Family adventure tourism: Towards hedonic and eudaimonic wellbeing

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Abstract

The study's aim is to explore the motives encouraging individual family members to participate in adventure tourism activities while on holiday and the benefits they gain from these experiences, using wellbeing as the conceptual lens. The key contributions are to address the gap in literature on family adventure tourists and apply the subjective wellbeing (SWB) constructs of hedonic wellbeing (HWB) and eudaimonic wellbeing (EWB) to understand these tourists. Semi-structured interviews were carried out with 15 families, comprising 62 interviewees in total (29 adults and 33 children under 18 years old). Findings reveal that hedonic themes were high positive affect, and alleviating feelings of distress and boredom. Eudaimonic themes were challenge and negative affect, optimal experiences, accomplishment, and personal development. Family influenced the SWB motives facilitating adventure participation and the benefits gained by different members. Also, there were HWB and EWB similarities and differences between parents, younger children, and older children.

1. Introduction

More families are participating in adventure activities (Adventure Travel Trade Association [ATTA], 2018) and enjoying action-packed, memorable experiences (Schänzel & Yeoman, 2015). To meet this demand, tourism organisations have designed an array of adventure experiences tailored to this market. They comprise diverse activities and flexible itineraries to cater to the varied needs and different experience levels within families. Yet, little is known about families who participate in adventure activities together on holiday and the beneficial outcomes of these experiences (Pomfret, 2019). Adventure tourism is variously defined, it comprises many land-, air- and water-based activities, and it is experienced in

many ways (Weber, 2001). Scales (Rantala, Rokenes & Valkonen, 2018; Varley, 2006) illustrate this diversity with differing difficulty levels, adventurousness, skill, experience, and degree of commodification. Given its broad scope, there are plentiful opportunities for families to enjoy adventure activities on holiday. Participation offers many benefits including personal transformation, accomplishment, fulfilment, and social bonding (Mykletun & Mazza, 2016; Pomfret & Bramwell, 2016), which culminate in improved wellbeing (Holm, Lugosi, Croes & Torres, 2017). Being on holiday together, and participating in adventure activities, can enhance the wellbeing of families (Lehto, Choi, Lin & Macdermid, 2009). Accordingly, the aim of this research is to develop an understanding of the motives encouraging individual family members to participate in adventure tourism activities while on holiday and the benefits they gain from these experiences, using subjective wellbeing (SWB) as the conceptual lens. Wellbeing is a set of building blocks for a flourishing life: positive emotion, engagement, relationships, meaning and accomplishment (PERMA) (Seligman, 2011). Its attributes include autonomy, positive relationships, purpose in life, a realisation of potential and self-acceptance (Ryff, 1989). Scholars (Dodge, Daley, Huyton & Sanders, 2012) highlight the complexities of delineating wellbeing, suggesting that it is 'conceptually muddy' (Morrow & Mayall, 2009, p.221) due to its multidimensional nature and its interchangeability with other constructs. Despite these definitional challenges, wellbeing is a fruitful concept to use in understanding family adventure tourists.

This research specifically explores the subjective wellbeing (SWB) of individual family members. This concerns the positive and negative evaluations we make about our lives (Diener, 2006) and our satisfaction with leisure, work, health, and family (Neal, Uysal & Sirgy, 2007). Happiness, life experiences, emotional and social wellbeing, need and goal fulfilment, and positive and negative affect (Sirgy, 2010) are important elements. Furthermore, the interplay between psychological resources, social activities, personality,

environmental variables, personal circumstances, relationships, and coping styles fosters SWB (Ryff, 2014). This study applies SWB because this is a relatively new theoretical lens used in adventure tourism which represents a departure from traditional recreation theories (Cheng, Edwards, Darcy & Redfern, 2016). The role of adventure recreation in facilitating SWB has only recently been conceptualised, prompting calls for further research to better understand the beneficial effects of activity participation (Houge Mackenzie & Hodge, 2020). Accordingly, this topic warrants further investigation and theoretical development.

SWB comprises hedonic wellbeing (HWB), which involves short bouts of positive affect, and eudaimonic wellbeing (EWB), which reflects longer-lasting psychological functioning (Diener, 1984). Cognitive evaluations reflect EWB and refer to positive functioning, long term life satisfaction, work satisfaction, engagement, and interest. Affective evaluations are people's momentary emotional states, representing HWB. For instance, their emotive responses to life events such as sadness and joy (Diener, 2006). Adventure activity participation facilitates both types of SWB (Houge Mackenzie & Brymer, 2018; Houge Mackenzie & Hodge, 2020). Consequently, the HWB and EWB of family members in an adventure tourism context are the cornerstones of this research. Although this study focuses on individual family members, it is pertinent to consider how the family unit influences their adventure tourism experiences. Family holidays involve time spent together and time spent apart, and a combination of collective and individual experiences (Schänzel & Smith, 2014). These encourage a 'new configuration of mental space and physical distance amongst family members' (Lehto et al., 2009, p.474), which impact on family group dynamics and sociality (Pritchard & Havitz, 2006). Work investigating individuals in a family context reveals how family and SWB are inextricably linked. Findings show that parental SWB improves during purposeful family leisure because parents feel they are enhancing their parenting skills, making good choices for their children, adopting an enabling role, and vicariously

experiencing them develop (Goodenough, Waite & Bartlett, 2015; Shaw & Dawson, 2001). Moreover, family tourism can enhance the SWB of adolescents on a short-term basis, although this reduces considerably one month after their holiday (Gao, Havitz & Potwarka, 2020). Therefore, investigating the SWB of family members and how family influences this is important to the study.

This study reflects a shift in adventure tourism research. Traditional approaches are critiqued for their narrow focus on risk, sensation-seeking, edgework, conquering nature, male-oriented lens, and deviant personalities (Houge Mackenzie & Brymer, 2018). Scholars still support this view (e.g., Priest & Gass, 2018), believing that exposure to risk and danger during activity participation can enhance self-esteem and resilience. Nonetheless, this perspective does not consider the 'holistic social nature of the experience' (Varley & Semple, 2015, p.77) and there is little recognition of adventure's wellbeing benefits in these extant theories (Clough, Houge Mackenzie, Mallabon & Brymer, 2016). Recent trends show increasingly heterogeneous adventure tourists with diverse demographic profiles who enjoy a range of adventure experiences. Rather than risk-seeking, many desire benefits such as personal development, accomplishment, and optimal experiences (ATTA, 2018) from adventure activity participation. These trends illustrate that 'any person can participate in whatever adventure' (Rantala et al., 2018, p.540). While the author concurs with this broad view of adventure, this current study adopts certain parameters to define family adventure tourists: 'self-directed and recreation oriented' as they enjoy outdoor activities, and 'bonded and nature seeking' because of their interest in nature (Lehto, Lin, Chen & Choi, 2012, p.843).

