GETTING AWAY FROM IT ALL: CONSTRUCTING IDENTITY ON VACATION

by

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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This study examines the cognitive work individuals do in managing and negotiating identity while on vacation. Vacations represent a distinct opportunity for identity work as existing they are re-negotiated for a finite period of time. While away from select demands of everyday life existing identities are rearranged; some move to the foreground, others shift to the back, while still others are dismissed entirely. The temporary nature of the experience and its voluntary nature make such identity work possible, permissible, and often heartily anticipated. In doing so, some identities are easily paused, while others prove to be more enduring. Vacationers employ a variety of methods in response, in order to cognitively bound this time off and instrumentally manage connections to everyday life.

To investigate such cognitive processes, this study draws on data from mixed qualitative methods gathered from three specific examples of vacation types, as well as a narrative analysis of a broad pool of vacation blogs. I identify two distinct forms of vacationing that have emerged from socio-cultural perspectives on leisure in the West: those who vacation for personal enrichment and self-improvement, and those who use their time off for rest and relaxation. Interviews and participant observation were used to gather data from volunteer tourists in China for the former group, and resort vacationers in Hawaii for the latter. While most vacations involve travel of some kind, not all individuals have the financial or temporal resources to go

away and instead vacation at home. Interviews with such "staycationers" comprise the third group for this study.

This analysis examines how individuals draw and negotiate cognitive boundaries around existing identities by analyzing issues of temporality, space and place, interactions with others, activities, and physical objects. I find that certain identities can be put "on hold," while others gain prominence, or are even created for the short-term. In doing so this study contributes to an understanding of the means by which people use culture to construct and negotiate their set of identities. While vacationing activities may differ, cognitive methods of shaping and bounding identities transcend location and content.

Acknowledgement

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Chapter One

Getting Away From It All

The nature of the vacation is such that it offers individuals the opportunity to briefly leave behind everyday life and take a break from day-to-day roles and identities. The power of vacations and their role in shaping how people see themselves, or want to see themselves, is evident in the variety of ways people play with identity during their time off. When attending Sturgis, the seven-day motorcycle rally held every year in South Dakota, for example, one may temporarily become a motorcycle "biker," whether he or she is one the rest of the year or not. At Calgary's annual Stampede, visitors can wear cowboy boots and hats and participate in an annual rodeo. And at various "fantasy camps" adults can pay to temporarily become a rock star, a New York Yankee, a figure skater, a race car driver, or a television star, among many others. Recent trends in the travel industry that emphasize playing up or leaving behind particular role requirements from everyday life similarly illustrate the appeal of vacations for voluntary identity work. "Mancations," offer all-male bonding trips that include activities like poker, extreme sports, and golf (Shellenbarger 2010). "Momcations," on the other hand, appeal to women to leave behind their children and husbands and relax with other mothers (eTN 2008).

These ideas are also reflected in popular media that show vacations as a time to bond with family, learn something new, fall in love, or just relax and let loose. The family vacation as bonding experience is caricatured perhaps most popularly in National Lampoon's *Vacation* as Chevy Chase attempts to keep his family together and happy during a cross-country road trip to a theme park; in *Dirty Dancing* the diligent and naive main character Baby learns to loosen up a little and fall in love with a man from a lower socio-economic status at a family resort in the Catskills; while in *Forgetting Sarah Marshall* a man travels to a Hawaiian resort to forget about

his ex-girlfriend who broke up with him; and in *The Hangover*, a group of men party to such excess in Las Vegas that they completely forget what happened to them the night before.

The common idea in each of these settings is that on vacation a person can do or be something or someone different from that of their day-to-day experience. One can be a different person for a while; one can try to strengthen bonds with family members or leave them behind altogether; or one can just relax and enjoy in ways that the limitations of everyday life do not allow. Vacations say a lot about the person who is undertaking the experience. Vacations are about more than just getting away or connecting with friends and family, they are a means of self-definition. In allowing time away from the demands of everyday life, they show what people choose to do, rather than what they must do (Aron 1999, 2). In this "time off" people can engage the multifaceted nature of self by taking on new roles and identities, leaving some behind, or emphasizing and deemphasizing others.

The significance of vacations for identity work then is not in the specific activities undertaken, but in the temporary relaxation of one's experience of social structure. They are a liminal period in which people may take a break from that which delimits their everyday life and enter into a more flexible organization of social expectations. As such, I make a distinction between the structure of vacations and their content. What is important is that, regardless of what one does or why, vacations offer some freedom from the structures, or interlocking patterns of behavior (Stryker 1980, 65), that usually delimit action. Vacations mean different things to different people, and activities undertaken can range from a trip to the beach, to cultural events, to adventure tourism. What remains constant across these experiences is the short term ability to leave behind certain limitations of one's everyday life and do something new, different or desirable.

Contemporary academic conceptions of self and identity regard individuals as participating in a reflexive process of choosing and forming who to be and how to present themselves. The self is constructed through interactions with others in a way that reflects one's social location: friends and family, socioeconomic status, religion, nationality, and so on. It is from these interactions that individuals develop a sense of who they are, as well as a location in social structure that is defined by these overlapping roles and responsibilities (Stryker 1980, 65; Stets and Burke 2003, 132). While it must be recognized that individuals always form their identities based on those options that are socially available, it is also important to study the identity work done during those moments when people may exercise personal choice in organizing their behavior (Snow and Brissett 1986). These "identity breaks" involve some form of interruption of ordinary, everyday life and allow for a temporary engagement with various alternative senses of one's selfhood. Vacations distinctly offer such an opportunity to individuals to voluntarily put everyday roles and identities "on hold" and engage in identity work that contrasts with everyday life.

Vacations then allow for an analysis of what people choose to be when certain limitations of their social world are eased, and at the same time illuminate how individuals remain tied to aspects of identity, either voluntarily or not. Of course most people cannot truly leave it all behind and break from all of the factors that make up their everyday selves. Sociologists recognize that freedom and constraint are not the same for everyone and are instead relative (Kelly 1983, 9). Everyday role requirements and structural constraints intercede. Income and wealth limit the degree the degree to which one can get away from it all, as well as factors such as personal ties to family, and especially children, friends, and colleagues. Such external factors moderate the ways that people may construct and move between identities.

Despite such constraints people still have the agency to moderate how and to what extent components of everyday life will intercede into their vacation time. People create breaks by selectively integrating or segmenting elements of their daily experience into their time off. As such, they must use cognitive methods to manage the degree to which their everyday identities and role requirements overlap into their time off and vice versa (Nippert-Eng 1995). Some social connections may be emphasized, while others may be cut off entirely. Some may limit work and family obligations to demarcated spaces and times, while others may let them overlap throughout the experience. It is through these cognitive methods that individuals shape the mental spaces for breaks and escapes within the limitations of their social world.

Part of what makes up a given identity is the roles people play when they interact with others. People must switch between roles routinely, even inhabiting multiple roles within a given interaction. In an effort to mentally manage overlapping lifestyles and reduce role conflict and stress, individuals employ cognitive methods to switch between roles that match the physical and mental environments in which they find themselves. Despite varying contextual demands individuals are able to switch, overlap, adapt, discard and rearrange roles with relative ease (Danna Lynch 2010, 166-168). When they do this they employ cultural resources to make cognitive adjustments that fit social context.

As a set of expectations or responsibilities that come along with a position in social structure, such as mother, teacher, or friend, roles guide social interaction. Everyone has a set of roles that they perform on an ongoing basis, but this relatively stable grouping does not always meet the needs and interests of the individual. People thus temporarily add or subtract from their role set in order to meet these desires. Ephemeral roles are voluntarily chosen and short-lived, and satisfy needs not met within one's everyday role set (Zurcher 1968; 1970; 1970b).

Examples include the adulterer, poker player, LSD tripper, or "whatever is intense and intermittent and defined in contrast to everyday life" (Zurcher 1970, 185). Through these ephemeral roles individuals can experience a temporary release or contrast with the constraints of day-to-day experience.

In addition to these contrasts it is important to focus on the roles and identities themselves and the ways they relate to each other, which can shift during breaks. Identity breaks illuminate how roles can change. The time allotted to performance can expand or shrink, order of performance can be rearranged, and performance can be heightened, downplayed or eliminated altogether. These aspects create the substance of the change regarding self and identity.

These shifts may then add up to a "temporary identity" during which individuals may put different facets of self "on hold" and engage with others. While roles are external and linked to positions within social structures, identities are more internal. They are composed of the internalized expectations and meanings that come from the roles or set of roles one occupies (Stryker 1980, 289). Identity, then, refers to *who* one is and the meanings a person attaches to himself or herself, both by self and by others (Gecas and Burke 1995, 42). Sociologically, identities refer both to the meanings a person gains from membership in various groups and social categories and also the attributes of self a person displays to others. Identity is about more than just performing for others, or taking up an expected set of behaviors, as with a role. It is about how a person conceives of him or herself. Identities are formed by the multiple roles an individual adopts, or is assigned, and the sum of the relevant social interactions in which they participate. Ephemeral roles offer the opportunity to occupy externally-defined roles, while a temporary identity is, in part, comprised of these roles. Temporary identities are an opportunity

for a reflexive expression of internalized roles not usually expressed within the course of everyday life.

The aim of this study is to understand how people use breaks in social structure to alter or shape self and identity. Taking the view that the self is a constructed, decentered, flexible, yet resilient object, this study examines how people take "breaks" from the everyday organization of self. The shifting, decentered nature of contemporary life illuminates how identities and roles can be shaped and reshaped, taken up or put aside again in different social situations. The flexible, potentially fragmented, but enduring self offers the opportunity, and the ability, for individuals to play with identity, taking on new and different roles, leaving others behind, or otherwise reordering, replacing, or scrambling one's role set. I examine the dimensions that shape a "break" from everyday life during which such identity work would be done, including the temporal and spatial parameters within which they are situated; the influence of other people, whether significant others or strangers, both present and far away; and the experiential routines and practices that help draw cognitive boundaries around such events.

Vacations are ideal for such study in that they are bounded in time and space, culturally determined, and almost universal to contemporary experience. They are a practice that is central to everyday life. Too often sociology focuses on the unusual, the outliers, or the special cases that evoke the unfamiliar or uncommon (Brekhus 1998, 38). Perhaps these cases are more empirically interesting (Davis 1971, 310-311), but they are not always representative of general experience and leave out much of what shapes everyday life. Vacations are not an outlier, and as I will show, make up a primary location in which people negotiate who they want to be with who they are allowed to be. By studying vacations we can better see how people balance

demands between the obligatory and the voluntary. This is a struggle that addresses

fundamental sociological issues of structure and agency, and freedom and constraint.

This study also focuses attention on how people use cognitive processes to negotiate

the demands of multiple identities in new contexts and during transitions between salient

identities. Cognition occurs on a continuum from the individual to the human level. To

understand how people think we must focus on that which takes place in the middle of this

continuum, at the social level. To think as a social being means to be a product of particular

environments that influence and constrain the ways people interact with the world (Zerubavel

1997, 5-6). Sociology has long recognized that social structures alter cognition (Cerulo 1997b,

55). The ways that people perceive, understand, and react to stimuli are shaped by social

environments and experience. Identity work reflects this process. Constructing, bounding, and

switching between identities relies on mental methods of organizing and negotiating self to

match social contexts. While I focus on the vacation, such identity breaks are a general form

that can be applied to a variety of events. The examples used throughout this study illustrate

how contextual factors like space, time, people, and boundaries shape a singular experience.

Understanding Vacations

As I first began to conceptualize this study I quickly discovered that defining "vacations"

is more difficult than it seems. The concept covers a wide variety of motivations, expectations,

and experiences. While there is a lot of overlap in activities, everyone's vacation is different. The

Oxford English Dictionary defines a vacation as "freedom, release or rest from some occupation,

business or activity" ("vacation" 2010). This definition does not include reference to duration,

location, or what to do, only that it is a respite from something else. The Latin root of vacation,

"vaccare," means lack or empty. In this case, empty in the sense of being free or released from responsibilities or duties. Within this absence people may substitute their own meanings and desires. The time set aside for a vacation tends to be thought of as more lax, an empty time where certain rules and norms that structure everyday life are eased and people feel they can behave in a more "free" way (Cohen 1973, 89; Graburn 1983, 13; Adler and Adler 1999, 35).

When asked to explain what a vacation means to them peoples' definitions underscore two central dimensions: those who highlight them as an opportunity to "get away" from aspects of everyday life, and those who focus on the opportunity to do something different or desirable. For some a vacation is about what is not there, for others it is about what is. Emily summarizes the first view by explaining, "usually vacations are to get away from your job, or away from your family, or something back home." Blake shares this view, "For me a vacation is just getting away from your stresses. A vacation could be in your own backyard for all you care about. As long as I don't have to deal with the day-to-day activities that I would normally do." For Blake and Emily vacations are defined by the absence of everyday stresses, responsibilities, or role requirements. In contrast, Jodie defines her vacations in terms of the opportunities they give her to engage in desirable experiences.

> I do very different types of vacations. Depends on where the next whim takes me. It'll be camping, backpacking, driving a thirty foot R.V., doing volunteer work, run a marathon, doing a hiking trip. Just going away for a chill out weekend. Girly weekends with friends. It's very, very different depending on what's the next thing I want to discover or do […] Generally for me it depends on what happens in my everyday life. If it's very stressful which it has been in the last few years, then my idea of vacation is somewhere in the woods far away from civilization with a campfire and a nice cold beer. [Jodie, personal interview]

On vacation individuals get both "freedom from" and "freedom to;" freedom from the strictures of daily routine, but also freedom to do new things. Contrasts to everyday life are achieved through both these means. On the one hand, people may eliminate some kind of

obligation that ties them to everyday responsibilities. Primarily this responsibility is work, but it can also be family relations, space or environment, or just a rigid daily routine of 9-to-5. On the other hand, they also create difference by introducing new things to their experience. Trying new activities, going to new places, and indulging all create contrasts through the introduction of new activities. It is in these contrasts that vacations are defined (Graburn 1977, 20-23; 1983; Urry 1991, 2-10). What is important about the experience, what ties them all together is the select release from the everyday social structures that define, order and delimit the roles and identities individuals hold. For this reason a vacation can be very far away, it can be in a city, in can be in the country, or it can be literally in one's own backyard. What is important is how people introduce breaks into experience.

In order to investigate vacations then I chose to focus on three groups that exemplify these behaviors: volunteer tourists in China, beach vacationers in Hawaii, and people who stay home for their vacations, or take "staycations." I supplemented in-depth interviews with each group, with two periods of participant observation as a volunteer tourist in China, and as a resort employee in Hawaii, and a narrative analysis of vacation blogs. Although not everyone goes somewhere new on vacation, travel is an important part of the experience for many. Because of the diversity of vacation experiences involving travel I divided these individuals into two key groups that define their leisure activities: those who travel for personal enrichment and education, and those who travel for rest and relaxation.

Vacation decisions in the United States reflect a cultural history based in a Calvinist distrust of leisure and value of hard work (Aron 1999, 9). According to a "utilitarian philosophy of time" (Zerubavel 1981, 54) people use their time off to achieve some end. Popular activities and destinations such as Disney's Epcot, Elderhostel, Eurail, Outward Bound, "alternative spring

breaks," and all varieties of packaged cultural and educational tours reflect the propensity to use vacation time to an instrumental end. As Americans' access to and desire for long-distance tourism increases, the range of destinations for such leisure is expanding. The volunteer tourists in this study illustrate the growing popularity of expanding these activities into different environments. These forms of "serious leisure" offer opportunities for identity enhancement and self-fulfillment during one's time off (Stebbins 1982). Marcia sums up the typical response from people who held this view of their vacation time. She, and other like-minded respondents, contrasts it with a trip to the beach, "A vacation for me is usually travel to different places. I'm not a person, nor is [my husband], who likes to just sit on a beach. I like to be active, I like to learn something. See new things, meet new people." Her least favorite vacation was a trip to Puerto Rico that she felt was too leisurely, "I didn't enjoy just sitting on a beach. Even though I was working stressful jobs at that point, I still wanted something that was diverting. I always feel I can sit and read at home […] To take a vacation where I just sit on the beach and read doesn't stimulate me." In this view, relaxing is something that can be done at home, and to not travel and do something new is a missed opportunity.

China itself is a destination that has grown in popularity in recent years. Such forms of long-distance tourism are being done more often as Americans' access to and desire for international travel increases. For example, there has been a 43% increase in the number of American travelers to Asia between the years of 2003 to 2010 alone. With most popular destinations in the region being China, and Japan second (Office of Travel and Tourism 2010a). Vacationers who came to this location were seeking an authentic location that was, "as far removed as you can get from the West" (Luke, personal interview). China has long been viewed as the "other" in this way by curious Westerners. Dating back to Marco Polo, China and East Asia

has held a particular exoticism for Europeans and Americans that these tourists are drawing on when they seek their culture-based travel.

