday, and describes how having money worries can take away part of the benefits of the holidays. When asked if her clients wouldn't have preferred a weeklong holiday to a short break, she answers:

Lisa (WFA): It might have done, it might have been nice to go away for a week, but then you've got to think of the added cost, you know. They get £100 towards travelling and things, so they can do nice things while they are down there, and if they haven't got the money it could make them feel even worse. It could lessen the benefit. (post-holiday interview 1)

8.3.4. Change of scenery

Most families (except one) who had a rather negative holiday experience still appreciated the change of scenery a holiday can bring. The home environment is in many cases a source of stress, partly because the daily tasks and routines, but also in some cases because of the nature of the areas where the families live. Aisha, a welfare agent in greater London, describes the area she works in as *very deprived*, and just getting away from this environment as a benefit (*post-holiday interview 1*). Katherine describes how her children hardly go out of the house because of the unsafe estate they live on:

Katherine (participant): And it's nice for them to be able... it's the first time because my kids don't go out here at all. The eldest one doesn't because the ADHD, he is too scared to go out, the other one does a bit. But it was nice you didn't have to worry. Because obviously here, I don't let them out, there they just had the freedom to go out of the door and go. So they had a week of freedom (post-holiday interview 1)

Daniel, a disabled man who lives on a council estate with his 13-year-old son, describes how his home environment almost stopped him from going on a holiday:

Daniel (participant): I wasn't too excited at first, because where my house is is like, where I live, there is a lot of drug users, and I didn't wanna leave me house. But me other neighbours, that'd been away for like four, five months, come back the day we were going. That made me feel a lot better. Up to that point... the week we were going away there was scaffolding up as well. And I am on the second floor, where nobody gets to, but then they put scaffolding. And I've got a back balcony, so someone could get up the balcony. So that was a weight on me mind. But on the holiday I was more relaxed, and so was me son, he's opened up more, he's telling us what he's doing. (post-holiday interview 1)

Welfare agent Carol deals with African clients affected by HIV. She describes how they often feel locked up in their own homes, and particularly enjoyed the change of scenery.

Carol (WFA): Most of them said "we have never been on holiday in the UK", they always thought of going back to their countries of origin for holidays, they didn't realize that there's other places within the UK where they can actually go on holiday. Most of them their immigration status is not resolved, so they feel they can't go anywhere, and they're just stuck in their homes, but they don't know that they can actually take a break within the UK. (post-holiday interview 1)

These examples have stressed the importance of relaxation on the holiday, because it is a very important factor in the degree to which the holiday makes an impact on the daily lives of the respondents. To examine the value of social tourism as a social policy, one needs to examine the positive effects of the holiday on the lives of the respondents after they return, but these are directly related to the holiday itself. Enjoyment and relaxation play a very important role in generating these positive effects as will be shown in the following paragraphs. It will be argued that social tourism mainly generates the desired effects if the right holiday is chosen for the right person. It is important that each holiday

is tailored to the needs of the family, and that a certain degree of relaxation is achieved, if the holiday is to have benefits for them when they return.

8.3.5. Changing the perspective

Of all welfare agents, about half described the escape out of the daily grind as one of the most important benefits of the holiday. Not only does this give parents the time to relax, but it is also an opportunity to step back and look at areas in their daily lives where they might want to make a few changes. The daily stresses and worries the families experience, are the main reason why these changes are not made otherwise, according to many welfare agents. Anne describes it like this;

Anne (WFA): I think the holiday gives them a jumpstart so that they can change things when they come back. I think when you are in the daily grind, you can't see any further, or difference, from this day until tomorrow. But I think on holiday you have got that time when the kids are off swimming or doing whatever, that from what the mums have said, has given them time to think. They sat down to have tea together, which normally doesn't happen, little things like that. And it only takes a couple of times to get them into that routine, but maybe without the holiday that would never have happened. It might seem quite insignificant in the whole scheme of things, but it makes a difference, it is their chance to unwind, to clear any bits and bobs they have to speak to each other about. [...] So the changes they have made are small changes but may lead to much bigger changes. I think they are quite capable of keeping up the changes they have made yeah. They are little things that make their lives easier, and once they have done it a couple of times, they know they can cope. (post-holiday interview 1)

Aisha has a similar point of view:

Aisha (WFA): Because most of the parents here are so immersed in their own problems and issues that they can't see beyond that. They haven't got the time to actually give their children any time, or be able to give to them. So giving them...sending them on these holidays gives them that bit of time, that space away from their home environment, sort of the turmoil in their lives. It's a good thing. I really saw the positive benefits, you know the day after when they came back. (post-holiday interview 1)

Examples of the changes some of the respondents made vary widely, from leaving the present job, or spending more time with the partner or children, to generally feeling more

in control and independent. Underneath are some examples from Ellie, Daniel and Rachel.

Interviewer: Some people say if you go on a holiday it can change your outlook on life a bit. Would you agree with that?

Ellie (participant): Definitely yeah.

I: Did you go through something like that?

E.: I think I did. I had never really done anything on my own so to speak... I know my mum was there to help, but still, she was in the background, especially since she broke her hand. It definitely made me think a lot more about... I have been having some real problems with my partner and sort of realising the fact that I don't need to have someone to cope... So yeah, it helps with that, if you're thinking "I can't do this" (post-holiday interview 1)

Daniel (participant): It was better there because I wasn't worried as much as at home. Everyday we'd do things, and I'd put it behind me more, and we'd enjoy it more. It was a rest for me as well. So yeah, I think it changes. I know as soon as I was out of my life it did bring us closer. [...] Yeah, since we got back we have been out more, and we have been playing cards and other games, you know, he's been active.

Interviewer: More than before?

D: A lot more than before, yeah. (post-holiday interview 1)

Rachel (participant): It has given me the courage to change, because as I was, wasn't very good. There is no point for me to keep a job if I am not being treated fairly. No, I really need to just... change, it doesn't matter if I find a new one or not. I cannot be in a place where you are not treated as you're supposed to.

Interviewer: Do you think you would have made that decision without the holiday too?

R.: The problem is, when you are just in your normal routine, you don't have time sometimes. I don't really have time to watch TV. I prefer to read, but then... I see less than 10 minutes TV every week. I don't really have much time, it's always one thing or the other. We need to do the homework together, he is doing a lot of animation on the computer, which is something that he enjoys a lot... there is one thing or the other and you have no time to think. You do this, do that, and then the day has gone. And then another day, and another day (post-holiday interview 1).

8.3.6. Making concrete changes

Out of the 25 family respondents, more than half commented on changes they have made after their return. In 13 of these cases the changes related directly to the family unit: 12 parents said they aimed to spend more quality time with their children. The importance of the holiday for the parent-child relationship will be discussed in detail in 8.4. Generally the respondents who enjoyed their holiday and were able to relax made the most changes (in all but two cases), but even when the holiday had proved stressful some parents still made a change. Of the group holidays accompanied by a welfare agent, all respondents had made some change or another and had been able to relax. Of the group holiday unaccompanied by a welfare agent, half of the family respondents had made a change, although all respondents described how they had been able to relax.

One welfare agent also links this issue to the intelligence level of the parents and their ability to cope on their own. She says in their case some help might still be needed to make a change after an individual holiday:

Leanne (WFA): I think the ones, probably low ability, less able to cope, the ones that get themselves into terrible money problems, you know that sort of family would just see the holiday as "let's leave all that behind, let's do something really different, forget all about it, and we'll get back to it". Rather than use it as "we're away, we can think more clearly, it's been a nice break now let's look what..." But the more switched on ones, the more motivated ones would say "OK, we've got this week where we are away, we can do some nice things with the children, we'll all enjoy ourselves, what can we do now, this has been so nice, how can we improve what we are doing at home". Because if they really enjoyed the holiday, enjoyed the break, they would say "well, let's not say this was the holiday and go back to how it was. Let's keep some of those nice things". Especially when the children's behaviour improves. If the children's behaviour improves because they are away and they are doing lots of nice things and they start to think "why was the children's behaviour better then? What can we do at home to keep up that improvement? (post-holiday interview 1)

These results would thus indicate that apart from relaxation, there are other conditions which can influence the chance of family respondents making certain changes, like for instance the function of the welfare agent as a role model, the influence of social

contacts, the lack of confidence of trying certain things outside a group. These will be described in more detail in 8.5.

Another impact a holiday can have is that families sometimes adopt a more active lifestyle, and try to go out a bit more as a family or socially. This is a development that was very noticeable in the case of the group holidays. Anthony for instance mentions how his family went to a movie together after the holiday, something they had never done before. In the week following the interview he is also going to meet up with a friend he met on the holiday to watch the football together. (*post-holiday interview 1*). Sandra says that since the holiday, she gets more involved in the activities SureStart organise (*post-holiday interview 1*). Of all the group holiday participants, only two said there was no difference to their activity level, but one of them added they already had the habit of going out and about before the holiday.

In the group of the individual family holiday participants, only three interviewees mentioned a change in this area of their life. (Also here it needs to be mentioned that four families described their lifestyle as rather active already.) Carry describes herself as *less lazy*, (*post-holiday interview 1*) and Kelly has made a lot of changes to be more active:

Kelly (participant): Yeah, we went to the park, didn't we?

Partner: Yeah, we've been out every weekend so far.

K: I am trying to arrange to go swimming on a Friday afternoon. Callum's (son) been on about drama club down at school, so he's done drama down at school, I signed him up for that, and he wants to do that again. And they have got an after school club, which is free, I signed him up for that.

P: And a basketball club

K: Yeah, he's done basketball as well there. So he's doing things down at the school, and we take you out during the day, don't we?(to Millie, daughter) We went to the park. (post-holiday interview 1)

8.4. *Holiday as a chance for family development*

8.4.1. Effects of the holiday on the family unit

As indicated in previous paragraphs, holidays can have big impacts on the family relations and dynamics of the respondents. They are often the main motivation behind the holiday, and an improvement in family relations is also often mentioned as the biggest benefit of the holiday. If the respondents make certain changes after the holiday, it is often in this domain. The research generated many examples of improvements in family relations, between the parents and the children, the adults as a couple or between siblings. In some cases, the holiday was also used to allow the children to adjust to new family members or a new family structure. Some examples of each category follow.

Welfare agent Isabelle describes how in families with a child with disabilities, the parents often use the holiday to give the children without disabilities some extra attention:

Isabelle (WFA): I believe... doing something in general, going there, changing the place. Most of them have not only one child with a disability, but have a few others, younger or older, and they have to give something to those other children. All the attention is usually for the disabled child. So I believe... just going, just changing everything, enjoying a different place. That's the main thing. (post-holiday interview 1)

Daniel describes how he communicates a lot better with his teenage son since the holiday.

Daniel (participant): It's a lot better yeah. He's certainly opened up more, at one time he wouldn't speak to anybody, like when you'd say, how was work. But now he's like "I am doing this today", "I am doing that today". He's looking forward to go to college, and everything seems to be falling into place. He's happy now. (post-holiday interview 1)

For Kloey the holiday was aimed at letting the children adjust to their new structure as a single parent family.

Kloey (participant): It was my first holiday as a family, I had never been on a holiday as a family before, with my children. That was the main thing. [...] Yeah, I wanted to get closer, and see that it was just me now, as their parent, and moving on. (post-holiday interview 1)

The holiday can also have important implications for the relationship between the partners or ex-partners in the family. Anthony says the holiday away basically saved the relationship with his partner:

Anthony (participant): We hadn't had the opportunity of being together a lot, but ever since we came back you know, we have a lot more time together and since then things are much better. [...] As I said, before we went... how can I put it in a very subtle way...(laughs) we... the communication often suffered. But since we went there, and since the family has been back, things are much better, I have noticed a big change in her. She looks quite happy. That's one of the main highlights of the holiday for me. [...]The holiday was crucial, like starting from a clean slate. We needed to get away from the routine, we were stuck in our problems, and there was just no way to express yourself. I didn't like the idea of going on a holiday before, but would recommend it to others now. (post-holiday interview 1)

Katherine also describes the changes there have been in her relationship since the holiday:

Interviewer: Was that the idea of the holiday, so that you and your husband could be together a little bit?

Katherine (participant): Yes, because I always find we are mother and father of the kids, we don't spend any quality time together, separate from the kids. It would have been nice to go out for a meal or something and at least there we could do that. When he was in the crèche we went out for a meal on our own. It was nice, we crammed in everything other people do in a year (laughs). [...]Yes, I did a lot of thinking. What it made me think is: when I come back home now, I have to try to make more time for me and my husband, because I enjoyed being with him there. With the stresses and the strains at home you have no time for him, you just think "go away", they just get on your nerves. But being on holiday, and being a couple again, it just gives you that nice time, and I thought to myself I have to try and make that time again for me and him. You know, he could have walked out of the door before now and I wouldn't have cared, but that holiday did bring us closer together. (post-holiday interview 1)

Casey also noticed a difference in the relationship between her and her ex-partner, who is the father of her two children. She answers the question if there have been changes in her family relations as follows:

Casey (participant): I think I have, with their dad. Have I? Has anything happened since then? I don't think there has, has there? Before he would like do things and we would fight a lot. There hasn't actually been a fight since then. [...] I don't know, maybe he respects just how hard work it is with them all, maybe he looks at me a bit different and thinks wow, she has them all the time. And maybe he saw how hard they are to look after, and he respects me a bit more. (post-holiday interview 1)

These changes in the family relations can have important consequences for the behaviour of the children and the well-being of the family in general. Paragraph 8.4.6 looks at this issue in greater detail.

8.4.2. Effects of the holiday on the children

The interviews showed that holidays can have a range of benefits for the adults in the family, but that it can also be a very important time for children to gain new skills and experiences, which can lead to a change in behaviour on as well as after the holiday. An example is Daniel's teenage son, who made new friends on the holiday, even though at home he has little contact with his peers:

Interviewer: You said he brought mates home... there were other people of his age?

Daniel (participant): Yeah, I mean, that's where it got better because, when he was there, he was with people of his own age. But at home, he gets on with a lot younger people, like 10 and under, or older people, like in their 30s and 40s. He doesn't mix with anybody his own age. [...]

I: Do you think on holiday he got a bit more confidence, meeting people of his own age?

D: I think so yeah.

I: Is he quite a confident person normally?

D: Not really. He'll put a brave face on but you can tell he's nervous. As I said, the only friends he has of his own age is at school. None of his school friends come out to visit. (post-holiday interview 1)

Although parents and children thus can benefit from a holiday, an improvement in the lives of the children was reported by 21 out of 25 of the respondents (9 out of 11 individual holidays and 12 out of 14 for group holidays), and by 12 out of 15 of the welfare agents. This improvement can take many forms: the relationship between the parents and the child can improve, or between the child and its siblings, the child can make new friends and gain confidence, or the behaviour of the child can improve and even have an effect on its school life. Another aspect of this improvement, often reported by the welfare agents, is that some parents change their parenting techniques after the holiday: they might spend more time with their children, play with them more, or look at them with different eyes. The fact that this effect was more often reported by the welfare agents than by the families is related to their position as an outside observer: families to whom this applied often just said they started spending more time with their children, rather than stating that their attitude towards their children had changed.

8.4.3. Parents under pressure

The interviews brought to light that the parents interviewed feel great pressure to be good parents, and often feel a sense of guilt because of their financial situation, or because they are single parents. Another finding was that in many cases, the parents wanted to spend time with their children, but preferred this to be under the form of organised entertainment, as playing with the children themselves was not seen as a relief of their care duty and was seen as pressure. As a result, a holiday without a lot of organised entertainment was either a disappointment and a source of extra stress, or an encouragement for the parents to start playing with their children and spending time together, a development which was often kept up afterwards.

Five interviewees mentioned explicitly how their financial and personal situation made them feel under pressure or guilty towards their children. Of all the families interviewed, just under half also mentioned the children as a specific reason to apply for the holiday. The result is that many parents want the holiday to be perfect for the children, as the family does not often get the chance to go away together.

Gail (participant): Normally, it were back to the way we used to be, we would take them out in the weekend, maybe not a holiday, but take her to the zoo, or local parks.

Interviewer: Is that something you would like to do more?

G: Oh yeah definitely. Because they grow up so quick don't they, so you just have to make the most of it. Yeah we want to because she'll be walking in a month or so, so yeah, that would be nice. (post-holiday interview 1)

Gail's welfare agent later describes her disappointment at the holiday not being what she had expected, as there was little entertainment for the children on site:

Lisa (WFA): Yeah I think she was aiming at better for the children and it wasn't better for the children. I do think they enjoyed it, but she did say it could have been lots better. I think she wanted it to be quite a nice building family time and it didn't quite work out like that. (post-holiday interview 1)

For Katherine though, the Butlins holiday took away a feeling of guilt she had towards her children: she is now satisfied the children will have a happy memory to look back on.

Katherine (participant): The biggest thing is that we all went on a holiday together, so when I look back, we can say we all went to Butlins as a family together. Again the guilt thing: I've managed to do it. There wasn't one specific thing, we managed to go on holiday. You do the same thing all day, the kids can't look back and say they did nothing with us when we were kids. (post-holiday interview 1)

8.4.4. Playing with the children

Of the 15 welfare agents interviewed, 12 mentioned parents not really playing with their children as an important problem in their client group. Different causes for this problem are mentioned: some welfare agents relate the problem to the education the parents themselves have received, others to a lack of skill, and yet others to the need of parents to be motivated themselves. The following welfare agents specifically discussed the problem:

Dina (WFA): But I think a lot of women actually don't know how to do that (play) with their children, and so, actually going on holiday is quite difficult, because at home they don't have to do it, because the children get on with it. And I think that actually frightens the mums a little bit because they think oh my god, what am I going to do with them!" When in fact all they need do, is take them to the swimming pool, you know kids would stay in the swimming pool for four hours, it's not like you are not going to spend any time there, and you can sit round the side, you don't even have to go in. But it's the effort that you have to put in, and some people aren't able, not just willing to do that, because they don't know how to. (post-holiday interview 1)

Dina has started organising holidays specifically for children instead of individual family holidays, because of the fact that the children often did not get as much out of them as they could have. She gives the example of a holiday centre holiday the year before:

Dina (WFA): Before we go, we get them the brochure, we show them all the activities, because in this particular camp site, there is roller blading, football, basketball, Red Coat activities, there is a park, there is absolutely everything. [...]The only thing they had done was swimming. Even then, the swimming is free, they have been swimming twice, one family, when in fact these children loved swimming, they could have been swimming all day every day. So we said "have you been to the park yet?" "Oh no, where's the park?" They have been there three, four days, and hadn't even found the park. So we just thought this is where the mums are treating it as their holiday, and they are actually not listening to their children at all. Because it wasn't as if the children were asking for money, they were just asking "could you take me to this club, could you do that?" (post-holiday interview 1)

When asked why they had not done the other activities, Dina answers

Dina (WFA): It's a bit of everything... perhaps because the way the mums' families had been, the way they were brought up, they probably never had holidays, so they were looking at it as their holiday. (post-holiday interview 1)

Anne sent the families who were going on an individual holiday on a special course first, to help the parents play with their children:

Anne: I think the parents don't actually know how to play with these children. The two mums you have just spoken to, I sent them on a course called Children's Playing Adult Learning, which finished just before they went away. They have had the benefit of six weeks making something from nothing. (post-holiday interview 1)

Welfare agents Gemma and Katie have organised a similar initiative for their clients:

Gemma (WFA): We went to Cleethorpes last year, and the people that came up, we just bought them buckets and spades [...] and they have like, not a competition, but a sandcastle building event, and we'll take photos of the child with the sandcastle, or a family group with their family castle, and when we come back, we send their photograph on a certificate.

Katie: It really worked well last year. (post-holiday interview 1)

Leanne thinks the cause of the parents not playing with their children, or in this case, taking them to the park, is the fact that they often want stimulation themselves, because they are so bored in their daily routine:

Leanne (WFA): But most parents are bored by taking their children to the park. They want to have something where they're amused as well. They say "we've been to the park three times this week, don't wanna go again. It's boring, you stand there while they're on the slides". Because a lot of them are low level intelligence really, and they can't enjoy life through their children, they want to have as much stimulation themselves. They say

“what do I do if I’m out, we are in the park, no television, I can’t make a cup of tea”. You know they are bored, they have the television on day in day out because they are bored. The parents are bored. (post-holiday interview 1)

This would explain the preference most parents have for holiday centre holidays, where lots of entertainment is provided for the children anyway, and parents can do their own thing.