This study offers two types of contribution (Nicholson, LaPlaca, Al-Abdin, Breese & Khan, 2018) to adventure tourism research: First, it makes a 'neglect spotting' (p.213) contribution by addressing the gap in literature on family adventure tourists to demonstrate

'progress over what is currently known' (p.208). Families are rarely mentioned in the classifications of adventure tourists, perhaps because they are a relatively recent market for adventure holidays, and extant studies focus on adults (Pomfret, 2019). Second, it makes a 'differentiated context' (p.217) contribution, because HWB and EWB constructs have not, to the author's knowledge, been used to understand family adventure tourists. This article firstly examines extant literature on adventure and SWB, and family tourism and wellbeing. Secondly, it explains the whole family approach (Schänzel, 2010) and the use of semi-structured interviews. Thirdly, it examines the emergent hedonic and eudaimonic themes from the interviews. Fourthly, conclusions are presented relative to the SWB of family adventure tourists.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Adventure and SWB

It is suggested that people participate in adventure activities to ensure or improve their SWB and to maintain homeostasis. Although many wellbeing conceptualisations exist (cite sources), a balanced seesaw framework (Dodge et al., 2012) best captures the interplay between adventure and SWB because of its association with challenge. Challenges are at one end of the seesaw whereas psychological, social, and physical resources to manage these are at the other end. People experience reduced SWB if their personal resources are lacking, or if their personal circumstances change (e.g., increased work commitments), and they cannot overcome challenges. Contrastingly, they enjoy enhanced SWB from encountering challenges and effectively managing these. This can be illustrated through risk tourism, a category of adventure tourism (Trauer, 2006) concerned with risk and challenge (Bentley & Page, 2001). Risk tourists feel happy by alleviating feelings of boredom and stress, enjoying

a greater sense of control, and accomplishing challenging goals. Fulfilling these contribute towards stronger SWB (Holm et al., 2017).

Delineating HWB and EWB is complex because of definitional differences and disparate findings (Huta & Waterman, 2014). Nonetheless, their inextricable links are recognised with EWB facilitating longer-lasting hedonic happiness and meaning in life (Huta & Ryan, 2010). For adventurers, their captivation with nature and feelings of escapism from everyday life can facilitate positive hedonic emotions and optimal experiences, which can ultimately lead to long-term EWB (Kerr & Houge Mackenzie 2018). HWB is concerned with positive affect and disengaging from everyday concerns (Huta & Waterman, 2014). Accordingly, it can usefully explain participation in fast-paced, exciting adventure pursuits like skydiving, which facilitates adrenaline-rushes and 'happy endorphins' (Knobloch, Robertson & Aitken, 2017, p.655). The benefits associated with EWB (Huta & Waterman, 2014) result from satisfying psychological needs for competence, relatedness, and autonomy, represented as self-determination theory (Ryan & Deci, 2000). Furthermore, when adventure activity participation is driven by eudaimonia, EWB is longer lasting because participants tend to be more intrinsically motivated (Pomfret, 2019). There are, therefore, palpable links between eudaimonia and adventure. For instance, developing technical skills in rock climbing fulfils the need for competence (Pomfret, 2011). Mountaineers spend a lot of time together in small groups, working cooperatively to achieve their goals in challenging conditions. This can facilitate social connections and fulfil the need for relatedness. Adventure activity participation elicits emotional peaks and troughs (Pomfret, 2012), and such variance reflects the journey towards EWB, which can sometimes be unpleasant but ultimately has positive outcomes (Huta & Waterman, 2014). Consequently, it is pertinent to explore both HWB and EWB in this current study to understand the range of negative and positive emotions experienced during activity participation.

As tourism motives and benefits are inextricably linked (Brown, 2008), studies examining these are presented together. Terms such as benefits sought or perceived benefits are frequently used interchangeably with motives, reflecting the intangible psychological outcomes expected from tourism experiences. Contrastingly, benefits realised, or actual benefits, are regularly employed to explain the beneficial outcomes of tourism (Lehto, O'Leary & Lee, 2002; Nimrod & Rotem, 2009). Extant research examines adventure tourism motives and benefits, yet SWB themes are under-represented. Furthermore, scholars predominantly investigate adult adventurers and studies on families and children are largely absent in the literature. Motives are often divided into intrinsic and extrinsic types. For instance, Buckley's (2012) review of 50 motive-based adventure studies revealed: internal motives concerned with activity performance; internal and external nature, art and spirit motives related to participants' place in nature; and external motives reflecting participants' social position in the adventure activity.

Similarities exist between extrinsic and hedonic motives, and intrinsic and eudaimonic motives. Novice adventurers are extrinsically and hedonically motivated, driven by short, sharp bursts of positive emotions and social aspects of activity participation. With increased skills and experience, they become more intrinsically and eudaimonically motivated, pushed by the need for personal transformation, improved mental and physical health, immersion in nature, self-actualisation, and mastery (Houge Mackenzie & Brymer, 2018; Kerr & Houge-Mackenzie, 2018). Such findings suggest that motivational differences may exist between children and their parents, and different age groups of children, due to varied levels of experience and exposure to adventure. Consequently, parents who are experienced adventurers, may be intrinsically motivated to develop their existing skills, and extrinsically driven to nurture their children's personal growth and happiness (Pomfret, 2019). Accordingly, it is both difficult and complex to separate out these differing motives.

In adventure activity participation, people's original activity motives usually become benefits as they facilitate continued adventure participation (Ewert, Gilbertson, Luo & Voight, 2013). Benefits are often presented discretely and their links to HWB and EWB are not made explicit. For instance, adventurers enjoy enhanced self-efficacy, resilience, social confidence, self-esteem, freedom, and competence from confronting perceived danger and overcoming challenges during activity participation (Brymer & Schweitzer, 2013; Doran & Pomfret, 2019). Female adventure tourists report personal development, a sense of freedom, embodied and optimal experiences, empowerment, and self-change from activity participation (Doran, 2016; Fendt & Wilson, 2012). With exception though, Houge Mackenzie and Brymer (2018) propose several intertwined HWB and EWB benefits from adventure participation:

> 'positive life transformations; optimal experiences; emotional regulation; development of emotional agency in interpersonal relationships; improved quality of life; goal achievement; social connections; escape from boredom; exploring personal boundaries; overcoming limitations imposed by fear; pleasurable kinesthetic bodily sensations; a sense of merging with nature; and transcendence' (p.5)

Table 1 summarises the pertinent HWB and EWB themes emerging from this section of the Literature Review to illustrate the key theoretical concepts which frame this study. While this emphasises numerous HWB and EWB themes, the importance of these motives and benefits will differ from one individual to another depending on, e.g., their levels of skill and experience in the adventure activity. Consequently, only a small number of these themes may apply to each person.

Hedonic Wellbeing Themes	Eudaimonic Wellbeing Themes
Positive affect including pleasure, enjoyment, happiness, joy, freedom, and relaxation; pursuit of homeostasis, disengagement from everyday concerns, low distress, social connections, escape from boredom, pleasurable kinaesthetic bodily sensations, and a sense of merging with nature.	Happiness, meaning in life, psychological functioning, personal growth, authenticity, engagement, awareness, self-acceptance, physical and mental health, competence, relatedness, and autonomy needs (self-determination theory), goal achievement, mastery, self-actualisation, life transformation, optimal experiences, emotional regulation, emotional agency in interpersonal relationships, quality of life, exploring personal boundaries, overcoming limitations imposed by fear, and transcendence.

Table 1: Key literature themes related to HWB and EWB.
(Sources: Diener, 1984; Houge-Mackenzie & Brymer, 2018; Huta & Waterman, 2014; Huta & Ryan, 2010; Kelly, 2020; Kerr & Houge-Mackenzie, 2018; Ryan & Deci, 2000)

This section has highlighted why it is important to understand the SWB of family adventure tourists. Although families may be co-participating in the same activity, different hedonic and eudaimonic motives are likely to encourage their participation, and they may enjoy different yet connected wellbeing outcomes. Therefore, dissecting these themes forms the basis of this study, and, by doing so, the focus moves away from solely examining individual adult adventure tourists.