For others who are not looking for such a challenge during their time off, the relaxation and leisure exemplified by the beach makes it an ideal vacation destination. Vacationers in Hawaii demonstrate this third group of travelers who seek to relax in their time off. Not all vacationers look for an enriching experience. Some just want to leave behind demands and responsibilities. For them, the trip is a break from the obligations of everyday life and not an opportunity to add new commitments. Instead of seeing leisure time as an opportunity to be productive, relaxed vacationers introduce contrast by eliminating a high level of activity that is prevalent in their day-to-day life. They are breaking with the idea of a utilitarian use of leisure time and instead see the lack of activity as a reward for their hard work. The prototypical vacation of this ideal is the "tropical paradise" or the destination promising "sea, sun and sex." Anything that involves "effort" or "work" does not fit into this ideal. Maria, a vacationer in Hawaii, describes her trip, "Nothing. No responsibilities. Like a baby. Just eat, sleep and do nothing." She continues, "I just decided to come over and be lazy. That's all it was about this vacation. I work very hard during the year so I just, this year I said, I'm not going to go anywhere, I'm not going to take any tour. I'm just going to do whatever I feel like I want to get up and do; that's it."[1]

Hawaii as a destination has been produced and marketed as a site of "white, Edenic regeneration" to mainland Americans for the last century (Desmond 1999, 8). The natural environment and the local population have historically been presented as timeless and

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[1] Anthropologists of tourism have typically divided experiences into the categories of "cultural tourism" and "nature tourism" (see Graburn 1977, 26-28). In such a classification the beach is considered nature tourism, despite as how Urbain (2003 [1994], 134) has critiqued, the contemporary beach vacation has little to do with nature. I instead emphasize style of travel as it relates to self and identity and form of break from everyday life.

unchanging in an intentional contrast with the modernity of visiting tourists' lives. This continues to be the case as people travel to Hawaii in search of relaxation and natural beauty set within a cultural landscape of friendly yet exotic Polynesia without actually leaving the United States. The culturally-determined nature of this perspective can be seen in the ongoing popularity of Hawaii as a destination, despite the many other, more accessible sites that share key components of sunshine, scenery, and sex. Romanticized imagery goes back to the nineteenth century with writers such as Robert Louis Stevenson, Mark Twain, Jack London, and Herman Melville who popularized an exoticized vision of the islands in newspaper reporting and short stories. In 1889, long after returning from Hawaii, Twain wrote, "No other land could so longingly and so beseechingly haunt me, sleeping and walking, through half a lifetime, as that one has done" (quoted in Desmond 1999, 6). In the twentieth century, once Hawaii became a U.S. territory, and then a state in the period following World War II it has been presented as an ideal vacation spot to mainland Americans. It is continually listed by media such as *National Geographic*, *Conde Nast*, and the Travel Channel as a "dream destination," and perhaps consequently is cited as a top destination in travel-related polls year after year (Mak 2008, 1-3).

As vacations are defined by a break of some kind from everyday life, one of the primary ways that this is achieved is through a change of space or place, yet many people stay within their everyday environments, either voluntarily or involuntarily. Stay-home vacationers illustrate that what is most important in defining a break is some kind of interruption in the routine of everyday life. Vacations taken at home often involve many of the same activities that a vacation away will include: shopping, sightseeing, eating out, and socializing with friends and family, but the pressures of everyday routines are reduced in ways different from that of an evening or weekend (Deem 1996, 20). Greg explains why he doesn't leave his hometown during his time off:

> All the fun that I've ever had in my life has been right here in this area, between here and New York. So I've never really had much of a reason to venture out. My theory about stuff is that usually everything you need in life is right in front of you. So for me, I like to drink. I like to have good company. I like nature. So if I go north I can just go hiking and disappear for a day. If I want to have fun just with my friends we go out to a pub and drink. [personal interview]

A sustained period of free time offers a week or so that is less intense, more flexible, and not subject to the demands and limitations of day-to-day life, even within one's everyday environment.

Differing vacation styles show that the identity work done during this time is achieved through cognitive means of establishing difference, not just physical movement to a new place. People who take staycations emphasize the mental components of changing and forming identities, and underscore that breaks are more about changes in structure than in place or environment. While motivations range from not having the money or time to go away, to feeling that one "can't vacation," or stop working long enough to go away, to parents who feel the responsibility and challenges of vacationing with young children make staying home a preferable option, the content of a stay-at-home vacation is usually not all that different from one that involves travel. People find ways to match vacation time to cultural scripts, such as integrating short-distance travel and indulgence. A "guidebook" for a stay home vacation offers advice and rules on how to properly enjoy the experience including planning it, bounding it in time with a start and end date, and "creating mental distance" (Wixon 2009, x). Rule number one is "A staycation must be treated as a real vacation:"

> Rule #1 means that just because you're not getting on that cruise trip, you still need to do that same mental checkout of the real world that typical vacations entail. That means turning off your cell phone and not checking your e-mail each day. It means getting all the household chores done before the start of your staycation. It means not thinking, "If we leave the show just before the curtain falls, then we can beat traffic, I'll be in bed before midnight, and can get up early to mow the lawn." For any vacation, a staycation or

something grander, you have to unplug. Unplug from work, from your chores, from the daily compulsion to get things done. (Wixon 2009, 11)

The idea of travel is so culturally scripted that a book advocating the stay home experience oddly reinforces the idea that a vacation without travel is not a "real" vacation. Nevertheless, it sums up the components of what it means to vacation regardless of location, to disregard time, disconnect from work and social obligations, and to change one's habits to create the cognitive space for altered identity.

The above quote suggests that staycationers, by staying within their everyday environments, cannot resist the duties and obligation linked with the home. Since home is associated with work and responsibilities a "proper" vacation rooted in leisure then requires travel away, while staying at home while not working is considered odd or improper (Graburn 1983, 22-23).

Identity Breaks and the Flexible Self

To understand how such breaks and shifts in one's sense of who one is are possible, it is necessary to understand the nature of the self in the contemporary social world. The fragmented and shifting nature of everyday life, and the multiple overlapping social networks a person belong create flexibility in selfhood that can be tapped into during breaks for time off. The composition and nature of the self is an enduring subject for sociologists. George Herbert Mead first conceptualized the self as a product of the interaction between the individual and society (1967 [1934]). He hypothesized that the self is an inherently social object, made up of one's individual responses to society, and the internalized responses of others. By this understanding the self can only be produced through interactions with others, which are

reflexively incorporated into one's sense of who one is. In this process the self gradually

emerges through social experience. Such a modernist notion formed the core of the sociological,

and specifically symbolic interactionist perspective on self and identity.

Later views of the self developed this further in response to the social changes of late

twentieth century life. In the contemporary world the individual is divided between numerous

social circles that result in increasingly segregated and separate audiences. This was a dramatic

change from the "traditional" or "premodern" societies in which social ties were ongoing or

overlapping (Pescosolido and Rubin 2000, 54-55). The sense of inner stability or sameness over

time that such a social arrangement creates disappeared with the decline of stable, long-term

relationships and the expansion of interactions across broader distances. In response the self

came to be viewed as "mutable" or changing depending on context (Zurcher 1977). Such

flexibility of self represents a response to the changing demands presented in a complex and

differentiated world. The flexible institutions, constant risk-taking, and often short-term work

arrangements that characterize contemporary life create the psychological conditions for a

pliant self, potentially composed of fragments rather than a unified core. The inherent

uncertainties created by these shifts make it difficult for the individual to compose narratives or

to predict the future around which a coherent sense of a unified and unfolding self would be

constructed (Sennet 1998, 133-135).

Demonstration of a "protean self" is a response to such constant change and the

uncertainty it brings. Robert Jay Lifton (1993) argued that one's sense of being shifts and

changes in a resilient response to the fragmentation of society. This pliancy is a feature of the

self brought out by contemporary circumstances that call forth "the innate plasticity of human

development and behavior" (Lifton 1993, 230). In Lifton's view this plasticity is positive. It is a

resource to be used to respond to challenging environments through renewal and change.

Other theorists took a more pessimistic view of the self in response to late modern life.

These views see the self as decentered, relational, illusory, contingent, and ultimately lacking

any core or essence (Gecas and Burke 1995, 57). In describing the "saturated self," Kenneth

Gergen (1991, 15) argued that the multiple cultures, ideas, and spaces people are exposed to

increases the number of roles and identities a person may hold, leading the self to be more

complex, but also more fragmented. As identities continually emerge, re-form, and re-direct, the

self becomes saturated and dissolves. At the same time, the emphasis on images over substance

in the contemporary world is reflected in the self, where increased attention is given to

presentation and style. Eventually, in Gergen's view, the distinction between what is real and

what is presented, or what is substance and what is style, collapses. One's self becomes

synonymous with one's appearance (Gergen 1991, 155). In contrast with Lifton, rather than

seeing the flexible and fragmented self as a resilient response to a changing and challenging

social order, Gergen's version of the self is the reflection of an increasingly illusory society.

A precursor to such views can arguably be found within the sociological tradition of

symbolic interactionism. Erving Goffman's (see for example 1959; 1963; 1964) work on

presentation of self, situated identities, and impression management can be understood as a

forerunner to this postmodernist view that deconstructs identities into appearances, behaviors

and the expectations in any given situation. Symbolic interactionists who follow this view

similarly understand the self as relational, decentered and contingent: a construction based on

the dramaturgical metaphor of acting out roles for an audience who must be convinced.

Particular identities, as aspects of self, are expressed through such externally-oriented means as

dress, behaviors, mannerisms and language. Through such identity work individuals both

communicate to others who they are and how they want to be seen, but also reinforce for

themselves personal identity. Unlike the more extreme postmodern interpretations,

interactions in this school maintain a belief in the ongoing qualities of Mead's "I" and "Me"

(Gecas and Burke 1995, 58), but still recognize that despite this core that is based on a relatively

stable set of meanings, the socially constructed self is fundamentally changeable and

impermanent. While it may appear to be centered and unified, it is still based on and within

diverse and multidimensional relationships. The self is still fundamentally social, contingent on

the concepts, images and understandings of the society in which it is situated (Callero 2003,

127).

Lifton similarly maintains that despite its protean nature there is a coherence to the self

that endures. Its resilient flexibility actually creates consistency instead of fragmentation. A

certain "I" remains constant, usually dependent on the formation of intimate relationships with

friends, colleagues, partners, and also through selective institutions (Lifton 1993, 90-92). Even in

the middle of great change and flux the protean self seeks lasting connections that are

expressed through intimate bonds with others, links to history and culture, and in lasting

religious and ethical principles. These are not without complication, however, as such enduring

ties can also come to be seen as traps and barriers. While stability is sought out, it is usually

done so in such a way that leaves openings for experimentation and change (Lifton 1993, 120).

The multiplicity and diversity of contemporary society that leads to flexible selves then

can also be viewed as a source for this desired freedom. While the growing number of social

circles the individual moves between creates ties that are both ephemeral and contingent, they

can also create new networks of social relations in which the salience of a given identity can

shift. Under these circumstances, people maintain a few lasting ties, and many temporary ones (Pescosolido and Rubin 2000, 70). The frequent lack of overlap between these circles means an undesirable identity in one realm need not carry into another. The strength of contemporary social relations then lies in their potential for freedom and flexibility. Multiplicity allows for participation in new and varied social situations, eliminates highly scripted or delimiting roles, and gives individuals greater autonomy over their lives (Maryanski and Turner 1992, 140; Pescosolido and Rubin 2000, 64).

These theories demonstrate the basic tenet of symbolic interaction that self reflects society. If society is complex, organized and differentiated the self must be also (Stets and Burke 2003, 123). Such an understanding rests on the assumption that the social structures in which actors are embedded influence the complexity of the individual's self and the salience of identities that are expressed (Smith-Lovin 2007, 106). In this sense social structure represents the relatively durable patterns of interaction and relationships that fit together, with the patterned behavior of others, into a larger, inter-individual structure. These patterns are differentiated and organized into a variety of groups, organizations, communities, and institutions and are further intersected by the boundaries of class, ethnicity, age, gender, religion, and other variables (Stryker 1980, 65; Stryker and Burke 2000, 285). Within this broader structure individuals can be understood to interact within relatively small networks supported through specialized roles. The self is then organized into multiple parts, or identities, that reflect these roles and are tied to aspects of social structure. Identities are the meanings one holds for these roles. The meaning of being a father, colleague, or golfer is the content of the identity (Stryker 1980, 60; Stets and Burke 2003, 123).

The multiple roles and identities that individuals hold will overlap as people move between the numerous demands and obligations of everyday life. Because they coexist like this, and occasionally conflict, identities must be cognitively organized, hierarchicalized, and negotiated by individuals. People must decide when and to what degree they will embrace a given identity. Some of this work is done voluntarily, as with a shift to a leisure identity, and some is mandatory, as with shifts from home to work. Different facets of identity are then organized according to levels of salience for the corresponding situation (Stryker 1968, 558-564). An identity that is more highly salient to the individual will be more likely to be played out across various settings, while less salient identities will be accessed more selectively. This view sees identity as context-dependent. They ways that identities gain and lose salience reflects an approach to society in which culture is something that is supra-individual (Dimaggio 1997, 275). The internal organization of the individual is thus a response to social contexts.

When negotiating the organization of self across different situations, people play up, or foreground, aspects of self that are most salient for a given social environment, and at the same time shift others to the background if they are felt to be less relevant for a given time or place (Brekhus 2003, 16-20). Such work of moving between and among roles and identities requires a cognitive flexibility that is under-addressed in studies of structural symbolic interaction (Dana-Lynch 2009, 7). While people move between strikingly different roles and responsibilities, sometimes within the same interaction, they often do so with relative ease.

Selves are constructed with the strategic use of cultural resources, including roles and identities, in order to achieve personal distinction and individuality (Callero 2003, 123). As the self is reflexively social, these resources cannot be thought of as individual or private, rather they are derived from the cultural "tool kit" (Swidler 1986) that individuals maintain and deploy

in order to accomplish their objectives. In this way, culture can be understood to be a set of resources that exist outside the individual and can be tapped into for various means and ends in self-making. People can pick and choose among the skills that make up cultural repertoires, "appropriating some and using them to build a life, holding others in reserve, and keeping still others permanently at a distance" (Swidler 2001, 19). While people may not choose to "use" all the culture that they know, they must have specific cultural competencies in order to achieve any particular goal. In this view, the self and identity are themselves tools a person might use to accomplish social objectives (Swidler 2001, 24). People then dip into cultural repertoires when deciding how to take an identity break and determining what shape it might take. These allowable and imaginable breaks and pauses are in themselves symbolic representations of one's status, world-view, and skills. They reflect the dominant cultural models of desirable or appropriate use of leisure time that have developed within a particular time and place. Vacations exemplify this phenomenon. They are permissible breaks from certain aspects of everyday life that are culturally well-elaborated.

The tool kit or repertoire view may be supported by recent studies in cognitive science that conclude that individuals simply do not have the cognitive capacity to internalize the "complex web of meanings" that cultural theorists view as comprising society and motivating action (Lizardo and Strand 2010, 205-206; Martin 2010, 230). Instead these studies show that human cognition is limited and people rely on shortcuts such as heuristics, mnemonics, and schemas to make sense of their world. In this sense, the complexity of culture is found not in peoples' minds but the institutions, networks, and environments they collectively create and draw upon. Social scripts and cultural schemas organize and streamline interactions, accommodating cognitive limitations.

These assumptions also underlie cognitive theories of identity where the concept of schemas as a means of organizing the self is particularly useful. As human cognitive capacities are limited, people process information as "cognitive misers," relying on categories that streamline information about people, objects, and situations (Fiske and Taylor 1984, Howard 2000, 368-369). Schemas are abstract generalizations or composites, built from real exposures and experiences in the social world (Cerulo 2010, 125). They organize knowledge and guide perceptions, allowing people a degree of control over how they perceive and understand their world (Dimaggio 1997, 278-279; Howard and Renfrow 2003, 263). Viewing identities as parts of a context-depended salience hierarchy then supports this view that the manner in which the self is organized and negotiated is reliant on an external supra-individual culture. Different identities become salient in different situations and relevant identities are determined by environmental cues. Some roles are emphasized and some are deemphasized in a process that resembles the selective picking and choosing of cultural resources, and reflects the need to frame identities according to situation and context. In this study then, I examine three key contextual factors that shape identity: time, space, and other people, specifically within the frame of leisure time.

Leisure and Identity

The academic literature on tourism and vacations has long identified travel and time off as an opportunity to play with or alter identity. In these theories tourists are understood as being able to forge a sense of identity through interaction with an exotic other, or through a period of separation with the familiar, and through the challenges and opportunities of being in a new place (see Bruner 1991; Desforges 2000; Elsrud 2001; Galani-Moutafi 2000; Gottlieb 1982; McCabe and Stokoe 2004; Munt 1994; Noy 2004; Tucker 2005; Wearing 2002; White and White

2004). Vacationers can create "new" identities while traveling based in conceptions of a malleable and multifaceted identity.

Much of the literature on identity work done during tourism focuses on the transformative nature of the trip (Desforges 2000, 927; Elsrud 2001, 598; White and White 2004, 201; Wearing 2002, 239; Crouch and Desforges 2003, 10), or on the divergence between "home and away" and the "everyday" and the "exceptional." Primarily this is because these studies tend to focus on the exotic or unusual travel experience taken during youth, such as backpacking or long-haul tourism. This emphasis neglects the more mundane or "ordinary" vacation that is usually undertaken. Breaks and escapes encompass many more experiences than just tourism and sightseeing. For many, instead of being a one-time transformative experience, the vacation has more of a cyclical, repetitive nature, often constituted by an annually-occurring trip. A realistic view recognizes the many ways that everyday life and the vacation overlap and intertwine.

Since identities shift and change with context, leisure-based identities in general can be used to temporarily alter presentations of self in ways that are tied to salient identity attributes including age, class, gender, and race (see Adler and Adler 1989; Biggs 1997; Green 1998, Wearing and Wearing 2000; Abbas 2004). In social systems that put strict limits on how identities may be defined and enacted the relative freedom offered by leisure creates an open space for new interactions and self-definitions (Kelly 1983, ix). The shift in context that cues differing identities can be exploited during leisure time as a way to indulge, explore, try out, or build identities underused in one's everyday repertoire. The frame of leisure offers the added advantage of giving people more latitude in the type of identity work considered acceptable.

Leisure time is ideal for studying this kind of identity work as it offers the distinct opportunity for a self-contained period of time during which people may explore or try out identities that may otherwise be considered risky, undesirable, or out of character. Leisure is interpreted as a way of testing competencies in a low-consequence environment. Because it is by definition "non-serious" in relation to central everyday roles, the leisure experience can be understood as a non-pressured trial or period of play with roles. In this way much leisure can be compared with an out-of-town tryout for a play, where there is evaluation of performance but not from a critical audience (Kelly 1983, 99-104). Actions in these contexts do not have real consequences, even though they are still observed. If they are particularly satisfying or desirable they may then be incorporated into one's everyday repertoire.

Most leisure is not experienced among strangers, however, but among friends or family. Shared leisure activities can be quite significant for these relationships. Family roles are often worked out in these leisure contexts in ways that can come to define and pervade such relationships (Kelly 1983, 99). There are then two audiences to consider when thinking of leisure as testing competencies or "trying out" identity. The audience that doesn't know the person, and the audience that does. The first can be viewed as something of a blank slate, a group of individuals that doesn't know the actor and won't in the future, so that any behaviors won't have lasting significance or associations with self, unless they are later chosen to be integrated into the more stable ongoing self. There is more at stake with the latter group. Leisure identities will not necessarily be forgotten and may instead form an important part of an ongoing identity.