Leanne (WFA): They want to have the children taken off their hands. They are quite happy to have them there if they have been amused all morning and they are quite happy to play nicely by themselves with their few toys on the floor that is fine. But the parents don’t do things with them. (post-holiday interview 1)

Still, if the parents have spent more time with their children on holiday, this can be a stimulation for them to interact with them when they get back home:

Leanne (WFA): So I think when they can see that organizing activities for the children keeps the children happy, occupies, amused, less naughty, perhaps some of that rubs off. They come back and think “oh well, maybe if we’d organize a few things for them” (post-holiday interview 1).

8.4.5. Entertainment on site

Three interviewees were unsatisfied with their holiday, and in all three cases the lack of organised entertainment was the main reason for the disappointment of the parents. In another three cases the entertainment facilities on site were cited as a major benefit of the destination. All these cases apply to individual family holidays, none of the interviewees of the group holidays complained about the lack of entertainment facilities, even if they went to the same site at the same time.

It is not surprising that on an individual family holiday some relief for the parents is welcome, definitely in the case of single parents. On group holiday the parents often reported to keep an eye out for each other’s children, and the children could play together which kept them entertained. Although organized entertainment can thus be a helpful tool for the parents to get some rest, it seems that in some cases this has kept parents from

coming closer to their children. Of the four family respondents to the unaccompanied group holiday, only one mother reported to spend more time with her daughter since; a very low figure compared to the general trend. This may have to do with the fact that the children and the parents spent a lot of their time separately:

Interviewer: And did it help that you were a group to look after the children as well?

Vicky (participant): Well the children just went off and done what they wanted all day, didn't they.

Louisa (participant): Children was fine.

V.: It was safe. You could just leave them wandering around and that was it. (post-holiday interview 1)

On one of the group holidays, volunteers went along to help lighten the care burden for the parents. Even though parents were encouraged to spend time with their children, the presence of volunteers was still a necessity:

Abdul (volunteer): We had a team of ladies to look after the children. They would stand there and play and look over them. We heard the parents just say "go", so they could go on talking or drinking. So the children went to the swimming pool or to the playground. Those ladies worked very very hard. The parents didn't even ask where the children were going, because they were just getting rid of the child. We wanted the parents to rest, and the children to enjoy the playground. The children wanted to stay there: they play, they come back, they drink, they eat, they go. It was like a release from prison for the children. (post-holiday interview 1)

In the cases where the parents find it difficult to play with the children, the ideal holiday seems to be one where the parents get some time to themselves, but also actively interact with their children. In three cases, the absence of a lot of organised entertainment involuntarily forced the parents to play with their children: Carry says she plays a lot more with her daughter since and feels less lazy (*post-holiday interview 1*). Ellie was disappointed at the entertainment opportunities for her daughter, but the games she played with her were worth it anyway:

Ellie (participant): She was probably enjoying just me playing frisbee with her, the fact that it was me, you know. You could see she was definitely enjoying it, and it was worth it just for that really. (post-holiday interview 1)

Lindsey describes her new attitude towards her daughter as the biggest change the holiday has caused in her daily life:

Lindsey (participant): I am spending quite a lot of time with my little one now, quality time.

Interviewer: What do you mean with quality time?

L: Maybe it's just sitting down at home doing a puzzle, or sitting in the garden having biscuits together, at home. Or going out in the weekend, we had a good time in the weekend. And I didn't do that. But I have started taking her out and stuff.

I: Do you think that is generally an improvement or something that just came about?

L: Well, I thought I might as well spend more time with her. I mean, spending time on holiday with her, that was really good. I think I spent a bit of time with her before the holiday but it wasn't much. But being on a holiday, gone out and done stuff together, we went swimming, and it was really good. And I didn't realise how good it would be, to have time together, just as a family, or just me and her. And now we go out, we went to the farm on Sunday. Or we went to the bowling alley, but they'd get bored, but that was great. It encouraged me as well to spend more time with her. (post-holiday interview 1)

The opposite effect though was also mentioned in the interviews: if there was no organised entertainment on site and the care load was perceived as too high by the parent, this could have a negative effect on the confidence of the parent, and the relationship between the parent and the child would mostly not improve (although not deteriorate either). Again, a sense of relaxation and enjoyment is necessary for the parent to spend that quality time with their children. This was lacking completely for Rupert:

Rupert (participant): When I realised there was nothing there for the toddlers and there was no respite for myself, I became more anxious. More stressed. Because I still had to cook three meals a day on an oven that... So I found it harder. [...] Well I was confident on the way there, but I was a bit sad on the way back because I really wanted them to have a really lovely time and lots for them to do, and I couldn't get any time with my elder daughter to do things she wanted. Because they wanted to do the same thing and

they can't go on quad bikes. And I wanted to do things with my other daughter but there was nobody there that I could ask to look after the little toddlers, where I could put them when we went and did these things with my elder daughter. (post-holiday interview 1)

8.4.6. Children changing their behaviour

A successful holiday can cause rather profound changes in the life of the children who go along. If they have been able to spend quality time with the children, and the relationship has improved, this can have a great impact on their confidence and behaviour. Eight parents commented on how their child's behaviour improved while on holiday. Welfare agents Linda and Bethany also give the example of a boy who surprised his parents and the rest of the group by changing his attitude entirely during the holiday:

Linda (WFA): And there's another family where the daughter was really really good at football, probably on a professional level. And the son, he was rather small and he came across a bit... with a hood on...

Bethany (WFA): Yeah I thought bugger...

L: Until he joined in, and the mum said "I didn't know he had it in him"

B: He joined in with everything, it was fantastic.

L: And the mum was more surprised, because she expected everything from her daughter, with the football and stuff, but she didn't expect anything like that from her son, and to actually see that and witness that...

Interviewer: It probably gave the child a bit more confidence too.

L: I am sure it did yeah. (post-holiday interview 1)

Kelly, a participant to an individual family holiday, comments on a remarkable change in behaviour at school for her son Callum:

Kelly (participant): Before we went away, he was always causing trouble down there, the teacher would ask him to read something and he'd be like, "I don't want to", very argumentative, and he couldn't quite... [...] It was like a regular thing, I was down there three, four times a week, because he'd get into trouble. But since we have been back, he's been OK. He used to come out of school like, well, looking sad, but now he's shouting "mummy!" (post-holiday interview 1)

The big impacts holidays can have on children are an important aspect in the evaluation of social tourism as a potential social policy. Still, it is necessary again to pick the right holiday for the right family, so that children can get the maximum benefit out of their time away. The key seems to be that the holiday cannot be too challenging for the parent(s), as then they cannot relax and spend quality time with the children; but at the same time fully organized holidays sometimes enable parents to spend most of their time away from their children. Group holidays seem helpful in lightening the care load for the parents, the activities then organized will determine the time the parents and the children spend together.

8.5. Holidays as a chance for personal development

8.5.1. Confidence

Going on a holiday as a family or in a group can take a lot of confidence. The target group of social tourism are often respondents who suffer from social exclusion to a certain degree, and within this group low self-esteem is particularly common. This might be one of the reasons why FHA holidays incur a drop-out rate of 10% (families who are offered a holiday and accept it, but who do not show on the day). The participants interviewed have already overcome the first hurdle if their self-esteem is low: they have taken up the offer and been on the holiday. The interviews show that social tourism can boost self-esteem in certain cases, but that in other cases the low self-confidence of the respondents makes it hard to enjoy certain aspects of the holiday.

Where individual holidays have positively influenced self-esteem, the respondents have often described a sense of achievement of “having done it alone”. Aisha for example describes how she called one of her clients on the first day of the holiday, who proudly announced she had managed the train ride there without problems (*post-holiday interview 1*). Anne gives the example of Katherine, one of her clients, whose confidence as a parent increased a lot on holiday:

Anne (WFA): Tim's behaviour, Katherine was quite concerned about before she went, "what will I do with him when he starts in public". I said "do exactly the same as you are doing now with him", and she has actually got the confidence to take that forward now, if he screams in a supermarket, so what, she is really quite positive about that you know. If she can manage to take this child away and cope with him in front of all these holiday makers, Asda or Tesco's is not a problem then. (post-holiday interview 1)

In group holidays, there are frequent examples of respondents gaining confidence, both socially and as an individual, as a person and as a parent. Linda gives the following example:

Linda (WFA): We had one family, that was actually last year, and the first time she came on a youth hostel holiday. And she never done anything like that and she was really really scared, about transport and everything. But she had the children there, that gave her that little push, and there was one evening that we actually said "come on woman", and you could see that she was really scared, to go to a place crowded with people. And she took up courage, and came and sit with people from the group, and she relaxed. She really started to come out of herself that first year, and then she applied to come on the next one. She came again, and what a difference. It built up that encouragement to go out, and sort of face the world. She now works part-time. (post-holiday interview 1)

Sandra, a single mother who went on a group holiday, explains how going in a group helped her gain confidence as a parent. She also admits that she would not have done many of the activities on her own:

Sandra (participant): Also being with other single parents, they are more or less in the same boat, like my little one, you think I am not the only one, everybody else is the same. So that opened my eyes a bit.

Interviewer: And did that give you a bit of strength?

S: More confidence yeah. Because otherwise we would have just sat here and not do anything, so that were quite good. (post-holiday interview 1)

Sandra hints at a problem experienced by some of the parents who went on individual holidays: even though certain facilities and activities were available, they did not always make use of them to the same degree as the group holiday participants did. This was clearly visible when comparing a group and an individual holiday taken at the same

holiday centre at the same time. Carol, the welfare agent accompanying the group holiday, describes the variety of activities on offer for the children and the adults:

Carol (WFA): They were really mainly activities for the children and for those who played football. There were different teams and they were taking, and for the parents, they would go on the coaches that come to the site, and the big people could go watch the children play football. The weather wasn't fantastic, so my group didn't actually go and watch the football matches but there was a lot of activities on site for the children, there were quizzes for the adults, so it wasn't me that organized it, that was already sorted, so part of my job was done anyway. It was really fun, I mean I enjoyed it as well. (post-holiday interview 1)

Gail went to the same holiday centre at exactly the same time, but found it hard as an individual family to find entertainment for the children. She says:

Gail (participant): If we didn't have the two good days, like sunny days, we would have come home. Purely because there was nothing for them (the children) to do. Me and my husband would have been fine on our own because there was bars and everything but the idea was sort of to interact with the kids. And Chloe is obviously not walking yet, so you have to be with her 24/7, which is fine, but I wanted them to... Like they had a bouncy castle while they were setting up all the trophies from the football tournament on the Sunday, but that was it. And apart from the amusement 2p machines – they had that- if they wouldn't have had that, there would have been nothing to do. (post-holiday interview 1)

The four interviewees who took part in the unaccompanied group holiday describe how they walked past the entertainment available for children: even in a small group, they found it awkward to go in the room. When asked if there were clubs for the children to go to, the answer is:

Casey (participant): There was one, but obviously the main purpose of the holiday was the football tournament, but there were things going on

Vicky (participant): There just weren't that many kids to do them though. There were just our kids, and then there were groups we didn't know and their kids. So there weren't really that many other kids so you'd walk past it and you'd think.. Normally they might have been doing something but there just weren't the atmosphere for the kids to go... (post-holiday interview 1)

For Rupert, who was struggling before the holiday to find confidence as a father, a holiday alone with three children to look after just proved too much. He often mentions his worries and insecurities in the interview:

Interviewer: So is that something you think about a lot, about how to raise them and how to get them the best start in life?

Rupert (participant): Yeah, yeah. I read lots of different books, I just bought this (shows parenting book). You know, just to help me, because I don't know, I don't know. [...] But what really helped me is at (the organisation), they gave me confidence.

Interviewer: To be a parent? Or more as a person?

R: Yeah, because I was really frightened at the time, you know, when I first went to them. When I first got the little children, taken them out of foster care. And I was stressed out all the time: I was worried about this, worries about that, you know. There are very experienced mothers that work there, and they sort of sat me down, and gave me a talking to. And said "look, you've got to learn to relax a bit, and get your stress level down, because you are doing OK." Cause I was not very confident, and they helped me with my confidence. (post-holiday interview 1)

The difficulties Rupert experienced on holiday were yet another attack on his self-confidence as a father, and as a result he felt very stressed and did not enjoy the holiday as much:

Rupert (participant): I have a daughter from another partner. She's 12, and they hadn't been anywhere together, so it was a nice bit of bonding for them three. But for myself it wasn't really very relaxing. I found it a little hard really. I would have found it easier staying at home, because I have all my equipment and everything here, you know. And there was more to do in the garden here than there was there, you know, for the little ones. (post-holiday interview 1)

This indicates again that finding the right holiday for the right family is an integral part of the holiday process if the holiday is to have positive outcomes for the family. Putting families through situations that are too challenging for them might hurt their self-confidence instead of boosting it. The right level of challenge needs to be found for the

experience to be a positive and empowering one. This view is also expressed by welfare agent Anne:

Anne (WFA): Without preparation and a bit of research into what they get when they finally get there, it could be quite daunting for some families. I think it can take you back. Holidays are there to make you move on (post-holiday interview 1).

8.5.2. Mental and physical health

It is a rather natural evolution that successful holiday experiences often triggered a happier emotional state of mind for the respondents. Welfare agent Davina describes Kloey's state of mind after the holiday as *a general uplift (post-holiday interview 1)*, and Kelly calls the mood of the whole family after the holiday *more upbeat (post-holiday interview 1)*. None of the families and welfare agents mentioned cases where after the holiday the respondents felt worse than before: generally the change of scenery was still a positive, and, as welfare agent Isabelle describes it "*a negative experience is still an experience*" (*post-holiday interview 1*).

The interviews yielded no results to indicate great impacts of the holiday on health issues. Still, the relaxation on the holiday enabled three respondents (Rachel, Shirlene and Kelly) to stop taking their medication for depression and Grave's disease. Other stress related issues like a bad sleeping pattern or asthma can also improve whilst on holiday, but the health benefits are mostly short lived, as welfare agent Leanne explains:

Leanne (WFA): But no, I haven't seen any evidence of actual health improvement. I don't think it's long enough a week. If they were away for a month you might. But sometimes, when children go away, mum would say "he didn't have an asthma attack all the time we were away". You know, a different environment sometimes does that. (post-holiday interview 1).

8.5.3. Social contact

Meeting new people on holiday is a factor that can turn a holiday into a success in many cases. The interviewees often described a sense of isolation (quite typically related to social exclusion), and getting out of this isolated state and sharing stories are often mentioned as positive elements of the holiday. Rachel liked the company of her family, as at home she feels isolated and spends most of her time with her autistic son:

Rachel (participant): he doesn't like to go out, and unfortunately I cannot leave him here. I need to just do what he wants to do, I cannot force him can I?

Interviewer: So that isolates you a bit as his mum? Definitely as a single mum?

R: Yes, and again the time passes by, and those that were your friends once, they are so far away from you now, because their life is completely different, you don't have any connections, any common things any more. So even if you'd take the phone book and phone these people, it doesn't make any sense to meet them, and try to reconnect with them, because some of them have a completely different life. They are single, or they have kids that are completely normal, so you don't know if they can get on well. Luckily for me I like to read, but you need to talk to someone and do things sometimes. I used to be quite friendly before, I used to have a lot of friends. (post-holiday interview 1)

Leanne also says that parents who are shy or depressed often hide behind their children, and find it hard to make contact on their own.

Leanne (WFA): And having children I think, you can hide behind the children. If you're a bit quiet or a bit depressed or a bit down and you don't want to actually talk, then the children will do it for you. The children are bubbly and bouncy and everybody talks to the children, and you can sort of hide behind the children (post-holiday interview 1)

Some of the parents, and most children who go on individual holidays do not have any trouble making social contacts: Kloey says meeting new people was one of the highlights of her holiday (*post-holiday interview 1*), and Daniel's son made new friends there, even though he is usually quite shy. (*post-holiday interview 1*). Still, generally the group holidays offered many occasions to meet new people, and all respondents described the

social contact as an enjoyable part of the holiday. Welfare agent Carol sees group holidays as a very useful way for families to extend their support networks:

Carol (WFA): I have come to find that, because of the stigma associated with HIV and AIDS, they find you know, that they can actually seek and find support in each other. They can bounce ideas of each other or whatever, and similar situations. So I found that definitely helped. It helps them a lot in their support groups but then the time is so limited, cause it's probably one to two hours. But taking them away for a whole weekend was even better, because they had like the whole weekend together, so it worked out very very well (post-holiday interview 1).

Harry, a participant to another group holiday, describes a very similar evolution:

Harry (participant): And also the relationship that is created, it gives the parents the confidence to have the friends around. Maybe they go about their own businesses, because the kids are playing with each other, so basically it helps. Some of the people who came on this holiday since they have been in this country they have been indoors, most of their lives. They are on benefits, they don't have many friends, other people are busy working so they don't even have time for them. So basically when they go on a holiday, they have this opportunity to make friends, to meet new people, to exchange addresses... When they come back from the holiday, they can start from where they stopped. (post-holiday interview 1)

Welfare agent Linda adds that the support workers who accompany the group holidays often facilitate contact for certain group members:

Linda (WFA): Thinking about not last year, the year before I had noticed there was one family not mixing in with the rest of us. And I thought how can I fix this. And when we were eating they were all in their little groups, so we said right, tonight will be different: kids go over that side of the room, adults over that side of the room. And after that, they were away, chatting with everyone. (post-holiday interview 1)

8.6. *Individual holidays vs. group holidays*

Choosing the right holiday for the right family has been identified as one of the key factors for successful social tourism. From the evidence of the interviews, it has become clear that the choice of holiday will depend mainly of the independence and confidence of the family (or the ability to cope on their own), and of the need of the family for social contact and peer support.

When comparing the results of the interviews, the group holidays have a higher success rate for most criteria: group holidays were generally experienced as less stressful, left respondents in a happier state of mind and with a significant increase in social contact. When only taking the results of the accompanied group holidays into account, the group holidays also score better in the outlook on life and confidence criteria. Only for the “going out and about more” category the results are fairly similar.

This does not mean to say that group holidays are automatically the better option: it just indicates that in the target group for social tourism, there is a large group of family respondents who appreciates a certain level of support on holiday. Again, this “support” can take different forms: it can mean having a welfare agent there, or just having some organised entertainment for the family during the day.

8.6.1. Individual holidays

When looking at the group of individual family holiday respondents, two families stand out as being very independent and confident. One family went abroad to visit family members; the other family owned a small caravan and had been on several small trips before. They generally organised the trip themselves and had little need for organised entertainment for the children. Although they might have enjoyed a group holiday, these families had no specific need for support, and even though the second family’s holiday was no success due to external circumstances, it has not affected their state of mind or confidence.

For other families, individual holidays without organised entertainment proved more difficult. Rupert's case was the most extreme: the holiday was a heavy burden on his confidence as a father, and he would have much preferred a day trip instead to a theme park, where organised entertainment would have been provided. (*post-holiday interview 1*) This is the reason why single parents often request to take a family member or friend. Some families find it hard to deal with small practical problems when away from the home, says welfare agent Emily:

Emily (WFA): We've had phone calls 60 miles up from London, saying like "Terri won't let me have the double bed". And they are already having a row, and they want us to try and sort it out. Or "we've run out of milk" and things, although we encourage them to save before. (post-holiday interview 1)

Even for families who are able to handle the practical side of the holiday, getting the full benefit out of the holiday may still be a problem, because of social isolation, low levels of family interaction or financial worries. Anthony says he much preferred a group holiday to an individual one:

Interviewer: Would you say it helped that you were in a group, that you were all together?

Anthony (participant): Yes, very much.

I: More than if you would have gone on your own?

A: Oh yes, because I think, if we would have gone alone, it would have been the same, it would have been the same situation just from one point to another point. (post-holiday interview 1)

8.6.2. Group holidays

Group holidays have certain benefits over individual holidays if the family is less independent, less confident or socially more isolated. Group holidays have often been reported to be confidence building for the respondents, and a way of making them feel accepted. Meeting people who are in the same situation can make the respondents feel

less isolated. Linda, a welfare agent and single parent who went on a supported holiday herself, explains why she liked them:

Linda (WFA): And with these holidays, the one thing about it, because you went to these camp sites, and about 70-80% of those families were young parents, who were all on benefits. So you didn't feel like "oh there's so-and-so with his big posh car", because that is what you sometimes do on a holiday, but the thing is, everyone was in the same kind of boat. (post-holiday interview 1)

Gemma and Katie also say a lot of their families would not have gone on an individual holiday, but did come on the group holiday (*post-holiday interview 1*). Here group holidays can thus lower the threshold for families who are not confident enough to try traveling on their own. As mentioned before, group holidays also encourage people to take part in activities they would not necessarily attempt on their own.