2.2.Family tourism and wellbeing

Families are often overlooked, dismissed (Kidron, 2013) 'and therefore passed over in contemporary [tourism] research studies' (Kelly, 2020, p.1). Their usual place is home, whereas tourism investigations commonly take place away from home (Obrador, 2012). Consequently, families are seen as too private and ordinary to investigate (Schänzel, Smith & Weaver, 2005). Despite this apparent lack of interest, scholars advocate the centrality of

tourism in the social reproduction of family and its role in creating a 'happy family' identity and 'familial completeness' (Cheong & Sin, 2019, p.1). Happy children positively influence parental happiness, thereby ensuring collective contentment of all family members on holiday (Khoo-Lattimore, delChiappa & Yang, 2018). The thick sociality that family holidays can generate, the importance of these trips for home-building, and the opportunities to enjoy shared experiences and familial memories are key reasons why more family tourism research is needed (Kidron, 2013). Three key subjects dominate family tourism research: decision making, tourism experiences, and the benefits of these experiences (Wu, Wall, Zu & Ying, 2019). This current study's focus on SWB fits with the latter theme. A bibliometric analysis on family tourism research (Li, Lehto & Li, 2020) confirms the prominence of these topics, further dividing them into eight themes. Amongst these, psychological factors, such as tourist motivations, reflect the purpose of this study although these receive limited scholarly attention compared with topics such as behaviour and decision making. Consequently, Li et al. (2020) call for more investigations in this area, thereby providing further justification for this research. Early studies (e.g., Gram, 2005; Litvin, Xu & Kang, 2004) focused on the parental perspectives of family tourism, and this absence of children in tourism research continued (Poria & Timothy, 2014). However, children have considerable influence on family holiday decision-making, and, therefore, scholars should also seek to understand their perspectives (Carr, 2006; Khoo-Lattimore, Prayag & Cheah, 2015). Accordingly, this study adopts a whole family approach, which considers parental and children's perspectives as well as family dynamics (Schänzel, 2010), to reflect the 'special consumptive characteristics' (Lehto et al., 2009, p.835) of families.

Understanding family holiday motives is complex because of individual members' differing needs. Parents are primarily motivated by family togetherness, emotional bonding, and communication (Carr, 2011; Gram, 2005; Shaw & Dawson, 2001). They aspire to enjoy a

perfect version of home life on holiday with uninterrupted time together as a family (Cheong & Sin, 2019). Younger children seek out exciting and fun holiday activities, which offer immersive and sensory experiences (Gram, 2005). For Western families, these are more physical pursuits, such as playing games and swimming, whereas for Asian families, there is more emphasis on educational activities (Khoo-Lattimore et al., 2018). On the other hand, teenagers enjoy more adult-like experiences which fulfil their relaxation and socialising needs (Blichfeldt, 2007; Carr, 2011). Therefore, family holidays can be challenging because of the varied needs of each member and the importance attached to maintaining positive family dynamics. There are additional considerations when travelling with young children, such as 'child-friendly amenities, safety, and family-oriented programs' (Khoo-Lattimore et al., 2015, p.520), which influence destination and accommodation choice. Consequently, successful family holidays involve an 'harmonic balanced set of different individual pleasures' (Larsen, 2013, p.171) comprising time and activities apart and together. Shared holiday experiences, which encourage 'we' instead of 'I' thinking (Lehto et al., 2009), seem to contribute most to the happiest and most memorable holiday times (Schänzel, 2010). The benefits of family holidays are numerous, they generally apply to the entire family, yet they often only reflect parental motives and overlook wellbeing. One exception is Kelly's (2020) work, which reports psycho-social wellbeing from being together on family coastal holidays, and bluespace wellbeing from immersion in seascapes and their restorative benefits. Other benefits include improvements in family cohesion, bonding, attachment, communication, togetherness, relationships, adaptability, functioning and memory creation (Agate, Zabriskie, Agate, & Poff, 2009; Lehto et al., 2009; Lehto et al., 2012; Obrador, 2012).

Theoretical constructs are used sparingly in family tourism research and focus on maintaining balance. The core and balance model of family leisure functioning (Zabriskie & McCormick, 2001) has been widely applied (e.g., Freeman & Zabriskie, 2002) to explain

family leisure experiences and wellbeing. It proposes that families need stability and change in their lives to function effectively and to benefit from a dynamic state of homeostasis. They maintain equilibrium through participation in core pursuits (e.g., cooking or playing in the garden together) and balance activities (e.g., hiking or attending a leisure event together). In an adventure context, the adaptability skills that families develop from participating in challenging balance activities help them to deal with the demands of everyday life (Zabriskie & McCormick, 2001). Reversal theory (Apter, 1982) proposes that wellbeing develops from a constantly fluctuating relationship between the hedonic tone (pleasant-unpleasant) and the arousal level (high-low). Although research suggests differences between parents (low arousal) and children's (high arousal) experiences of HWB during conventional family holidays (Larsen, 2013), it is argued that during adventure activity participation all family members seek high arousal experiences of one form or another.

As families operate as a unit and members influence each other, it is pertinent to consider family wellbeing (FWB). This is the collective physiological, mental, and social health of family members, family self-sufficiency and resilience (Newland, 2015; Noor, Gandhi, Ishak & Wok, 2014). Little is known about FWB relative to family adventure tourism. Families enjoy FWB when they extend their active lifestyles through adventure activity participation on holiday. These shared experiences, memories and storytelling post-holiday facilitate family togetherness and bonding. They also help to shape children's lives and foster personal development (Pomfret & Varley, 2019). Notably, FWB comprises individual elements, such as self-sufficiency, self-efficacy, and personal growth (Noor et al., 2014), alluding to a palpable link between FWB and the SWB of each family member. Studies confirm this, finding that parental wellbeing influences child wellbeing and, consequently, FWB (Coyl, Newland & Freeman, 2010; Newland, 2015). Accordingly, while

FWB is not the core focus of this research, it evidently shapes the SWB of individual family members and needs to be considered as a strong influence on HWB and EWB.

This section has outlined the limited research on family tourism, the focus on parental perspectives within this, and the complexities involved in researching these tourists. It notes how family holidays contribute to SWB and FWB, signalling the need for further research in this area. Notably, it accentuates the relative absence of studies on family adventure tourists and their SWB.

Considering the extant research reviewed here and noting the gaps in understanding of family adventure tourists, four key research questions (RQ) guide this study. These reflect its focus on adventure tourism and the SWB of family members: 1. What are the hedonic motives and HWB benefits of adventure tourism for family members (RQ1)? 2. What are the eudaimonic motives and EWB benefits of adventure tourism for family members (RQ2)? 3. What is the family's role in shaping these hedonic and eudaimonic motives and benefits (RQ3)? 4. What similarities and differences are there between younger children, older children, and their parents regarding hedonic and eudaimonic motives and benefits (RQ4)?

3. Methodology

The study adopted a whole-family qualitative approach to capture family dynamics and fully probe the viewpoints of parents and their children. As children are 'rarely treated as active agents' in family tourism research (Li et al., 2020, p.14), it was important to include them as participants in this study. Tourist behaviour is often investigated quantitatively, and this leads to individual interpretations of data, whereas the approach taken here is more inclusive, multidimensional, and holistic (Schänzel, 2010).

3.1. Respondents

The researcher recruited 15 families from Yorkshire (UK) who participated in adventure activities while on holiday. They took commercial adventure holidays, independently organised trips, and/or more conventional breaks with an adventurous element. Initially, convenience sampling and personal contacts were used, and then later, snowball sampling. Interviewed families contacted other families with adventure holiday interests. In total, there were 62 interviewees (29 adults and 33 children under 18 years old) including 14 married couples and one single parent. All respondents were white British, except one Canadian parent. There were 18 boys and 15 girls aged 5-17, the majority were aged 11-17 (22 out of 33), and the average age was 11. It was important to interview families with younger children (11 aged 5-10) given that most extant research investigates families with older children (Khoo-Lattimore, 2015).