In this respect there is a "playful" aspect to the identity work done during leisure. Play in the sense of trying out new roles, which may or may not be serious, in a low-consequence setting. Sociologists have long recognized that during various forms of play children try out roles

and imagine different ways of being in an artificial interactional context with reduced real-life

consequence (Mead 1967 [1934]; Denzin 1975). Johan Huizinga (1955, 26-30) characterized play

as a voluntary act of freedom achieved by temporarily exiting real life and entering a realm

designated as being "only for fun." Play is an interlude in day-to-day responsibility that is a

necessary complement to what is "serious." The study of leisure identities shows that the

interactive, socially-situated identity work of play need not end with childhood. Through play

individuals have the opportunity to "act otherwise," which through repetition and experience

becomes the basis for "thinking otherwise." Individuals use their imaginations to devise

alternate scenes and identities. "Through play our fancied selves become material" (Holland et

al. 1998, 236). Play in adults can be understood as a kind of anticipatory socialization in which

one tries on the roles that he or she hopes to enact in the future, or would like to enact in the

present. These roles may later be integrated into self and identity or be left behind, just as they

may be serious, or they may be frivolous. Through playful adult activity like adventure, risk

taking, or hobbies, adults create personal frames through which certain identities are

constructed and molded (Stone 1962, 116).

Regardless of activity, temporarily altering social realities to experiment with identities

requires a change in cognitive orientation. Although they may be fanciful, play worlds are still

socially situated. In play and games individuals must orient their cognitive, physical and symbolic

behavior toward their environment and companions. The mental realm of leisure is bracketed as

a distinct, non-permanent break from the everyday one, but it is still governed by rules that

structure the activity within it. It is characterized by freedom and individuality, but also by group

expectations and conformity to certain conventions and guidelines. Within the realm of play

then, actions and objects take on different social meanings and may be temporarily interpreted

in a way different from that of serious everyday life (Kjolsrod 2003, 460).

The concept of sociability (Simmel 1971, 127-140) illustrates the capacity of adults to create "play worlds" within their everyday experience. Interactions defined by sociability draw their form from everyday life, but have their own understanding defined by play. In sociability, people may appear as stylized versions of themselves as they adopt particular roles for the playful interaction. They do "as if" they are interacting within a particular social reality. They participate in a shared pretense. This is most clear with Georg Simmel's example of a dinner party or ball, in which the 19th century elites of his social world are interacting with a certain mask of cordial amiability. They create a temporary social reality in which people's presentations are altered from their usual ones that are based in more practical pursuits. This can also be seen on vacation when people conduct themselves "as if" their vacation identities are real for the time being, and others treat them accordingly.

In order for such identity work to be achieved successfully it must be made clear that what is going on is separate from day-to-day experience. The framing of "this is play" or "this is leisure" situates the otherwise unusual behavior within a context of non-serious or non-everyday action. In this way people may act in ways they otherwise might not without fear of social sanction, within certain limits. It allows for differing behavior, and for altering attitudes and behaviors in a low consequence environment. To this end individuals use "metamessages" to communicate to others that out of character behavior is taking place. Metamessages tell others that an intention or identity exists beyond what is taking place in overt action. Gregory Bateson (1972, 179) described the playful biting and fighting of monkeys at a zoo as laden with metamessages that communicated to all involved, including observers, that "this is play." It was understood by all participants that the biting and fighting should not be interpreted as a sign of aggression.

During leisure adults similarly communicate to others that their behavior is not necessarily serious, or representative of their everyday self, and instead should be understood within the temporary frame of the identity. Wearing certain clothes or engaging in certain behaviors are not just ways of taking on a role, they are also cues or markers to indicate an alternate identity. They communicate that what is being done at the time is not necessarily everyday behavior, and it is not reflective of one's everyday self, but that it is leisure behavior and should be recognized as such by others. These metamessages are sent with the implication that the performance should not be interpreted by everyday or real world standards. Rather, the indulgent, risky, lazy, or comical presentation is all just a part of the leisure identity.

Since the identity is framed as separate from everyday life it must be made clear that the frame has distinct boundaries. After the identity has been exited these metamessages serve a reciprocal function in helping to draw boundaries around the identity. In addition to "this is play," once the identity has been exited they also communicate the message, "that was play." Things done within the leisured identity are not meant to be interpreted as a part of everyday life by those considering it afterward. Metamessages draw a symbolic boundary by communicating that whatever happened on vacation doesn't necessarily reflect everyday life and doesn't continue into it.

Adult behavior during leisure isn't limited to non-serious action, however. The flexibility of this time can also make it an opportunity to work on or build ongoing identities and relationships. For significant relationships, such as a parent, spouse or partner, leisure time may be used to build ongoing identities and therefore comes with expectations for it. For others, a period of sustained leisure time can also be understood as a way to "rebuild" an ongoing

relationship and its concomitant identity. One's behavior is then integrated with the overall self and these types of vacations cannot be thought of as independent of everyday life.

The Cultural Construction of Vacations

Early on in the academic study of tourism anthropologists made a connection between tourism, rites of passage and specifically, liminality (see Graburn 1983; Nash and Smith 1991, 17-18; Lett 1983 specifically in relation to the Caribbean; and Moore 1980 in relation to Disney World). Building on the work of Arnold Van Gennep (1960 [1908]) who introduced the concept, Victor Turner (1967; 1969) elaborated that a rite of passage is a three stage process involving separation from everyday life, a flexible period of liminality, and then reintegration back into day-to-day life. This middle period, where structured aspects of everyday life temporarily dissolve is where identity breaks take place. With the removal of structure, liminality becomes "a realm of pure possibility whence novel configurations and relations may arise" (Turner 1969, 97). As roles and identities are linked to positions in social structure, if this structure is temporarily suspended then so, perhaps, is the corresponding organization of self.

Truly liminal individuals, as Turner describes them, are structural equals. They have no status, no rank, and no status position to demarcate them from others (1967, 98). Turner defines society as a structured, differentiated and hierarchical system based on political, legal and economic positions (1969, 96). In the liminal period then, these differences go away. It is this lack of structure, or "anti-structure" that defines liminality. Critically, liminality is based in contrasts between structure and anti-structure. Indeed, vacations are based in contrasts and inversions of one's everyday experience (Gottlieb 1982; Graburn 1983), but the nature and degree of these inversions vary. One who vacations at home has a much different experience

from one who goes far away, just as one who chooses to integrate and bring elements of their

everyday life with them into the vacation does not experience as strong a contrast as someone

who segments the two. The concept of liminality then highlights a key theme of this study.

Liminality is defined by the *absence* of structure, yet connections to everyday social structure

permeate the vacation, some voluntarily and some not. The roles and responsibilities of

everyday life, themselves defined by and tied to social structure, do not disappear. Instead they

just become more flexible and some more so than others. If roles and identities carry into

vacations it raises the question of the nature of liminality in the contemporary world. Vacations

are infused with aspects of everyday life. Even if these elements are disattended they cannot

actually be left behind. Overlaps extend from role responsibilities, to material objects, routine

activities, and to embodied reminders. The concept of "everydayness" helps illuminate the

degree to which vacation and everyday realms overlap.

> [Everydayness] allows analysis of how "tourist escapes" are full of everyday practices such
> as eating, drinking, sleeping, brushing teeth, changing nappies, reading bedtime stories and
> having sex with one's partner, as well as cotraveling mundane objects such as mobile
> phones, cameras, food, clothes and medicine. Even when a traveler leaves home, home
> does not leave the traveler. […] Home is therefore part of the tourist's baggage and bodily
> performances (Larson 2008, 25).

Further, status travels into the vacation in ways that influence activities and behaviors.

For example, for water sports in the United States, people of higher status tend to prefer sail

boats, while people of lower status prefer power boats (Nash and Smith 1991, 18). Making a

crisp distinction between the "extraordinary" world of vacations and the ordinary world of

everyday life then overlooks how the two may combine. Identities overlap and intersect in a

more complex fashion than is conventionally realized as the out-of-the-ordinary world of

vacations is permeated with the social obligations, significant others, and role performances of

everyday life. Many of the mundane elements of day-to-day experience are, in fact, unavoidable

during this liminal period. They are just disattended in accounts and fantasies of the experience, as they do not fit into the dominant schema of vacations. Schemas themselves are cognitive objects that do much to define and delineate how people perceive their world. Schemas filter perception by making certain elements of one's environment seem more germane than others, which are then disregarded (Cerulo 2010, 125). On vacation people are focusing on the unusual, not the mundane. The perceptual bias this creates allows people to ignore the omnipresent reminders of home while away, but they continue to influence identity and role performance. Self-schemas and group schemas similarly act as cognitive shortcuts that organize information about the self and one's social positions (Howard 2000, 369). While identities are context dependent, such schemas themselves do not dissolve while in a liminal state, but rather continue into it and influence individuals' perceptions of their environment and their place in it. Modifications of identity across gender, sexuality, social class, citizenship, and race, and also more mundane switches such as hiding the fact one is in a fraternity, lying about one's age, or looking more professional than one's position may call for require tapping into these schemas (Renfrow 2004, 492). Such changes illustrate agency in marshaling identity to best meet contextual demands, but also illustrate how social scripts and cultural schemas can limit identity performance and negotiation by minimizing what alternate selves are plausible for a given situation (Renfrow 2004, 493). While one can choose to project a different self in a given interaction, it must meet specific expectations of others in order to be accepted by them as legitimate or real.

What is experienced in everyday life is taken for granted as reality by the people within it. The stable and routinized set of interactions that people engage in on a daily basis becomes the paramount reality that is accepted as real. But this reality is socially constructed and varies across cultures (Berger and Luckman 1966). What one person takes for granted as everyday

reality may be markedly different from that of someone in a different social location, country, or even state of mind. In fact, there are multiple realities in addition to this paramount reality that individuals themselves move between, or what Alfred Schutz called "finite provinces of meaning" (Schutz 1962). They each have their own structure and cognitive style, just as everyday life does, and so, he argued, should be considered as other "realities" in their own right. Such other realities include experiences where an individual's cognitive orientation is briefly shifted away from that of mundane experience, such as episodes of violence, sexual experience, or playing sports. In any such situation the shift is usually not permanent as one must return to the paramount reality of everyday life.

Vacations can be understood as "literally and metaphorically – excursions from the domain of paramount reality" (Cohen and Taylor 1976, 119).They are a time when one can leave behind the constraints of everyday life and temporarily enter an alternate province of meaning. Stanley Cohen and Laurie Taylor conceptualize everyday life as an open prison in which people voluntarily conform to the constraints placed upon them. Everyday life can be boring, demanding, unpleasant, or just repetitive. Without some release from the pressures and strains of day-to-day existence, the controlling aspects of routine can become difficult to bear, and people will be more inclined to "drop out" entirely. Vacations then are a type of "escape route" from the limitations of one's everyday reality, an "archetypal free area" in which people can temporarily get away from the constraints of routinized day-to-day existence. In addition to vacations, Cohen and Taylor suggest similar escape routes including doing drugs, joining a commune, undergoing psychoanalysis, and playing roulette.

The social construction of everyday reality is precarious and fragile (Berger and Luckman 1966). Because it can be easily damaged by disruption, everyday social structure must be

enforced and protected. While temporary exits such as these escape routes serve as a way of maintaining this order by giving people a temporary release, they also constitute a potential threat if people do not voluntarily return. Vacations and other breaks therefore exist as permissible social breaks in that they are not permanent. Lasting escape is not possible, and usually not desirable, as individuals must inevitably return and reassume their place in their everyday social structure. By providing brief "remissions" from the strictness of society, vacations and similar experiences like weekends or holidays, make life more bearable, and are therefore a form of social control in themselves (Schwartz 1970, 485). By this logic, escape attempts are merely release valves built into the routine of everyday life that enable temporary withdrawal and therefore ensure continued participation in social life and the ongoing construction of a shared reality.

As Swidler emphasized, the cultures into which people are socialized offer different options and choices for action (2001, 6). It is through culture that people come to meet the limits of their social world as well as their possibilities for breaks from it. Since culture is a resource that can be put to strategic use, the cultures into which people are socialized leave opportunities for choice and variation which are cued by situations (Dimaggio 1997, 265). Culture thus offers lines of action, but can also be understood as one of the primary obstacles to personal autonomy. Conforming to well-defined roles, as well as pressure to submit to norms, are effective forces of social control that serve to channel behavior and suppress personal autonomy. Within this limiting structure escape routes are moments of autonomy through choice that individuals can engage, if they have the skills to do so. Despite the inescapable and pervasive structural constraints that constitute the open prison:

> It must be possible for people to act autonomously in isolated situations, and to adopt some projects and policies autonomously without having control over the basic direction of

their lives. In other words, it must be possible for a life to contain pockets of autonomy and threads of autonomy that do not add up to an autonomous life (Myers 2004, 8).

Given the inevitable constraints of being a social person living within a shared culture autonomy is not an all-or-nothing phenomenon. Rather, a person is episodically autonomous when in a given situation he or she can draw on a repertory of skills which constitute the competency for autonomy (Myers 2004, 8-10).

In their capacity to introduce pockets of autonomy into ongoing experience vacations can be thought of as a kind of pause in the rhythm of day-to-day life, rather than an escape from it. They are a pause in one's daily experience that obligates certain behaviors, with the promise that one will return to those obligations in the near future. As such, people feel they can temporarily behave through choice rather than obligation, and can highlight their own "personal style" rather than submit to the "social proscriptions of everyday routines" (Snow and Brissett 1986, 11). Solitude, itself a form of break, provides a useful parallel to the temporary withdrawal from and return to community done by the vacationer. Solitude is a:

> solidary relationship wherein a shared future is projected that involves the maintenance of social relationships even while maintaining the temporary withdrawal of an individual from an interaction. The individual knows the individual will be there tomorrow even if she withdraws today, and the community likewise knows the individual will serve the community upon return (Diekema 1992, 489-490).

Although the individual usually is not alone on vacation, the experience is analogous to solitude in that it is a short-lived withdrawal from community and certain acquaintances that allows affiliation to continue over the long term. The escapes and inversions of vacations are possible precisely because they are temporary, relatively brief, and done with the expectation that the individual will return and resume his or her regular responsibilities. This promise of return, or the impermanence of the escape, makes it socially permissible.

This illustrates the degree to which even breaks and escapes, which are largely considered to be done at one's own volition, are socially mediated. In the case of fantasy, a province of meaning that people prefer to see as purely individual, a person's desires still follow cultural patterns. The fantasy world "reflects individual desires, but only as these have been shaped, twisted and structured by social and cultural forces" (Caughey 1984, 163). This is the same with what people choose to do and where they choose to go on vacation. Activities and destinations reflect a structure of social forces and culturally-based contrasts that mediate ideals and desires even during time off and lead people toward particular destinations and activities. Popular vacation activities follow a cultural logic that defines certain types of break from modern life as desirable. For example, within the American context of post-industrial, work-intensive urban life, the camper going "back to nature" is a contrast with the industrialized city (Aron 1999, 162), the beach vacationer going to "paradise" is a contrast with modernity and over-development (Desmond 1999, 8), and road trips promise a feeling of adventure, autonomy and spontaneity in contrast with the proscribed monotony of settled life (Eyerman and Lofgren 1995; Featherstone 2004, 2). The "vivid scenarios" (Swidler 2001, 36) for what a desirable vacation should be seem to be the result of individual desires, but are instead the well-defined product of socially and historically contingent meanings that have developed over time.

History of Vacations

A brief history of vacationing in the West and primarily the United States shows how people have come to conceive of particular notions of vacations, and how they can provide opportunities for identity work. It also shows how vacationing and travel, as an important component of a "good" vacation, have long been linked with ideas of selfhood. While elites have

always made use of their time and wealth to enjoy time off and recreation, it was not until the late 19th century when this luxury was extended to the middle and working classes that the practice became an institutionalized part of American and European life. Over time vacationing was established as a means of self-improvement, and travel as a method of self-development.

The concept of vacations in the United States and Europe grew out of a particular distrust of leisure. In the United States, the Puritan influence of valuing work as the key to success, led people to see work as a blessing and play as a threat. In a social order that was primarily divided between the few wealthy aristocrats and the many of the working class, the majority of people did not have the time or resources to enjoy extended periods of leisure anyway. Over time, however, the industriousness and discipline of the Puritan legacy eventually led to the creation of a middle class that had the material security to take enough time off from work to engage in leisure for extended periods of time (Aron 1999).

While work was still valued, the advantages of play in providing relief and respite were increasingly acknowledged. Leisure came to be seen as necessary for the well-being of individuals and of society as a whole. Both doctors and ministers advised taking time off from the rigors of work to replenish one's energies. This led to a dilemma for the new middle classes of how to enjoy their leisure without compromising their commitment to work or giving in to the temptations of idleness that were not in keeping with religious sensibilities (Aron 1999, 9). Too much time off was not just unproductive, it was seen as potentially dangerous.

A similar sentiment of leisure skepticism was experienced in the United Kingdom where the concept of "rational recreation" was employed as a form of social regulation, believed to contribute to the "moral improvement" of the working classes (Rojek 1993, 32-39). Through such a philosophy pleasure was pursued as a reward for hard work and only as it could

contribute to the well-being and growth of the individual. In this way, for both groups, in the

United States and England, vacationing became tied with ideas of using leisure time for self-

improvement. Time off was necessary for relaxation, especially so that one could return

refreshed and ready for more hard work, but it could still have a utilitarian purpose. Methodist

campgrounds in the United States turned into religious "resorts" where people could relax

without the lures of drinking, smoking, and sexual temptations present at the lax beach resorts

available to the more wealthy. Other "self-improvement" vacations, that combined recreation

with personal enrichment, became a popular way to fill the time. Educational camps like

Chautauqua, where people could attend lectures and classes as well as participate in vigorous

recreation were successful (Aron 1999, 101).

At the same, time resorts and retreats had long existed as a location for the wealthier

classes to challenge and subvert restrictive norms. These were places where bathing suits

became increasingly revealing, sexual norms could be tested, and vices like alcohol and

gambling were indulged. A "resort culture" of the early nineteenth century gradually spread to

the middle class as vacation time became democratized, which helped to loosen Victorian

propriety in the society as a whole (Aron 1999, 69-71).