Group holidays accompanied by a welfare agent also have the benefit that the welfare agent can help prepare for the holiday, and that small problems can be solved straight away, without these ruining the whole holiday because the family does not know how to react to them. Rupert for example received a one-bedroomed chalet for him and his three children, but he did not take it up with the site management:

Rupert (participant): That is what they supplied, and I couldn't be bothered to chase it all up because it seemed hard work. There was a settee in the sitting room, that was a double bed, I slept on that. I put the two little ones in a single bed, one at each end. And my daughter, a 12-year-old, slept in the other single bed. (post-holiday interview 1)

Three group holidays took place at destinations neither the welfare agents nor the family respondents were very impressed with. There were lots of practical problems (with cleanliness, safety, heating), which could have ruined the holiday, but in all three cases the fact that participants were part of a group made them overcome these problems and enjoy the holiday.

Carol (WFA): First of all the accommodation was not as clean as... so at first there was a bit...down, because we thought "oh, the accommodation". But come the second day everybody got so used to it, I mean we made the most of it, and it was good. (post-holiday interview 1)

The major advantage of group holidays is the social contact with the other participants. As stated before, many of the families who go on social holiday suffer from social exclusion and do not get out much: getting together in a group and sharing stories was always quoted as one of the benefits of the group holiday. Both Carol (*post-holiday interview 1*) and Tom (*post-holiday interview 1*) stated their group of families had bonded on the holiday and was still in regular contact afterwards. Anne says the holiday had a big impact on her client's social networking and confidence building:

Anne (WFA): When they all came at first, none of these mums were familiar with each other. But when Katherine was away she forgot something, and Carrie looked after her dog... it is nice, they are networking themselves and moving on. One of the fundamental parts of this job is supporting people so they feel confident enough to move on. (post-holiday interview 1)

Ellie, a single parent who went on an individual family holiday, also added she would have liked to go on a group holiday:

Ellie (participant): Yeah, I probably would have actually, because it would kind of make you feel like you are not the only one to go through all of that, as well as getting there to enjoy yourself. I think it would probably make it a lot less stressful, sharing things. (post-holiday interview 1)

Here it has to be added that not all participants of FHA holidays are offered a group holiday: as an organisation, FHA does not organise group holidays, it only funds them if approved. The task of organising the holiday is thus for the welfare agents and their organisations, and can represent a big strain on the resources and staff of the organisation. Although all group holidays in this research were considered a success, some organisations admitted it could mean some practical difficulties for them.

Gemma (WFA): And I would have to weigh up again whether it would be worthwhile me doing that, supporting a group on holiday again. I don't know, because when we came back, it was straight back to work wasn't it. We gave us bank holiday up, so that we could take people on holiday. (post-holiday interview 1)

8.6.3. The role of the welfare agent

It has become clear that in social tourism, the welfare agent can play an important role to make social holidays a success. They are in a potentially good position to find an appropriate holiday for the family, which will give them a chance to relax and enjoy whilst also encouraging them to work on their family relations, confidence and social contacts. Most welfare agents agree that just giving the families money would be a bad idea:

Interviewer: And if you compare for instance giving these people a holiday, as they receive now, or giving them the money, and spending it as they want, what would you prefer?

Leanne (WFA): The holiday. The money would go on... well I don't know what. For some people it would pay off debts, which I suppose is just as valuable, but it wouldn't pay off all their debts, it would only pay off some of it. Some of it might go on alcohol, or drugs, or cigarettes, or... it wouldn't provide the benefit I think, the holiday is better. (post-holiday interview 1)

Isabelle agrees that many of the families she works with need help booking the holiday, and that just giving them the money would not be constructive:

Isabelle (WFA): With some if you just give them the money they cannot cope, they'll go "oh £400", and spend it on cigarettes. And at the end of the day they'll think "I was supposed to have a holiday". (post-holiday interview 1)

Apart from the practical task of finding and booking the holiday, the welfare agent can also be the best person to judge the needs of the family and suggest the right type of

holiday to them. If they know the families well, they can judge the level of support they would need on holiday. Many welfare agents say they can often predict who will enjoy what type of holiday, even though they cannot guarantee success.

Lisa (WFA): I think you probably would have a little bit of an idea who would enjoy that type of holiday, or who would engage in that, yeah you would have a rough idea. But that isn't to say you'd get it right every time. (post-holiday interview 1)

Welfare agents Dina and Emily say they have tried different formulae (individual holidays to holiday centres, holidays for children, camping holidays) but there are families who were not satisfied (*post-holiday interview 1*). This is yet another indication that there does not seem to be a success formula that works for all families, but that the needs of each family need to be taken into account if the holiday is to be successful. As a general rule it seems that the more independent and confident the family is, the more an individual holiday is appropriate; but if there are confidence issues or they find it hard to cope on their own, a supported holiday is a better option.

Welfare agents often do more than just choose and book the holiday. In many cases they are an active part in the preparation process, and provide lists of what to take and even meetings for the participants. This can be a very intensive process:

Gemma (WFA): It's also, we've got people with very poor literacy skills, and if you send something out, without any visual pictures, they might not read it. So it helped us to think about what we do. Like backing things up with phone calls. Making sure they have had the information. (post-holiday interview 1)

Tom and his organisation even did all the shopping for the participants and provided them with food and toiletries for their holiday (*post-holiday interview 1*). Again, the level of support the participants need has to be judged by the welfare agent: if they receive too much outside support they might not gain confidence and learn a new skill, but if they do not receive enough support they might feel inadequate and it can hurt their self-esteem

and enjoyment of the holiday, which in its turn reduces their chances of perceiving its benefits afterwards.

8.7. Conclusion

The data from the interviews have highlighted aspects of social tourism that can be seen as conditions for a successful social holiday. The most important condition seems to be that the right holiday needs to be chosen for the right family. What the right holiday is will depend on their level of independence, their confidence and their ability to cope. Individual holidays are an option for very able and independent families, whereas families with more difficulties to cope with new situations often prefer a greater level of support. The social aspect of a group holiday is in many cases a great advantage as many families who are socially excluded to some degree suffer from isolation. Sharing experiences and knowing that one is not alone are also mentioned as great benefits of this holiday type.

Another important element of the holiday is relaxation. Families who were able to relax on holiday reported generally more positive impacts after the holiday than families who were not. Finding the right level of relaxation is very important also as far as the family relations are concerned, definitely between parent(s) and children: if the parents are too stressed about looking after their children they will not find the time together quality time, but if the children are constantly entertained some parents might not find it necessary to spend a lot of time with them.

An important aspect of the evaluation of social holidays for low-income groups is the durability of these beneficial effects. Chapter 10 will discuss the interview results of the second round, six months after the holiday. This chapter will examine whether the reported benefits last, whether new benefits develop and whether the different holiday types report different results.

9. Interview results second round and preliminary interpretation

9.1. Introduction

The following chapter presents the findings of the second round of interviews with the families and their welfare agents, and begins to interpret some of these data. Because a grounded theory approach was adopted for this study, the data were analysed during the collection stage in a process of constant comparative analysis. This results in a level of preliminary interpretation in this chapter, even though the full analysis of both interview rounds will be provided in chapter 10.

The aim of these interviews was to examine the potential long-term benefits of social holidays on the daily lives of the participants. The researcher specifically questioned which benefits reported in the first round were still present after half a year, and if there was a noticeable difference between the results reported by participants of individual holidays and those of group holidays.

9.2. Break from “stress” and routine

The findings of the first round of interviews showed that the holiday as a break from “stress” (in the non-medical sense as pressure, worries, nervousness) was a great benefit of the holiday and the basis for the appearance of longer lasting benefits as personal and family development. Also in the second round of interviews, the absence of “stress” and the break with the daily routine are generally described as great advantages of the holiday, even when the participants had had a rather negative holiday experience. Welfare agents and holiday participants, both of individual and group holidays, often mention this unique characteristic of the holiday.

Gemma (WFA): I think it's getting away from everything. The worries they have at home, the amount of debt they're in, looking after their family or their mum who might have Alzheimer's... I think it's getting away from the horribleness, the stress. It's like recharging your batteries isn't it. (post-holiday interview 2)

Harry (participant): Monday to Monday you are doing the same thing, let me say if you are working, sometimes you are not even enjoying the work but you are working for the sake of trying to catch up with so many responsibilities in life, so basically you are bound to be stressed. And with the finances sometimes, you have to catch up with so many things, it also stresses you. So when the holiday comes in, it gives you kind of a break, you get relaxed, you go back and think about... it gives you time to gather up yourself, and think widely, and reflect on what to do next perhaps. It is something that can be of vital importance in your life. (post-holiday interview 2)

Having a break and gathering strength to tackle the responsibilities of daily life were of particular importance to families with children with disabilities. All these respondents and their welfare agents emphasised the need for a break for the carers, as they generally received little support outside the family unit. Rachel, a single mother looking after her autistic son, said:

Rachel (participant): it is something that you really need, especially if you deal with the same things every day. That is a routine, the holiday is a break. For me everything is a routine, because of my son's condition. He tends to do the same things every day, so you cannot change things. And I am a normal person, I don't like to do the same things every day. That is good for him, not for me.[...] Because certain days I am very tired, he doesn't sleep well. He has many issues at school, bad days, many things, and then you have no other option than just to take a deep breath and carry on. (post-holiday interview 2)

Marion, who has a son with cerebral palsy, agrees with this view, even though she was rather disappointed with her holiday experience.

Marion (participant): If you are under a lot of stress and you get to go away for a little while, it doesn't take it all away, nothing does, but I think it sort of lightens the load for a little while. (post-holiday interview 2)

One welfare agent, Emily, even named an example where a child was relieved of the care load of his younger sibling by a group holiday for children:

Emily (WFA): We think it's a step in our development, being able to offer the children a holiday, especially if they have a lot of responsibility at home and they have to care for younger siblings. It gives them the time and a break away. We had one family, the boy

was 12-13, and his brother was 8, and the old one usually looks after the younger brother. But on the holiday they were put into different age groups, and initially the younger one was really apprehensive, but the older one was really relieved. His little brother does get on his nerves, that's his words. (post-holiday interview 2)

Welfare agents Leanne and Isabelle both agreed that what Rachel and Marion needed most in their daily life was respite from their care load. Holidays can be problematic with children with disabilities as the care load does not lighten away from the home, quite the contrary: these families might find it more difficult to look after their child in holiday camps or hotels. Supported holidays or holidays specifically for the disabled child were suggested as alternatives for the future by both welfare agents.

A second group which reported suffering from a great deal of "stress" and particularly appreciating the break from routine were the respondents affected by HIV. (This does not mean all respondents were HIV positive, some of them were carers for their infected partners.) The most important sources for "stress" were the stigma and worries accompanying HIV and the fact that many of them were employed in casual jobs with very long working hours. All respondents also had an unresolved immigration status: their dossiers with the home office was pending and some of them could face repatriation. Their welfare agents Carol and Tom emphasised this point.

Carol (WFA): It is nice to see them out of their usual stressful environment. When they come here to me, it is usually with big problems and there, there was nothing. You forget about... no, not really forgetting about all the problems, but it's nice to see them in a totally different light. They can actually enjoy life and forget about the daily stresses of life. In some ways it has a therapeutic kind of effect, I suppose. (post-holiday interview 2)

Tom (WFA): Most of the African people are working in casual jobs, because of a lot of circumstances, they do a lot of care work, and they never rest, and you know why? It's because they look after their family here, and they have extended family back home, and you know Africa's poor, so they have to work long hours to support their family here and their relatives back home. So a holiday is a very good break for them. (post-holiday interview 2).

As in the first round, the break from “stress” and routine was generally seen as the basis for all other benefits. Even though it is not a long-term benefit in itself (as a return to the daily life involves stress and routine to a lesser or greater degree, and only two respondents still felt the positive effect of the holiday on their “stress” level), it is a necessary condition for the other benefits to develop.

9.3. Mental and physical health

Of the three respondents who reported coming off or reducing medication for stress-related conditions, two were interviewed again and they both agreed the benefit had sustained. Kelly has stayed off anti-depressants completely:

Kelly (participant): I stopped taking them myself. They made me feel ill. The doctor said when you take them for so long, after a while sometimes they don't work anymore. Then they put you on a higher dose. But they'd make me like... what's the word...paranoid. So the doctor said "do you want me to put the dose up?", but I said "No, don't bother, I haven't taken them for three days and I feel fine". I still get days where I think "why do I bloody bother", but I just get on with it now. When I do feel depressed I just ignore it and get on with it. I don't sort of ponder on it anymore you know. That's better than taking tablets and everything else. (post-holiday interview 2)

Katherine has not managed to come off her anti-depressants, but she is now more aware of the effect they have on her health:

Katherine (participant): I have to put my anti-depressants up during summer holidays. Last year I tried to come down off them and I couldn't, that means next summer holidays I would have to go up again another tablet and I don't really want to do that. (post-interview 2)

Katherine also made the resolution on holiday to go to the gym after her return home, to lose weight and feel better physically. She is now going on a regular basis with a friend.

9.4. Family development

9.4.1. Family relations

Out of the 18 family participants of the first round, more than half reported an improvement in family relations as a benefit of the holiday. In the second round of interviews, about half of the family participants testified this improvement was still noticeable six months later. Of the respondents who said the improvement did not last, two had experienced a grave change of circumstances over the last half year, which could have contributed to this fact: one respondent separated from her husband and was moving into temporary accommodation just weeks after the interview, which caused a great level of “stress”; and in the other case the respondent had taken up a job so her son had to spend a lot of time in childcare, which diminished their closeness.

All respondents who still enjoyed better family relations, placed this improvement in the relationship with their children. Of the two original cases where there was an improvement in the relation between the adults in the family, one was still reported after six months.

Interviewer: I remember you said last time “if he would go away I wouldn’t care so much”, and that the holiday had changed that?

Katherine (participant): Yeah, it did bring us together more. I think before we were just like mum and dad, we had to spend time together. So we put the little one in the nursery so we’d have two hours a day, and the other kids would go off because they are old enough. So we were spending like two hours a day together, as husband and wife, not just as mum and dad so that was lovely. That brought us together. So now at least I know the scope, we’re not just mum and dad, it is nice when we come together, those times are nice, it can happen. (post-holiday interview 2)

Where the relationships between the adults and the children are concerned, the respondents mostly reported feeling closer to their children and spending more time together. Single mother Lindsey’s daughter has a record of rather violent behaviour at school and disobedience, but Lindsey testifies that since the holiday the relationship between them has become a lot better, and they spend a lot more time together.

Lindsey (participant): Yeah I still do actually. Last weekend we went up to London to the Lord Mayor Show. She really enjoyed it actually, and all the way back on the train... because we went with a friend of the family and my mum, just the four of us went, she enjoyed it. They wanted to go home and it was quite early, so I said to my mum "we'll stay in London and walk around like". We went around, we went to Buckingham Palace and everything, it was just like... It was weird because normally I don't really go out much and spend time on my own with her like that but it was really good.

Interviewer: Does she enjoy it as well, spending time with mum?

L.: She did, she did enjoy it, and she actually stayed with me, she actually did as she was told and stayed with me and held my hand. And that was the first time she actually ever done that, because normally she'd just wander off. But she actually stayed with me, she held my hand, she took everything in, about everything that I was telling her.(post-holiday interview 2)

The better relationship between them also influences Lindsey's daughter's behaviour at school: although there are still problems, the daughter enjoys getting the positive attention from the class when this happens.

Lindsey (participant): And she actually gave a talk the following week in school about it all, she actually kept saying "I enjoyed going out with my mum", and "I enjoyed my mum's company". Because the teacher told me everything she had been saying. It's good. (post-holiday interview 2)

Kelly's son Callum displays very different behaviour: his behaviour in school has much improved since the holiday, but at home he can still be difficult to manage.

Interviewer: And Callum's behaviour at school, because you mentioned a big improvement there?

Kelly (participant): It sort of stayed the same. At school it has stayed the same, but his behaviour at home is... still a bit bad. At home his behaviour is... I don't know what's the word... annoying. You just ask him and ask him to do something, and he just won't do it. (post-holiday interview 2)

The relaxed atmosphere of the holiday also provided a good context to speak to family members about rather sensitive issues. In the second round of interviews two of these cases were mentioned by volunteer Abdul and welfare agent Tom,

Abdul (volunteer): Some people just want a safe space to talk to each other, they work all day, and the holiday is a good place to talk to their children to reconcile. You know when we have come from Africa, we have left the children small, they don't know that we have run away because of problems, they think we have run away and neglected them. So they can come together to reconcile. You need a certain environment and a break. (post-holiday interview 2)

Tom (WFA): HIV is highly stigmatised. And for them to have a break, they have, how do you call it, time to themselves. One wanted to talk with their children, who are adults, and they have never told them about their HIV status. And this was the only chance, to go out with them, meet with friends and talk to them, and share with them their experience. (post-holiday interview 2)

9.4.2. Guilt

An often-mentioned benefit of the holiday is the relief of the parents from a strong sense of guilt towards their children. This guilt stems mostly from two sources. One possible source is that the disabled child gets all the attention and the parents feel guilty towards the non-disabled siblings. Another is that the parents feel guilty they cannot afford a holiday for their children, a commodity that is seen as “normal” by a lot of their peers. The sense of guilt was mentioned by six respondents, and is often described as a driving force for the parents after the holiday: the feeling of being better parents can be a stimulus to change other areas of the daily life.

Marion's son John has cerebral palsy and needs a lot of attention and care, which affects the attention his older sister receives. Marion said that even though they were disappointed by the holiday destination, the fact that the daughter had a good time convinced them to make the best of it.

Marion (participant): I think the thing that pushes us on is the older one, because she is 12 and she hasn't got any special needs. So during the week at home it's sort of doom and gloom, not much sleep with John, but when we do get out we try to make a bit more of an effort to give her a good time. (post-holiday interview 2)

Welfare agent Leanne agrees.

Leanne (WFA): Yes, I think they do feel guilty that she doesn't get as much attention as they would like to give her, because they are so tied with poor John, they have so many appointments and things to do with him. They feel that the oldest daughter is being pawned off to all different people to look after her, but John needs so much. And they are tired because he doesn't sleep, he is having sleep problems now, he doesn't sleep at night. So mum's tired. (post-holiday interview 2)

Financial restrictions are another source of guilt for many of the respondents. They often feel their children should be able to go on a holiday like their peers, and feel a strong sense of guilt if they cannot afford one.

Interviewer: Do you sometimes still think of the holiday?

Katherine (participant): Yeah we do, all the time, or something crops up, when a Butlins advert comes on the telly it's like "we went there". It's nice, because it lays the guilt off me, because I took them on holiday, so it's nice that you know, we have all been on one family holiday in his life. So I don't feel so much of a failure, because I took them all on holiday like. (post-holiday interview 2)

Kelly reports a similar feeling:

Kelly (participant): They keep asking when we are going to go and see Barney again. But we can't afford it at the moment, with another baby coming, you know, it's going to be tight for a little while. [...] Callum does understand he can't do the things he used to when daddy was working, because we ain't got the money. It is difficult... we know what they like, we can't give it to them. (post-holiday interview 2)

Welfare agent Bethany can assess the holiday from both sides: she sees the effect it has on the families, but she also has the personal experience of being a single parent going on a FHA holiday. (After the holiday she volunteered for the organisation, and got offered a job later.) Of her own experience she says:

Bethany (WFA): As a parent I felt... because we had always been on holiday when I was married, we had a camper van, we were always away and then as a single parent I wasn't able to do that. You just can't. And even though I didn't pay for the holiday, to be able to take my son on a holiday, it was the best feeling. I suppose by leaving his father I had taken away all those treats. It greatly changed our financial situation. And I knew

that he had friends going here, friends going there... But then he was off to Butlins, which is a big deal isn't it. (post-holiday interview 2)

She describes the relief of this feeling of guilt and the feeling of “being the same as everyone else” as very important aspects of the holiday:

Bethany (WFA): And I think holidays... people on benefits cannot afford a holiday. But as I probably said before, their children are at school and other children have probably had holidays, and why should low-income families be different really. Those children need to go to school and be able to tell the others about their holiday. I think a holiday makes a huge difference to a family, to the whole family. I do think it's really important, to have the same experiences as their peers, just to be the same. (post-holiday interview 2)

For Gail, who separated from her partner and is moving into temporary accommodation, the fact that she cannot afford for her daughters to enjoy a holiday is a very acute worry:

Gail (participant): Financially I won't be loaded with money but I know that I will be able to provide for them, but not enough for me to just pack up and go on a holiday on my own you know what I mean. That's my only worry... but they do, I think it's alright for me not to go on a holiday but the girls will need a Butlins or Haven... They'd love it, because all the entertainment's there innit. (post-holiday interview 2)

The new-found confidence of the parents and the aspirational value of the holiday was found to be a driving force behind many changes the participants made over the next months. In section 9.6 the importance of the positiveness of the holiday experience and its motivational power will be expanded on in more detail.