3.2.Data generation

The researcher conducted and digitally recorded semi-structured interviews with the families from September 2017 to January 2018. These took place at the families' homes in a relaxed setting, usually the kitchen or living room, to facilitate everyone's participation (Astedt-Kurki, Paavilainen, & Lehti, 2001). This approach encourages respondents to behave normally, allowing the researcher to readily observe family dynamics (Kennedy-Eden & Gretzel, 2016). A rigorous university ethics application process was undertaken before data collection. This adhered to the university's Code of Practice Guidelines (see Appendix A) for researchers working with vulnerable populations (including children) and it was reviewed and approved by two academic members of staff. Appendix B outlines the interview protocol and participant consent process. Throughout the interviews, considering their age and stage of development (Khoo-Lattimore, 2015), children between the ages of 5 and 10 (11 in total) were encouraged to play with their toys and draw pictures of their favourite holiday activities. This was done to visually illustrate their sensory experiences, to access their voices, and to

facilitate discussion on holiday activities that they wanted to talk about (Khoo-Lattimore, 2015; Pink, 2012). Sometimes, these drawings prompted a conversation with simple questions, e.g. Why did you like this activity so much? Interview themes (see Appendix C) comprised several topics: general family holidays, adventure holidays, lifestyles, adventure holiday motives, experiences during activity participation, and benefits gained. Many questions (see Appendix C) were directed at all family members, e.g. Why do you like going on adventure holidays? Some questions were specifically for parents, e.g. How do your holidays differ now compared to pre-children? Others were aimed at children, e.g. What sports or other activities do you like to do? The questions were designed to elicit responses which would help to develop a holistic picture of the families' active lifestyles and holiday patterns. It was valuable to hear from each member to gain insights into their adventure experiences and associated SWB. The interviews lasted for an hour and a quarter on average and all family members were present most of the time.

3.3.The challenges of family interviews

Conducting family interviews was challenging. The researcher undertook all the interviews by herself therefore a key concern was how to effectively capture all members' viewpoints. To ensure this, she used two forms of digital recording and wrote notes of key themes to refer to during and after the interviews. Younger children were often less talkative, and their pictures did not always initiate conversations as they struggled to describe their feelings. Following the approach of other researchers (e.g., Khoo-Lattimore, 2015), replacing the 'why' questions with 'tell me about …' statements may have been more fruitful as young children cannot easily 'make inferences or justify their thoughts' (p.852). They often preferred to play than talk and sometimes interrupted each other when asked a question. Consequently, parents became the gatekeepers of their children's voices and often responded for the child. Parents also became distracted when their attention was on keeping their child

happy. It was important that members felt at ease expressing their own views as families can be private and hide their behaviour (Greenstein & Davis, 2013). The researcher tried to make them feel as relaxed as possible before interviews commenced and after checking their participant consent forms. She explained that the interview would be informal, more akin to a conversation and that she would interject with questions. Despite these challenges, substantial amounts of rich data from parents and their children were generated. Nonetheless, the findings reported in the next section mostly reflect the views of older children and their parents. Older children are more cognizant of social cues and can usually communicate their thoughts more easily.

3.4.Data analysis

After transcribing the interviews verbatim, the researcher evaluated the data inductively, using a framework approach (Ritchie & Spencer, 1994). The purpose was to understand the interviewees' adventure experiences and to ascertain key themes for further analysis. This involved manually analysing the transcripts through the framework's five stages. Initially, the 'familiarisation' stage involved reading through the transcripts and listening to the recordings. A 'thematic framework' was then developed to refine the data. Wellbeing emerged as an overarching theme, alongside HWB and EWB themes. Next, 'indexing' applied the framework to the data and involved annotating transcripts. Then, 'charting' concerned designing charts for each key theme and inputting relevant data. Finally, in the 'mapping and interpretation' stage, the researcher returned to the research objectives, reviewed the thematic framework and the indexes and charts, scrutinised different transcript sections for similarities, differences, and explanations, explored connections between the data, and reflected on the importance of different themes. One of the researcher's colleagues validated the themes by working through the interview transcripts and verifying that they reflected his interpretation of the data. They discussed any discrepancies in their data

interpretations and minor changes to the themes were made. As a further check, and to support the framework analysis, the researcher examined the interview data using NVivo 11.

4. Results and Discussion

This section presents and appraises the key interview findings, focusing on the SWB of individual family members. Hedonic and eudaimonic themes are examined in separate sections to reflect the RQs: 1. What are the hedonic motives and HWB benefits of adventure tourism for family members? 2. What are the eudaimonic motives and EWB benefits of adventure tourism for family members? 3. What is the family's role in shaping these hedonic and eudaimonic motives and benefits? 4. What similarities and differences are there between younger children, older children, and their parents regarding hedonic and eudaimonic motives and benefits?

4.1.Respondent profile

Initial interview questions focused on building a picture of families' lifestyles and holiday habits. Accordingly, Table 2 provides information about the profile of each family group. It comprises demographic details, including children's ages and parents' professions, annual family adventure-related trips and adventure activities participated in. It includes a useful snapshot of the families involved in this research and shows their interest in adventure activities on holiday. Family name codes are included to ensure anonymity, and these are referred to in the sections below. The table shows that families participate in a wide range of adventure activities while on holiday. Most families in this study enjoyed a mix of independently organised and packaged adventure holidays and activities. The latter experiences offer parents the reassurance and confidence they need to participate in potentially risky pursuits with their children. The most popular activities are land-based and

include hiking, climbing, cycling and snow sports. Water-based pursuits include swimming, canoeing, kayaking, snorkelling, and surfing. The only air-based activity is paragliding. All families lead outdoor active lifestyles, and holidays provide opportunities to partake in their usual activities, try out new pursuits, or develop skills in activities they could not do at home (e.g., skiing), over a longer duration in a different place. The desire to feel healthier and fitter through adventure activity participation was frequently expressed by parents. They were keen to embed this ethos into their children's development so that everyone stayed active and maintained good health.

Family codes	**Girls and ages (years)**	**Boys and ages (years)**	**Parents' professions**	**Annual family adventure holidays***	**Family adventure holiday activities**
BR	13	11	Teacher, Physiotherapist	4	Climbing, scrambling, hiking, swimming
TA		10 7	IT Architect, Homemaker	2	Hiking, mountain biking, climbing, swimming
TR	10	12	IT Consultant, Orienteering Coach & Development Officer	5	Orienteering, skiing, hiking, mountain biking
WA	5		Programme Manager, Economic Development Consultant	3	Hiking, cycling, climbing
LA		12	IT Consultant, Artist	4	Scuba diving, snorkelling, mountain biking, canyoning
HU	9	7	Product Designer, Teaching Assistant	4	Climbing, scrambling, mountain biking, snorkelling, coasteering

WR	11 	9 5	HR Director, Prosthetist	3	Skiing, cycling, bodyboarding, swimming
DR	8 	13 12	University Lecturer, University Researcher	3	Canoeing, hiking, swimming
HA	15 	12 10	Teacher, Architect	3	Cycling, mountain biking, hiking, surfing, kayaking, swimming
KN	17 12	15	Charity Manager	2	Surfing, hiking, swimming
CO	8	11	Health Visitor, Plumber	2	Snowboarding, skiing, surfing, horse riding
BA		14 12	NHS Manager, Quantity Surveyor	3	Skiing, cycling, mountain biking, hiking, canoeing
NA	13 12		General Practitioner, Property Developer	2	Hiking, cycling, paragliding, swimming, white-water rafting
RO	13 11 9		Outdoor Instructor, Homemaker	5	Hiking, climbing, scrambling, kayaking, swimming
OA		13 12	University Lecturer, Engineer	5	Skiing, hiking, scrambling, canoeing, climbing, mountain biking

*Includes holidays or short breaks, where the key focus is adventure, and those trips where adventure is not the key focus, but families participate in some adventure activities.