Although they were a space to challenge certain social limitations these resorts were

still marked by considerable discrimination against non-White and non-Christian clientele, who

instead formed their own vacation destinations and cultures. Jewish residents of New York

created a "resortland" throughout the Catskill Mountains that was shaped by their urban

culture, including imported music, humor, vaudeville review style, culinary customs, language,

and worldviews (Brown 1998, 11). These accommodations ranged from the elite, like

Grossinger's, to low-cost bungalow colonies. The Catskills resorts were easily accessible by train

and automobile from New York City and offered a respite from crowded city life, while replicating urban Jewish culture. They also served a function in finding partners for unmarried youths who traveled to the mountains for the summer with their families (Lofgren 1999, 252-253). As with other resorts and summer colonies where women stayed through the season and men left during the week only to return on weekends, the relaxed structure offered the opportunity for flirtations and challenging norms (Brown 1998, 186-189; Rugh 2008, 173-174).

Resorts and vacation areas were also sharply separated by race. Segregation and discrimination made travel difficult for African Americans. Segregated gas stations, motels, hotels, restrooms, and restaurants meant that if something went wrong, or off schedule, Black travelers could be left without a place to stay or a source of assistance (Rugh 2008, 70-77). Unplanned or unstructured travel was therefore difficult and the establishment of Black-owned businesses and travel guides helped circumvent problems. African Americans created their own resort communities in states that had large Black populations like Idlewild, Michigan, Oak Bluffs, Massachusetts, and Atlantic City and Belmar in New Jersey (Rugh 2008, 168). While these resorts were often relaxed, other Black institutions like a "summer hotel" at the Tuskegee Institute offered self-improvement-style vacations where people could attend courses and lectures and learn during their time off (Aron 1999, 118-119).

Regardless of race or religion such resort destinations expanded with the growth of the middle class and expansion of vacation benefits. Before World War II, perhaps counter-intuitively, it was employers and not workers or unions who institutionalized vacations through establishing the practice of giving paid vacation time. Rather than a response to workers who demanded more time off, employers followed the rationale that affording leisure time would increase productivity and efficiency by allowing employees the opportunity for physical and

mental refreshment. By the nineteen thirties and forties, as labor unions grew, vacation time

expanded, but again, usually not at the demand of unions, but as a benefit given to

nonunionized workers, presumably to prevent them from organizing (Green and Potepan 1988,

182-184). After the war, unions made paid vacations a regular part of their bargaining, but the

result has been that there is no legally mandated paid vacation time in the U.S., as there is in

most European countries (Jacobs and Gerson 2004, 120).

It was not until the period of post-World War II affluence that the family vacation

became institutionalized as a widespread practice among the American middle class. In a

consumption-oriented post-war America this served several purposes (Rugh 2008, 6-16). A

regular vacation communicated to others that one could afford to spend the time and money

required for a trip away from home that was taken only for leisure. It also appealed to middle

class values as a way to educate children through the opportunities provided by travel. Camping,

a road trip, or visits to heritage sites were seen as a way to educate children in life skills and in

how to be good citizens. At the same time, vacations were idealized as a method by which to

strengthen family togetherness. A week or two spent only with one's family and away from

other obligations was considered an effective way to reinforce family bonds and thus an

acceptable, beneficial use of one's time off.

Camping was also considered an effective means for people to both get away from the

hustle of city life and to avoid idleness during their vacation (Aron 1999, 157-175, Rugh 2008,

121-130). While camping, one could leave behind the pressures of civilization and urbanized

living and enjoy the benefits of fresh air and outdoor living, while at the same time filling leisure

time with a significant amount of effort and discomfort. Camping also became established as a

ritual of American masculinity, especially between fathers and sons, who could engage in such physical recreations as hunting, fishing, boating and outdoor sports (Franklin 2003, 218-219).

Camping gained popularity in the United States prior to the rest of the world primarily due to the widespread ownership of automobiles in this country. Cars made taking vacations much easier for the middle and working classes and expanded opportunities for what people could do and where they could go during their time off. An automobile-based infrastructure of motels, rest stops and trailer camps soon developed as both in response to and to encourage car travel (Lofgren 1999, 58-63). Before cars, trains which were expensive and limited to particular routes were the primary mode of long-distance transport. Access to automobiles not only expanded the number of destinations available, but also the distance that could be traveled. With access to an automobile a family could travel further from home during limited time off and then sleep in the car or at a camp site. Cars thus offered expanded opportunities for travel and exploration during leisure time to those who, in the past, could not go far.

Modern vacations, for the most part, rest on the ideal of the benefits and opportunities of travel. Not just tourism in a narrow sense of the word, but movement to other places more generally. In an American mythology that links mobility with freedom (Eyerman and Lofgren 1995, 56-57) vacations and travel fit together as a means of achieving autonomy. Travel on vacation is not just a trip to Europe, but also a family trip to Washington DC, a camping trip to Yellowstone, or a road trip to explore the country. Travel is viewed as a source of cultural capital and educational experience for those who undertake it and has become a fundamental part of a vacation for many.

Initially, in the United States and Europe travel was limited to aristocrats and scholars. Although it could be unpleasant, it was considered a way for the elite to learn (Boorstin 1961,

80-84; Leed 1991). The Grand Tour, the progenitor of modern tourism, sent wealthy English youth through Continental Europe to acquire experience and cultural knowledge. This is also when the ideal of travel became associated with ideas of the self and self-making. It was believed to lead to an accumulation of wisdom and experience that broadened the mind and developed personality (Rojek 1993, 98, 114). It was also during this time that the "art of travel" and contemporary conventions of tourist performance were first developed. This is especially seen in the now-dominant visually-focused form of "sightseeing." This form has become so conventional that it is now assumed that travel and worldly knowledge is acquired through observation (Adler 1989a, 8).

In England, the minister, social reformer, and entrepreneur Thomas Cook combined the ethics of self-improvement and religious conviction, with a strong belief in the power of travel as an agent of liberation. He believed that not only the wealthy should benefit from the educational benefits and widened social circles afforded by travel and promoted budget tourism as a means to "free" the working classes by awakening their minds (Hamilton 2005, 4). By taking groups of working class English on affordably priced trips throughout Europe and then the world he worked to democratize travel and created what would become the package tour.

These ideas of self-improvement and development by "seeing the world" then have carried over into modern travel and leisure. For young adults, studying abroad or a summer spent backpacking or taking Eurorail through Europe, in an echo of the grand tour, is considered an investment in middle class youth to make them more cosmopolitan and confident (Lofgren 1999, 160). Although modern travel, and the institutionalized tourist experience especially, lacks much of the adventure and interaction with the unknown of earlier times, it is still romanticized

as an opportunity for self-discovery and exploration once outside the confines of one's everyday life.

This importance of using vacations and travel as a signal to indicate status to others continue beyond youth. Over time, travel itself has come to be a "performed art" in which people act in certain stylized ways that reflect the norms, technologies, institutional arrangements and mythologies of their social world (Adler 1989, 1371). Travel is a skill and people develop that skill and signal status to others through more travel. It is a way for people to signal their cultural skillset, and to build it further through more travel. Tourism is highly valued for its "snob appeal" as destinations and practices signal to others one's predispositions and preferences. Destinations with a connotation of intellectual or cultural worth are popular for this purpose, and especially those locations perceived as less traveled or more authentic as they set one apart from the many (Brodsky 1987, 371-372). These differentiate the "traveler" from the "tourist." Such practices amount to repertoires of high status cultural signals (Lamont and Lareau 1988, 164).

As the number of people who travel continues to rise, and as travel gets easier and more convenient the definition of what is considered exotic or interesting enough for such self-development, has changed. Destinations outside of Europe are growing increasingly popular. *Let's Go*, a popular budget travel guide aimed at college students list the top five suggested study abroad travel destinations for 2011 as China, India, South Africa, Chile, and New Zealand (LetsGoEditors 2011). As more Americans travel internationally, people must travel further and wider to destinations in order to claim the same benefits for cultural capital accumulation and self-development as in the past.

Vacations both reflect and confer cultural capital. Used as a means to draw distinction based on exclusion (Lamont and Lareau 1988, 156), travel and vacations reflect the attitudes, material goods, and formal knowledge that indicate status. Destinations, activities, and interests belie cultural repertoires. The cultural capital acquired through such vacation activities as long distance tourism, cultural tours, and altruistic tourism make them a desirable use of vacation time for middle class vacationers looking to situate their vacations within a frame of worldly experience or sophistication (Munt 1994, 110). This is especially evidenced by the volunteer tourists in this study, most of whom came from a higher socioeconomic status, and a background of both domestic and international travel.

Such travel is also defined by the elusive search for the "authentic" (MacCannell 1973; 1976)[2]. Seeking out and achieving an authentic experience is a method of drawing distinctions (Lofgren 1999, 269). While a search for authentic experience can occur in something as seemingly mundane as the nightlife of one's own city, others travel long distances to seek out authenticity in exotic cultures. In doing so they aim to find the typical, everyday worlds of other people delivered via a credible or sincere performance (Grazian 2003, 10-11). As tourism as a commodity spreads across the globe, and savvy travelers become more cynical about what they experience, authenticity becomes ever-harder to find, and forms of tourism change. Volunteer tourism and similar experiences are the latest in this ongoing progression. Tourist experiences that bring one into day-to-day contact with a people and place are considered to deliver such authenticity, as it is not seen as a tourist performance at all, but an encounter with someone else's everyday life (see Wearing and Neil 2000; Wearing 2002).

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2   Much debate exists as to whether authenticity itself is an achievable goal or even a real concept (Bruner 2005, 5; Meethan 2001). I don't enter this debate here as I approach the issue from the perspective of the vacationer who does believe authenticity is a possible and desirable goal.

In this way, forms of experiencing authenticity have changed with the expansion of travel. No longer content with just observing and sightseeing, tourists increasingly engage in activities in which they interact with their visited environment. Volunteer and eco-tourism, bicycle tours, culinary tours, and wine tastings, in addition to activities like learning to speak a little bit of a new language, all allow embodied interaction with the signifiers of a location, such as scenery, or local food or drink, through touch, taste and smell in order to gain a more fully authentic experience.

Chapter Outline

Using the dimensions of time, space, interpersonal experience, and boundary-making I will demonstrate how individuals use breaks in social structure to alter identity. Examples will be drawn from each group of vacationers to demonstrate how these patterns transcend content. Paul Dimaggio (1997, 267; 2002) has argued that sociologists should look to physical and social environments to find the cues that activate certain behaviors and inhibit others. I examine how components of environments shape identities and the organization of the self.

When asked to define what a vacation means to them people usually name two primary criteria: a change in place and a change in routine. This indicates that such a break has both a distinct spatial and temporal character. While the role of space has been acknowledged and examined in terms of shaping identity, the influence of time, explicitly as an external factor in identity formation and construction has been largely overlooked in such studies, or not given more than cursory mentions. Chapter Two then examines the role of temporality in identity construction. Time, as a constructed and constitutive element of people's social environment shapes identity through the ordering of roles. Temporality influences what roles are performed

when, and for how long. Primarily, during a vacation and other such flexible breaks, the length of time that is spent in a role changes. This necessarily influences the identities they constitute. The varied temporal orientations of different environments demonstrates that social time is not universal, and even people within the same environment can have very different experiences of time. In some instances, temporal structures can be altered by others to support identity performance, while in others people must shape their experience to the dominant form of social time. Concurrently, issues of duration and frequency are highly normative and determine how long and how often a person may inhabit a role. People conform to social expectations, and practical limitations, in ways that alter the constitution of their temporary identities.

It is not only a change from one's everyday schedule and routine that constitute a break, it also a change in one's everyday environment. People interact with and make sense of their world in and through the arrangements of space and place. The setting, as well as the other people who occupy it, both channel and encourage the identities of the people within it. Chapter Three examines how people construct identities in response to space and place. The organization of environments channels different experiences of identity from exaggerated and specialized, to diffuse and submerged, while soliciting some role performances, and muting others. Within the specific context of vacations, the introduction of the travel and tourism industry to a location changes meanings of space and place in ways that support or inhibit such role performance for the traveler. At the same time, the mental construct of distance is used strategically by vacationers to create a sense of break whether they travel many miles or stay close to home. The extent of this change is dependent on the individual. For some, distance may mean going to another continent, for others traveling to a nearby city is sufficient. The degree of familiarity with an environment dictates whether the change will be enough. Being placed in an unfamiliar environment can create a mental sense of separation regardless of physical distance.

In this way perception of distance is composed of two cognitive categories, both rooted in issues of space and place: "near and far," and the "familiar and exotic."

A third crucial component of identity formation is the influence of other people. Chapter Four examines how friends, family, strangers, and staff members in a given environment elicit roles performances that form identities. Interactions with others influence what people will do, or not do, and even shape the identity before it begins by supplying expectations. Communication technologies expand the potential audience beyond who is physically present and into those people back at home. Ongoing communications or just awareness of this non-present audience influence identity work. Other people also serve an important role in creating the social environments in which identities are situated. Through the work of staff, developers, and planners ecologies are constructed. People are able to successfully live out their temporary identity because it is supported and enabled by the work of others in these spaces. There is a dual impression management that occurs between vacation destination staff and customers. These "hosts" help vacationers have a successful identity and at the same time present a positive, supportive front to make them feel welcome. In doing so they supply cultural skills that may be missing when one is outside of one's everyday context, and create an intersubjective environment of leisure.

Finally, as an identity break exists as a disruption within a set of ongoing, shifting, and overlapping identities, it must be cognitively demarcated. Indeed breaks that cohere into an independent temporary identity then add to this repertoire of ongoing ones. Chapter Five explores methods of drawing cognitive boundaries around such an identity that set it apart from everyday life. Since it is temporary this occurs before it begins and after it ends, and since it is experienced in addition to ongoing identities it is also done while it occurs. Through the use of

routines and rituals people create the mental boundaries that begin and end the experience.

Individuals differently manage connections to day-to-day experience to selectively include and

exclude reminders, influences, and obligations from home. While it is being performed they use

objects such as souvenirs and personal items, and behaviors like indulgence or risk, to moderate

difference from and connections to everyday life. I conclude with a discussion of how similar

such identity breaks can be found throughout everyday life and how people manage these shifts

in the more mundane world.

CHAPTER TWO

Identity and the Social Experience of Time

Temporal contexts are constructed, change across space, and constrain and enable action. This chapter examines how the social experience of time, as a constructed and constitutive element of people's environment, influences the construction of identity. Local, culturally-specific temporal regimes determine when people will take on roles and identities and for how long. By moderating the duration, ordering, and salience of roles temporalities fundamentally influence the self. They determine what people can do, how often, and in what order. Thus they shape how people will act in given contexts, and how they will respond to others. Liminality itself is derived from its fundamentally temporal nature. It can only exist as a midpoint between a beginning and an end. It is "a moment in and out of time" and in and out of social structure where ties fragment (Turner 1969, 96). Since it is necessarily ephemeral and thus non-permanent, otherwise unacceptable changes to social structure may take place.

Temporality has both an intersubjective and a subjective character (Flaherty 1999). "Social time," determined by social experience and phenomena has more of a qualitative than a quantitative nature and can be separated from a nature-based astronomical time (Sorokin and Merton 1937, 615). This time is organized into calendars, schedules, and the hours of the clock, as well as such pure constructions as a semester, a working day, or the duration of Lent (619). At the same time, the phenomenological experience of time, as in perceiving durations, varies from person to person, depending on context. In some situations time seems to go faster, in others it drags. People can use their agency, such as in "time work" to alter perceptions of durations, the frequency with which things occur, the sequence of events, and whether something happens at

all (Flaherty 2011, 7-13). This flexibility is well evidenced during travel. On a road trip, one can lose track of the days as the experience of roaming makes a nine-to-five or Monday-to-Friday schedule irrelevant (Neumann 1993, 209). On a solo long-distance backpacking trip the demands of chronological time can lose importance as they are replaced by periods of freedom and personal choice (Elsrud 1998, 317).

As the self is not uniform, it will not respond uniformly to temporal orientations. Part of the basic organization of the self is the division between a public and private self. Each is shaped by differing temporal regimes: one that is shared and one that is more idiosyncratic (Zerubavel 1979, 39). The public self must be synchronized with others. In this way it is necessarily regimented and scheduled so that it is in accordance with the shared time of a given culture. From an hourly to yearly basis, people must regulate their public self to conform to shared schedules. In contrast, the private self has the potential to be removed from these constraints. The actions and expressions of the private self are determined by individual desires and personal routines rather than submission to collective ones. This allows for autonomy and choice. People frequently switch between public and private selves in the course of everyday life, juxtaposing periods of temporal autonomy and regulation.

This chapter explores the temporal characteristics of the vacation in order to investigate how the social experience of time influences identity construction. Vacations are defined in part by their distinct temporal aspects. They are short-lived and set apart from the usual rhythmic flow of everyday life. At the same time as they are breaks from everyday life in which social rules are inverted, they also conform to normative conventions of frequency and duration that make them acceptable remissions from social life. In their unique position of being both constitutive of everyday life, yet set apart from it, analysis of vacations can help illuminate

through contrast the social dimensions of time. I begin with a discussion of how the salient

identities of parenthood and gender can influence time use and vacations and how time use on

vacations fits into broader social rhythms. I then develop two ideal typical orientations to time

experienced while on vacation: those who may "ignore" time, and those who must closely

attend to its demands. I end with a discussion of how normative constraints on duration affect

the experience of taking some "time off."

Time Use and Identity

Although time is an abstract entity, subject to individual perception, in a busy modern

world it becomes commensurated. Commensuration involves using a common metric to

measure otherwise different qualities (Espeland and Stevens 1998, 315-316). It is a way of

quantifying and comparing entities that otherwise would not be measured. Derived in part from

the "utilitarian" meaning given to time (Zerubavel 1981, 59), it has become understood in

quantitative terms that can be measured and "used." The concepts of quality vs. quantity in

time spent on a given activity, such as childcare (Espeland and Stevens 1998, 314, 335) illustrate

the importance of the measurement of time, especially as it relates to salient facets of identity

like parenthood. This can be compared with an activity less personally meaningful, such as

housework, where similar distinctions do not seem as important. Commensuration is pervasive

in structuring both social life and individual attention, as well as what is valued (Espeland 2002,

65-66). Use of time, and the value it is given, belies the beliefs, priorities, and commitments of

both the individual and society.