9.5. Personal development

9.5.1. Confidence

Where the holiday was reported to have increased the confidence of the respondents, this benefit was generally found to have sustained six months later. The increase in confidence can display itself on many different levels. Single mother Ellie was so worried

about going on holiday with her two children that she insisted on taking her mother. Now she has changed that attitude:

Ellie (participant): I would like to go just me and the kids, with my son being older, it's quite a lot easier you know. Yeah, I wouldn't mind going on my own. [...] It's much better. I'd like to go on my own this time, I think I could handle it now. (post-holiday interview 2)

Welfare agent Anne remarked an improvement in her client's interactions with other people:

Anne (WFA): And it's also made them more ... when they are speaking to other people... when holidays were mentioned they'd turn around because they hadn't been on one so they had nothing to contribute to the conversation, or so they thought. Now, when holidays are mentioned, they always bring up their memories. So that is all positive. (post-holiday interview 2)

Bethany's son joined the cadets after his holiday experience:

Bethany (WFA): And my son had been very timid, and even in Butlins he didn't want to go off on his own, and then suddenly it just... he went off and joined the cadets, which he always wanted to do. It just improved his confidence. It made a big difference. (post-holiday interview 2)

Nancy's confidence also improved greatly. It needs to be said here that after the holiday, she agreed to take a confidence course, so the holiday experience was reinforced by additional support (see also paragraph 10.6). But even before the course finished, she became very involved in the co-ordination of camping holidays for the organisation, whereas before she would have not even considered going on a camping holiday herself.

Nancy (participant): Yes, I found the place and the camping things as well, and when we go on trips as well. I do a lot more than I did last year. [...] Some mums haven't done it and I think they are scared of actually coming along. But I think once you do it you're fine. You can encourage them, but you can only encourage them so far can't you. There's always something holding somebody back. But I really like going, and I never liked it before. I really didn't want to go, it was only because my daughter wanted to go. I was just dreading it! My husband was working, so I was putting it off, I was making any

excuse, but we enjoyed it. We went two nights the first time, and four nights last year, and this time we are going to the beach! (post-holiday interview 2)

9.5.2. Social contact

An increase in social contact with other adults was mainly noted with the participants of group holidays in the first round, and the effect only sustains within this group. Except for Katherine who goes to the gym with a friend, none of the participants of individual holidays have reported an increase in social contact. The isolation of socially excluded groups, and especially single parents with young or disabled children, was emphasised again in the second round of interviews.

Bethany (WFA): I think confidence is really a major thing for lone parents. A lone parent stuck indoors with children, they might not speak to another adult for days. (post-holiday interview 2)

Ellie (participant): Being in a small village as well, there are not that many people, well there is hardly anyone my age, they are all 7-8 years older than me. It is very difficult to find someone to talk to that has the same sort of interests. It's quite a rich village as well, so everyone has the BMW cars and stuff, and they all sit together and do stuff in their little groups, and I am not quite part of that group. It is frustrating, not talking to adults. (post-holiday interview 2)

Rachel (participant): I am here, isolated from the rest of the world, my family is spread all over the globe. I am on my own here. There are certain times when you think "Am I doing the right thing?" (post-holiday interview 2)

The mutual support on group holidays is something many respondents have greatly benefited from and continue to experience after the holiday. Particularly the group holidays which were accompanied by a welfare agent reported great successes here, and have remarked upon the motivational quality of this type of holidays.

Carol (WFA): The individual ones, OK that's nice as well, but some of them are really close to despair, they think they are the only ones going through this, this situation that is facing them, but when they go out there, you could see the happiness, and they are laughing. And you realise that one person is stronger than the other, and it probably rubs

off onto the others until they realise it is not the end of the world, you know. (post-holiday interview 2)

David (volunteer): One thing I know is that most of the time we are not able to meet our users, so it's a nice place to socialise, to make new friends, and definitely for the families to meet their friends, because some of them know each other but they don't have the money to do things together. (post-holiday interview 2)

Abdul also noted that the experience of being in a group might have cultural implications for their African organisation:

Abdul (volunteer): Plus I think the group thing roots back to the African society, Africans live more together as compared to here where people live more solitary. There are a lot of social gatherings, so this is kind of a reminder of their social background from which most of the Africans come. Coming together, sharing, talking... (post-holiday interview 2)

Another organisation, working with women who have suffered from domestic violence, also organise group holidays, but unaccompanied by an adult. The building of a support network is described as one of the great potential benefits, but welfare agent Dina says the mix of participants has to be just right:

Dina (WFA): And if you send a group of women that you think are going to gel, it can really work because they will support each other and look after each other's children while they do something and in the evening they will all get together, and they'll all be talking about their life experiences and what they have in common. And that has happened, we have probably had a 70% success rate with those holidays. But we have had some where the women have been too troubled, and we didn't know how troubled they were before they went, and the mix of women was wrong. We ended up sending a lot of troubled women together, and that didn't work, that was a very difficult holiday. (post-holiday interview 2)

9.6. Motivational and aspirational effect of holidays

So far this chapter has reviewed the duration of the benefits of holidays which came out of the first round of interviews. In this second round of interviews though, additional benefits of the holiday were mentioned, which only became apparent in the longer term. The direct effects of the holiday on personal and family development seem to generally

sustain over a six month period, but the holiday also appears to have a more symbolic value: it can become a symbol for the life style the respondents would like to achieve, and have an aspirational affect on their attitude to their daily life. This was not a general trend: about half of the family respondents attributed this quality to their holiday. These respondents were split evenly between group and individual holidays. The deciding criterion was thus not the type of holiday the respondents went on, but the level of support they received after the holiday. This became even more apparent when comparing the responses of the welfare agents: the most impressive benefits of social holidays were noted where the welfare agent had offered tailored help to address the needs or goals that had arisen during the holiday. Some welfare agents were able to offer a very personalised service and organised courses or one-to-one sessions around parenting, confidence, budgeting. Sometimes the holiday was a starting point for change, in other cases a contributing factor: In many cases the services offered were also available before the holiday: this would again indicate that the holiday can have a strong motivational effect on the participants.

9.6.1. Holidays can change aspirations

In the first round of interviews, it already became clear that looking forward to the holiday, and the motivational effect this has, is an important element of the holiday experience. Several interviewees brought this benefit up again in the second round.

Bethany (WFA): Normally a family are awarded a holiday and they know about it for some months, and for all of those months, you know that you have a holiday to look forward to. So it's not such a tiny... you have the months of looking forward to it, and planning for it, and the excitement. So I think it's a really big deal. (post-holiday interview 2)

Harry (participant): Holidays are very good because they are coming and you know that they are coming, and you are always looking forward. And when you don't know if a holiday is coming, it definitely somehow affects you, the environment can be very stressful and that kind of thing, so it's always worthy to break off for a holiday. (post-holiday interview 2)

In the second round though, the main emphasis was placed on the motivational benefit a holiday can have after the return of the participant. Examples of the aspirational effect a holiday can have were found both in the interviews with family respondents and welfare agents.

Leanne (WFA): That is right because they can see... it gives them a little taste of what it could be like. (post-holiday interview 2)

Nancy (participant): And with having had the holiday last year it's helped me.... I enjoyed it that much that it's helped me. It's shown me that if I want something I have to work hard and save for it. So that's how it helped me. (post-holiday interview 2)

Katherine (participant): I am so grateful for the money we got to go on holiday, because I don't think it would have kicked us into gear to do it the year after otherwise. Because you see how much you get out of it, and then you see what you can have again the next year. All year it gives you something to look forward to doesn't it. You've got something to aim at. (post-holiday interview 2)

The reason that holidays are so motivational might be that they are very positive: other social initiatives like courses or support often draw upon a lack of knowledge or a specific problem, so around something negative, whereas holidays are generally seen as purely positive. This view was supported by the fact that, if asked what they would choose to spend £500, four out of five family respondents and welfare agents answered they would choose a holiday over anything else. Welfare agent Leanne explicitly links her choice to the motivational side of holidays:

Leanne (WFA): I know they need to have their debts paid, and money for food and money for Christmas and stuff, but that is not the idea of holiday. And you've got to book the holiday. And in an area like this, people are not used to doing things like that, they are used to having everything done for them. They go to the Social if they run out of money, they go to Social Services saying "my washing machine has cracked up, you've got to get me a new one". They are not used to having a look around and finding the best buy and saving up for it... it's a different sort of area really. To have to go and find a holiday and book it, it's quite a challenge. (post-holiday interview 2)

9.6.2. Role of memories

In five interviews the respondents mentioned the memories after the holiday as one of the biggest benefits of social tourism. Generally the family respondents say they think about the holiday regularly with fondness and pride. One welfare agent refers to the children of Katherine and Nancy to illustrate this point:

Anne (WFA): Tim, Katherine's Tim, had a picture taken with Bob the Builder, and that picture has the proudest place, it's paper thin now. He's always touching it, he's so proud of it. Like Nancy's children, the things they remember, like "I am not taking a potty this year", they obviously remember it. We've taken them on courses and done things, and it's never that that comes up, it's always the memories of the holiday. (post-holiday interview 2)

Marion describes how the memories of the holiday can help her get through difficult moments.

Marion (participant): If you are under a lot of stress and you get to go away for a little while, it doesn't take it all away, nothing does, but I think it sort of lightens the load for a little while. You've got your memories to look back on, and at least when you're having a bad day you can remember the good times of the holiday. (post-holiday interview 2)

Welfare agents Emily and Dina both agree that the value of happy memories is often underestimated, and that those memories are particularly cherished amongst their clients (women who have suffered from domestic violence and their children).

Emily (WFA): And happy memories. You can't change everything... It might help him in his life, we don't know, but every thing that he can remember that is positive, it has to be life-enhancing. As much as a bad experience can be damaging. [...]

Dina (WFA): The biggest benefit is what Emily keeps saying, it's the memories. We have kids who went eight years ago, who still tell us now "that was just the best time, when I won that bottle of Champagne doing karaoke". You can't put down memories, because memories are very important. In my own life, the things that I remember that touch me are the best thing on earth. So if these kids have got a nice memory that is something special really. There are a whole lot of people who haven't got any nice memories. Especially the kids who come in here, most of their memories are horrible. So they have an opportunity and an experience that the other kids at school have automatically. Most

kids go on holiday, you're in the minority if you don't go on holiday. (post-holiday interview 2)

A similar view is expressed by welfare agent Anne:

Anne (WFA): A happy memory can make you go on to do more, to achieve the same again. If you haven't got happy memories you've got nothing, because you don't know what's going to happen tomorrow, but these happy memories can't be taken away. And Katherine again, these happy memories are what has taken her forward to try and book one for next year. I absolutely think the memories are very important. They are all tiny steps which can lead to great things. It definitely affected other areas of their lives, definitely. (post-holiday interview 2)

A preliminary interpretation of this statement, and one of the reasons for the strong memories and their motivational role after the holiday, could be that tourism is a product constructed by the consumer, and not a ready-made entity. Tourism is “an experience that requires involvement or participation by a person. A prospective guest cannot truly experience the breath-taking awe of the Hawaiian shore by sitting in his or her living room looking at a video or a brochure” (Knutson & Beck 2003, 25). The tourist necessarily plays a role in creating his holiday experience: even in a holiday camp where all entertainment is provided, he still needs to actively organise his experience. This means the consumer is likely to be more emotionally involved in the product he has purchased, which in its turn can lead to vivid memories after the experience.

9.6.3. Making concrete changes

More than just being a source of courage and support in difficult times, the motivational effect of a holiday can also help to make concrete changes in their daily life. When interpreting these changes further, differences can be noted between the first and the second round of interviews. Some respondents already said they had made certain changes in the first round of interviews: these mainly concentrated on improving family relations and personal development. The changes made in this round were thus mainly “*private*” (see chapter 8): contributing mainly to the family capital of the respondents, as a family unit. In the second round of interviews, the changes made are more “*public*”:

they benefit the person and his or her family unit, but can also help the respondent to function better in society, or reduce the signs of social exclusion. These benefits thus address the general social capital of each family member, and can improve his or her relationships with society as a whole.

These external benefits were reached by about half of the family respondents in the second round, whereas the internal benefits of the first round were reported more widely. An important factor in whether the respondents reach these benefits is the support they receive after their return from holiday. In some cases, the holiday will mark the beginning of this development or aspiration, in other cases it supports a development or aspiration that had already begun before the holiday. The key to success (and to the development of external benefits) is that participants receive adequate support to turn the positive and motivated feelings they have after the holiday in concrete behaviour change. In the following paragraphs, three examples of concrete behaviour change are given: better budgeting abilities, career change and greater involvement in the support organisation.

Better budgeting abilities

In three cases in the second round of interviews, the respondents had enjoyed their holiday so much that they reported having changed their spending habits to be able to book another holiday. This change in their spending pattern can be interpreted as an improvement of their overall budgeting abilities. Seeing the low incomes these respondents have, saving up asks a lot of discipline and determination on their part:

Katherine (participant): We are trying this year to save up. A lot of guilt lies on me that I never took them abroad, so we are saving up to go abroad, which is hard, because the whole house, everything's got to suffer, just for the sake of two week's holiday. We've just paid off for the holiday now but I have to pay for the spending money like. But it will be worth it when we actually get there. But it's horrible, a whole year saving just for the two weeks. It has affected this Christmas, it will affect next Christmas... I don't think I'll do that again, I'll just do it once and that will be it like. (post-holiday interview 2)

The transformation in Katherine was remarkable, considering that she was the respondent who had borrowed the most money last year to go on holiday: she had taken out a £1000 loan for clothing, entertainment. Katherine's welfare agent Anne explains how this better budgeting ability does not only help them take another holiday, but how it also affected her stress levels and state of mind during the year:

Anne (WFA): I know she had terrible trouble the year before last at Christmas time, she had no money, she was depressed. But this year seems to have been a complete turn-around, they have budgeted, they made sure that... it wasn't huge amounts, but budgeting for the holiday has started the ball rolling with them. So that was a very definite positive to come out of that. (post-holiday interview 2)

In all three cases the respondents visit their welfare agents regularly, and the welfare agents have supported them to achieve their aim. Anne says Nancy and Katherine's attitude to money has become a lot more proactive since.

Anne (WFA): I also think this budgeting thing... their money management is so much more... they are so much more sorted with it. They know to get this, they need to do this, this and this. Whereas before it was waiting for either a cheque from somewhere or a rebate from somewhere, you know if something'd come up they'd have the day out on the rebate. Whereas now, they know that if they want the holiday, they have to cut back here, or budget their shopping budgets, so it's definitely helped them. That's a lot of what we deal with over here, they get themselves into financial trouble and we sort things out, but with those two families there has been a definite improvement. They haven't still physically got more money, they are just managing it better. Subtle changes like that... as I said Christmas was much easier this year for Katherine. Their overview of life has definitely improved. They are in a different bracket now if you like, they feel the same as everybody else.

Career change

In two cases the holiday contributed to a change of career for the respondents. In the first case Rachel, a single mother of a autistic son, decided to give up her stressful job which left her little time for her son, and decided to retrain and apply for a more flexible position.

Rachel (participant): I have never been on benefit for a period like that, without doing nothing. It is strange, it breaks my routine as well. And it just came out of very long reflection during the holiday. That is what I want, this is not what I want, but to get what I want I may need to step back. Then go forward. So that is what I am doing: I take time to go for what I really need. I am not going to rush into the kind of job that is going to demand from me a lot of time and responsibility, no matter the money. Money doesn't pay for the time. So hopefully, soon enough I will find that marvellous, perfect job. (post-holiday interview 2).

Her welfare agent Isabelle supported Rachel by finding a grant so she could start a course at university. Apart from the “public” benefits this course has, Rachel also experiences some “private” benefits, as she has now more time to spend with her autistic son who changed school at the same time, which can lead to public benefits for the child (if he is calmer and adapts better at school).

Rachel (participant): He is happier. The problem is he has started a new school in September. It is very important for him to settle there, because he is going to be there until the age of 19. So probably I am doing the right thing: once he is settled, I go back to my routine. But this very important period, the first six months, I am giving him the best I can, a lot of time with him. (post-holiday interview 2)

Kloey on the other hand does not see the holiday as the start of her dream to open her own business. The holiday was rather a positive step in building her confidence and bonding with her children after her separation from her violent partner and a period in temporary accommodation. This in turn helped her to achieve her dream: she now owns her own business in cosmetic products.

Kloey (participant): The holiday was good for myself, my family, my confidence, to get me with my kids together to start our new life. [...] I was working in a shop, and you work for someone very hard, and the people doesn't appreciate it. My boss didn't appreciate me, she left me in charge of everything. All that wasn't enough for her. She trusted me, I made all the money for her. Just until they see all the customers came there because of me. So I just went when I left and changed my life completely, I said I would never go back and work for someone else. (post-holiday interview 2)

When interpreting this evidence, it is important to note here that Rachel and Kloey were already working before the holiday. Although they both experience a form of social exclusion (Rachel is a single mother of a disabled son, and Kloey is rebuilding her life

after a violent relationship), they are both very independent women who needed little support to organise their everyday life and motivate themselves. The fact that they have made very drastic changes to their lives is partly because they started out with this advantage.

Greater involvement in the support organisation

In six cases the respondents became more active in the support organisation after the holiday. This could take different forms: some agreed to take courses, other started volunteering, others just came to the centre more regularly. The positive and motivated attitudes created by the holiday were picked up on and turned into positive involvement. An example are courses: in the first round some welfare agents complained that a range of courses was on offer, but the uptake was rather low. After their return from holiday though, Nancy and Katherine decided to take an intensive series of confidence building classes, and a parenting course. Their welfare agent Anne says:

Anne (WFA): What they have also done is, they are now on confidence building courses as well. They are on the 3rd block of 10 weeks, they have committed themselves to 30 weeks, which is absolutely fabulous. And this is all since these holidays, so whether they are connected, who knows, but it's definitely... I mean both of them went on a holiday and both of them are on the course. It's these obvious things that add up to make a bigger picture isn't-it. (post-holiday interview 2)

She even links Katherine's participation in the courses to a general attitude change:

Anne (WFA): Katherine is much more... open to suggestion somehow. She used to be, and still can be, very... once she has made her mind up that's that, it's her way or no way, which... you could tell she wasn't getting the best out of situations with that, probably the way she was feeling inside. But now, you cannot talk her around your way at all, but she is open to different suggestions, different ways of looking at things. She is much more open to new ideas really, whereas she had a very closed mind before, very straight and narrow. They are broadening their own horizons aren't-they, when they are going along and doing these things. (post-holiday interview 2)

Anne also says it is a conscious decision of the organisation to keep the holiday participants involved while they are still motivated:

Anne: I think what we try to do is pick them at a good time, and get them involved in more and keep them going. I see most of them every day, whether it's just in passing or a wave or whatever. But I do try to keep very regular contact up with them, and I think that really helps, that they know there is somebody. (post-holiday interview 2)

Although Gemma's organisation does not explicitly try to engage the holiday participants more, she has also noticed a change over the last six months:

Gemma (WFA): Afterwards they might come to a group or they might bring their child to stay and play. They might even not have been confident enough to talk to you before, but then afterwards they are. (post-holiday interview 2)

Family respondent Ellie is more confident to ask for help after her holiday:

Ellie (participant): It is difficult, but there is help out there, you just need to ask for it. My health visitor is brilliant. (post-holiday interview 2)

Welfare agent Tom's organisation is entirely run by volunteers, and he also agrees that the participants to the holidays are more likely to be active in the organisation afterwards.

Tom (WFA): Yes, it is a real benefit to us, because they become part and passion of the organisation. They feel that they are gaining a lot from the organisation, and they want to come and even work as a volunteer. They are asking "how can we help?", that is a great benefit to the organisation. Holidays, I'd say, give a facelift to the organisation, because we become even more known, and people come to us even more. (post-holiday interview 2)

Volunteer Abdul sees the same holiday as a great opportunity to provide the clients of the organisation with information. He says people are more receptive to word-of-mouth information than written pamphlets.

Abdul (volunteer): Coming together, sharing, talking... and it is also important because you'll find that people get information more word of mouth than reading. So as people gather together they talk about issues, so they learn something from each other. And that is great I think.

Interviewer: So do you think it is better to introduce information that way?

A.: Yeah, people's views are more open. It is much easier also to give people information while they are together, rather than giving people information to read. (post-holiday interview 2)

9.6.4. Support is necessary to achieve benefits

The support of the welfare agent in the above mentioned cases is often crucial for the participants to turn the motivational effect of the holiday into concrete behaviour changes. This also explains why, when this support is missing, holidays can leave participants with rather mixed feelings: coming back to the problems of everyday life, with no real way of changing them, can be very depressing.