Table 2: Profiles of family respondents

4.2.Hedonic motives and hedonic wellbeing (HWB)

This section examines the hedonic motives which encourage family members to participate in adventure tourism, and the HWB benefits they gain from their experiences (RQ1). Relatedly, it considers the family's role in shaping members' hedonic motives and HWB (RQ3). It also discusses the similarities and differences between family members relative to their hedonic motives and benefits (RQ4). Notable differences were apparent between different age groups of children and parents. Pertinent themes are high positive affect, and alleviating feelings of distress and boredom. These feature mostly in descriptions of short, fast-paced, adrenaline-fuelled activities such as skiing and mountain biking. The influence of family (RQ3) was often absent from these descriptions, although it occasionally appeared. This may be due to the relatively fleeting, highly personal feelings associated with HWB. Exceptionally, however, younger children often relied on their parents for guidance, indicating that family can influence hedonic adventure experiences.

4.2.1. High positive affect

Commentaries were replete with positive emotions, reflecting the excitement respondents anticipated from adventure activity participation, and the link between positive affect and HWB (Huta & Waterman, 2014). As previous research (Kerr & Houge Mackenzie, 2012) notes, adrenaline was both a motive and a benefit of adventure activity participation. In considering RQ4, adrenaline was prominent, particularly in older children's (11-17 years old) accounts, suggesting their hedonic motives and HWB differ from other family members. They often emphasised adrenaline (RQ4) and hedonic benefits such as feeling 'on a high' and the 'wow' factor that activities offered. Such emotions were exemplified by one girl (NA, aged 13) describing her first tandem paragliding experience: 'I got a slightly crazy guy who did a corkscrew. He pulled really hard on the steering and I sort of flipped around. I just really loved it. The adrenaline was out of this world.' All the NA family participated in the same experience, and the younger daughter's description was similar, reflecting sheer

pleasure and excitement. Contrastingly, the dad's experience was quite different. He explained that 'you get a sense of freedom and a sense of calm when you are up there. It's not as big an adrenaline rush as you might think. It's really quite relaxing.' Returning to older children, one boy (KN, aged 15) recounted his first cliff diving experience.

> On the Italy holiday, my dad said he learnt to cliff dive backwards, so I decided I wanted to do that too. Every time I went for it, I just got a feeling in my chest that 'wow this could really hurt'. And then eventually you nail it, and you get such an adrenaline rush, and that rush drives you to keep doing more.

This is a palpable example of how family can influence the hedonic motives of individual members (RQ3). Encouraged by his dad, he succeeded and was rewarded with an adrenaline surge. Positive affect clearly motivated these children to participate in paragliding and cliff diving, reflecting the idea that novice adventurers are extrinsically motivated (Pomfret & Bramwell, 2016). They also allude to the importance of high arousal activities to enjoy feelings of pleasant hedonic tone (Apter, 1982).

Younger children's drawings illustrated their favourite holiday activities and hinted at their hedonic experiences, as seen in Figure 1. These pictures point to the importance of conventional holiday activities (e.g., swimming) as well as adventure activities (e.g., canoeing) to young children's positive affect. Although parents often talked for their young children (aged 5 to 10), the latter occasionally provided snapshots of their experiences. Unlike older children, their descriptions reflected feelings of fun. These were more important to their HWB than adrenaline, concurring with previous research about children on holiday (Khoo-Lattimore & Yang, 2020). Such findings suggest differences between younger and older children's experiences of adventure (RQ4). One girl (WA, aged 5) talked about the family's gorge scrambling trip. For her, the highlights were the sweet trail - set up by her parents to incentivise her - the scrambling and being lowered off rocks, which she described as 'fun' and 'whizzy.' One boy (WR, aged 9) explained that 'I like jumping off rocks and stuff because it's fun'. Recounting her abseiling experiences, another girl (HU, aged 9) said

‘it’s really fun because you get to control what you are doing.’ While this infers she was trying to take control, she knew that her parents were there to help her: ‘And, if you have your belay device, one rope’s attached on, and if you let go, mummy or daddy have always got you.’ Her comments allude to the importance of feeling safe during activity participation. This is a common concern for adventure tourists because of the perceived or real risks associated with many activities (Pomfret, 2012). These examples align with extant research (Hilbrecht, Shaw, Delamere & Havitz, 2008) which notes the role of parents in making their younger children feel secure and comfortable on holiday. They show that the presence of parents encourages these children to fully enjoy their adventure experiences and benefit from enhanced HWB.

Continuing with RQ4, although there were notable differences between younger and older children, they shared similar experiences of the natural environment. Nature encounters during adventure activity participation facilitated positive affect. Many children expressed awe and wonder when talking about wildlife and reflecting on memorable holiday experiences. They commented on ‘all the wildlife, sea-life and rock formations’ (LA boy, aged 12), and the ‘best [snorkelling] moment’ when seeing ‘an octopus and sea cucumber’ (HU girl, aged 9). Such descriptions concur with previous work which finds that nature-viewing or activity participation in natural environments enhance psychological wellbeing and facilitate physical benefits (Pretty, Peacock, Hine, Sellens, South & Griffin, 2007; Thompson Coon, Boddy, Stein, Whear, Barton & Depledge, 2011). These experiences reflect contemporary views about the increasing heterogeneity of adventure tourism and its consumers (ATTA, 2018).

Figure 1: Children's favourite holiday activities

4.2.2. Alleviate feelings of distress and boredom

Low distress is integral to HWB (Huta & Waterman, 2014). Leisure engagement, including adventure participation, can buffer distress by generating positive affect. It can reduce the damaging effects of stress for highly stressed people and strengthen SWB for people with little distress (Han & Patterson, 2007). Considering RQ4, parents' accounts featured feelings of low distress, whereas children rarely mentioned these. Parents enjoyed doing activities which helped them to disengage, and they recognised the opportunities that adventure provided to escape from the rigours of everyday life. Their descriptions were very personal and seldom mentioned other family members. Such findings suggest that family time on holiday is not only about togetherness but also own time and, sometimes, freedom from family commitments (Schänzel & Smith, 2014). Disengagement from everyday concerns commonly motivates adventure participation (Pomfret & Bramwell, 2016) as activities tend to be challenging and require participants to fully immerse themselves (Csikszentimihalyi, 1975). Accordingly, adventure tourism can provide parents with

opportunities to enjoy having time on their own during moments of activity participation. However, this may be more of an ideal as parents cannot separate themselves completely from the family group (Tuomela, 2007). Despite this, it seems that parents are sometimes able to carve out their own time when partaking in activities. This is shown by one dad (OA), who said that he enjoyed adventure activities 'because I'm not thinking about work and other stresses in life', and another (CO) who reported: 'As soon as I'm on a [snow] board, I forget about everything. I don't know what I think about; I just enjoy myself.' Natural settings also mediate this disengagement, enhancing positive affect and reducing negative distress (Kerr & Houge Mackenzie, 2018). Parents appreciated the natural environment and it facilitated HWB. This is illustrated in one mum's (BR) comments: 'The bigness of the natural environment' and 'the isolation of being away from everyone' made her feel 'plugged in' and 'on-charge'. Consequently, while the natural environment evokes positive affect for children, it also acts to alleviate distress for parents.