Identities, then, are affirmed through particular uses of time. Time is a finite and fixed resource. An hour spent working is an hour that cannot be spent on leisure. But the nature of the things that occupy time is what gives it its phenomenological significance and the idea of quality (Thompson and Bunderson 2001, 18)*. When the quality of time spent affirms the desired identity then role conflict is lessened. If someone spends leisure time doing housework, this is problematic to the degree that the individual would rather be using that time for something he or she finds more enjoyable. Arlie Hochschild (1997, 198) underscores this when she finds that people who put more salience on their work identities spend more hours in their identity-affirming work time to compensate for the frustrations they may feel in their non-work identities, including family. People tend to put more time into what they value most, and what they are most valued for, the result is often more time spent at work than with family, and certainly less at leisure.

The use of vacation time highlights how time becomes significant in affirming identities and can reveal how individuals weigh personal obligations (Maume 2006, 162). This is well-illustrated by how differences in its use and meaning can shift with gender identities. Women often compromise their time off to plan activities that will please others and creating lasting memories, and they spend more of their vacation time doing family-oriented labor (Deem 1996, 17). On the other hand, the dilemma of quality time isn't limited to mothers. In their assumed role as the main breadwinner, fathers face stress between the ideal of being a good parent and the ideal of providing economic support. Time is thus spent in a tradeoff between earning money and caring for children (Gerson 1993, 217-218; Daly 1996b, 473-474). On average, men accumulate a little more vacation time than women, but use less, and women earn a bit less time than men, but use more due to these responsibilities of work and home (Jacobs and Gerson 2004, 22-23). In addition to gender, age-specific differences across cohorts influence

self-evaluations of trade-offs between work and family (Carr 2002, 119-120). These concerns

become more salient for women of the "baby boom" generation and thereafter who invested

heavily in their careers, as well as post-baby boom fathers who seek to invest more time in

family.

Commensuration introduces a crucial dimension in determining the normative

dimensions of time, or, what defines the temporal boundaries delimiting the identity breaks and

the personal organization of roles and identities. On vacations, the value of time makes it an

important factor in a cost-benefit analysis of time off. As many wish to "make the most" of their

free time duration and frequency become critical in determining action. Including how long a

vacation should be, how much work time is someone willing to "give up," and, conversely, how

much of one's valuable vacation time should be spent doing a particular activity. To understand

how time has been given such significance it is necessary to understand its important role in

organizing experience.

Social Rhythms and "Time Off"

Day-to-day experience is moderated by contrasts between action and inaction (Snow

and Brissett 1986, 3). This creates a rhythm that is a fundamental feature of social life, based on

an alternation between activity and rest. A "cultural arrhythmia" has developed, however, due

to the acceleration of tempo in modern, especially urban life (Brissett and Snow 1993, 244-247).

In Western societies time is considered to be valuable and filled with activity; it is regimented,

organized, measured and scheduled (Hall 1983). In this climate doing "nothing" or pausing is

dismissed as a waste of time. But it is these "stoppages, breaks and hiatuses in activity" that

introduce a downbeat of contrast to the rhythm of everyday life (Brissett and Snow 1993, 247). Pauses are valuable in that their inherent discontinuity adds multidimensionality to experience (Zerubavel 1985, 113-120).

The activities that make up this rapid tempo often must conform to a fixed order and duration in which actions are performed at a certain time within a certain limit. The creation of fixed routines that come with repeated action built into a scheduled day, week or year has the effect of robbing everyday life of spontaneity. Having to conform to such a schedule eliminates many opportunities for unplanned action or improvisation and such temporal rigidity amounts to a form of social control (Zerubavel 1981, 44-49). Built into this system, however, are periodic "remissions" that provide relief from the discipline of this structure (Schwartz 1970, 485-486). During breaks and pauses for time off the limiting aspects of scheduling and routinization may be subverted.

A vacation is just one form of break for time off that introduces contrast into a daily, weekly or annual rhythm, and alters phenomenological experiences of time. A continuum of short- to long-term discontinuities, in which vacations fall in the middle, introduces multidimensionality to the experience of everyday life and has the potential to distort temporal experience. Similar breaks of the shortest duration include coffee and cigarette breaks, daydreaming, trips to the restroom, sending text messages, or closing one's office door for a few minutes (Schwartz 1970, 485-486). Such situations allow for brief lapses in structured routine during which individuals may momentarily absent themselves from their immediate social expectations or briefly redirect their attention. Similarly, pastimes such as hobbies, sports and games are not only entertaining, but draw on knowledge, intelligence and experience to divert one's attention for hours or even days at a time (Callois 1961, 33; Csikzhentmihalyi 1981).

Longer term breaks like a summer off from school, an academic sabbatical, or joining a

commune (Cohen and Taylor 1976), similarly remove individuals from the regulations and

expectations of routinized daily life, or otherwise delay having to act on social obligations by

holding them in abeyance (Mizruchi 1983).

There is a fundamental cultural contrast between the ordinary and the extraordinary

that is necessarily divided and segmented in time (Zerubavel 1987, 349). Time functions as an

ordering principle to keep events apart. Emile Durkheim (1965 [1915], 345-347) observed that

the organization of institutionalized holidays serves to segregate the "sacred" and the "profane"

so that the two do not overlap and cause cognitive confusion. Holidays are set apart by

temporal boundaries that limit them to particular days of the week, such as the Sabbath, or to

those that are observed annually. These two domains are substantiated by different activities,

dress, and patterns of eating and drinking. There is a social need to keep these two realms, and

their corresponding norms and behaviors, separate and this temporal segregation is a

fundamental feature of social life (Zerubavel 1987, 348).

In the same way as holidays, vacations are temporally bounded and confined to specific

"days off" that segment this time of lax regulation from the more structured experience of

everyday life. While confining holidays to particular dates helps organize experience, it also

contributes a rhythm and organization to the passage of time. This organization focuses less on

a linear nature of experience, and rather emphasizes an episodic or cyclical experience of time.

Henri Hubert (1999 [1905], 51-53) noted that all social rhythms are the result of alternations

between certain "critical" days and the time between them. These days that are set apart

become socially "marked" as unusual or exceptional (Brekhus 1998; Waugh 1982). Time then

alternates between special marked days and mundane unmarked days. The critical dates of

events such as holidays, and the unexceptional time between them, attributes a rhythmic, "spasmodic" nature to time that is punctuated by these events. Building on Hubert, Edmund Leach (1961, 132-134) interpreted the passage of time as not continuous, but rather a repetition of alternations and full stops between these critical days. In his view, time operates like a pendulum, oscillating between the short, marked periods of exceptional time and the longer, unmarked intervals of everyday life that occur in-between. As a vacation, like a holiday, is in many ways constructed in opposition to that which makes up everyday life, it represents one of these marked contrasts.

The timing of trips conforms to the norms of this annual alternation between time on and time off. The passage of the year itself has a rhythm that is moderated and punctuated by the seasons, school schedules, holidays, and work demands. Within this cycle summer is often experienced as a standstill or pause in which the pace of life slows down and people chose to leave town or take time off work (Lofgren 1999, 166). It is a broad switch of the pendulum to a down-tempo period of the year. While this pattern made sense for a society oriented toward the demands of agricultural schedules, there is no longer a practical reason for vacation times to conform to this rhythm. Yet the annual summer vacation remains an expected "escape route" built into the structure of the year (Cohen and Taylor 1976, 37). School schedules still generally follow a fall to spring schedule, thus determining in large part the timing of many family vacations. But these school schedules are themselves based on an outdated system organized around agricultural rhythms. The growing popularity of winter vacations (Rugh 2008, 181) emphasizes the social nature of taking time off in the summer and also adds emphasis to the "critical" period of seasonal holidays around November and December.

It is, in part, the infrequency of these vacation times that mark them as exceptional and allow for the cessation of strict regulation of social behavior. Not all time off shares the same characteristics. A two day weekend, while enjoyable and highly anticipated, is not invested with the same significance of a vacation because it recurs every seven days. It is an expected part of the week, not an escape from it. The weekend instead represents repetitive, scheduled leisure that is provided with regularity (Rybczynski 1991, 233). This cyclical repetition makes it conventional. Using a sick day to "play hooky," or an unexpected snow day from work or school, while short-lived, can have the feeling of a "mini vacation" because these events are unusual and happen only occasionally.

Regardless of cyclical contrasts not all vacations are experienced in the same way. As vacations reliably punctuate the passage of the year they become a routinized part of the cycle in themselves. Certain experiences are done with more frequency than others and this invests them with varying degrees of importance to the individual. Doing a particular type of trip over again with repetition makes it less unique, and possibly less special, than doing something new. In this way, the vacation itself becomes part of the annual routine, at the same time that it is an escape from it. It is constitutive of the cycle that marks the passage of time. The annually recurring summer vacation, that has become for many an expected part of the year, is then more mundane in comparison with the "once in a lifetime" trip or "dream vacation" to somewhere far away or expensive. In contrast with the circular annual vacation, these trips mark out time in a linear manner over the life course as they are done only periodically and at different stages over time, such as a backpacking trip done after college, or a post-retirement trip abroad (Gibson and Yiannakis 2002; Nimrod 2008; Tucker 2005). Meanings of mundane and special are relative, however. An annual trip, like a family beach vacation or visit to a summer

home, can also hold importance in that it reinforces a sense of stability and tradition. In this case it gains significance from its repetition.

Orientations to time

The adaptability of social time is illustrated by two ideal typical orientations to time experienced while on vacation that are contingent on social environments. Identity exists in a temporal dimension that is continually being constructed by the actors in a situation. A temporal order is always negotiated as actors coordinate their plans with each other. Time shapes the identities of the individuals involved, as well as the direction of the interaction (Daly 1996a, 46). In some situations of rest and relaxation, people may ignore clock time and the constraints it imposes. For this type time becomes flexible and is adapted to one's interests and desires, and the routines usually imposed on one's behavior may be subverted. People may lose track of time and ignore its passage as standard clock time is altered. In other situations, such as with tourism, close attention to time is very important. While it can be argued that globalization has created a disembedded, universalized time (Giddens 1991, 21-22), the difference encountered through the phenomenological experience of time while traveling can be jarring and shows that time still has distinct, localized properties. In addition to shifting time zones that introduce disorientation, the cultural and normative differences in time use still vary from place to place and visitors must be attentive. Rather than being able to disregard the clock, tourists must adapt their behavior to an existing temporal structure. Especially for those who move from place to place the pace of a vacation is much faster (Dann 1999, 168; Cocker 1992, 2). In these situations

individuals are responsible for their own well-being and the success of their trip. This

necessitates close attention to time.

These two ideal typical orientations highlight a distinction between "vacation time" and

"everyday time," that echoes the temporal differences between the private self and the public

self. The first group of vacationers may ignore everyday time and immerse completely in

vacation time, neglecting the schedules, clocks and timetables that form the temporal logic of

the world around them and typically delineate their role performance and organization. Instead,

the norms and routines of everyday schedules are altered *for* them, in a way that

accommodates their vacation identity. The second group of vacationers does not have this

luxury of ignoring everyday time and instead must pay close attention to it if they want their trip

to be successful. The everyday environments to which they travel make no attempts to alter

temporal norms and conventions to suit them as visitors.

In this way constructed temporalities influence identity through issues of freedom,

constraint, autonomy, and security. Some identities are highly routinized and subject to external

temporal regulation, other identities are more temporally loose. Analogously, certain vacations

offer an autonomy and freedom in their corresponding identity that is lacking for those who

must submit to schedules and routines. For the most part, this first group may do what they

want, when they want, and can avoid external time constraints. But it is specifically the

construction of temporal rhythms within an enclavic vacation-oriented space that enable this.

As temporal limitations are removed from the environment, limitations are also removed on the

performance and expression of the identity. A second ideal type of vacationer loses some of this

agency as they must conform more to someone else's environment. Their busyness aids in the

construction of an active identity at the expense of personal freedoms that come from

liberation from clock time. People also give up this autonomy over identity work when they trade freedom and challenge for security and ease. In a guided tour or an all-inclusive resort, people need to put in less effort, but at the cost of submitting to the demands of someone else's schedule.

Ignoring time

Well, we have no schedule [laughs]. We're just on a vacation, so we're being really, just relaxed and do whatever. There's no plan, versus when you're at home and you have things to do like school and work. Here we're just hanging out. [Cindy, personal interview]

Cindy comments on how her days on vacation in Hawaii are removed from the schedules and routines that delimit her everyday experience. On vacation she and her boyfriend can do what they want without worrying about quotidian demands regulating their day. This is facilitated by their current social environment of the beach, where such an orientation to time is more expected than in their everyday environments of home. In trips to natural destinations cues to social time are eliminated by virtue of the environment. When camping or renting a country home, for example, people may consciously invert or ignore schedules, routines, and responsibilities as they have traveled to an environment removed from the rigors of social time. In his analysis of perceptions of time during the modern "information age," Thomas Hylland Erikson (2001, 157) explains how the experience of time changes on a typical Scandinavian family vacation to a cabin in the woods when one may leave behind everyday technologies:

One puts the watch in the drawer and leaves it there until it's time to leave for the city. In this context it is not the pressure of the clock that regulates activities, but the activities that regulate the organization of time. The children go to bed an hour later than usual, dinner is served as a result of hunger, berry-picking and fishing last as long as one feels like it, and so on.

The embodied aspect of taking off one's watch is symbolically significant in liberation

from the constraints of time. Instead of orienting activities to fit into a predetermined timetable, the activities and desires of the individual fashion the passage of the day, while physical demands such as hunger determine when dinner will be eaten. Schedules are determined around individual wishes rather than adherence to predetermined hours of the clock. Celeste similarly describes a typical morning on her vacation in Hawaii, where she rents a house:

> I am not an early starter. So I typically get up around 8:30, quarter to nine, open the shades and look out onto the beautiful harbor, boats and ocean. And I sit there and I really stare at the ocean. I sit there, which is something I can never do at home. Get up, sit and stare at something. I mean, that's unusual. So I look at the ocean and the boats coming and going. Then I serve us breakfast on the *lanai* [balcony], and then it depends on the day. If I have some grocery shopping to do then I get ready and do some grocery shopping at Ala Moana. Come home, change into my bathing suit and off to the beach for the rest of the day. [Celeste, personal interview]

Celeste may structure her days as she likes, including spending long periods doing nothing but looking at the ocean during the morning. She eats breakfast when she chooses, rather than at a set time before going off to work as the normally would, and then may spend her entire afternoon at the beach.

Resorts, cruise ships, and other total institutions (Goffman 1961) of the vacation industry seek to replicate this experience of natural ease and release from the stresses of the modern city within their more constructed environment. A primary method to achieve this is by eliminating cues to the confining aspects of social time and helping customers forget about schedules, obligations, appointments and the Monday-to-Friday routine. The experience on-board a cruise ship illustrates how much of the vacation is oriented toward eliminating or altering the schedules and temporal constraints of everyday life. The hours are filled with pleasant and relaxing activities and passengers hold little responsibility for making things go smoothly. Everything is done for them so that they may relax and enjoy the experience. Meals are prepared and offered in multiple dining areas throughout the day in addition to round-the-

clock room service in cabins. Activities, both enriching and diverting, are scheduled back-to-back

during long days at sea to keep customers entertained and are followed in the evenings with

performances, dancing and many on-board bars. Housekeeping discretely enters and leaves the

cabins while people are out, leaving their space tidy and clean, but invisibly so. And long hours

may be spent on deck by the pool with a book. Effort is made to ensure the days are both full

and effortless.

The result of these efforts is that people may lose track of time, or feel that time passes

very quickly. Mihalyi Csikzhentmihalyi (1975) developed the concept of "flow" to explain why

time seems to move fast when individuals become engrossed in an enjoyable activity. When

one's abilities are enough to meet the demands of a situation it can be enjoyable and passes

quickly. The individual feels neither boredom nor anxiety about the activity. In manufactured

environments such as the cruise ship or resort, however, the ability to lose track of time is due to

the constructed environment, as much as the application of one's interests and abilities.

Resorts similarly alter customers' perceptions of time as do cruise ships. Patricia and

Peter Adler (2004, 132) describe how a group of Hawaiian resorts intentionally alter the

perception of the week for their customers.

> Each day at the Ali'i resorts was contoured to make guests feel as if they were free from the
> weekly time treadmill, especially from the morose Mondays and the sad Sundays that
> preceded them, signifying the end of the weekend and the return to labor. Ali'i guests were
> liberated from the fetters of the week by being encapsulated in a world of service and
> luxury, where everything they wanted was available any day they wanted. They could create
> their days as they desired, without the rhythm of the week impinging on them.

In this environment the elements of the week that make people aware of the passage of

time are removed or altered, allowing people to feel as if they have escaped the confining

character of day-to-day schedules and routines. The seven day work-rest cycle is what gives

modern life a distinct weekly structure. Without the "beat" that a weekend, or some other

socially marked period of time, adds to this rhythm, it becomes easier to lose track of what day

it is. Without an experiential difference to distinguish them, such as between work and play, days begin to "look" and "feel" the same and can easily become confused (Zerubavel 1985, 136-138). As a result, people may more easily lose track of time, literally forgetting not just the hours in the day, but sometimes the days in the week. A conversation with a woman and her husband who just disembarked from a seven-day cruise in Hawaii illustrates this capacity to forget everyday temporal rhythms.

> Sitting at a bus station outside where the cruise ships dock to unload their passengers an older couple sits and waits for their bus to arrive to take them into Waikiki. As we wait for the bus to come, I ask how long they had been on their cruise. The woman thinks for a bit but can't answer, she really isn't sure. She pauses and checks with her husband who tells us both that today is Friday and they have been on the cruise for a week. "I'm so lost for time," the woman says several times, as she can't keep track of the days since her vacation has started. [Field notes, Hawaii]

While this woman has lost track of the days, this effect is also achieved on an hourly and daily scale. At the Club Med in the Turks and Caicos Islands, for example, two clocks hung above the reception area, one shows the real time, while the other is set to "Club Med Times," an hour later. The second clock represents the official time of the resort, set an hour later than the official time of the Turks and Caicos Islands so that guests can enjoy an extra hour of sunlight each day (Rosenbloom 2012). Much like a casino without clocks that seeks to distort perceptions of time over the course of an evening, resorts attempt to capitalize on vacationers' flexible approach to time by manipulating the rhythms of both the week and the day. By expanding the time for socializing and consuming into the night, resorts eliminate a temporal boundary between day and night that structures daily experience (Melbin 1978; Adler and Adler 2004, 124-125). Allowing this temporary lifestyle, the signals that make people aware of the passage of time are removed or altered. Dining may be done throughout the day and night, retailers are open extended hours, and room service is available twenty-four hours-a-day. In order to meet the objective of eliminating clock time, social time is altered to meet the flexibility

of visitors.