Dina (WFA): That's what happens when you go on holiday, and then when you come back it's like a whack on the jaw.

Interviewer: Because the old problems are still there?

D.: In fact a lot of the time they might actually seem worse. Because you have had a touch of what life could be like. That could make you feel quite down I would think, because you think "it's not fair".

Resolutions that are made on holiday are not always followed through when the participants get back. Dina gives the example of a group holiday where a counsellor was present on site. Although she sees the potential for introducing new services on holiday, following them up at home is often a problem.

Dina (WFA): They didn't have to go to counselling, there was a counsellor there, that would be on hand for if at that one moment they felt sad... because you can feel sad here but you have to wait six months until you can go and see a counsellor, whereas there you feel sad, there was a counsellor there. So a lot of that was about the attention being there, and the facilities being there for them.

Interviewer: Holidays are also a positive experience, so maybe it's a good time to introduce certain services there?

D.: Yes, because counselling there was also part of the holiday, in a nice country home. Whereas if you go to a doctor's surgery, with files on the wall, that is a different experience. (post-holiday interview 2)

When Kelly talks about her son's Callum's interest in taking French lessons, she does not see the motivational effect a holiday could have on him. An explanation for this attitude

may be that with a new baby underway, she sees no chance of the family going on another holiday in the next couple of years.

Kelly (participant): It's quite funny actually, they are doing French lessons at the school, and Callum says "can I do them?" and I am like "What do you want to do French lessons for? It's not as if you are ever going to go to France, you know". And he turns around and says "yeah, because that is where Disneyland Paris is, isn't it?" and I thought "you cheeky boy!". He says "when we go there mum, I will be able to know what to say", but I'm like "wherever you go now everybody speaks English anyway". (post-holiday interview 2)

9.7. Holidays as a learning curve

A side effect of the growing independence of some of the family participants was a change in their choice or method of holiday. The respondents who felt they needed a lot of support would choose another holiday camp or accompanied group holiday, whereas other respondents whose confidence or ability to cope had increased, often said they would prefer a different sort of holiday instead.

Emily and Dina say that for their group of clients (women who have suffered from domestic violence and stay in the refuge), a group holiday to a holiday camp is the most preferred option.

Emily (WFA): I think at this stage in their lives, they need sometimes for it to be organised for them. A lot of them are sort of lacking in energy and motivation, so the last thing on their mind is the thought of having to plan anything. It was even like... thank God we take them down there, because some wouldn't be able to get the initiative to go and get the bus or the coach. Later on in their lives, five years down the line, they probably will, but women who have just come into the refuge, their head's not where it should be, it's in a million other places, so for things like holidays, they really need people to do it for them. (post-holiday interview 2)

Harry also strongly prefers an organised holiday. As an African he says he is not used to taking or booking holidays, and the daily needs might mean the money would be spent on other necessities.

Harry (participant): Definitely in the black minority, they first consider certain things more than holidays, not because they don't want it, but because in Africa, it's rare you go on holidays. So basically, in that stage, in this place, it is much more better if an organisation comes up with a holiday, that they organise the holiday themselves, they find a certain place, and then you can go to those places. But if you give me the money I'll think twice... I want the holiday, but because of a few things here and there, and because of the choices of the holiday, sometimes you get stuck. You want to go to this place, you want to go to the other place... so basically you are caught in the middle. Which place can you go to? So sometimes I think it is better for an organisation to come up with such a holiday so that we get fully integrated into the holiday culture.(post-holiday interview 2)

Kerry, Vicky, Casey and Lindsey have no such disadvantage, but would all prefer to go to a holiday camp again, rather than go abroad or visit places without entertainment. This seems to coincide with the fact that none of them have made “public” behaviour changes in the second round, although two of them did keep up the “private” changes made in the first round.

In four cases though, family respondents who preferred accompanied group holidays in the first round, would now prefer to go somewhere different in the future. Three respondents had saved up and booked at the time of the second round of interviews, and two decided to go abroad. These families displayed strong “public” changes at the same time by being able to budget better and being more involved in other support programmes. Another family respondent, Ellie, who has also made some “public” behaviour changes by getting more involved in the support programmes that are there for her, has also changed her holiday preference.

Ellie (participant): It's difficult because Millie is quite a lot older and Nicholas is very young, so he likes all the playing stuff, but I'd like to let Millie see more kind of historical things, take her to the theatre, and galleries, and beaches or gardens.... Not just purely playing. (post-holiday interview 2)

9.8. Conclusion

This second round of interviews has emphasised that support is a key term in the success of social tourism. In the first round it became clear that a certain level of support can be necessary during the holiday, for participants who have lower independence levels and find it hard to cope on their own. They might prefer a supported group holiday, whereas other, more independent families who do not crave social contact might prefer an individual holiday. Whichever holiday the family chooses, the aim is that they have a relaxing time away from “stress” and worries, so that they can concentrate more on family relations and personal development. The result of the first round was that a large number of participants displayed these “private” benefits after the holiday; a fact which was mostly confirmed by their welfare agents.

The second round of interviews has brought to light how this need for support continues after the holiday. Six months after the holiday, a lot (although not all) of the “private” benefits have sustained. A second, powerful set of benefits have developed in some of the respondents though: they have changed their behaviour to reduce their level of social exclusion, by changing their spending habits, changing their level of involvement in support programmes or changing their careers. These benefits only developed where participants could count on the continued support of their welfare agents. The motivational and aspirational quality of the holiday was used to make concrete changes. Where this support was not available though, this step to “public” benefits was generally not taken.

From this round, one can conclude that social tourism does not reach its maximum benefit in isolation, but in support of and supported by existing social programmes. Participants who were often not reached by social work before can become involved by the positiveness of their holiday experience. The holiday can provide the participants with the necessary motivation to change their behaviour and their daily life, but they still need support in many cases to make the changes happen.

The next chapter will analyse both rounds of interviews and link the results to the concepts from the literature review. It will also discuss the socio-economic value of the beneficial effects of social tourism.

10. Discussion of the two rounds of interviews

10.1. Introduction

This study was carried out to answer three research questions:

- 1 To what extent do respondents report long-term benefits from social tourism for low-income groups?**
- 2 How far does the type of holiday (family holiday vs. group holiday) influence the benefits?**
- 3 What is the value of social tourism in terms of internal benefits (family capital) and external benefits (net benefits to society)?**

Examining the long-term benefits of social tourism for low-income groups is important for its ethical justification. In chapter two it was shown that even though “socialised” theories can justify visitor-related social tourism because it supports the weaker strata in society and can in that case be seen to be *a priori* morally right; “individualised” theories do not share this view. From an “individualised” point of view, spending (specifically public) money on this form of tourism is only morally justified if the net economic benefits outweigh the costs. A particular problem for the evaluation of visitor-related social tourism is the fact that the outcomes are often hard to measure in monetary terms (e.g. better family relationships).

In addition to examining if there are long-term benefits connected to visitor-related social tourism, the study has also investigated different ways of organising social holidays. As so far there is only a very limited body of research about the effects of visitor-related social tourism, it is unclear if one type of holiday can trigger more benefits than the other, and what the conditions for success (if any) are. Hence two types of holidays were compared: group holidays on the one hand, individual family holidays on the other hand.

Finally the study aimed to clarify the types of potential benefits that can be associated with social tourism for low-income groups. These can affect different areas of the respondents' lives: some benefits apply mostly to the family unit, whereas others affect the interactions between the respondent and the rest of society. The relationship between these "private" and "public" benefit was also examined.

10.2. A MUD perspective on social exclusion

Assessing if social initiatives can benefit the rest of society is strongly dependent on the societal views of the assessor. The benefits of social tourism for low-income groups could potentially be claimed to diminish social exclusion, but as Levitas (1998) has argued, three very distinct views on social exclusion exist. The appropriateness of social tourism to reduce social exclusion will thus depend on how the concept is interpreted.

The RED (redistributionist) view of social exclusion, which concentrates on an equal distribution of goods and power in society (Levitas 1998, 14), has links with social tourism, in the sense that it provides low-income groups with holidays, whereas they might not have access to them otherwise. From an ethical point of view, this discourse belongs to the "socialised" tradition, whereby the stronger strata in society have an *a priori* duty to support the weaker strata. Seeing that in this context social tourism is also *a priori* morally right, the benefits of social tourism are less important for this discourse. As this study researches these benefits, the RED view of social exclusion is unsuitable for this purpose.

The SID view of social exclusion equates inclusion to participation in paid work (Levitas 1998, 26). As social tourism does not directly result in employment, this discourse is also unsuitable for this study. Even if employment would be a long-term benefit of social tourism, the holidays would have influenced the participant's employability indirectly, not directly (as for example in the case of training, education.).

The MUD view of social exclusion links exclusion to the presence of a number of handicapping characteristics that hinder the individual's integration in society (Levitas 1998, 18). This implies that if these characteristics can be reduced or erased, this would lead the way to greater inclusion. Lower exclusion levels could benefit every member in society due to lower crime levels, lower levels of benefit-dependency, lower costs for health services. (see chapter 4). This means that if social tourism can have these effects, this would provide the moral justification for individualised theories to accept the concept as morally valuable.

Reducing the handicapping characteristics of individuals can be achieved by increasing various forms of capital: social capital (valuable relationships with others), family capital (valuable relationships within the family unit) and, to a certain extent, cultural capital and habitus (which differentiate one class from the other). In the case of cultural capital and habitus it is important to note that the MUD view of social exclusion does not aim for a classless society: only the handicapping aspects of cultural capital and class should be reduced to facilitate greater inclusion.

10.3. Experiential and situated learning through social tourism

The argument so far states that if visitor-related social tourism can change certain handicapping characteristics of a socially excluded group, this would have wider effects on society overall, and this would justify social tourism for low-income groups both from a socialised and an individualised point of view. In this context the most successful social tourism is the kind where the reduction of these characteristics is maximised. Understanding the process behind these attitude and behaviour changes can provide insight into how best to optimise them.

Experiential learning and situated learning are educational theories concentrating on the value of experience and communities of practice for learning, and can be applied to non-institutionalised learning (see chapter 5). From the perspective of experiential learning, a holiday can offer the participant the chance to encounter new situations, witness different

social interactions, and compare these to his or her own behaviour pattern (Boydell 1976, 19). On the basis of this reflection process, the participant can then test new behaviours. In the case of single-loop learning, this process will mainly improve the efficiency of certain actions within an already existing behavioural framework. In the case of double-loop learning, the learner realises that to achieve an optimal outcome, a paradigm shift is required. So not only has the actual behaviour changed, the way the individual thinks about this behaviour has equally evolved (Argyris & Schön 1978, 22).

A holiday, with its opportunities to explore new environments and engage in new activities, can provide the encounters the participants can use as the start of their experiential learning cycle. Not only does this give them the opportunity to improve their own efficiency (single-loop thinking, for example when booking accommodation for the first time), it can also have wider repercussions and start a paradigm shift (double-loop thinking, for example if booking the holiday themselves results in a generally higher confidence level). These behaviour changes and paradigm shifts can be seen as the reduction of handicapping characteristics that is so important in the MUD view of social exclusion.

From the perspective of situated learning, the holiday provides the individual with opportunities to familiarise himself or herself with new communities of practice. Learning is seen as a social activity, largely rooted in participating in activities with these communities of practice (Lave & Wenger 1991, 29). Every person is defined by his participating or non-participating in activities and communities of practice, so learning new skills can change how an individual perceives his or her own identity (Wenger 1998, 167). Katherine for example mentioned that participating in a social holiday made her feel “less of a failure” (post-holiday interview 2).

Holidays can be a means of access to new communities of practice for persons who are generally excluded from them. Interviewees mostly did not work, and many of them had very restricted contact with communities of practice outside their family. Holidays provide the opportunity to participate in a new activity, and learn the ways of a new

community: the other holiday makers on site, the other members on the group holiday. Contact with new communities of practice can thus lead to increases in social capital and behaviour change (Lesser & Storck 2001, 833).

10.4. Increasing family capital (“private” benefits)

Some of the behaviour changes and paradigm shifts that occurred during and after the holiday resulted in an increase in the family capital of the respondents. In chapter 8 these were referred to as “private” benefits, because they mainly affect the family unit, and increase their resilience as a group (Belsey 2003, 3). An improvement in the family relations of the respondents was one of the clearest outcomes in the first round of interviews, one month after the return of the respondents. The great majority of respondents indicated positive behaviour changes in this domain, mainly referring to the relationship with the children, the time spent with them and the change in parenting styles. Lindsey for example mentioned, how she and her daughter spend more time together since the holiday, and how they enjoy each other’s company more (post-holiday interviews 1). Daniel reported in the first round how the relationship with his son had improved dramatically after the holiday, and how his son confides in him a lot more since (post-holiday interview 1). A concern that was voiced by the majority of the welfare agents was that parents did not often play or spend time with their children. This would result in very low family capital for the parent(s) and the child(ren). One month after the holiday it became clear that there had been a general improvement in this domain. Many examples were given that showed how this positively affected the children (doing better at school, being proud and happy to spend time with their parents, children being better behaved), and the parents (feeling less guilty, feeling more positive towards the children, spending quality time together.)

In the second round, these increases were still present in most cases. (In most of the cases where the improvement did not last, the family had suffered a grave change in circumstances which had caused them great distress.) This effect was mainly noted in the relationship between parents and children. Lindsey was one of the parents who also in the

second round of interviews emphasised how she and her daughter were still closer, and how that positively influenced the behaviour of the child (post-holiday interview 2) The improvements in the relationships between the adults were less clear. This had two reasons: the first one being that most families interviewed were single-parent families, so that there were fewer cases where this benefit was important. The second reason was that in the cases where the positive effects did not last, the adults had often separated, but gone on a holiday together for the children's sake. In one particular case though, the holiday was reported to have had a very positive effect on the relationship between the parents. Katherine said:

Katherine: So we were spending like two hours a day together, as husband and wife, not just as mum and dad so that was lovely. That brought us together. So now at least I know the scope, we're not just mum and dad, it is nice when we come together, those times are nice, it can happen.(post-holiday interview 2).

The second round of interviews also showed how big the feeling of guilt of most parents was before the holiday. Having given their children what other children have was explicitly mentioned as a great source of pride and satisfaction by half of the respondents. The feeling of guilt had often been one of the reasons for applying for the holiday, and can be motivating after the holiday is over. Welfare agent Bethany for example pointed out how the feeling "to be the same as everyone else" could be very satisfying for both the parents and the children, who compare themselves to their peers at school (post-holiday interview 2).

In chapter 4 it was shown that family capital is based on the stability of the family on the one hand, and the social contacts of the parents on the other hand (Parcel & Dufur 2001, 882). The study results have shown that a social holiday can contribute to both of these areas. A better relationship between the family members can reduce tension, and therefore make family life more agreeable and potentially more efficient. Anthony said in the first round of interviews how his family life had changed dramatically since the holiday, how it was like they had started from a clean slate (post-holiday interview 1).

This higher efficiency was generally illustrated by more frequent family outings, spending quality time together. Definitely where the group holidays were concerned, the social contacts of the parents (and of the children) were shown to increase. Participants of group holidays mentioned meeting new people as one of the main benefits of the holiday, and often kept in touch with fellow participants and/or the holiday organisers after the holiday. Volunteer Abdul emphasised the role of sharing, talking, and coming together as the great benefit of a group holiday. He also pointed out the participants learnt from each other (post-holiday interview 2), which fits with the situated learning theory discussed in chapter 5. In the following section the result of this increased social contact on other areas of life like confidence, higher engagement into the organisation. will be discussed. Some of the participants of individual social holidays also mentioned increased social contact, but the examples were less frequent.

10.5. Social capital (“public” benefits)

Some of the benefits that were reported by the respondents showed an improvement in social capital. An increase in social capital can help the individual function better in relationship with others, and thus integrate him or her better into society (or reduce social exclusion) (Coleman 1998). Because these benefits affect the individual family member and his or her relationship with the rest of society, these were called “public” benefits in chapter 7. The areas of life the holiday was found to affect were confidence, outlook on life and social contacts. Although they are evaluated separately here, it needs to be said that these areas often interrelate: an increase in social contact for example can lead to greater confidence, which can change the outlook on life. Alternatively an increase in confidence can cause people to make new contacts. All three areas can influence each other, and an increase in one area will often affect other areas as well.

First round

In the first round of interviews, the findings regarding confidence were twofold. On the one hand there were cases where the holiday had been very successful and the

participants often reported an increase in confidence. This applied to the group holidays in all cases, and to the individual holidays where the respondents were generally well able to cope. For Katherine, the individual holiday proved beneficial to her confidence as a parent, as she proved to be able to manage her son in new circumstances (post-holiday interview 1). Sandra, who participated in a group holiday, mentioned how being in a group led her to try new activities, and do things she would not have done on her own (post-holiday interview 1).

On the other hand there were the respondents who had found the holiday very challenging, because of the lack of support, or because of the lack of organised entertainment. This can be linked back to chapter 5 and the relationship between difficulty and motivation for achievement. This link shows that as tension increases so does motivation to learn, up to a certain point. Then motivation declines, because of over-stimulation (Luft 1984). In this case the respondents felt over-stimulated or threatened by the difficulties they encountered on the holiday. Rupert was an example of this over-stimulation, he found an individual holiday with three children very daunting, and damaging to his confidence as a parent (post-holiday interview 1). Chapter 9 hence concluded that these participants would have benefited from a higher level of support during the holiday, either in the form of a group holiday or in the form of more organised activities for children and adults. Organised entertainment was often seen as a way to structure the holiday and make it more manageable. Volunteer Abdul spoke about how a team of childminders was taken on the group holiday, to reduce the pressure on the participating parents (post-holiday interview 1 and 2).

The results in the first round of interviews for an increase in social contact were fairly similar: the group holidays generally resulted in an extension of the support network for the participants. The respondents often reported the opportunity to talk about their problems to people in the same situation as a great benefit of the holiday. For example Harry and Anthony both mentioned making new friends on the holiday, whom they were aiming to keep in touch with (post-holiday interview 1). In some cases respondents who had been on an individual family holiday had also increased their support network,

although this was mostly limited to family members who accompanied single parents on the holiday (for example Rachel, who chose to visit family on her holiday – post-holiday interview 1). Other participants of individual family holidays though did not report an increase in social contact. In some cases this was a conscious decision and the family wanted to concentrate on improving its relations internally. In other cases though respondents felt isolated; and unable to participate in social activities for adults because of childcare obligations. Rupert described how he would have loved just to go for a walk in the evening, but he could not because there was no babysitting service available (post-holiday interview 1).

In the first month after the holiday, about half of the participants and welfare agents described the escape out of the daily grind as one of the most important benefits of the holiday. Being able to leave the worries and financial problems at home, and concentrate on more positive things was shown to be able to change the perspective of the participants. Many welfare agents like Aisha and Anne emphasised how the daily worries could make people so focused on them, “they can’t see beyond that” (post-holiday interview 1). Daniel also testified how being away from the unsafe estate where he lives, made him free his mind to spend time with his son (post-holiday interview 1). This can be linked to the first stage of experiential learning as described by Richards (1992, 158). He called this stage “separation”, leaving behind old ideas, which can be supported by leaving the normal physical environment (see chapter 5). This leads to an open-mindedness in the “encounter” stage, when the learner is faced with unfamiliar situations and new behaviours.

Second round

In the second round, these results were not only maintained but in many cases strengthened and translated into new forms of behaviour. Increased confidence for example caused Ellie to make use of more of the services her health visitor was offering (post-holiday interview 2). Nancy organised a camping holiday for a group of users of her support organisation, even though she did not dare to go camping before (post-

holiday interview 2). Also the increase in social contact between different members of a support organisation, or between the welfare agents and the respondent, could lead to a greater involvement in the organisation, or to a more active lifestyle visiting new friends. Katherine joined the gym and consciously tried to make time for the relationship with her husband, which had suffered before (post-holiday interview 2). All this can go together with the new outlook on life that has been developed: respondents reported to have evaluated their life on the holiday, and to have found a desire to change certain aspects of it. Examples are the two respondents who changed jobs because they were unhappy in their situation (Rachel and Kloey, post-holiday interview 2), or the three respondents who adopted a new attitude to debt and money (Katherine, Nancy and Carry – post-holiday interview 2). Many respondents emphasised how the holiday changed their aspirations in life, and how things that seemed out of reach, now seem possible after all. Welfare agent Leanne described the holiday as “a little taste of what it could be like”, which motivated some of her clients strongly (post-holiday interview 2).