Boredom alleviation motivates adventure activity participation (Han & Patterson, 2007), and is key to sensation-seeking and novelty-seeking (Lepp & Gibson, 2008). Continuing with RQ4, many parents and older children agreed that holidays without adventure would be boring, instead preferring action-packed trips. Respondents hinted that the adventurous elements of their holidays were essential to maintain positive family dynamics and relationships. One mum's (LA) comments show this: 'We'd drive each other nuts if we had a holiday where we sat on a beach for two weeks. We'd really drive each other crazy.' This is further exemplified by an older girl's (KN, aged 17) comments:

> You can't have a holiday without activities which use up lots of energy. So, you can't have a holiday where you actually stop. It just isn't feasible. We get restless and irritable. We can't be cooped up. It's like we couldn't stay in all day. I know a lot of people can do that and have a day of reading and be calm. There's no way we can do that because we'd be bouncing off the walls after an hour.

Accordingly, adventure holidays, which are all-consuming with limited time-out (Pomfret & Varley, 2019), potentially fulfil the hedonic motives of active families who are seeking immersive pursuits. This is demonstrated in one dad's (BA) comments: 'At the end of a beach holiday, we'd be relaxed in a way, but we'd also be tense and pent up because of the frustration of not doing anything so in that respect, it wouldn't be relaxing'.

Considering RQ3, there is plentiful evidence of the role that parents play in shaping young children's HWB during adventure tourism participation. Parents were cognizant of potential problems arising from pushing their young children too much, recognising that the latter could feel more anxious if arousal levels exceeded the optimal state (Larsen, 2013). Their preoccupation with their children's enjoyment aligns with extant research (e.g., Shaw & Dawson, 2001). They knew that their children would not be able to cope with full days of adventure. Accordingly, to maintain positive family dynamics, they strived to balance adventure activities with more conventional holiday pursuits, such as playing on the beach and site-seeing. For instance, the HU mum noted that 'for the kids, it's nice that they get to see different places, have different experiences, try different things, see what they enjoy doing and build on it.' Her comments allude to the importance of life experiences and personal development for her children. While such benefits reflect HWB throughout the holiday, they also highlight the importance of adventure activities to longer term EWB. Regarding RQ4, it is evident that younger children's preferences differ to those of older children and parents. The HU daughter's (aged 9) holiday preferences are more exclusively about activities: '… at least four swimming pools which you can swim in and use flippers.' She continued: '… there's a seaside close by and the sea has warm water.' Such comments point towards the importance of fun activities, which are not necessarily adventurous, reflecting young children's general holiday motives (Gram, 2005). The HU dad concluded that 'I think your [the children] favourite things are to have as much chill-out time as

exploring and activity time'. Consequently, successful family holidays, particularly for young children, are based on a fine balance of shared activities and downtime opportunities. This combination of ingredients facilitates happiness and, consequently, HWB, for all family members (Larsen, 2013).

4.3.Eudaimonic motives and eudaimonic wellbeing (EWB)

This section explores respondents' eudaimonic motives and the EWB they gain from their adventure experiences (RQ2). Notably, family plays a more influential role on EWB than on HWB (RQ3). Discussion also focuses on the similarities and differences between family members relative to their eudaimonic motives and EWB (RQ4). The most prominent eudaimonic themes from the interview data were challenge and negative affect, optimal experience, accomplishment, and personal development.

4.3.1. Challenge and negative affect

In relation to RQ2, many parents and older children were motivated by challenge during adventure activity participation, reflecting extant research (Brymer & Schweitzer, 2013; Doran & Pomfret, 2019). They frequently talked about pushing themselves out of their comfort zone and alluded to the reward of enhanced EWB. Although they mainly reported positive emotions, their descriptions palpably highlighted the challenges faced. They were peppered with negative feelings of fear, exhaustion, and low self-efficacy. Negative affect, a key element of EWB (Huta & Waterman, 2014), was integral to their adventure experiences, and such emotions are commonly experienced during activity participation (Doran & Pomfret, 2019). Successfully dealing with challenge facilitated a homeostatic state (Dodge et al., 2012) as respondents developed their psychological, social, and physical resources to overcome it. This led to enhanced personal development, equipping them to cope with the

demands of everyday life more readily. When the challenges were perceived as overwhelming and problem-solving skills were lacking, the influence of family on members' experiences was more marked. Inevitably, such situations can lead to tensions arising between family members (Schänzel & Smith, 2014).

Continuing with RQ2, fear and exhaustion were palpable in some adventure depictions, for novice and experienced respondents alike. One girl (RO, aged 13), who is an experienced rock climber, explained how she felt when leading climbs: '… you can feel a bit scared because if you fall, you can fall a long way.' However, once 'you get the move, you feel 'phew'! Then, you can step up and you feel like you can move so much. It's like going up in a speedy hot air balloon.' She recognised the need to accept and control her fear to successfully lead the climb. The influence of other family members (RQ3) was also evident in her description. She acknowledged how her dad encouraged her to continue, gently coaxing her up the climb and instilling her with confidence that she could achieve her goal. In addition to the girl's EWB from these experiences, this supportive approach can enhance family resilience. This is a key element of FWB concerned with strengthening family relationships through positively managing stressful situations (Newland, 2015). She described one particularly memorable climb which 'stays in your mind' because you 'remember the emotion' and the 'hard stuff'. With experience, it seems that she applied her psychological and physical resources to meet the challenges of rock climbing. By doing so, she stabilised her wellbeing (Dodge et al., 2012). Contrastingly, a novice surfer (KN girl, aged 17) talked about the challenge, tiredness and fear she felt: 'You had to wrestle with the waves on your board as well. It's quite a big thing you're trying to control, and it's really draining. It slams into your face, and you have to fight the board.' She continued: 'It is disorientating when you are trying to fight your way back up to the surface [after coming off the board].' Her description shows unmanageable negative emotions, suggesting that she

needed to further build up her experience and resources to deal with the challenges of surfing. These descriptions illustrate that adventure activity participation often incurs negative affect and its benefits are only felt once results, such as accomplishment and skills development, are achieved (Huta & Ryan, 2010).

Parents occasionally expressed their fear when partaking in certain activities, particularly novices. Their descriptions often indicated emotional high and low points, with positive affect outweighing negative affect. For instance, the LA mum said:

> I thought the most dangerous part of canyoning was walking down the canyon on that scree slope. We were zigzagging down a really steep side. It was beautiful but it was scree, and this stuff is really tricky to go down. You could turn your ankle or fall at any moment. But it was stunning. There were vultures and eagles and the sound of crickets in the trees. It was just such a beautiful natural environment (LA mum).

However, regarding the influence of family members on each other's EWB (RQ3), most parents focused on gradually increasing the challenge their children were exposed to. One dad's (TA) comments illustrate this. He was 'very conscious not to spoil it for the kids. So, I wouldn't drag them on a really hard MTB trail and worry them or scare them. I'd take them on something challenging, which would be the next step for them.' Parents with younger children expressed a different viewpoint, which suggests that the latter are not motivated by challenge:

> Outdoor people are busy people and they like tackling physical challenges. They like pushing themselves and they can cope with a very high level of physical discomfort. A child's mind isn't set up for that and so you have to forget your own psychologies around it and embrace the fact that the child isn't thinking like that (WA mum).