The perks of vacation time not only introduce luxury to the experience, they also alter feelings of synchronicity with everyday clock time by changing the way people comply with a shared temporal structure. When in these environments vacationers do not need to attend to the temporal norms of their everyday life or of the place to which they have traveled. But this is only possible in that temporal rules have been changed for them by the individuals and organizations that frame the vacation environment for them. There is still an "everyday time" that is adhered to by employees and local residents. In this way, visitors and locals represent two different temporal orientations that overlap in space, with the latter enabling the "timeless" experience of the former through their work.

As vacationers will inevitably leave the resort to explore their environment this temporal flexibility extends beyond the confines of the property. The location of an organization and the services it provides effects the temporal expectations placed upon it (Fine 2009 [1996], 56). Businesses catering to tourists in these vacation enclaves, or resort towns, are expected to have extended hours that accommodate their customers' flexibility. Bars, restaurants, attractions, grocery, and convenience stores similarly open every day and for extended hours. A popular bar and restaurant in Waikiki advertises that it is "Serving daily, 7 am to 2 am," closing only for a few hours each night to clean up for the next day.

As weekday schedules are eschewed there is little temporal rhythm to the week to differentiate a weekday from a weekend. If businesses do close to give employees some time off they tend to close on a weekday rather than Saturday or Sunday. In this way museums, which are catering to individuals looking for productive leisure in their time off work, often invert the weekly rhythm by closing on a Tuesday in order to accommodate weekend crowds.

These environments, then, make it easy for the people within them to ignore, invert or

alter temporal conventions themselves. Normally, certain activities are considered deviant or not according to their place in time (Reese and Katovitch 1989), but these individuals may do things when they want, for as long as they want, and in the order they want. Consuming alcohol, for example, is usually considered most appropriate in the evening. On vacation people not only have the flexibility to break with routine and have drinks in the afternoon or with breakfast, they may also drink *throughout* the day, not limiting their consumption to scheduled slots at meal times or happy hours. This attitude is exemplified by Bonnie, who frequently spends her vacation time at a lake house. She describes her days, "I allow myself to drink beer really early in the morning. In the day, I should say, not morning. I try to wait until noon. I sleep in later than I normally would allow myself to, and I go to bed earlier than normal." Bonnie's vacation indulgence extends from drinking more alcohol to reshaping her daily routine. In this way durations of events become more flexible as they expand or shrink according to the individual's preference, rather than social convention. In addition to expanding time allotted for sleep, a lunch may go on for two or three hours instead of being fixed to a one or two hour break, or one's usual quick breakfast may be expanded to take up much up much of the morning. Thus the same laxity and openness that can be found in other expressions of the identity, such as allowing oneself to eat more or drink more similarly occurs in temporal terms.

But there can be some limitations placed on one's ability to escape time in this way, even if within an environment that facilitates it. Traveling companions or demands from one's everyday life may bring the importance of time and schedules back into this type of vacation. Children, for example, can require an attention to time and routinization that might otherwise be forgotten. Joanne compares two trips she took to Hawaii with her husband. The first was about fifteen years ago, before they had kids, while on the second trip they brought their three young children with them. She describes the difference in their activities. On the first trip, "We

did what we wanted. We did more sports activities. So we did SCUBA diving, and we just did what we wanted, where we wanted, and we didn't have to worry about lunch schedules or this or that." In contrast, she describes the day she is currently having on her trip to Waikiki with three kids and her husband.

> We had breakfast in our room because we're too cheap to eat breakfast here, because it's so expensive. And then the kids decided, I said "do you want to go out?" They usually like to come out early here because of the sun. But today they wanted to play in the room this morning, probably because they've been doing so much stuff. So they played pretend, […] And then we had like a snack lunch, in the room again, because we're cheap. And then we came down here and we've been here ever since. And then we'll probably go in because we'll probably start burning this afternoon. So we'll go in this afternoon. Probably like two or three o'clock. And then we'll have a snack and we'll chill, and we'll play pretend, and they'll watch TV or something like that. [Joanne, personal interview]

Before kids, Joanne and her husband could enjoy a lack of regulation on their vacation when they went just as a couple. With young children, however, their activities had to be more routinized to meet their needs. This introduction of temporal regulation from kids is experienced in two ways. First, their entertainment is prioritized. When they want to play in the room, they play in the room, and when they want to go to the beach they all go out to the beach. Joanne's experience also suggests a second form of regulation that can come from children; that of not having as much money to buy the experiences one may want to have, such as lunch out, or an expensive SCUBA diving trip. This results in temporal changes as they schedule their time around low cost experiences that also entertain the kids like sitting on the beach.

Sandra had a similar experience in planning her stay home vacation, which had the potential to be schedule-free, except that her and her husband's time was oriented around entertaining her two small children. She says, "When you have kids if they're happy you're happy. My father in law was like, 'well, why don't you do something for yourselves,' and we're like 'no, because if they're happy, we're happy.'" Using the time off to please the children

became the priority, because a vacation with unhappy children would not be as pleasurable for them.

The demands of others are not just limited to children though. Connie describes how her vacations change depending on her traveling companions. With her own family she can relax and be laid back, but with her husband's family, she cannot do the same. During what should be a vacation free of the stresses of time at a lake house, Connie describes how difficult vacationing with her husband's family can be, as she feels she cannot be herself around them. She uses temporal terms to describe the feeling of having to impress them. "You have to be on twenty-four/seven when you're with your husband's family. When you're with your own family you, depending on how you get along with your mother and father and siblings, you can just let it all hang out." As Connie is staying with her in-laws she spends all of her time with them. This turns out to be even more demanding than the temporal restrictions of everyday life as she doesn't get "time off" at the end of the day, but is "on" at all times.

When she says she is "on" twenty-four/seven, she also invokes Erving Goffman's (1959) dramaturgical metaphor for identity and roles. The identity she must present with her in-laws equates this more regulated environment to a "front stage" that she has difficulty getting away from. Front stage and back stage combine spatial and temporal imagery for situating identity, as a place can be front stage at one time, and backstage at another time (Zerubavel 1979, 39). For Connie, on vacation with her in-laws, she loses control over the amount of time that she is front stage, where much more regulation of the self is introduced.

In certain environments social time is organized in such a way as to reduce regulation of the self that comes with interacting in shared environments. Constructions such as the week or the hours of clock time may be forgotten or ignored. This introduces freedom and autonomy in constructing the identity. This is perhaps best illustrated by contrast with those who run into

limitations. Parents often find they must structure their time around the interests and demands

of their kids; this radiates throughout expression of the identity to what they will do, where they

will go, and how long they will do it. Similarly, those who find themselves vacationing with a

specific "audience" to whom they feel they must regulate their presentation of self have less

freedom in what they can say, do, and be during those extended times that they are front stage.

A second ideal type has a very different experience of time. Instead of ignoring clock

time, people in these situations must pay close attention to it. Identity work is adjusted to fit

into schedules, timetables, plans, and the temporal expectations of others. In this case,

expressions of self become regulated so that the individual can be in tune with the environment.

Watching the time

Sightseeing is the biggest thing. Trying to do everything that I can, even if, you know, I'm so worn down that I don't want to do it. Like, I didn't get home until 5:00 last night, this morning. And then I had to wake up at 7:30 so I could go do my acupuncture. So I'm tired, but, go hard or go home. [Jeff, personal interview]

Jeff's enthusiasm to do and see as much as he can during his limited time in China

means that he tries to pack as much as he can into his days. Rather than relaxing, his days are

filled with activity. Similarly, Luke describes a sight-seeing trip he took through Italy, stopping in

multiple cities over the course of a week. He describes how it was good to be able to see a lot in

a short period of time. He notes that he was able to do a lot this way, but it took a lot of effort as

time moved quickly.

When I went to Italy, it was an arranged thing. It was kind of traveling from the north to the south and jumping through different cities on the way. So that was really good. Just to see more in less time. But it's difficult to do that kind of thing. It has to be really arranged. You don't have enough time, it just flies by. [Luke, personal interview]

While people who vacation at a resort, cruise, or in the countryside may "ignore" time,

others must pay close attention to its passage. Vacationers who visit a city or choose to create a busy schedule of activities at their destination instead must be aware of time. Tourists who are on their own in a new city or travel to a new, unknown location have a level of insecurity not present in their everyday life. They are placed in a new environment where they are removed from both their familiarity with a place and its rules, and their usual connections to resources. In order for their trip to be successful they must adapt to the social organization of a new environment. This adaptability depends on learning and complying with local temporal norms. Exact dates and times become important as tourists must learn when shops and restaurants open and close, the timing of train and bus schedules, opening hours of sight-seeing destinations, and how long it will take to do desired activities. This traveler's close attention to time, down to the minute, illustrates how important it was from the moment he got off the plane in London and tried to make it a soccer game:

> We had plans to land at 10:00, hurry to check in to our hotel, and make the 11:00 train to Birmingham for the soccer game which started at 12:45. We were ahead of schedule during the flight and landed an hour before schedule. Unfortunately our gate was not expecting us so we had to wait a little. We made it to customs by 9:20 and we were so excited thinking we could make the 11:00 train to Birmingham for the soccer game. Alas the entire nation of Zimbabwe was in front of us in the passport check and there were only 5 checkers. It was awful, as we queued among the foul smell that continental traveling promotes our hopes were falling. We pressed on and were cheered by our 40 minute surplus and willed our baggage to be ready and waiting for us if we ever made it through "reclaimation." Finally we got through and picked up our waiting bag. We caught the 10:35 train from the airport to Victoria Station. At 11:05 we were still aboard the train waiting motionless on the track for our turn at the platform. We navigated the tube like pros and found our hotel with record speed. Our room was ready so we left our bags and hustled to the train station. It was 12:45 when we arrived at the station and looking at the options we decided that waiting 15 min for the next train, riding 90 minutes, to watch the last 15 minutes of a game was ridiculous. [Europe 2, blog]

Their experience, and their ability to get to their soccer game on time, is dependent not just on their own wishes, but the timely arrival of their flight, the swiftness of their trip through

customs, their train staying on schedule, and the hotel staff being ready for them when they arrived. With all these complicating temporal factors, none of which were under their own control, they couldn't make it to their game.

The tourist experience has a diurnal nature (Bruner 2005, 13-15). During the day people leave their hotel or accommodation to sight-see and then return at night to the comfort of their temporary residence. In this way time oscillates between security and independence. At a resort this diurnal nature is lessened with the compliant accommodations of the incessant institution, but in tourism this transition is highlighted. During the periods when they are responsible for themselves tourists must closely attend to the clock in order for their trip to be successful.

The consequences of not being on time can be disastrous or just very anxiety provoking as tourists depend on highly routinized and scheduled organizations like trains, buses, and timed tours for the success of their trip. In contrast with the relaxed cruise customer who lost track of the days while on the boat discussed in the previous section, this couple on a cruise demonstrates their strong awareness of the clock as they wish to leave the boat for an on-shore excursion. They get annoyed when the ship's staff is late with a meal service which they feel will throw off their planned schedule for the day.

> We ordered a 6:30 am room service and it arrived at 6:45 am. We are particular about our time because we are aware of what time the ship departs and we know the amount of time we need for our excursion. Today the ship leaves at 2 pm. We need to be on board at least by 1:30 pm. The ship will not wait for us if we are late but it is ok for the crew to be late with their services? [Pacific Cruise 4, blog]

This couple demonstrates how anxiety or uncertainty can lead to the desire to attend to time with the aid of a detailed schedule. Scheduling provides for them a sense of ontological security (Giddens 1991, 42-47) that they may lose when entering an unfamiliar environment. They are leaving the effortless bubble that has been created for them on-board the ship and transitioning to an independent area where they must be more responsible for

minding temporal regulations and local conventions. The distress over potentially being left behind contributes to the anxiety that compels them to plan and apportion activities in advance and then rigidly attend to time throughout the day. While a fifteen minute difference may not be a big deal for someone starting a relaxing, unscheduled day aboard the ship, for this couple the delay causes anxiety for the potential disturbance it will cause to their schedule for the rest of the day. Their scheduled security is compromised by the ship's staff.

Not only can such tourists not ignore time, they must also conform to the temporal rhythms and demands of the everyday environment into which they have traveled. On trips that involve visiting a city schedules must correspond with the conventional daily and weekly organization of local time as tourists are visiting the everyday of another group that is operating on its regular schedule. This couple on vacation in London finds out the importance of understanding local temporal norms when they finish a long day of sightseeing to discover that they cannot find anything to eat in the city after 10:00 pm.

> One really odd thing about London is that it shuts down fairly early at night. You can't get food past 10:00 in most areas, and the majority of pubs only stay open until 11:00 during the week. We explored the area looking for dinner, but to no avail. Defeated, we took the tube back to our hotel and I wandered around our area looking for food. [England, Blog]

Unlike a resort town where the flexibility of vacationers' schedules expands to the organizations around them, in the city the opening hours of restaurants and bars remained true to English convention. Cities like London are not as dependent on tourism as Honolulu, for example, and so organizations within the city do not need to adapt their schedules to the needs of tourists, as do the bars, clubs and shops of Waikiki.

Being out of sync with local time can result in frustration and even, in the case of the above tourist in London, inability to meet one's basic needs. Similarly, in countries that observe a "siesta" or downtime in the middle of the day, visitors must conform to this break, even if it means that planned activities must be put on hold. For people accustomed to "making the

most" of their time this pause can be frustrating. In this way opening hours, rush hour schedules, train timetables, and local holidays moderate how individuals are able to schedule their days and participate in the city, and ensure that the local time cannot be disattended while enjoying this type of vacation.

In other places, a seasonal tourist-based economy can result in cyclical transition between an orientation toward local time and vacation time. During peak tourist months, organizations respond to the flexibility of tourist desires, and then the rest of the year return to a locally-based schedule. Janet discovered how time is of equal importance to space in situating a vacation identity when she visited a beach town during the off season, not realizing the experience would not be the same. "We didn't get to try too much because during that time all the good restaurants and many of the hostels and hotels are closed. They won't do business until like April, so it was like two months away." When she got there she found that she could not participate in any of the expected activities or stay where she wanted because it wasn't the tourist season, and nothing she wanted to do was open. Since it was the "wrong" time of the year, Janet's trip was not what she expected.

Some try to avoid the challenges and inconveniences of negotiating an unfamiliar local time by signing up for a group tour that takes care of these arrangements for their customers. While reducing the discomforts endured from not knowing local rhythms and norms, travelers yield their temporal autonomy to the tour operator. Melissa describes her experience on a vacation in Italy where she and a friend took part of their trip on their own and part with a tour group.

> The tour was structured, and we didn't have to worry about, like, hotels or certain meals, or getting anywhere, but we felt very confined, limited by the [tour]. They only let us have like an hour by ourselves in Florence, or a couple hours here and there. Whereas if we were on our own we could spend however long we wanted. So it was really hard for us to switch from being on our own to being structured. [Melissa, personal interview]

Taking the group trip was a tradeoff between autonomy and security. While they did not need to worry about making arrangements or looking after themselves they gave up the independence they had when they were on their own. Instead, their periods of freedom were slotted into scheduled breaks in the tour itinerary.

On such tours and group activities, individuals not only yield control over their own schedules, they also rely on the temporal regularity of their fellow travelers. When they join the guided tour time is not their own, but becomes shared with a group. Booking tours and activities ensures that one's day will be structured and that that structure will be synchronized with others. This creates added temporal regulation because in addition to being busy, one must also be on time or risk disrupting others' schedules. Being late affects others' activities and can be met with negative reactions. Maria explains that this is why she chose not to take a cruise for her vacation, as, in the past, she found the expectation to participate in cruise activities and to stick to scheduled activity times to be too demanding:

> Last time I went to do tours, I had to get up at six, five in the morning to go do a tour and this time, no. Not this time […] I mean you work the entire year and then you decide to go on vacation and then you have to get up at 5 in the morning, you have to follow a whole entire schedule [...] because you have to get up early or else you'll be late and everyone's looking at you like *you're late.* Nicely, but *you're late* [in a scolding tone]. So no, I prefer to be totally free. [Maria, personal interview]

Maria chose to reject this type of vacation because she resented the regulation it brought into her time off. She had to get up early, participate in a schedule and face others' disapproval if she did not keep up.

The performance of the identity in each of these situations is altered depending on time. Identities become more routinized and deliberate in response to temporal contexts. Every identity is engaged with efforts and issues of control, and forms of control from social environments (White 1992, 4-12). People use schedules and timetables, and an expectation of shared temporality as an attempt to introduce control. At the same time, temporal

environments control the actions of those within them. Because of this, individual identities are linked with the temporalities of the people around them. A waiter should be on time with room service, a person joining a group tour must be on time to all activities, and a business must be open at a certain time of year. An additional form of external control that temporalities introduce to identities is the normative constraints on how often and how long it may be taken on. Especially with the expression of a leisure-based identity, seen as non-serious or unproductive, these constraints can be strong. Duration of the vacation identity is rarely a product of personal choice and is dependent on rules and limitations from the realm of everyday life.

Durations and Time Tracks

As temporary identities are ones that can be entered into and left behind, that means that they start and stop as saliences shift with context. This also means that there will be normative dimensions by which their frequency and duration will be defined. The temporal boundaries of an identity are defined by these constraints. The duration and frequency of a temporary identity is dependent on socially-defined ideas, and a personal cost-benefit analysis, of how long a given activity should last, and how often one should do it. This remains the same whether one travels far or stays at home, since it is the absence from structure, not the physical absence that is potentially problematic. As vacations allow a socially permitted break from the routines and structures of everyday life they must conform to certain expectations of duration. One cannot be away for too long before it becomes problematic, as prompt return is expected, but at the same time a vacation that is "too short" may not feel like a vacation at all to the person trying to get away.