Learning

These last examples could be explained by experiential and situated learning on and after the holiday. From an experiential point of view, a successful holiday includes encountering new situations and being less worried about money and daily problems for a period of time. This separation is the facilitator for reflecting on certain aspects of life, and comparing them to the ones encountered on the holiday. These can then be generalised and incorporated into the respondent’s behaviour during the holiday or on his or her return. The new behaviour is then tested, and if necessary, adapted. But the holiday goes further than mere single-loop thinking. By reflecting on life, many respondents realised that to be happier and more efficient in the future, a paradigm shift might be necessary. They might adopt a greater level of confidence, re-assess the relations with their family, or change aspirations. An example is Rachel, who decided to leave her job for a more flexible one, so she could spend more time with her autistic son. Katherine decided to save up and budget better, so that she would be able to go on holiday again the year after. The result of this learning process can be a concrete

reduction of certain handicapping characteristics that enforced social exclusion. If this is achieved, social tourism has benefits for the whole of society, and can thus be justified by both individualised and socialised ethical theories.

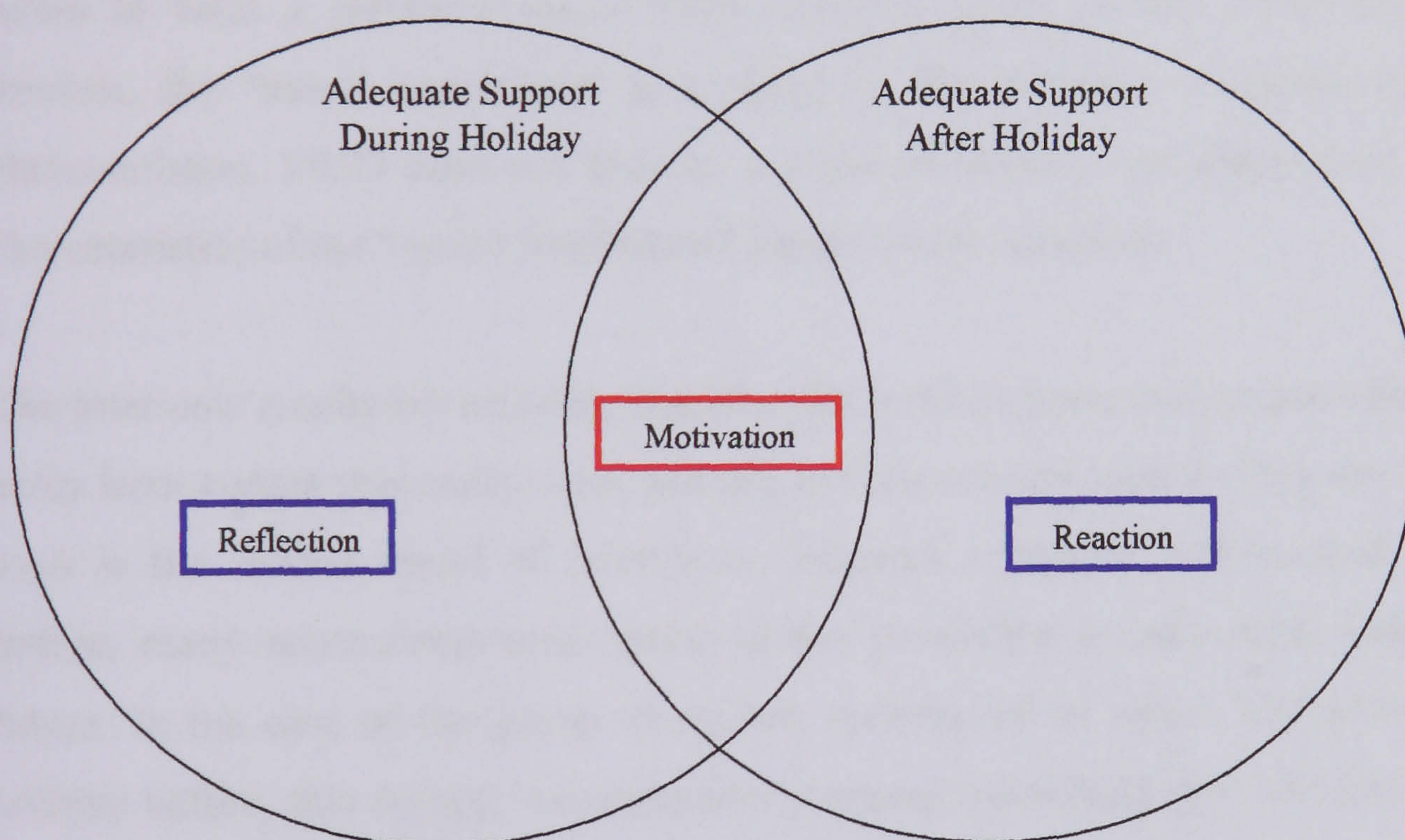
From a situated learning point of view, the holiday can provide contact with new communities of practice. This can happen intensively (in group holidays for example), or it can just generally refer to the contact with “holiday makers”, and getting to know the actions and behaviours associated with going on holiday. Participation in this new community of practice can lead to observable behaviour change (Lesser & Storck 2001, 833).

Third parties play an important role in the experiential and situated learning process. The role of the facilitator in experiential learning (see chapter 5) is to help the learner reflect on what is experienced, and to support him or her to integrate this into general behaviour (Boud *et al* 1993, 10). Potential facilitators are group members in group holidays, family members, friends, but also the welfare agent, who can offer services and support that might not be available to peers. In situated learning, the community of practice is a key element for the learning process, and learning is interactional (Wenger 1998, 102). The second round of interviews showed that the respondents who made the greatest progress mostly did so with the help of their welfare agent. The welfare agent referred them to other services available (social services, jobseeker support), or in cases just gave one-to-one support with setting a budget, changing parenting techniques.

Again, this can be linked to the relation between difficulty and motivation for achievement. The holiday experience has in most cases presented the respondents with a situation of arousal that was not too low (boredom) and not too high (over-stimulation). After the reflexion stage, this has created a positive energy, a motivation to “learn” or change certain areas of their lives. Incorporating the generalisations the respondents have made may require double-loop learning though, as in many cases a paradigm shift is required. This will affect many areas of their life and is a complex learning process,

which, without adequate support, might present some of the respondents with overstimulation. The facilitator, in this case the welfare agent, is in a good position to offer support and bring the level of arousal down. Welfare agents can reassure the participants and encourage them to see certain changes through. They can mostly offer one-to-one or other forms of support, which turns motivation in a concrete behaviour change, as is illustrated by the diagram underneath. It shows how, with adequate support, a holiday can allow participants to reflect on their lives, which can motivate them to change. Only if there is also adequate support provided after the holiday, can this lead to concrete behaviour change or reaction.

Figure 21



A condition for situated learning is the successfulness of the community of practice. Lesser and Storck (2001, 833) define successful communities of practice as ones that meet structurally, where there is a sense of trust between the members and where a common interest is shared. The welfare agent and support organisation are a potentially very useful community of practice, and a holiday can often improve its success rate. Welfare agents Gemma and Katie described how participants generally come to the

support organisation more often after the holiday (post-holiday interview 2). Carol said the relationship between her and her clients improved after the holiday (post-holiday interview 1). Leanne described how after the holiday her organisation offers personalised help to the participants, concentrating on interests they put forward (post-holiday interview 2).

10.6. Cultural capital

Mowforth and Munt (1998) described holidays as an important way to increase cultural capital. Cultural capital (see chapter 4) is, together with habitus, the basis for social differentiation, and refers to what a particular social class typically likes (whereas habitus refers to what a particular social class typically does). In the MUD view of social tourism, the “moral underclass” is typified by the presence of certain handicapping characteristics. MUD does not aim for a classless society, but emphasises that certain characteristics of the “moral underclass” hinder social inclusion.

The interview results have shown that after the holiday, many respondents begin to move away from certain preconceptions, and add to their cultural capital. This was most clearly seen in the second round of interviews. Whereas a holiday had seemed unattainable before, many respondents now spoke of the possibility to take more holidays in the future. In the case of the group of asylum seekers, all of whom had never been on a holiday before, this feeling was particularly strong: something that was not part of their cultural capital nor habitus before, was now a quite central aspiration for the future (Abdul, post-holiday interview 2).

The second finding is that in most cases where respondents had made certain behaviour changes, their taste and aspirations also changed. Two of these respondents (Katherine and Nancy) had budgeted and booked a foreign holiday with their family (post-holiday interview 2). Other respondents reflected on their experience and described how they would have new standards for future holidays, in particular where the accommodation

and entertainment was considered not up to standard. Marion for example said she would do more research before booking a holiday again, whereas now she had let her welfare agent decide (post-holiday interview 2). This means that although they would choose the same type of holiday, she would change the provider or destination. One respondent (Ellie) mentioned she would rather take her family to see some cultural attractions and introduce more educational activities, whereas another respondent (Sandra) spoke of visiting family members as preferable to holiday camps. All these examples show that even though the social class of the participants has not changed, their cultural capital (and habitus) can change after a holiday. As they identify with higher aspirations and leave the handicapping characteristics behind that stand in their way, a greater inclusion level can be reached.

10.7. Socio-economic value of these changes

As stated before, social tourism is presented as a potential way to reduce the handicapping characteristics of social exclusion of the Moral Underclass Discourse (see chapter 4). These handicapping characteristics do not only affect the individual, but also translate as costs for society as a whole. These costs can be direct (tangible) costs, indirect (intangible) costs or opportunity costs (Laing & Bobic 2002,15). This paragraph aims to identify the economic benefits of the changes the respondents have made.

Complex social issues like exclusion, crime and domestic violence are difficult to quantify monetarily in all their aspects. The *direct* or *tangible* costs of social exclusion are the ones that are incurred directly as a result of the exclusion, and in theory the most easily quantifiable. Still, as social exclusion is in itself a complex concept, it is not always obvious which costs are a direct consequence of exclusion, and which indirect (e.g. is unemployment a direct result of social exclusion? Or is it an indirect consequence of general lower educational levels, worse health connected to social exclusion? Are those aspects direct consequences of social exclusion?). Hence the term *tangible* might be clearer in this case, and will be used here: the tangible costs are the costs incurred directly to counter social exclusion, money spent on initiatives with this explicit aim. Examples

are welfare benefits, and the cost of services put in place to address social exclusion. (social services, health care, services of voluntary associations and charities). These costs can in principle be quantified in specific figures. In the next paragraph, examples will show how social tourism can reduce some of the direct costs of social exclusion.

This study has shown small reductions of direct costs of social exclusion. An example is Kerry, who stopped taking anti-depressants, which is a reduction of the cost of her health service (post—holiday interview 1 and 2). Two other respondents, Rachel and Katherine, also reduced or quit their intake of medication for stress-related illnesses (post-holiday interview 1 and 2). In chapter 4 it was shown how socially excluded groups often suffer worse health than the general population, resulting in greater costs for the public health services. An improvement in the physical health of the participants is thus not only a “private” benefit, but, by reducing public spending, can also be seen as a “public” benefit.

A more obvious reduction of direct costs was the fact that the holiday often reinforced services that are available and deemed useful for reducing aspects of social exclusion, like counselling, courses, one-to-one support. Although the service still needed to be provided, it yielded better results after the holiday, thus providing a better return for the money invested. Welfare agents Gemma and Katie commented on how participants to the holidays often got a lot more involved in other aspects of the organisation afterwards (post-holiday interview 1). Carry is another example of a respondent who intensified her involvement in her support organisation, resulting in one-to-one support to improve her budgeting abilities and her enrolment in a self-esteem programme (post-holiday interview 2). Aisha, her welfare agent, assessed this new motivation as a direct result of the holiday (post-holiday interview 2). Not only can this development benefit Carry, it can also benefit her children, if this way the cycle of deprivation can be broken.

The *indirect* or *intangible* costs of social exclusion refer to the social and psychological costs of exclusion. These costs “are often significantly higher than the direct cost to support services, communities and governments” (Laing & Bobic 2002, 15). Examples of these costs are feelings of low self-esteem, bad interpersonal relations, loneliness. These

costs affect not only the individual, but also the society he or she lives in: these costs can cause unemployment, more intense use of health services and need for support, resulting in direct costs for the community. These intangible costs are more difficult to quantify, as psychological costs cannot easily be translated in specific monetary values.

A recent study by the Centre for Economic Performance described the costs of depression on the economy. The study found that there are currently more people receiving incapacity benefits because of mental illness than unemployed people receiving unemployment benefits (LSE 2006, 1). It goes on to say that the total loss of output due to depression and chronic anxiety is some £12 billion a year – 1% of the total national income. Of this the cost to the taxpayer is some £7 billion – including incapacity benefits and lost tax receipts (LSE 2006, 6). The cost for treatment is £750, which is the equivalent of one month in extra benefits and lost taxes. This means that if the person works just a month more as a result of the treatment, the treatment pays for itself (LSE 2006, 2). This example shows how indirect costs (on a psychological level) and direct costs are strongly interrelated, and how the reduction of the indirect costs can lead to a reduction of the direct costs to the economy.

In this study, welfare agent Linda (post-holiday interview 2) mentioned the example of a former group holiday participant (not part of the respondents), who suffered from depression and anxiety. The holiday helped her overcome a lot of these problems, and the participant got a part-time job as a result. The investment of the holiday could be said to have paid for itself, as this meant a reduction in the benefits this person received due to her reintegration in the labour market.

The results of this study have shown that social tourism can strongly impact on the indirect or intangible costs of social exclusion. Increases in self-esteem, a better state of mind and better interpersonal relations were mentioned by the majority of respondents as results of the holiday. The causes of their feelings of depression and negative state of mind were directly linked to the factors that caused their social exclusion, like debt, poor family relations, feelings of loneliness. A Mintel report prepared in 2006 also linked

“family and relationship problems” to 44% of cases of depression, and “financial problems” to one third of cases (Mintel 2006, 2). A study carried out for the British Association for Counselling and Psychotherapy showed that the group in society most averse to psychotherapy is the older generation, and social grades C2DE (Future Foundation 2004, 18). Socially excluded groups usually fall into these social grades, resulting in the fact that

“in an affluent society the group which may be in most need of talking therapies are currently the least accepting of it. This raises questions about what can be done to offer the opportunity for therapy to this group and to encourage those within it who could benefit from therapy to be open to the possibility” (Future Foundation 2004, 18).

The respondent group of this study supports how excluded people are often in most need of counselling, but least likely to receive it. None of the respondents was in intensive therapy or counselling in the first round of interviews. Still, the holiday was shown to have a positive effect on their willingness to receive some sort of formal therapy: three respondents who had been on individual family holidays enrolled in courses or counselling sessions after the holiday (Katherine, Nancy, Carry), three commented on being closer to their welfare agent and engaging in informal sessions (Ellie, Rachel, Sandra). One of the welfare agents described the group holiday for her clients as “therapeutic” (Carol). Other group holiday participants commented on the ability to share feelings and express emotions (Anthony, Harry). This might indicate that a holiday can even be a substitute for professional psychological help to a certain extent. In all these examples though, the holiday reduced the intangible costs of social exclusion. In the cases where participants decided to get involved in therapy, the direct costs were not reduced, but the return on the investment is likely to be higher if hard to reach individuals also participate in the programme.

The *opportunity* costs of social exclusion are the costs of opportunities which the participant has lost as a result of being socially excluded (Laing & Bobic, 16). Again, these costs are often hard to quantify as they refer to hypothetical opportunities the

individual would have taken up, e.g. employment, education. These costs are also important for the children of socially excluded parents: chapter 4 has shown that they are often underperforming at school, at greater risk of low health.

A reduction in opportunity costs through social tourism can again be found in the greater involvement many respondents showed in their support organisation. Opportunities that were there before (courses, counselling, one-to-one support), were not taken up. Taking up these opportunities can lead to measurable behaviour changes, for example better budgeting abilities for Katherine, Carry and Nancy, to a change in employment for Rachel, a closer relationship between Sandra and her son, or Lindsey and her daughter.

Finally, social tourism could be said to have wider economic benefits for the tourism industry providers, like holiday camps and domestic destinations, which have to compete with cheap holiday offers abroad. As this study concentrates on visitor-related benefits only, it was decided not to expand on these in the frame of this research.

10.8. Conclusion

This chapter has aimed to discuss the findings of the research based on the concepts introduced in the literature review. It has highlighted the potential for social tourism to create a great level of motivation and experiential learning. It has also showed the central conditions of successful social tourism and the potential role of the facilitator (often the welfare agent) to optimise the benefits.

Looking back at the research questions, it can be concluded that most respondents reported long-term benefits of social tourism. The types of benefits that were mentioned can be classified in three categories. Increases to family capital were achieved by most respondents, and these are labelled “private” benefits. They mainly affect the family unit, but also have a certain affect on society as a whole, as in chapter 4 it was found that family capital plays a role in facilitating child socialisation and can improve educational

performance. It can also help the family cope with adversity and strengthen their resilience.

The second type are increases in the social capital of the individual family members, which refer to their relations with other members of society. These included confidence, outlook on life and social contacts. The extent of the change is often small at first and concentrates around the family unit, but over time develops into more drastic behaviour change, such as better budgeting or greater involvement in support organisations. These changes are no longer just “private” but also “public” and affect the way the individual interacts with, and integrates into society. These benefits were achieved by the majority of respondents. The group who generally did not achieve these benefits were respondents who found the individual family holiday too challenging. About half of the group who achieved external benefits made great changes to their lifestyle, by budgeting better, greater involvement in the support organisation or changing the work situation. This group was characterised by supporting welfare agents who facilitated the learning process.

The third and final type of benefits were changes to cultural capital. These show that respondents, through the holiday, often started to move away from the cultural capital linked to the “moral underclass”. This can result in higher aspirations and greater motivation.

When comparing group with individual holidays, it became apparent that respondents who had low self-esteem and found it hard to cope with the challenges of new situations, a group holidays resulted in greater benefits. This could potentially be linked to the lowered arousal levels (so that participants were not over-stimulated, which would have diminished their motivation), and because the social contacts led to greater support networks (affecting family and social capital). For the more independent respondents individual holiday presented a more appropriate level of arousal (and thus a better opportunity for learning): these respondents often dealt well with the challenges the new situations presented, and gained confidence of this experience. The only aspect which

differed strongly from the group holidays for this group was the level of social contact: in most cases the respondents did not report an extension of their support network.

The value of social tourism lies thus in the fact that it presents the opportunity for learning and a potential paradigm shift. If the right type of holiday is selected and an adequate level of support during and after the holiday is provided, learning can be optimised. Being a positive measure, it has the ability to reach groups that are not usually involved in many of the support opportunities that are available to them, and provide the motivation to change their situation. Compared to many other support initiatives, it is also relatively inexpensive. In this context it can be seen as a powerful measure to reduce social exclusion.

11. Conclusions and Recommendations

11.1. Introduction

At the end of this study, the reasons for starting it in the first place need to be reconsidered. In the first chapter, it was shown that although social tourism is an important part of the tourism industry, not all forms have been researched equally. Social tourism for low-income groups, although publicly funded in many European countries, is particularly under-researched, and there is very little research evidence to support its claimed benefits. This study has examined the benefits of social tourism in two areas: personal development, and family development. It has also compared different types of holidays and proposed conditions for successful holidays.

In the following paragraphs, the answers to each of the research questions will be summarised. The limitations for the study will be discussed, and recommendations for further research will be made.

11.2. *To what extent do respondents report long-term benefits of social tourism for low-income groups?*

This study has examined the value of visitor-related social tourism for low-income groups, in terms of the benefits it can bring to the participants both in the short term and in the longer term. It was found that social tourism can positively affect the family capital, social capital and cultural capital of the respondents.

Social tourism was reported by the majority of respondents to have positively affected one or more areas of daily life after the holiday. The first area the holiday could benefit was the *family capital* of the respondents, the relationships between the family members and their resilience when faced with adversity. This benefit was reported by most of the participants, in the short term and in the long term. Both the adults and the family benefited from an increase in family capital, which could lead for the adults to a change

in parenting techniques and a more active lifestyle for the family (taking the family out more). For the children this could lead to better behaviour both at home and at school.

The second area of benefit was an increase in the *social capital* of the respondents, or an increase in the valuable relations between the individual and the world surrounding him or her. This benefit was reported by most of the respondents in the short term, and about half of the respondents achieved beneficial behaviour changes in the long term. An increase in social capital can manifest itself as an improvement of self-confidence, an extension of the support network, new ways of prioritising duties, a change in work circumstances, better budgeting skills.