As younger children are more hedonically motivated by fun, their lack of interest in challenge is understandable. They perhaps rely more on their parents to shape their adventure experiences in a similar way to how guided mountaineering trips are choreographed for clients (Beedie, 2003). However, older children may have had more opportunities to develop the mentality of challenging themselves when they partake in adventure activities.

4.3.2. Optimal experiences

Adventure activities often generate optimal experiences for participants. Flow (Csikszentmihalyi, 1975) is most used to describe these experiences. It reflects 'the state in which people are so involved in an activity that nothing else seems to matter' (Csikszentmihalyi, 1992, p.4). Flow culminates in happiness if the participant's skills match the challenge offered by the activity. It potentially encourages HWB, as it facilitates positive affect (Pinquart & Silbereisen, 2010), and EWB, as it can develop meaning in life and improved satisfaction (Parsons, Houge Mackenzie, Filep & Brymer, 2019). Regarding RQ2, flow is particularly apparent in respondents' descriptions of water sports, perhaps because of the technical skills these activities necessitate. Flow-like feelings are epitomised in one mum's (KN) account of her first-time surfing:

> The feeling of running into the sea at that first surf lesson, I got such a rush off that and I think I just let myself embrace the experience 100%, knowing that it's something I've resisted and just been scared of. I was immersing myself completely in the experience and physically in the sea and just thinking 'I'm not even going to think about being scared about this' and subsequently, I got a real buzz off standing up the few times I did.

This description illustrates the mixed emotions felt, the fear, the 'letting go' and embracing the experience, the palpable reward from staying upright on the surfboard, and improved self-efficacy from overcoming the challenge. Older children's commentaries also allude to such emotions, suggesting that their optimal experiences are like their parents (RQ4). Her son's (KN, aged 15) comments hint at flow-like feelings while surfing: 'If you ever talk to a surfer, they always say you can feel everything that's going on. And they're right. You just get this sense of the power of the ocean, and you're in awe.' Similarly, one boy's (LA, aged 12) SCUBA diving experience shows mixed emotions, culminating in flow-like feelings. On seeing several barracuda sharks, he expressed fear and incredulity, recalling 'they were just coming round us and circling us. Yeah, that was such an incredible experience. I felt a bit threatened when they swam over my head but, apart from that, it felt

almost natural and amazing.' Such comments depict the awe and wonder associated with EWB, and the power of the natural environment to facilitate optimal experiences. They demonstrate that 'happiness is not something that just happens' (Csikszentmihalyi, 2002, p.2) and people must work at this.

4.3.3. Accomplishment and personal development

There is a strong focus on how parents, influence children's adventure experiences in this section (RQ3). Accomplishment and personal development are two beneficial outcomes of adventure activity participation (Buckley, 2012; Doran & Pomfret, 2019) which contribute to EWB. Furthermore, accomplishment is a pertinent human need and a key component of the PERMA wellbeing model (Seligman, 2011). Reflecting extant research (Goodenough et al., 2015), parents and children benefitted from co-participation in adventure activities. Parental decisions to engage their children in purposive leisure provided opportunities for personal development and family bonding. Children were proud of their achievements, particularly novices who had to endure a steep learning curve while concurrently overcoming challenges. Recounting his experiences, the surfer boy (KN, aged 15) noted:

> Me and R [sister] managed to get some big waves before the break and we managed to stand up as they started foaming and crashing. It's sort of an amazing feeling like "I've beaten this wave". You feel like "Oh, basically I'm a pro". It was only our second lesson, but we felt so professional.

His comments reflect accomplishment as well as hedonic flow-like emotions, highlighting the interplay between HWB and EWB. He also recognised the importance of adventure for his personal development: 'These holidays are a real character builder. You just sort of add it [surfing] to your repertoire of experiences and it builds you as a person and encourages you to test out your own limits.' Another boy (OA, aged 12) commented that 'I felt happy with myself because I had done something that other people wouldn't do [canoe expedition]. They wouldn't go out of their way to camp in the wild either.' These accounts palpably

demonstrate accomplishment, and improved self-efficacy, competence, and confidence. Consequently, 'this gradual process of personal development through adventure shapes children's lives and enriches their individual and FWB' (Pomfret & Varley, 2019, p.503). Parents recognised their own development through adventure and wanted to pass on this learning to their children. This sharing of wisdom, traditions and values reflects generativity (Hebblethwaite & Norris, 2011).

Parents wanted to develop their children's 'life skills', 'teach them that life isn't going to be straightforward' (TA dad) and encourage them 'to challenge themselves a bit' as this is 'very character-building' (LA mum). They wanted to engage all family members in activities, create shared memories, encourage togetherness, and develop family identity (Goodenough et al., 2015). They were keen to understand their children by exposing them to challenging activities. One dad (RO), who previously worked as an outdoor instructor, wanted to know what his children's 'tipping point' was, where they transform from 'happy, funny and jolly to monsters who are scared'. He noted that 'the outdoor world pushes them to slip so they can fail and understand why they fail and move on'. Some parents expressed concern and feared that their children would get hurt or injured. Nonetheless, their descriptions alluded to the benefits of exposing children to controllable risks in their play environments (Staempfli, 2009). Accordingly, they viewed adventure experiences as integral to their children's upbringing, reflecting their desire and ability to be competent parents (Goodenough et al., 2015). This is shown in the CO dad's memories of a snow-sports holiday with his son (aged 11) and daughter (aged 8).

> I feel quite scared but then, I see their faces. They've got the biggest grins, so you know they are enjoying themselves. But they can't see the danger. I suppose you've just got to let them do it and have a good fall to improve. I tell them 'if you're not falling, you're not learning'.

4.4.Summary of key findings

Table 3 synthesises the key hedonic and eudaimonic themes for different age groups of children and parents. Furthermore, it illustrates similarities and differences between younger children, older children, and their parents regarding hedonic and eudaimonic motives and benefits (RQ4).

Family Member	Hedonic Themes	Eudaimonic Themes
Children aged 5-10 years old	Fun, awe, and wonder	Challenge, accomplishment, personal development, and self-efficacy
Children aged 11-17 years old	Adrenaline, excitement, awe, wonder, boredom alleviation, immersion, and positive family dynamics	Challenge, outside comfort zone, negative affect (e.g.: fear, exhaustion), accomplishment, personal development, optimal experiences, flow-like feelings, and self-efficacy
Parents	Adrenaline, excitement, relaxation, low distress, disengaging from everyday life, freedom from family commitments, boredom alleviation, immersion, and positive family dynamics	Challenge, outside comfort zone, negative affect (e.g.: fear, physical discomfort), personal development, optimal experiences, flow-like feelings, and self-efficacy

Table 3: Key hedonic and eudaimonic themes for children and parents

Following on from Table 3, Figure 2 is a conceptual model which addresses the aim of this study: to develop an understanding of the motives encouraging individual family members to participate in adventure tourism activities while on holiday and the benefits they gain from these experiences, using subjective wellbeing (SWB) as the conceptual lens. It shows the range of motives and benefits which contribute towards the HWB and EWB of different family members. In addition, it includes several family influences to highlight the important role that collective family units play in shaping individual SWB. The two-direction arrows indicate the inextricable links between hedonia, eudaimonia and family influences.