Being a temporary experience, a vacation by definition is limited to a fixed-term

determinant "time track" (Lyman and Scott 1970, 198). Social behaviors take place on these

time tracks that sequence and organize experiences and may range from the brief or episodic

to the long-term or continuous. The rigidity that is placed on ideas of duration is mostly due

to convention (Zerubavel 1981, 6). This is evidenced by the differences in what is considered

an appropriate length for a vacation across countries, with the U.S. standard being one-to-

two weeks, and for most European countries four to six weeks (Jacobs and Gerson 2004,

120). In the United States, there is no law mandating paid vacation time, as there is in

European countries so vacation days are granted at the discretion of employers. This results

in less vacation time over all, and a status-based distribution in which people in higher

positions get more time. Time use is demonstrably normative though, because those people

of higher status, who get more time, also tend to use less of it.

In addition to the obligatory demands of work and school schedules that allow only a

certain number of paid leave days, people face social and financial pressures to limit the

duration of their trips. This is further constrained as one must usually get approval from a

boss or coworkers, both formally and informally, for the number of days taken off, even if

those days have been allotted as a perk of the job (Hochschild 1997). Vacation time that goes

unused can reflect one's personal priorities (Maume 2006, 166). Rational choice again comes

into play as one must weigh the needs of family or personal time over the needs of the job

and expectations of bosses and colleagues when requesting time off.

A primary constraint on the duration of vacations within the United States is the

expectation that work take precedence over leisure. As the amount of time an event lasts is

symbolically associated with the significance that is attached to it (Zerubavel 1987, 344),

many Americans choose to indicate that they value work by confining time off to brief intervals and not making use of all the vacation days made available to them. Joanne, an American beach vacationer in Hawaii explains how this attitude was fostered by her former high-stress job at an investment bank where she didn't feel comfortable taking too much time off. "You have to be a workaholic to be a banker because you work every weekend, every night, all your life. That's all you can do [...] When I went to the Jersey Shore I ended up being in the room the whole time because I had to work." Before Joanne rejected her job as a banker the demands and expectations of her coworkers limited the amount of time she was willing to spend away from work, in terms of both how long her vacations lasted, and how often she would take them. Even though she was actually given a good deal of vacation time as a benefit, it was expected that she would not actually use it. This changed when she had children and her priorities shifted from work to family.

Normative pressures on duration are important because the length of a trip affects how it is experienced. Taking longer vacations may also elicit negative attention from friends or family in addition to colleagues, as this attitude of the importance of work time influences perceptions beyond the workplace. A vacation that is "too long" is viewed as indulgent. Cindy, a college student from Alaska on a month-long vacation in Hawaii with her boyfriend and his two kids was reluctant to tell friends back home about how long they would be gone because of negative feedback and teasing she had received from friends who already knew and had called her "spoiled." "I almost feel bad to say that we're here a month, because everybody's like, have fun, you guys are spoiled. But we're just going to get a condo, which is a lot cheaper than staying at a hotel." She makes an attempt to justify the extended length of the trip by noting how they made it more affordable.

These normative demands on duration influence its phenomenological experience. There is an inverse relationship between duration and pace. Limiting vacations to a shorter time period affects the experience of the trip as levels of activity and expectations of novelty expand and shrink to fit duration. When expectations for activity do not fit the time track to which they have been assigned disappointment and ambivalence with the experience occurs. People have apportioned a certain amount of their valuable leisure time to the experience and so hope to get the most out of it. Different types of social relationships allow for greater or lesser degrees of satisfaction before they are finished. Longer durations allow for more ambivalence, and personal dissatisfaction over time (Merton 1976, 24-25). Robert Merton uses the example of marriage. In a long-term marriage, compared with a short-term affair there is more room for more frequent, as well as more intense ambivalence. The extended duration of the marriage makes eventual ambivalence about the situation an expected reaction. Vacations, then, are more in line with the affair. When people come with an expectation of a short duration they hold less toleration for ambivalence over the course of the event. Mismatched expectations and durations can create conflict and disappointment when it feels to the vacationer that the pace of the trip is off.

This woman on a bird watching trip illustrates the importance of duration when she expresses her dissatisfaction that the amount of planned activities were not enough to fill her fifteen day trip. "Eleven days would have been enough. Fifteen is too much, at least the way they planned this. It seems like the trip was actually planned for twelve days and then we have three days kicking around to different spots that aren't really different at all" (Ecuador, Blog). Similarly, Mona, a vacationer in China, expresses her frustration at staying put in the city of Xi'An for what she felt was a week too long.

I'm here for three weeks. I would have been done at two […] The adrenaline of having it be new and going someplace, seeing all this different stuff and having all these sensory experiences, that kind of really dropped off. Like, I had felt like I had gotten all of that after two weeks and now I just feel like I'm hanging, waiting to go to Beijing and try something new. [Mona, personal interview]

In both of these cases the travelers were frustrated when the length of their vacation outlasted the novelty. The birdwatcher is just "kicking around" and Mona is "hanging." Both are waiting for the new experiences they feel should comprise their trip. They did not wish to have all the downtime that came from having too much time with not enough planned activity. They apportioned a certain amount of time to their experience and they wish to get the most out of it. They experience a sense of "waste" that came with not optimally using their leisure time.

While a shorter time track carries expectations of novelty and stimulation, a longer time track then comes with different expectations of establishing a routine and getting familiar with its patterns, with more room for downtime. A longer vacation with more time to relax will have a slower pace than the short vacation that is filled with activity. These two women in Hawaii demonstrate how a longer duration is favorable in setting a slower pace for their relaxing trip.

I used to come for a week, by the time you settle down three days have gone by and before you know it within a few days you're packing and going back to where you came from. So it's a really short period of time that you really get to do everything and then you're going back. So here, this month that I spent, the time that I spend here I find myself just so totally relaxed. [Celeste, personal interview]

I thought what would I do here for a month? And, you just live. You just, you get up and you take a bath and you go shopping and you come to the water, and you just make it a lifestyle when you're here that long. In a week you just want to do everything, the luaus, the cruises, and I've done that too. I've come here for a week before and that's been really fast paced [snapping fingers]. It's different than coming for a month. A lot different vacation. [Francine, personal interview]

These vacations are intentionally organized along a much longer duration. In this scenario it is desirable to recreate a feeling of "living there." If they could manage it, these respondents appreciated the opportunity to settle into a relaxing routine for as long a duration as possible.

The duration of the trip affects the degree of boundary work performed by the vacationer as well. Taking a shorter vacation leads to more willingness to segment identities (Nippert-Eng 1995), to cut off entirely from home, or to allow extra indulgence. A person taking a shorter vacation then is more apt, and more permitted, to separate from those at home. Conversely, if the vacation is longer there is more of an expectation, and usually more of an inclination for the traveler, to stay in touch with home.

The expectation of limited duration, of knowing that an identity will end, also affects behavior. The importance of this known endpoint is illustrated when people's vacations are either unexpectedly cut short or extended. The first situation causes dismay when someone has to return home sooner than wished for. But unexpectedly extending vacations can also cause a great deal of anxiety and displeasure to people who were looking forward to an expected end point that suddenly changes. This unexpected change takes away control over their identity work. When a major snowstorm hit the East Coast in December of 2010, extending peoples' holiday vacations by a few days, the overall reaction for many was frustration instead of pleasure. As one woman put it, "I'm getting tired of wearing the same clothes. Everyone wants to get on with their business." (quoted in Boorstein 2010). People were eager to get back to their everyday routines at the expected end of their vacation. A *Washington Post* article on the events lists some of people's concerns with the delay. "There was the neurology student on deadline, anxious about getting back to his monkeys and his data in snowy Rhode Island. The

boyfriend unable to reunite with his girlfriend in Paris after four months apart. The cat left alone for an unexpected extra day. The in-laws." (Boorstein 2010). While things may be put on hold it is not always ideal or desirable to maintain the absence for longer than expected. Additionally, if aspects of the vacation identity were unwelcome, such as unwanted time with one's in-laws, unanticipated extensions of time can be undesirable.

Marking time

Since a temporary identity is of a limited duration, it necessarily has a beginning and ending. In addition to the normative dimensions that mark temporal boundaries of a temporary identity in terms of frequency and duration, individual behaviors also change during the course of the identity, marking the start and the finish. People substantiate the beginning and ending of their trip through their behavior. Position in the time track, the beginning, middle or end, influences behavior as people mark out the temporal dimensions of their trip through activity. Overall people's behavior follows a pattern over the duration of the time track that begins with an initial splurge of eager activity, transitions to a less active period in the middle, and ends with a final peak of high activity at the end as they prepare to leave. Changes in activity and behavior over the course of a vacation, from the beginning to the end, illustrate how time and position within a time track effects construction, performance, and embracement of a temporally bounded identity.

The beginning of the vacation time track is usually marked by a period of high activity that is spurred on by enthusiasm or excitement to experience the new environment and opportunities available. Often the trip has been looked forward to with great anticipation and arrival at one's destination signifies achievement of this desired goal. Although this initial

enthusiasm usually wanes a few days into the trip, excitement marks the beginning of a new and novel experience. Maria comments on her initial excitement on arriving in Hawaii for a four day vacation, and its lapse. "The first day I was so tired but I got off the plane, and I dropped off my son and my luggage at the hotel, and then I went everywhere. Yesterday, I just slept all day. That's all I did." While on her first day in Hawaii she ignored her tiredness and jet lag to go "everywhere," by the third day of her trip she was more inclined to relax on the beach. Many visitors to China had a similar reaction upon their arrival. After an on-average thirteen-hour plane ride and twelve-hour time zone switch, they were eager to meet fellow travelers and to explore the city without a break to rest. This enthusiasm would wane after they became more familiar with their new environment. Many tourist itineraries similarly institutionalize this mid-trip lull by scheduling some "down time" around the middle of the trip, giving an afternoon or an entire day off at the mid-point.

While the beginning of a trip is exciting and highly anticipated, the effect of position in the time track is most pronounced at the end. The end of the trip means completing a favorable and anticipated activity and returning to one's everyday life until the next such event is possible. Activity speeds up as people mark this transition by revisiting favored sites "one last time," trying to fit in things that were missed, buying "last minute" souvenirs and gifts, or planning celebrations.

While the majority of the vacation experience is organized around indulgence, at the end of the trip people often indulge or splurge an *extra* bit as it is their last chance before the vacation is over. They embrace the identity more when they know it will soon end. These activities are done as a final opportunity for indulgent enjoyment before one returns to an "abstinent" everyday life where control over things like eating or spending may be more strict. This type of indulgence is different from the normal indulgence that marks most

vacation behavior because it is done at an increased level in such a way as to intentionally

mark the closing of the trip. Two women at a theme park on Oahu loudly discuss with each

other if they should eat ice cream on their last day on the Island:

> At the crowded Dole Plantation theme park two women yell to each other over the din of
> the crowded cafeteria at lunch time. The first woman asks her friend, "Are you getting ice
> cream?" Her friend replies, "Oh, I don't know." The first woman responds, "You're still on
> vacation, do it! One more day!" And her friend replies, "One more day! It will be my last
> hurrah!" [Field notes, Hawaii]

This woman conceptualizes her indulgence in a temporal manner as she thinks of it as

ok, because it will be her "last hurrah" or last indulgence of her Hawaiian vacation. On his last

night in China, Xavier organized a night out to his favorite nightclub in which he intended to

stay out as late as possible and get very drunk before the night was over. Similarly, Brenda, a

woman on an eight day tour of Hawaii with her family booked front row seats to an elaborate

luau on their last night in the islands, splurging on table service so that they would not have

to wait in line at the buffet with everyone else. She explained it was all very expensive, but as

it was her last night in Hawaii she wanted to do something special.

At the end of the trip people will also plan particular events or activities intended to

celebrate the experience with others and in some way thank or acknowledge their role in the

vacation experience. On her last night in China, for example, Jodie planned and executed a

large dinner, inviting all the fellow tourists and program staff members that she had met and

befriended during her trip. Others distributed small gifts or treats, like a round of beers at the

bar, or a popular Western brand of ice cream bars in order to say thank you and goodbye.

At the end of a vacation people may also use their agency to influence the experience of

durations to feel they have "more" time to do favorable things (Flaherty 2011). Schedules and

routines may be altered in order to expand the amount of time "available" for activities, as this

tourist demonstrates, "My last day...I get up before dawn to get in my last thrills" [Hawaii 3,

blog]. Getting up very early on the last day, running through activities quicker than usual, or cutting out regularly scheduled activities altogether, such as meal times, are all methods of creating more time for the vacation and fitting in more activities before the experience ends.

Summary

During vacations and other periods of "time off" the socially constructed nature of clock time is illuminated as normative temporal structures come into contrast with an altered approach to time. While routinized patterns make up everyday life, on vacation people absent themselves from these structures. During their time off people may ignore, invert or alter the hours and days that make up their experience. The two ideal typical approaches to time discussed, vacation time and everyday time, show that phenomenological perceptions of time, while rooted in individual experience, are dependent on social environments that, in turn, shape identities. The ways in which individuals experience the passage of time can be manipulated by social ecologies. Vacation time illustrates how perceptions of time may be manipulated by others in order to enable or constrain behaviors. It is easy to lose track of time and ignore the passage of hours, or even days, as people transition into a realm where shared standard clock time is altered or eliminated. On the other hand, compliance with a more rigid everyday time delimits the ways that individuals successfully fit into and interact with their environment, and introduce both internal and external forms of identity control. Visitors conform to an existing temporal framework that delimits their actions. Some of the freedoms that come from leaving one's everyday environment are sacrificed as travelers submit to a new system of temporal regulation.

Identities are molded in response to these temporal orientations. Disregarding time brings freedom and autonomy, but one that is achieved often only through the active work of institutions and their employees who alter time for visitors. Unless undertaking a camping or nature vacation, this freedom from time is constructed in itself. On the other hand attending to time brings regulation and loss of personal freedom, but comes with the advantage of added security and ease in an unfamiliar environment.

CHAPTER THREE

Identity Breaks in Space and Place

When I'm in Hawaii I'm almost a totally different person than I am in California. And that is, I'm more relaxed. I'm more open to the world around me. I see things and notice things that I never do in California […] and it seems like being away from your normal environment, of course, takes your mind away from all pressures. [Celeste, personal interview]

I think it's just easier to let loose. Just because it's like, when am I going to have a chance to come back to this place? Or am I going to see these people again? [Sarah, personal interview]

Identities gain meaning from the spaces and places in which they are situated. As the creation of identity is a reflexive social process, identities cannot exist independently of one's environment. "*Who* one is depends, in part, on *where* one is and *when* one is. Identity resides not in the individual alone, but in the interaction between the individual and his or her social environment" (Brekhus 2003, 17, italics in original). Sites and times are therefore "identity settings" guiding how to feel, how to act, and who to be. This chapter addresses the interaction of space, place, and identity.

Activities are always constrained, channeled and encouraged by the physical space within which they are set (Fine 1991, 166-167). Peter Barker and Roger Wright (1955) described how different environments, and the people in them, mold how people act. The contextual factors of where people are, and with whom they interact, are the primary agents in determining behavior. In "behavior settings" certain actions are encouraged while others are discouraged by the social, physical, and cultural properties of an environment. People will behave in a way that is compatible with place (Barker and Wright 1955, Wicker 1984, 4-18). The locations themselves persist in eliciting the same patterns of behavior over time, even though

the people within them inevitably change, creating existing, extra-individual behavior patterns (Barker and Wright 1955, 7-8). In this way, a child can move from being hyperactive, aggressive, and verbal while playing at home, to passive, submissive, or quiet at a neighbors' house. An adult at work can be tense, serious or quiet, while being relaxed, playful, or boisterous at the beach. The patterned elements of an interaction are therefore determined by elements of place, including the participants, actions, and possible outcomes (Smith-Lovin 2007, 106). These elements are so strong that they can account for dramatic shifts in behavior across contexts. The role of other people within behavior settings is important as well. As they too respond to environments they will expect others to act in a way that matches the context. This influences individual behavior as people conform to those actions that are expected of them in a given environment (Smith-Lovin 1979, 41).

This interactive relationship with physical environment shapes and is shaped by cognition. Built environments are created by people, and then, in turn, shape the actions and perceptions of the people within them. "We mold buildings, they mold us, we mold them anew" (Gieryn 2002, 65). In this way, people continuously interact with their environment in a dialogue that is shaped both by formal space and the people within it (Habraken 1998, 17). The extent of the influence this has on cognition is only beginning to be understood. Emerging research finds that space shapes cognition. For example, structured spaces, like an English garden, can trigger a deliberative, "cool" form of cognition because they come with imposed scripts for behavior. On the other hand open, unstructured places, like a Southern Plantation, trigger a more automatic or "hot" cognition because here behavioral scripts calling for particular actions are not as strongly articulated (Harvey 2010, 185).

It is important to consider the importance of place, or meanings, in social cognition. The difference between space and place is central in understanding how identities are channeled by their environments. Space is a more abstract concept than place. It is made up of structures and forms. It is the distances between objects, the locations of things, and the directions between them. Place is different in that it is a concrete location that has been provided with meaning by the people that inhabit it or visit it. Rather than a geometric abstraction, place has been invested with values. Place can be as small as a corner of the room with a favored chair, or as large as a city. Space becomes place as people get to know it and give it value (Tuan 1977, 6, 12-17; Gieryn 2000, 463-465). A focus on the organization of space leaves out the meanings inherent in place, and how the individual uses those meanings. The two concepts together are fundamental for understanding social life because they shape how people make sense of their world and their place within it.

Meaning and history become objectified in built environments. Their physical form and organization reflect the symbolic systems, hierarchies and contrasts of the societies that created them (Bourdieu 1960 [1979] 133-153). Structures reproduce the culture that has been stored in them. It must be added to this understanding that people and groups design structures. The built environment does not just accumulate culture, but also reflects the intentional plan to make something look a certain way (Gieryn 2002, 40).

At the same time, different groups, with different perspectives exist and interact within the same spaces and places. They cannot be expected to perceive and respond to environments in the same way. With the increasing mobility of modern life, aptly demonstrated by tourism, people may draw from different histories or cultural understandings when interacting in the same space. Different groups of people can hold different ideas of what gives place significance.