The final area of benefit regarded the *cultural capital* of the respondents, which resulted in participants distinguishing themselves from aspects of the social class to which they belong. All respondents now belonged to the “travelling” section of the population, and in many cases their attitudes towards holidays changed. Instead of something unattainable, travel had become a real aim for the future for many respondents, and three even booked a holiday for the next year. This change in aspirations is an example of the motivational force the holiday can have after the return of the participants.

11.3. How far are there differences between the benefits of an individual family holiday and a group holiday?

The study showed that both individual and group holidays can potentially have positive effects on the participants. It was found that the important factor for a successful holiday was not the holiday format *per se*, but the fact that the level of support was appropriate for the participant. Families who are very independent and can cope well on their own generally, reported benefits from an individual family holiday. Families who find it harder to cope generally found individual holidays very challenging, which could have negative effects on their confidence and motivation. It was found that these families benefited from having additional support on the holiday: either in the form of a family member and organised entertainment, or in the form of a group holiday.

During the holiday, adequate support is needed so that the opportunities for encountering new situations and reflecting on them are optimised. The level of support deemed “adequate” depends on the independence and ability to cope of the participants: some participants will require no support at all and prefer to go on holiday alone, whereas other families might find this too challenging and will prefer extra support. This support could be provided by the holiday provider (childcare facilities, organised forms of entertainment), or by the supporting organisation and the welfare agent (in the case of group holidays). Again it will depend on the family which is preferential: if the welfare agent suspects the parents need support to improve their family relations, the imposed structure of a group holiday, with group activities with adults and children, might be beneficial.

But adequate support is also important after the holiday, to help participants turn the motivational power of the holiday into real behaviour change. It was found that after the holiday, adequate support needs to be given to allow new motivations and aspirations to be fulfilled. If the holiday has given the participants the chance to reflect on their life and make generalisations of what they would like to change, support might still be needed to implement these changes. The welfare agent, often having the necessary knowledge of or access to services that might be of help, is in a good position to support the participant after his or her return home. This support could take the form of services the welfare agent already offers, or a referral to other support organisations.

The role of the welfare agent, both in helping to choose a suitable holiday for the family and in supporting the participant after the return, is thus crucial in terms of holiday outcomes. This has three general implications. The first one is that the welfare agent needs to know the family well before their departure, so that their level of independence and ability to cope can be estimated correctly and an appropriate holiday can be chosen. An important limitation for the welfare agents is also that organised group holidays are often not available, unless they organise them themselves. This leads to the second implication: social tourism can be an intensive process, which can take many months

from booking the holiday until supporting the participants upon their return. The fact that for many welfare agents holidays are not part of their job description, means that the necessary time for this process is not always available. The third implication is that welfare agents need to be able to be very flexible in supporting participants on their return. The areas participants might want to improve can range from family building to career change, and they might fall outside the area the organisation usually works in. Some welfare agents in the study were able to provide this flexible support, in other cases the welfare agents were not able to do so because of time constraints or lack of resources.

11.4. What is the value of social tourism in terms of “private” benefits (family capital) and “public” benefits (net benefits to society)?

The study has shown social tourism can reduce certain elements of social exclusion. In France and Belgium for example, social tourism is integrated into social policy and the holidays and holiday centres can apply for government funding. To assess if public spending on social tourism can be justified, its costs should be evaluated compared to the benefits it can bring.

An average holiday with the Family Holiday Association costs on average approximately £500. As discussed in chapter 11, this investment can reduce certain costs the community bears. Some of these costs are direct costs: for example if a participant stops taking medication for stress-related illnesses, this is a reduction of a direct cost. Most reductions are within the field of indirect or opportunity costs though: the motivational quality of holidays can reduce problems such as low self-esteem and bad family relationships, which in turn can cause depression, or reduce a person’s chances of finding employment, thus make individuals dependent from state benefits. Many participants also mentioned they became more involved in their support organisation, and thus reducing their opportunity costs. This can also improve the reach of support services, which are often available but do not always reach the ones most in need of them (SEU 2004, 6).

An example of public spending related to social exclusion is 2006 Respect Action Plan, funded by the Department of Health. Part of this plan is the establishment of a National Parenting Academy, to support families where the children are at risk of getting involved in anti-social behaviour. The budget includes “£28 million for additional family support schemes”, and “£52 million for parenting classes and increased support to tackle poor parenting” (<http://www.dh.gov.uk/PublicationsAndStatistics/PressReleases>, 10 January 2006). This study has shown that even though parenting classes are often available, uptake is generally low in the group of parents who might need it most. Not only does social tourism improve family relations and parenting in most cases, the holiday can also encourage participants to get involved in other support initiatives.

In 2003, the cost of a parenting class was estimated at £750 per person (Written answers to Parliament, 12 May 2003, <http://www.publications.parliament.uk>). A family holiday can benefit a whole family, at a cost of only £500 for all the family members. This does not mean social tourism can replace other initiatives fully, but the holiday could increase uptake of the necessary support on the one hand, and reduce reliance on other services on the other hand (e.g. prescriptions for anti-depressants). Moreover, social tourism has the potential to not only benefit family development, but also personal development. From this point of view, the benefits of the holiday could be argued to outweigh the cost, considering the comparatively low cost of social tourism compared to other social policies.

This example again shows that although social tourism does often have limited direct economic outputs (as it is not directly focused on increasing employment or reducing benefit dependency), the benefits in the long term can be considerable compared to the money invested. It can be a viable way to reach the persons with multiple disadvantages and integrate them more in the existing support network, or give participants the motivation needed to change their lives and those of their children. Without the holiday, the money invested in support for these participants was often not used to its full potential, as it often did not reach some of the groups it was intended to reach. It seems

that a relatively small investment in social tourism can help spread the benefits of other, often more expensive services, much more widely.

11.5. Reflecting on the chosen approach

Now that the study has come to an end, the chosen approach for the study can be evaluated in terms of its benefits and limitations. As it was the first time social tourism for low-income groups has been rigorously researched, there were no real previous examples to base the study on. The only other study that was found to have interviewed the low-income holiday participants, by Gaudreau, Jolin and Buissonet-Verger (2001), had aimed to use in-depth interviews during the holidays; but the authors comment that this method was very unpopular with the respondents, and that in the end focus groups, with a much smaller number of participants than expected, were carried out. Because of this precedent, it was chosen to carry out in-depth interviews and focus groups after the holiday, with the aim to increase the response rate.

The benefit of this approach was that the response rate was higher than in the Gaudreau *et al* study: the interviews were conducted at a time that suited the respondents and did not impose on valuable holiday time. In-depth interviews and focus groups allowed the interviewer to create rapport and a sense of trust, and as a result the respondents were generally very open with the interviewer. Not only did they answer the questions, they also brought forward new themes that gave the research more scope and depth. The data collected were very rich and link the holiday to the daily lives of the participants, which might have been more difficult with a quantitative design. These data could then be linked back to theories in the fields of ethics, social exclusion and learning to build a specific social tourism theory.

The limitations of this approach mainly had to do with the nature of the respondent group. Although it was expected that some of the respondents might be challenging to work with, the difficulties that were expected had mostly to do with the interviews or focus groups themselves: the researcher worried about effectively moderating focus

groups with very dominant characters, or questions that might be perceived as offensive. At the end of this study, it appears that most of these difficulties did not materialise: most respondents were very direct and open, took no offence of the questions, and were very aware of the process of the focus group. The difficulties that were experienced had more to do with the time-keeping skills of some respondents, which sometimes was connected to a rather chaotic lifestyle. Appointments were set but not kept, and even when the researcher backed up appointments with phone calls, some respondents did not come. Last minute problems (illness, lack of transport, lack of child care) were often the reason for cancellations or no-shows, in one case the respondent had just fallen asleep. The plan to use pictures as an ice-breaker also proved too ambitious: if this technique is chosen, the respondents would have to be informed more intensively about what it is they need to do, and how the development of the pictures will be funded.

11.6. Recommendations for further research

As very little research evidence for social tourism exists, many areas which have been touched upon by this study are to be researched in greater depth. Firstly, future research could focus on separate target groups. This study has shown great similarities between the potential benefits of social tourism for very different target groups, for example single parents, adolescents, families with disabled children, asylum seekers, victims of domestic violence. Still, social holidays might have more detailed benefits depending on which group is researched exactly. An example of a potential research topic is social tourism for older people, examining if holidays can improve autonomy at an older age. Apart from improving quality of life, social tourism could be a potential means to promote active citizenship and extend social ties.

Secondly, this study has provided an overview of different benefits social tourism can introduce to families, and has not just concentrated on one area of potential improvement. Future research could concentrate on certain benefits specifically, and develop methods to optimise results in this area, for example parenting, confidence, social contacts. Practices could be shared between the organisers of social holidays to maximise the

benefits participants receive from the holiday. If the participants are experiencing specific problems that attribute to social exclusion, these could be targeted specifically during the preparation stages of the holiday and the holidays itself. Results of formal classes and the experiential learning style of the holiday could also be compared.

Finally, more research is needed into how the welfare agent can adequately support the maximum number of families, and what the state of affairs in this area is like at present. The awareness of the welfare agents of their role, the resources and flexibility they have and their general attitudes towards social tourism are all elements of their service provision. An improvement of the services of the welfare agents also fits in with recent research interest in the social economy, and how to optimise services and use of resources in governmental and not for profit organisations.

11.7. Conclusion

Social tourism is a rather large part of the tourism industry, but although host-related social tourism (like eco-tourism, socio-tourism, pro-poor tourism) are relatively well-researched, visitor-related social tourism initiatives for low-income groups has been rather neglected in academic study. This study has aimed to make a contribution to the knowledge of this branch of the tourism industry. It has found that social tourism initiatives can have long-term benefits for the personal and family development of the participants; that successful holidays are those where appropriate support is available both during and after the holiday; and that social tourism could potentially be a cost-effective part of social policy. Although a lot of questions have been answered, many are open still, and more research in this area is still needed. This study aims to encourage such research and inspire researchers to look at tourism from the eyes of the ones that are excluded from it: the tourism literature could never be complete without it.

12. BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Akama J. (1999), 'The evolution of tourism in Kenya' *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 7:1, 6-20
- Aquinas St Thomas (1991) '*Summa Theologiae. A concise translation, edited by Timothy McDermott*', London: Methuen
- Argyris C. (1982) '*Reasoning, learning and action. Individual and organization*', San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers
- Argyris C. & Schön D. (1978), '*Organizational learning: a theory of action perspective*', Reading : Addison-Wesley Publishing Company
- Baelz P. (1982), *Ethics and belief*, London: Sheldon Press
- Baker E. (1979), *Social Contract. Locke, Hume, Rousseau*, Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Baumeister R. (1993), '*Self-esteem. The puzzle of low self-regard*', New York & London: Plenum Press
- Baumeister R., Nuss K. & Twenge J. (2002), 'Effects of social exclusion on cognitive processes: anticipated aloneness reduces intelligent thought', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 83: 4, 817-827
- Belsey M. (2003), '*AIDS and the family: Policy options for a crisis in family capital*', United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, available online: <http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/family/Publications/PubFrame.htm> (accessed 03/05/2006)
- Berthoud R. (1976), 'The disadvantage of inequality: a study of social deprivation', London: MacDonal and Jane's
- BITS (2002a), *Statutes, Brussels* :BITS
- BITS (2002b), '*Tourism For All World Congress Proceedings*', Mexico City, May 12-15
- Bobbio N. (1993), *Thomas Hobbes and the natural law tradition*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press
- Boud D., Cohen R. & Walker D. (1993), *Using experience for learning* SRHE & Open University Press: Buckingham / Bristol
- Boydell T. (1976), '*Experiential learning*', Manchester: Manchester Monographs
- Bradford M. and Robson B. (1995), 'An evaluation of urban policy', in: Hamberton R. and Thomas H., '*Urban policy evaluation, challenge and change*', London: Chapman Publishing
- Bryman A. (1988), '*Quantity and quality in social research*', London: Routledge
- Burls A. & Caan W. (2005), 'Human health and nature conservation', *British Medical Journal*, 331, 1221-1222
- Byrne D. (1999), '*Social exclusion*', Buckingham/Philadelphia: Open University Press
- Campbell D. (1982), 'Determinants of choice of goal difficulty level: a review of situational and personality influences', *Journal of Occupational Psychology*, 55, 79-95
- '*Catechism of the Catholic Church*' (1994), London: Geoffrey Chapman
- CESR (1999), '*Le tourisme social et associatif dans la région de Nord-Pas-de-Calais*', Nord-Pas-de-Calais: CESR

- Charmaz K. (2004), 'Grounded Theory' in Hesse-Biber S. & Leavy P. (ed), *Approaches to qualitative research. A reader on theory and practice*, New York: Oxford University Press
- Chauvin J. (2002), *Le tourisme social et associatif en France*, Paris: l'Harmattan
- Chryssides G. & Kaler J. (1993), "An introduction to business ethics", London: International Thomson Business Press
- Coleman J. (1998), 'Social capital in the creation of human capital', *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 94 (supplement), 95-120
- Collier J. (1967), *Visual anthropology: photography as a research method*, New York: Holt, Linehart & Winston
- Critcher C., Braham P. & Tomlinson A. (Ed) (1995), *Sociology of leisure: a reader*, London: E & FN Spon
- Crosland A. (1963), *The future of socialism*, London: Jonathan Cape
- Crotty M. (1998), *The foundations of social research. Meaning and perspective in the research process*, London: Sage
- Cunningham F. (1987), *Democratic theory and socialism*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Davidson R. and Maitland R. (1997), *Tourism Destinations*, London: Hodder and Stoughton
- Deakin N. et al. (1995), *Public welfare services and social exclusion. The development of consumer-oriented initiatives in the European Union*, Dublin: European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and working Conditions
- English Tourist Board (1989), *Tourism for All: A report of the working party chaired by Mary Baker*, London: English Tourist Board
- English Tourist Council (1999), *Just what the doctor ordered. The health benefits of taking holidays*, London: English Tourist Council
- European Economic and Social Committee (2006), *Opinion of the Economic and Social Committee on Social Tourism in Europe*, Brussels: EESC
- Family Holiday Association (2004), *2004 Feedback report*, London: FHA
- Finnis J. (1980), *Natural law and natural rights*, Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Fisher C. & Lovell A. (2003), *Business ethics and values*, Harlow: Pearson Education Limited
- Future Foundation (2004), *The age of therapy. Exploring attitudes towards and acceptance of counseling and psychotherapy in modern Britain*, London: Future Foundation
- Gaudreau L, Jolin L. & Buissonnet-Verger G. (1999), *L'impact, sur la vie familiale, de l'action communautaire realisee au sein du Mouvement Quebecois des camps familiaux*, Montreal: UQAM
- George R. (1999), *In defence of natural law*, Oxford: Clarendon Press
- Gephart R. (1999), *Paradigms and research methods*, Research Methods Forum, Volume 4, Alberta: University of Alberta
- Glaser B. (1978), *Theoretical sensitivity*, Mill Valley: The Sociology Press
- Glaser B. (1992), *Basics of Grounded Theory Analysis*, Mill Valley: Sociology Press
- Glaser B. & Strauss A. (1967), *The discovery of grounded theory. Strategies for qualitative research*, New York: Aldine De Gruyter

- Glennerster H. (1997), *'Paying for welfare'*, London: Prentice Hall
- Glyptis S. (1989), *'Leisure and unemployment'*, Milton Keynes, Open University Press
- Guba E. & Lincoln Y. (1989), *'Fourth generation evaluation'*, London: Sage
- Hall, C. (2000), *'Tourism Planning. Policies, processes and relationships'*, Harlow: Prentice Hall
- Hardy D. (1990), 'Socio-cultural dimensions of tourism history', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 17, 541-555
- Harsanyi J. (1993), 'Rule utilitarianism, equality and justice', in Chryssides G. & Kaler J.: *'An introduction to business ethics'*, London: International Thomson Business Press
- Haukeland J. (1990), 'Non-Travellers. The flip side of motivation', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol.17, 172-184
- Hebb D. (1966), *'Textbook of psychology'*, Philadelphia: Saunders
- Hodgson F & Turner J. (2003), 'Participation not consumption: the need for new participatory practices to address transport and social exclusion', *Transport Policy*, Vol. 10, 265-272
- Holden A., (2005), *'Tourism studies and the social sciences'*, London: Routledge
- Holloway W. & Jefferson T. (1999), *Doing qualitative research differently*, London: Sage
- Jenkins R. (1992), *'Pierre Bourdieu'*, London: Routledge
- Joppe M. (1989), 'State Tourism Policy', in Witt S. and Moutinho L.: *Tourism Marketing and Management Handbook*, Hemel Hempstead: Prentice Hall
- Kayes C. (2002), 'Experiential learning and its critics: preserving the role of experience in Management Learning and education', *Academy of Management Learning and Education*, 1:2, 137-149
- Kelly J. (1997), *'Leisure'*, Boston/London: Allyn & Bacon
- Knapp M. (1984), *'The economics of social care'*, London: MacMillan Publishers
- Knutson B. & Beck J. (2003), 'Identifying the dimensions of the experience construct: Development of the Model', in Williams J. & Uysal M.: *'Current issues and development in hospitality and tourism satisfaction'*, Binghampton: Haworth Hospitality Press
- Kolakowski L. (1987), *'Main currents of Marxism. The Founders'*, Oxford: Clarendon Press
- Kuhn T. (1962), *'The structure of scientific revolutions'*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press
- Laing L. & Bobic N. (2002), *'Economic costs of domestic violence'*, Sydney: Australian Domestic & Family Violence Clearinghouse, University of New South Wales
- Lanquar R. & Raynouard Y. (1986), *'Le Tourisme Social'*, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France
- Lave J. & Wenger E. (1991), *'Situated learning. Legitimate peripheral participation'*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press
- Laverty S. (2003), 'Hermeneutic phenomenology and phenomenology: A comparison of historical and methodological implications', *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 2:3, Retrieved 20.01.2006 from www.ualberta.ca/~iiqm/backissues/2_3final/pdf/lavert.pdf

- Leary M. (1990), 'Responses to social exclusion: social anxiety, jealousy, loneliness, depression, and low self-esteem', *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology*, Vol. 9, 221-229
- Leary M. (1995), 'Self-esteem as an interpersonal monitor: the sociometer hypothesis', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 68:3, 518-530
- Lesser E. & Storck J. (2001), 'Communities of practice and organisational performance', *IBM Systems Journal*, 40:4, 831-841
- Levitas, R. (1998), 'The inclusive society? Social exclusion and New Labour', Basingstoke: Palgrave
- London School of Economics (2006), 'The depression report. A new deal for depression and anxiety disorders', London: London School of Economics, Centre for Economic Performance
- Luft J. (1984), 'Group processes. An introduction to group dynamics', Palo Alto: Mayfield publishing Company
- Mack J. & Lansley S. (1985), 'Poor Britain', London: George Allen & Unwin
- Marjoribanks K. (1998), 'Family capital, children's individual attributes, and adolescents' aspirations: a follow-up analysis', *The Journal of Psychology*, 132:3, 328-336
- Marx K. & Engels F. (1967), 'The Communist Manifesto', Harmondsworth: Penguin Books
- Maxwell J. (1996), 'Qualitative research design. An interactive approach', London: Sage
- Mignon J.M. (2002), 'Introductory conference to the Mexico BITS, 13 May 2002', Mexico: Tourism for All World Congress
- Miller J. (2003), 'Travel chances and social exclusion', Lucerne: 10th International Conference on Travel Behaviour Research.
- Miller J. (2006), 'Social exclusion in space and time', in K.W. Axhausen (ed.) *Moving through Nets: The Social and Physical Aspects of Travel*, London: Elsevier
- Miller G. & Dingwall R. (ed.) (1997), 'Context and method in qualitative research', London: Sage
- Miller G. & Ritchie B. (2003), 'A farming crisis or a tourism disaster? An analysis of the foot and mouth disease in the UK', *Current Issues in Tourism*, 6:2, 150-171
- Miles M. & Huberman A. (1994), 'Qualitative data analysis. An expanded sourcebook', London: Sage
- Mintel (2006), *Managing depression and anxiety in the UK – A case for counseling?*, London: Mintel Consulting,
- Mohan J. (2002), 'Geographies of welfare and social exclusion: dimensions, consequences and methods', *Progress in Human Geography*, 26, 65-75
- Mowforth M. & Munt I. (1998), *Tourism and sustainability. Development and new tourism in the third world*, London: Routledge
- New economics foundation (2004), 'A well-being manifesto for a flourishing society', London: nef
- Ng Y. (1979), 'Welfare economics: Introduction and development of basic concepts', London: MacMillan Press
- Oppenheim A. (1992), 'Questionnaire design, interviewing and attitude measurement', London: Pinter Publishers