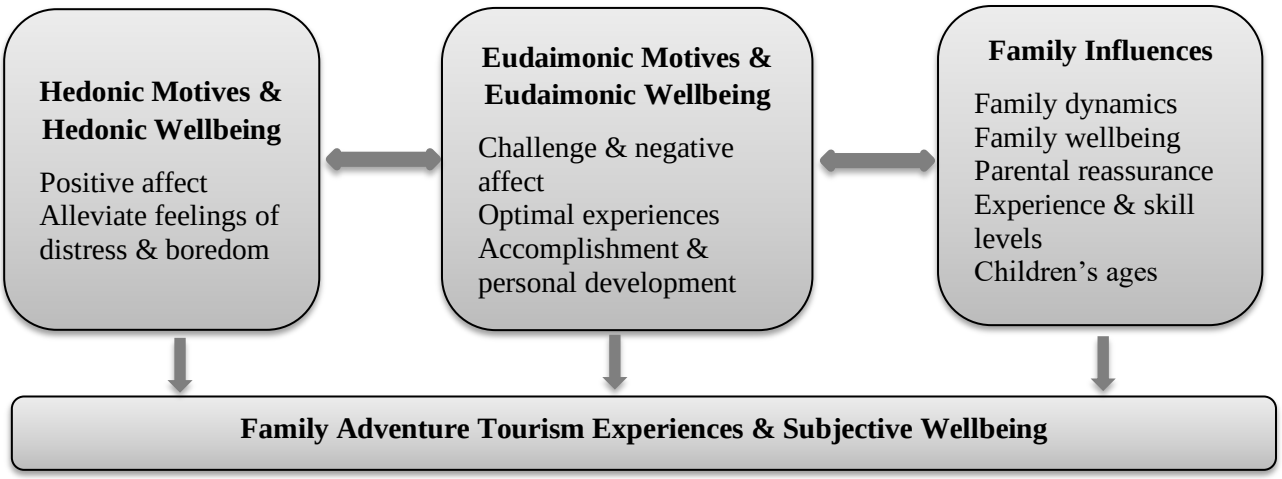

Figure 2: The subjective wellbeing of family adventure tourists

5. Conclusion

This study has fulfilled its aim to develop an understanding of the motives encouraging individual family members to participate in adventure tourism activities while on holiday and the benefits they gain from these experiences, using SWB as the conceptual lens. Furthermore, it has addressed the four research questions: 1. What are the hedonic motives and HWB benefits of adventure tourism for family members? 2. What are the eudaimonic motives and EWB benefits of adventure tourism for family members? 3. What is the family's role in shaping these hedonic and eudaimonic motives and benefits? 4. What similarities and differences are there between younger children, older children, and their parents regarding hedonic and eudaimonic motives and benefits? The findings reveal some important differences and similarities between parents and children, parents and older children, and younger and older children. They highlight the complexities of understanding the SWB of family members when they engage in adventure activities on holiday. The following discussion confirms the key theoretical contribution of this research and presents the practical implications of the findings. It also outlines suggestions for future research.

Regarding its theoretical contribution, this study has addressed calls for further research to understand the role of SWB in adventure tourism (Houge Mackenzie & Hodge, 2020). Specifically, it has responded to an appeal for more studies on the experiences of family adventure tourists (Pomfret & Varley, 2019). Few, if any, investigations have applied HWB and EWB constructs to understand these tourists. Using these concepts within an adventure context has brought to the fore their value in understanding why people engage in adventure activities on holiday, and what beneficial outcomes they enjoy. This is particularly important as adventure tourists become more heterogeneous and seek to fulfil diverse hedonic and eudaimonic needs. Relatedly, application of the whole family approach (Schänzel, 2010) in this study is original to adventure tourism investigations and relatively novel in tourism research. Past work has focused solely on parental or children's perspectives (Poria & Timothy, 2014) whereas this study probes all family members about their adventure tourism participation.

There are several practical implications of this study's findings. Importantly, adventure operators need to design flexible experiences which reflect the heterogeneous nature of the family market. This includes careful consideration of the varied needs, skills, experience, and ages of children within families to ensure that each person enjoys optimal HWB and EWB. Operators should, therefore, offer activities that families can participate in together, which are pitched at the children's ability level. Concurrently, they should provide opportunities for personal space, individual participation, and downtime for all family members. This not only facilitates individual need fulfilment, but also reflects the pattern of family life at home, which is often individualised for part of the day.

The hedonic-related findings show that younger and older children experienced adventure activities differently. Accordingly, adventure organisations should offer a range of action-packed experiences which reflect these variations. High- as well as low-arousal

experiences, and opportunities to enjoy pleasurable states of excitement and relaxation (Larsen, 2013), are key to this. Operators should embed fun and play opportunities in both conventional and adventure holiday activities for younger children. Contrastingly, they need to offer stimulating and exciting adventure experiences for older children. As children's positive affect is influenced by parental guidance and reassurance, no matter what their age, operators should also provide a supportive environment. Suitably qualified and experienced guides, who are used to working with children, are integral to ensuring this. There are additional considerations in facilitating parental HWB. Immersive experiences which help parents to de-stress and disengage from everyday concerns are important. Where skill and experience levels are similar between different family members, there should be opportunities for parents to push themselves to enjoy maximum positive affect. Consideration should also be given to parents who may enjoy freedom from family commitments at points throughout their holiday, to fulfil their hedonic needs.

Parents were particularly keen to extend their family's active lifestyle on holiday, recognising the long term EWB benefits of active lives for their children and themselves. Consequently, adventure operators should utilise lifestyle segmentation to understand family adventure tourists and design experiences that fulfil these needs. Older children and their parents enjoyed optimal experiences, accomplishment, and personal development from adventure activity participation. They accepted that negative emotions were integral to their experiences and that dealing with challenges helped them to build their coping resources (Dodge et al., 2012). Ultimately, they enjoyed EWB, a more balanced state of homeostasis, and skills that they could adapt and use in their daily lives. A reduction in adventure-related challenges on holiday or recreationally at home could result in disequilibrium and ill-being for these respondents. Importantly, therefore, operators should design challenging adventure

experiences which push older children and parents out of their comfort zones. They should also gradually introduce challenges into adventure tourism experiences for younger children.

Although this study's focus is on SWB, family undoubtedly shaped individual members' HWB and EWB. Therefore, it is important that adventure organisations consider how best to facilitate positive family dynamics to ensure everyone enjoys optimal levels of HWB and EWB. Furthermore, if individual family members have strong SWB, then this is more likely to lead to strong FWB. Relatedly, the individual elements of FWB: self-sufficiency, self-efficacy, and personal growth (Noor et al., 2014) are very apparent in respondents' descriptions of their adventure tourism experiences. This further strengthens the presupposition that SWB and FWB are firmly inter-linked. This aligns to other research (Buckley & Westaway, 2020) which confirms the facilitating role of adventure organisations in enhancing women's wellbeing, and the knock-on effect of this for other family members.

Further research should examine the relationship between SWB and FWB in a family adventure tourism context, given its inextricable link. It would be useful to carry out longitudinal research to explore how HWB and EWB of family members are developed over time through adventure activity participation. This could specifically focus on the transformative effects of adventure on children from an early age until their late teenage years, and similarities and differences according to gender. It could explore their personal growth, positive and negative affect during their adventure activity experiences, their longer-term psychological functioning and happiness, and enhanced EWB and FWB. Given the relatively homogeneous family respondents in this study (see Table 2), future studies should also focus on a broader, more diverse sample to include families from different socio-economic backgrounds and non-traditional family groups. As commercial adventure tourism focuses strongly on immersive experiences, facilitated by skilled guides, the service design encounter is critical to success. Accordingly, future research should examine how different

elements of service design can enhance HWB during activity participation. Carrying out such research would improve understanding of family adventure tourists, and the importance of adventure activities to their SWB.

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