- Parcel T. & Dufur M. (2001), 'Capital at home and at school: Effects on student achievement', *Social forces*, 79 (3), 881-912
- Patton M. (1990), *Qualitative evaluation and research methods*, London: Sage
- Patton M. (2002), *Qualitative research and evaluation methods*, London: Sage
- Peacock A. (2006), *Changing minds. The lasting effect of school trips*, Exeter: University of Exeter
- Phillimore J. & Goodson L. (ed.) (2004), *Qualitative research in tourism. Ontologies, epistemologies and methodologies*, London: Routledge
- Portes A. (1998), 'Social capital: its origins and applications in modern sociology', *Annual Review of Sociology*, 24, 1-24
- Puchta C. & Potter J. (2004), *Focus group practice*, London: Sage
- Putnam R. (2000), *Bowling alone. The collapse and revival of American community*, New York: Simon & Chuster
- Quinn P. & Taliaferro C. (1997), *A companion to philosophy of religion*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishers
- Rawls J. (1999), *A theory of justice*, Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Rawsthorne L. & Elliot A. (1999), 'Achievement goals and intrinsic motivation: a meta-analytic review', *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 3:4, 326-344
- Richards A. (1992), 'Adventure-based experiential learning', in Mulligan J. & Griffin C. (Ed): *Empowerment through experiential learning. Explorations of good practice*, London: Kogan Page Limited
- Robson, C. (1993), *Real world research*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishers
- Rodgers G., Gore C. & Figueiredo J. (ed) (1995), *Social exclusion: Retic, reality, responses*, Geneva: International Institute for Labour Studies
- Ross G. (1994), *The psychology of tourism*, Melbourne, Hospitality Press
- Rousseau J. (1968), *The social contract, translated and introduced by Maurice Cranston*, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books
- Rousseau J. (1984), *A discourse on inequality, translated and introduced by Maurice Cranston*, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books
- Runciman W. (1972), *Relative deprivation and social justice*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul
- Ryan G. & Bernard H. (2000), 'Data management and analysis methods', in Denzin N. & Lincoln Y., *Handbook of qualitative research*, London: Sage
- Sangalli F. (2003), *Turismo sociale: Nuovi paradigmi e nuovi traccati di sviluppo*, Unpublished Powerpoint presentation
- Schneewind J (1994), 'Locke's moral Philosophy', in Chappell V. (ed), *The Cambridge Companion to Locke*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Schultz A. (1973), *Collected papers. The problem of social reality*, The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff
- Schultz A. (1990), 'Concept and theory formation in the social sciences', in Bynner J. & Strilby K. (ed.), *Social research: principles and procedures*, New York: Longman & Open University
- Schwandt T. (2000), 'Three epistemological stances for qualitative enquiry. Interpretivism, Hermeneutics, and Social Constructionism' in Denzin N & Lincoln Y. (ed.), *Handbook of qualitative research*, London: Sage

- Sharpley R. (1999), *'Tourism, tourists and society'*, Huntingdon: Elm Publications
- Silver H. (1994): 'Social exclusion and social solidarity: three paradigms', *International Labour Review*, 133, 531-578
- Silver L., Dwyer S., Alford B. (2006), 'Learning and performance goal orientation of salespeople revisited: the role of performance-approach and performance-avoidance orientations', *Journal of Personal Selling & Sales Management*, 26:1, 27-38
- Silverman D. (ed.) (1997), *'Qualitative research. Theory, method and practice'*, London: Sage
- Smith M. (2003), *'Communities of practice'*, The encyclopaedia of informal education, www.infed.org/biblio/communities_of_practice.htm
- Social Exclusion Unit (2003), *'Making the connections: Final report on transport and social exclusion'*, London: Social Exclusion Unit
- Social Exclusion Unit (2004), *'Breaking the cycle : taking stock of progress and priorities for the future'*, London : Social Exclusion Unit
- Social Exclusion Unit (2005), *'Improving services, improving lives. Evidence and Key themes. A Social Exclusion Unit interim report'*, London: Social Exclusion Unit
- Sowell T. (1986), *'Marxism: Philosophy and economics'*, London: Unwin
- Stack C. (1974), *'All our kin: Strategies for survival in a black community'*, New York: Harper & Row
- Strauss A. (1987), *'Qualitative analysis for social scientists'*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Townsend P. (ed.) (1970), *'The concept of poverty'*, London: Heinemann, London
- Townsend P. (1979), *Poverty in the United Kingdom. A survey of household resources and standards of living'*, Harmondsworth: Penguin
- Twenge J., Stucke T., Baumeister R. & Tice D. (2001), 'If you can't join them, beat them: effects of social exclusion on aggressive behaviour', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 8:6, 1058-1069
- Twenge J., Catanese K. & Baumeister R. (2002), 'Social exclusion causes self-defeating behaviour', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 83:3, 606-615
- Walker B. (1981), *'Welfare economics and urban problems'*, London: Hutchinson
- Walvin J. (1978), *'Leisure and society (1830-1950)'*, London: Longman,
- Watt P. & Jacobs K. (2000), 'Discourses of social exclusion', *Housing, Theory and Society*, 14-26
- Weil S. & McGill I. (Ed) (1996), *'Making sense of experiential learning. Diversity in theory and practice'*, Buckingham: SRHE & Open University Press
- Wenger E.(1998), *'Communities of practice. Learning, meaning and identity'*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Whyte W. (1984), *'Learning from the field. A guide from experience'*, London: Sage
- Wilson W. (1987), *'The truly disadvantaged. The inner city, the underclass and public policy'*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press
- Wilson W. (1996), *'When work disappears. The world of the new urban poor'*, New York:Vintage Books
- World Travel and Tourism Council (2003), *'Blueprint for new tourism'*, London: WTTC

WWW REFERENCES

www.dwp.gov.uk/mediacentre/pressreleases/

www.bits-int.org

www.dh.gov.uk/PublicationsAndStatistics/PressReleases

www.neweconomics.org

www.publications.parliament.uk

www.tourismconcern.org.uk

Appendix 1: Respondents

Anthony: is living with his partner who has HIV. Together they raise a child from her previous relationship. He is black and unemployed.

Abdul: is a volunteer for an African organization raising awareness around HIV and other health issues. He is black. He sees the respondents at irregular intervals, when the charity organizes gatherings or events.

Aisha: is a coordinator of a centre which aims to break the cycle of destructive family behaviour. The centre encourages networking between the parents and promotes core values as equality, empathy and respect. She is mixed-race and sees her clients at regular intervals.

Alan: lives with his partner and his two children. His partner is battling her addiction to alcohol. He is white and unemployed.

Anne (WFA): works for a community development organisation on a large estate. There is a walk-in service, and the residents of the estate determine in which way they would like to receive support. She is white and sees most of her clients regularly but at irregular intervals.

Bethany (WFA): works for an organization supporting single parents in the area. She used to be helped by this organization herself, but works there now part-time. She is white and sees most of her clients often, but at irregular intervals.

Carry: is a single mother of one daughter. She is white and unemployed.

Carol: is an advocacy worker for African families affected by HIV. She helps families in a variety of ways to increase their independence. She is black and sees her clients irregularly, as they only come to her when they have specific problems.

Casey: Is a single mother of 3 children. She has separated from her partner who has mental health issues. Her youngest son has severe behavioural problems. She is white and unemployed.

Daniel: is a single parent of a teenage son. He is disabled and has restricted mobility. He lives on an estate which is affected by drug-related crime. He is white and unemployed.

David (volunteer): is a volunteer and member of an African organization raising awareness around HIV and other health issues. He is black. He sees the respondents at irregular intervals, when the charity organizes gatherings or events.

Davina (WFA): works for an organization which offers advice, support and refuge accommodation for black and minority ethnic women and their children who are experiencing domestic violence. She is black. She sees her clients at regular intervals for a maximum of 6 months.

Dina (WFA): works in a refuge for women who have experienced domestic violence. She and her colleague aim to maximize the well-being of the children while in the refuge and afterwards. She is white and sees her clients at regular intervals.

Ellie: is a single mother of two children. She has stepped out of a violent relationship and had to stop working to raise her children alone. She is white and unemployed.

Emily (WFA) works in a refuge for women who have experienced domestic violence. She and her colleague aim to maximize the well-being of the children while in the refuge and afterwards. She is white and sees her clients at regular intervals.

Gail: separated from her partner between the first and the second interview. Her house had to be sold and she had to move into temporary accommodation with her two daughters. She is white and unemployed.

Gemma (WFA): works for a government organization aiming to give children in disadvantaged areas the best possible start in life. She used to be a client of this organization but is now a part-time employee. She is white and sees most of her clients often but at irregular intervals.

Harry: is a volunteer and member of an African organization raising awareness around HIV and other health issues. He is black. He sees the respondents at irregular intervals, when the charity organizes gatherings or events.

Isabelle (WFA): supports parents of children with disabilities. The organisation runs a respite service, organizes self-help groups and provides information. She is white and sees her clients at regular intervals.

Jill (WFA): is the head of a local government organization aiming to give children in disadvantaged areas the best possible start in life. She is white and sees most clients often, but at irregular intervals.

Katherine: has three children, of which one has severe Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD) and one has behavioural difficulties. The family lives on a large council estate. She is white and unemployed.

Katie (WFA): works for a government organization aiming to give children in disadvantaged areas the best possible start in life. She used to be a client of this organization but is now a part-time employee. She is white, and she sees her clients often but at irregular intervals.

Kelly: is a full-time mother of 2 children of which one has behavioural difficulties. She has mental health issues. The family is in debt. She is white and unemployed.

Kloey: is a single mother of 2 children, who has recently separated from a violent partner and moved into a council property. She works full-time. She is black.

Leanne (WFA): is a health worker at a Primary Care Trust. She is white and sees her clients at irregular intervals.

Linda (WFA): works for an organization supporting single parents in the area. She has organised group holidays for her clients for many years. She is white and sees most clients often but at irregular intervals.

Lindsey: is a single mother with one daughter. Her daughter has a history of violence at school. She is white and unemployed.

Lisa (WFA): works for a support organization for families with young children. The organization visits families in their own home. She is white and sees many of her clients at regular intervals.

Louisa: has two children, the relationship with her husband is unstable. At the time of the first interview, she is pregnant with their third child. She is white and unemployed.

Marion: is a mother of two children, her youngest son has a rare form of cerebral palsy and is unable to walk or sit up. She lives with her partner who has recently started working again, still the family is heavily in debt. She is white and unemployed.

Nancy: lives on a large estate with her partner and her two daughters. She is white and unemployed.

Rachel: is a full-time working single mother whose son is autistic. She comes from a very international family and is used to traveling. She is Hispanic.

Ross: is black and lives with his partner and child. The family is affected by HIV though it is unclear which of the two partners is infected. Their visa status is not resolved. He is unemployed.

Rupert: Single father of twins, also has a daughter from a previous relationship. He used to have a thriving career before he had to give up his job and savings to take his children out of care. He is white and unemployed.

Sandra: is a single mother with one son. She is suffering from bonding issues towards her child. She is white and unemployed.

Shirlene: has burn scars on her face and arms and is partially sighted. Her visa status is unresolved and she is HIV positive. She also suffers from mental health problems. She is black and unemployed.

Stephen: is a young asylum seeker whose partner is infected by HIV. He is black and unemployed.

Theresa: is a young asylum seeker who is HIV positive. She also has mental health problems. She is black and unemployed.

Tom (WFA): is the director of a small African organisation raising awareness around HIV and other health issues. He runs this organisation voluntarily. He is black and sees his clients often but at irregular intervals.

Vicky: is a young mother with two children who lives on a council estate with her partner. She is white and unemployed.

Appendix 2: Letter welfare agent

Dear (name),

My name is Lynn Minnaert and I am a doctoral student at the University of Westminster. Since last year I have been working on a study about the effects of social tourism on low-income families, which is how I have made contact with the Family Holiday Association. It is with their help and support, and further to our telephone conversation, that I am contacting you now.

The aim of my study is to investigate the impacts of social holidays on participants of the scheme (in terms of their mental and physical health, the relationships within the family, self-esteem, school results, etc), and how long these effects can last. I am aiming to interview 20 participants of individual family holidays, and 20 participants to group holidays, who have just returned from holiday between April to July.

This is the first study of its kind in the UK, and I really need your, the welfare agents, help to guarantee its success, as you know the families applying for FHA holidays and have a trustful relationship with them. If there are any families who you think might be willing to co-operate in this research, I would appreciate it greatly if you could contact me, so I can discuss the practicalities of their participation with you.

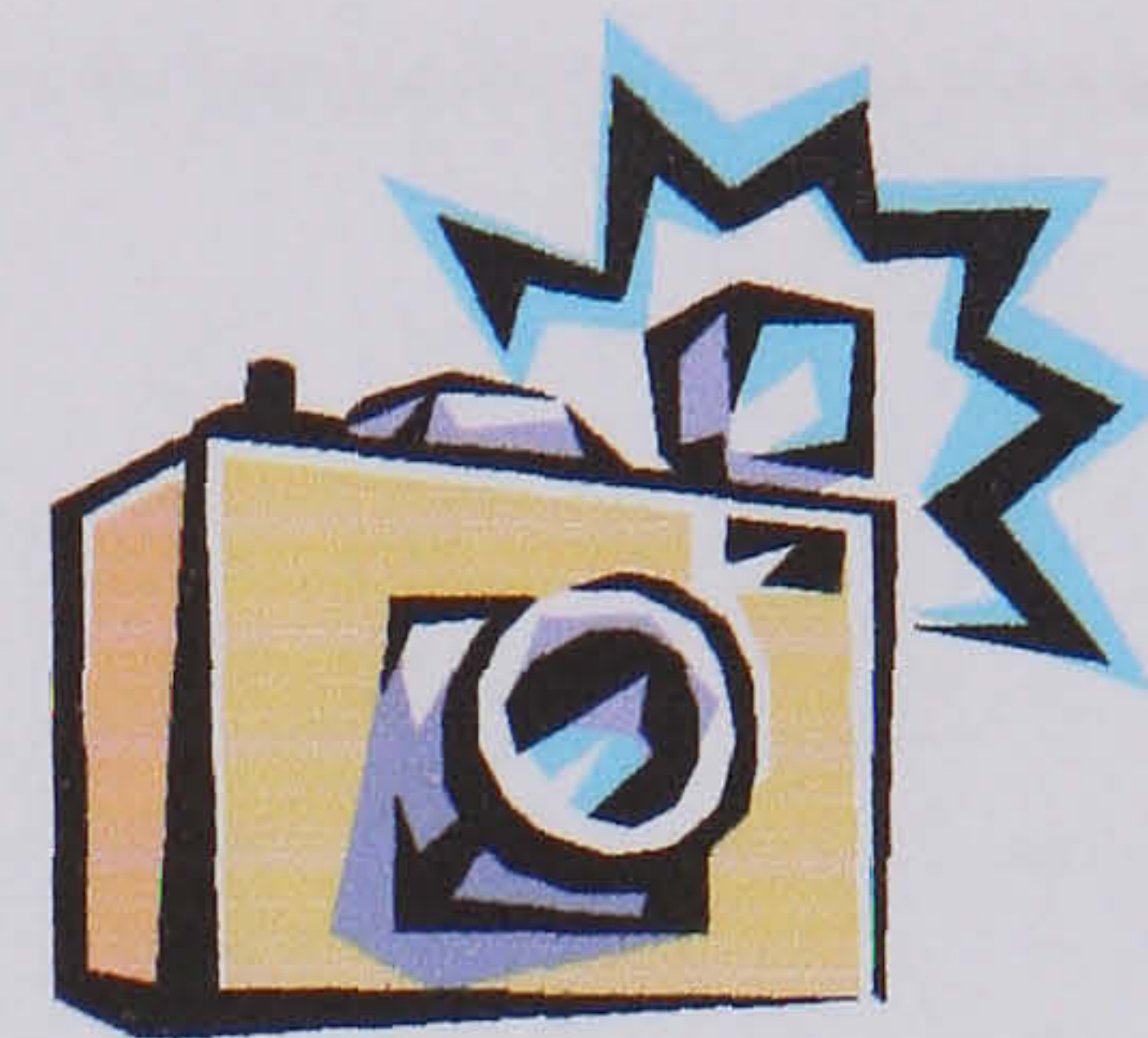
I guarantee that I will try to keep the whole study as hassle-free for you as possible, as I am aware how busy you usually are. You can be reassured that if a family decides to participate in the study, they will remain strictly anonymous. They will be reimbursed for their travel expenses and will receive a gift to thank them for their time and effort. The interview can take place in a location close to their home and will take about one hour. After the interview with the family, I would also like to interview their welfare agent, to see if they can shed extra light on the effects of the holiday on the family.

I have attached an invitation letter for the families, which briefly describes the project and some practical details about the interview. Interested families (or you on their behalf) can send the reply slip back in the freepost envelope, alternatively you can email or call me with their names and details. If you have any questions in relation to this letter or my study, or if you require extra invitation letters or freepost envelopes, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Thanking you very much in advance,

Lynn Minnaert
079 695 46 581
L.Minnaert01@wmin.ac.uk

Appendix 3: Letter to invite participants to research



Dear family,

PLEASE CAN YOU HELP ME WITH MY RESEARCH

I am contacting you through the Family Holiday Association because I understand you and your family will soon be going away on one of their funded holidays. I am studying for a doctorate at the University of Westminster. My research is examining the positive affects having a holiday can have on families who would not normally be able to afford a break away. I would be extremely grateful if you would help me by agreeing to talk to me about your holiday experience on your return.

I am hoping to talk to about 40 participants of FHA holidays between April and July. The interview will take about one hour and you can decide yourself where you would like to be interviewed (at home or at a suitable venue nearby). Your welfare agent is also being invited to participate in the study.

- 1 All participants to this study will remain **anonymous**
- 2 There are **no newspapers or TV involved**.
- 3 Participants will receive a **refund** for their travel expenses
- 4 Participants will get a **free holiday gift pack** with a few gifts for their time and effort.
- 5 The gift pack includes a free disposable **camera**
- 6 At the day of the interview, you will be **refunded for the cost of developing your film**.

Participating in this study could help the FHA raise money to allow more families to go on a holiday each year. No other study has ever tried to investigate social holidays on this scale, so your help is really important.

If you are willing to participate in this research, please return the reply slip in the freepost envelope. I will contact you by telephone to make an appointment and answer all questions you may have.

Thank you and enjoy your holiday,

Lynn Minnaert

Yes, I am willing to be interviewed!

Name:

Address:.....

.....

.....

Telephone number:

I am going on a holiday from to(date)

Appendix 4: Fieldwork dates

First round

15/04/2005	18/04/2005	19/04/2005
20/04/2005	23/04/2005	26/04/2005
10/05/2005	11/05/2005	17/05/2005
19/05/2005	01/06/2005	02/06/2005
09/06/2005	11/06/2005	18/06/2005
01/07/2005	16/07/2005	21/07/2005

Second round

13/10/2005	07/11/2005	10/11/2005
14/11/2005	15/11/2005	17/11/2005
21/11/2005	05/12/2005	15/12/2005
19/12/2005	09/01/2006	12/01/2006
15/01/2006	06/02/2006	09/02/2006
16/02/2006	11/03/2006	

Appendix 5: Agreement of informed consent

This study investigates the long-term effects of social holidays on families in difficulties, and is conducted by Lynn Minnaert, student of the University of Westminster. Her supervisors are Robert Maitand (University of Westminster), Peter White (University of Westminster) and Graham Miller (University of Surrey).

I understand that:

- The study will not mention my real name. I stay anonymous throughout.
- I am free to refuse to answer any question at any time.
- I am not obliged in any way to continue with the interview. I can stop the interview at any time, and the tape recordings will be erased in my presence.
- This study is independent from the Family Holiday Association. The information disclosed in this interview will not influence my chances of obtaining another grant in any way.
- Quotes of this interview might be made part of the final research report, but under no circumstances will my name or identifying characteristics be included in this report.

Name:

Signature:

Appendix 6: Research methods and data sources

Data source	Aim	Time
Interviews individual families	Effects of individual holidays, judged by participants	Within the week after the holiday
Interviews groups	Effects of group holidays, judged by the participants	Within the week after the holiday
Interviews welfare agents	Effects of individual and group holidays, judged by a trained professional	Bit more flexible as different families may be discussed in one session April-August
Data evaluation FHA	Recognise general trends, put data from interviews in broader perspective	Constantly available
Cameras	Link changes to concrete events during the holiday, bringing the experience back to life, incentive	Combined with interviews of participants
Follow-up interviews with families/welfare agents	Check if the effects last in the long run	Six months after the holiday