Thus an area in the countryside is a scenic or quaint destination for city day-trippers, but the site of mundane everyday life for local residents. Many sites that become tourist attractions are the result of a "historical layering of human effort" in which different groups have used them for different purposes over time (Pearce 2005, 149-150). In many cases the tourist attraction is just the latest outcome produced from power struggles, preservation efforts and different cultural values.

The varying historical, social and economic purposes of a location ensure that meanings and interpretation will not be consistent. Hawaii, for example, is a popular vacation destination for both Japanese and American visitors. This is certainly reflected in the built environment of ubiquitous hotels, souvenir shops, and beach resorts. But the two groups do not perceive the environment in the same way and hold different meanings for it. Americans experience the islands as a culturally distinct destination from the mainland United States, one that is derived from and reflects a Polynesian culture. This is reflected in the island theming of space. Japanese tourists, on the other hand, experience and consume Hawaii as an American destination (Desmond 1999, 12-13). This is perhaps best demonstrated in the shooting ranges that can be found around Waikiki. Marketed solely to Japanese tourists, they offer the opportunity to have the "American" experience of firing a gun for recreation.

In addition to larger areas, different groups can have different meanings for specific sites depending on historical meanings. Elmina Castle in Ghana is a 500-year-old structure used, among other purposes, for its dungeons during the slave trade. Visiting African Americans experience the site as part of a search for roots and historical insight in returning "home." Local Ghanaians perceive the site differently as it has been used variously over time as a trading post, slave dungeon, military fortification, colonial administrative center, prison, school, office, and

now, tourist attraction (Bruner 2005b, 102-106). This difference in perception extends to the identities of the individuals within it. African Americans traveling to the site for heritage tourism think of themselves as returning to an ancestral home, while the Ghanaians see them as foreign visitors (Bruner 2005b, 102-106).

In this way the identities that people derive from place reflect the patterned behaviors the site elicits, the cultural meanings objectified in its structures and organization, and the expectations and perceptions of other people who inhabit that space. Moving to and between different environments then allows for the expression of different, corresponding identities. Some may move to a particular environment particularly because it allows them to express a desired identity (Brekhus 2003), others move through them during the course of everyday life. This allows for the expression of temporary identities as space and place draw a boundary around where certain identities may begin and end.

I begin by discussing how different environments elicit different forms of identity. Some locals allow a sustained and exaggerated expression of a temporary identity; others require one's identity to be more subtle or diffuse. I then discuss how the meanings of space and place change with the introduction of tourism and the implications this has for enacting a desired identity that is situated in a particular place. I finish how the relative cognitive concepts of "near" and "far," and "familiar" and "exotic" shape how space works to define identity

Constructing Identities in Space and Place

As with other aspects of material culture, people use space to express and accentuate identities. Traveling to identity-specific spaces can help people play up their identities according to desired standards (Brekhus 2008, 11). David Grazian (2003, 21-22) illustrated this in his study

of people who travel to Chicago blues clubs in order to immerse themselves in a place that supported a specific "nocturnal identity" performed around the consumption of urban nightlife. Wayne Brekhus (2003) similarly found that some gay men travel to specific urban areas where they could express a pure or authentically gay self. These studies find that definitions of place, as well as the ability to move to an identity-specific location support identity work.

As such, certain spaces are organized to facilitate the performance of specific identities. Within these areas people share the same specialized, or marked, identity, and dedicated displays of identity will be supported and encouraged more than in other areas (Brekhus 2003, 19). Those facets of self that are associated with the localized identity are encouraged to be foregrounded, while non-salient aspects are pushed to the background, thus encouraging a specialized identity.

"Vacation space" is such an area in which specialized identities are encouraged and supported. These areas, such as resorts, cruise ships, and theme parks, are designed and organized to accommodate people who are on vacation. These "total institutions" (Goffman 1961) of the vacation industry leave little room for variation in identity. Everything within their boundaries is designed to support the successful vacation identity. Interactions are often limited to like-minded travelers who dress the same, go out to the same bars and clubs, eat and drink similar meals, and participate in the same set of activities. This lack of variation both channels and encourages the identity. This couple staying in a Waikiki hotel illustrates how people enthusiastically alter their personal appearance to match their social environment. The context invites role embracement.

> An older woman with a deep orange-hued tan steps onto the hotel elevator accompanied by a man. They are dressed for a night out in matching kelly green and white aloha print attire. The woman wears a floor-length muumuu and gold jewelry. Her hair and makeup are meticulously styled. The man wears an aloha shirt, spotless white pants, and white deck

shoes. Another woman on the elevator complements them on how nice they look, and the woman replies that she and her husband are going out for the evening. [Field notes, Hawaii]

Such a presentation would seem out of place anywhere but Waikiki, where it is usual and even expected. This couple illustrates how the environment of Waikiki can bring out the playfully performative aspect of a certain type of vacation identity based in leisure and pleasure. Their matching outfits and meticulous presentation, as well as the clean, crisp element to their clothes, which suggests they are not everyday wear, are particularly representative of a place-specific "old Waikiki," that is embodied in the tan and Hawaiiana.

In addition to these material aspects, the social environment in such identity-specific spaces can contribute to one's experience of the identity. Maria describes how traveling to the vacation space of Waikiki allows her to feel more free. She was recently divorced and concerned about traveling to such a destination alone, thinking the laid back vacation atmosphere would be a drawback rather than a plus if she was on her own. But she explains that the friendly atmosphere helped her feel relaxed and happy. "I thought actually before I came here, I was thinking the day before, I shouldn't go because I'm going to be alone and depressed over here. And no, when you see all these people over here there is no way that you can feel depressed." She continues to say that the relaxed environment also helps her change her presentation of self. This is because she has left behind her everyday job where she must dress business-appropriate, but it is also because, as she explains it, the other people around her don't care. The relaxed attitudes of others within this space allow her to feel freer in her self presentation.

It's different because here you don't have to be careful about anything [...] You know, I'm an executive. So I have to dress properly and all those kinds of things, and here nobody cares what you're going to wear. If my hair isn't done, nobody cares. If I have make up on, nobody cares. So you feel more free, definitely. [Maria, personal interview]

This is specific to the particular behavior setting of a Waikiki beach. Not all vacations are situated within the same environmental context, so this sense of freedom would not necessarily be experienced attending a formal dinner on a cruise, for example, or when touring a church or temple.

Vacation space includes many different contexts. It does not need to be as exotic or distant as a resort. Such spaces can be found near home as long they are organized around supporting a location-specific identity that is shared by others. Sarah describes a popular vacation destination outside Chicago that she likes to visit.

> Me and my friend Katie went to this place called the Wisconsin Dells and it's like a joke, you know when you're from Chicago, you go on vacation to the Dells, with like, the ten thousand other people that go with you. It's like everyone from Chicago goes to the Dells to go on vacation [...] It's surrounded all by wilderness and then there's, like, central town and it's motels and hotels and there's waterparks, and touristy things everywhere. [Sarah, personal interview]

The Dells offers an accessible space for Chicagoans to spend their vacation time, while traveling to an identity-specific environment. It is also a space designed to appeal to a particular type of vacation identity. As the self-proclaimed "waterpark capital of the world" and the "#1 family vacation destination in the U.S.," (www.wisdells.com), the Dells offers an environment conducive to crafting identities around family fun where activities with one's children make up an important part of the identity. In addition to waterparks, there are go-carts, bowling, petting zoos, haunted houses, skate parks, miniature golf, and a circus which all contribute to the "family friendly" vacation context.

Not all vacation spaces are idealized for the people visiting them. Perceptions and definitions of ideal vacations differ and so such places can be unpleasant if one feels pushed into an identity they do not wish to have. If the vacationer goes someplace against his or her will, or if it doesn't meet expectations, instead of being fun and freeing it can be very unpleasant. Casey

describes a family reunion during which she was obliged to go to Pigeon Forge, Tennessee. What

she describes as a "tourist trap," Pigeon Forge is a vacation space in the Smoky Mountains that

plays up its family-oriented, rustic mountain history.

> She made us go to Pigeon Forge, Tennessee and it was awful. It's up in the mountains so
> that part's kind of pretty, but it's just this huge tourist trap with fudge shops and like, um,
> oh, what is that, that Ripley's Believe It or Not Museum, like the weird thing. It's by
> Dollyworld. It's terrible. And so that was definitely my worst vacation ever. It was like a
> family vacation from hell. [Casey, personal interview]

The tourist trap then is an example of a vacation space that is the opposite of an

idealized destination. For Casey, it represented a vacation experience that she did not wish to

have. The enclavic nature of the area emphasized her discomfort. The environment was geared

toward supporting a particular identity that she was not interested in, leaving her with few

options for enjoying her time that were not in line with the Pigeon Forge atmosphere.

Most identities are not located in such distinct enclavic areas. Identities are situated in

spaces that represent a continuum of identity-supporting context, from total, like the vacation

space, to none at all. In this case, identity management becomes more complex and people

must do more mental work to bound, switch between, and embrace identities. Outside of an

enclavic area the supports that channel identity are more diffuse.

Some spaces offer very little support for the identity one wishes to have. While identity-

specific spaces are highly defined, these environments are more generic and the default identity

display is that of the unmarked everyday one (Brekhus 2003, 19). As there is little to support an

identity, and others within the same environment will not necessarily be sharing in it, these

spaces encourage a more submerged display of identity, rather than an exaggerated one. These

everyday spaces then lie on the other end of the continuum from vacation space. Rather than

being designed to appropriate the extraordinary, these areas are organized around the needs

and requirements of individuals going about their day-to-day activities. As vacation space is an enclavic area that encourages role performance and embracement, everyday space is the opposite.

Interactions in everyday space will most likely be with residents who themselves are not on vacation and are not employed in such a way that it is their responsibility to enable or disattend out-of-the-ordinary vacation identities. As visitors to a new place vacationers will be given some leniency in following local norms and expectations, but they may still be out of place or unwelcome if aspects of their vacation identity seem too unusual or indulgent for everyday life. Vacations to visit family will often take place in someone else's everyday space of both their home and their neighborhood. For them these are the locations of familiar interactions and everyday identities. People must adapt their behavior to fit into someone else's environment. Jamie explains how when she goes home to visit family she cannot act the same way as she would when staying in a hotel or even as she might at her own home.

> [I] don't feel ok to be myself, and then I also feel pressure to help with the cooking and the cleaning when I'm there. So like if it's Christmas or Thanksgiving, […] or even just going home for the summer, I kind of feel like I have to participate, rather than just lie on the couch. You know, when you go to a hotel you don't think, oh I need to clean the bathroom. But I do feel that way at home. [Jamie, personal interview]

This new space shapes her behavior in what she feels she can and cannot do. Instead of relaxing as she wishes to do on her vacation Jamie returns to aspects of her everyday identity in this everyday environment. She notes this importance of environment herself. If she was in a hotel she wouldn't clean, but in her parents' house, she feels compelled to. Both the space of her parents' house and the presence of her family induce her to help out with housework which she otherwise tries not to do on vacation.

In the role of daughter visiting home, Jamie fell into roll requirements that the environment compelled, even though they were not necessarily voluntary. In contrast, Sandra, who has two small children, and thus a different set of family-related identity demands from Jamie, explained that she enjoyed vacationing without leaving home, and remaining in her everyday space, because it gave her control over her environment that she has to cede when she stays in a hotel room.

> I guess because with a house it's different than a hotel room. You know, like in a hotel room you're kind of confined in the space and you still make a mess and you can't really stay on top of stuff. I mean the house cleaning people come but it's not the same, and when you have little kids. My kid's only four, she was four and [her sister was] two-and-a-half, and so you need to make accommodations with milk and food, and you know what I mean? So sometimes it's just easier and because we were out all day I didn't really do a lot of housework during the day. So, I didn't mind it. [Sandra, personal interview]

Because she's a parent it is difficult or undesirable for her to switch out of salient everyday identities. She must remain a responsible parent to her children, even during her vacation time. Staying home allowed her to enjoy the supports to *that* identity that came along with the home environment, while still enjoying some perks of having time off.

People end up spending their time interacting in spaces on various places along this continuum, with varying degrees of identity support. As these are extremes on a scale, most environments fall in between. These hybrid spaces combine elements of identity-specific support for those who are looking for it, and also include the everyday unmarked world that comes from people with a mix of identities interacting within the same environment. This results in more variation in the expression of particular identities than in enclavic areas that channel them into a specific performance, and also than in everyday areas that discourage their embracement.

Many vacations are spent not in highly-specific enclaves, but in an environment where this is a mix of vacation and local accommodations. In these hybrid areas hotels and tourist attractions mix with shops, businesses, domestic housing, and the public and private institutions of everyday life. Vacationers are surrounded by a mix of people who are there to support their identity and those who are indifferent to it. Other tourists, staff, and locals with their everyday identities all mix. Markets and bazaars located near vacation spaces that draw tourists out into the city are examples of these hybrid spaces (Edensor 1998, 54, 328-333), as are visits to European and American cities, the countryside, and functioning everyday sites for which tourism is a secondary purpose, such as St. Patrick's Cathedral or Oxford University. When in these areas, vacationers are traveling to an area that has not been created solely to meet their expectations, as in identity-specific enclaves, but doesn't lack identity supports either, as in everyday space. Instead, the location has evolved in a dual capacity to serve both visitors and local residents.

For tourists, hybrid spaces can offer a feeling of authenticity to those who seek that quality in their destinations, without the lack of tourist amenities as would be found in a pure everyday space. Support for the identity exists without channeling it too much in any direction. This appealed to the volunteer tourists in China who stayed in downtown Xi'an, where they were surrounded by local apartments but could easily get to tourist attractions like historic pagodas and museums. They could go to local restaurants for "authentic food," while also within walking distance was a street lined with tourist bars and souvenir shops where they could go out for the night and pick up gifts for people back home.

This leaves the question of why certain spaces become associated with certain identities. In order to understand why someone would travel to a particular location in order to

support a specific identity it is necessary to understand why these locations hold the meanings that they do. The heavily constructed nature of many identity-specific spaces illustrates how meanings are assigned, interpreted, and changed for and by the groups that interact within them.

From Space to Place

In order for a space to be associated with a particular identity there must be an extra-individual history by which that space takes on certain meanings. Tourism and vacationing have the capacity to assign and change existing meanings as they create identity-specific spaces. David Harvey (1990, 232) has argued that the compression of space and time due to the intervention of technologies, from the railroad to the internet, has led to a process in which place loses meaning and becomes space. Increased mobility, communication technologies, and the globalization of the economy create a pastiche of images and goods that erode place into space. In these spaces identities cannot help but be "decentered" as there are no clear reference points or boundaries in which to situate them (300). But it must be considered that the process of assigning or erasing meaning is itself context dependent and shifts with different audiences. The properties or characteristics that one group may consider to be lacking place, may define place for another group.

Tourism has the capacity to both erase and create meanings of place depending on one's perspective. In one sense, space becomes place as people "discover" a destination and invest it with meanings congruent with being a tourist attraction. In another sense, tourism can change local meanings of place as new groups of people visit an existing place and give it their own meanings. Certain locations undergo a "social spatialization" in which they acquire a shared

social meaning (Shields 1991). For example, the beach has been transformed into a collective "pleasure zone," and rural areas have been constructed as "the countryside" for urban residents in pursuit of leisure (Urry 1995, 26). In the same way, "nature" has been constructed as a leisure destination that is considered to be pure and authentic in contrast with urban modernity, while notions of natural beauty are not inevitable and have not been perceived in the same way by all groups (Davis 1997; Franklin 2003, 214). "Wilderness" is a state of mind for those people perceiving it (Nash 1973).

The construction of culturally desirable vacation spots requires that visitors selectively attend to and disattend particular aspects of their environment in order to meet their expectations of place. Enjoying nature as a desirable destination often involves overlooking a number of undesirable or unpleasant aspects of the experience, or those elements that just don't fit the ideal. Visitors to the countryside attend to particular elements like local architecture, winding roads, and minimal development, while ignoring other features of the landscape. John Urry describes how the "tourist gaze" focuses people's attention on those aspects of their environment that they *want* to see that support their expectations, and turns their attention away from those things that don't fit.

> Such a "rural landscape" has erased from it farm machinery, laborers, tractors, telegraph wires, dead animals, concrete farm buildings, motorways, derelict land, polluted water, nuclear power stations, and diseased animals. What people see is therefore highly selective, and it is the focused gaze that is central to people's appreciation (Urry 2002 [1990], 88).

The beach is another such "natural" environment, where evidence of social intervention such as beach erosion, pollution, and overcrowding are disattended, as well as undesirable environmental conditions like uncomfortably hot temperatures and overexposure to the sun, blowing sand, and potentially dangerous animal life (Lencek and Bosker 1998, 271-281).

Similarly, while Hawaii has been constructed as an idealized beach vacation site for Americans, it is also a prominent and strategic location for the U.S. military. Army bases, war ships, even weapons testing and practice on less-populated islands are rarely thought about by vacationers, if they are even aware of them. While locations like Pearl Harbor are memorialized and included in the tourist experience for nationalistic purposes, functioning everyday sites of the military are disattended.

This also illustrates how asymmetries in perception between groups shape how environments are approached. Members of the military are very aware of the leisure definition of Hawaii, while visitors are not always aware of the military. Farm laborers are very aware of the insects, pesticides, or thorns that are on crops, while visitors to the countryside "see" fields and vistas. And life guards are sensitive to the dangers of sharks and jelly fish that swimmers may overlook.

At times the expectation and what people see are so different that anomalies to the culturally articulated scenario cannot be overlooked. This leads to disappointments when an environment does not live up to an ideal. While Waikiki is a section of Honolulu that is arranged completely as vacation space, the rest of the city is a hybrid space where vacationers mix into the city. There vacationers are confronted with the realities of a modern American city in their idealized tropical paradise, including crime, homelessness, and urban development. This cruise ship participant, on a day-long stop in Honolulu shows her disappointment that the city is not natural enough.

> We can't help feeling that Honolulu is a paradise ruined by concrete and steel – heaps of towering office and accommodation blocks with only a few palm trees around to remind you that you are on a Pacific island. Of course we didn't make it too far out of the city itself so maybe the other side of the island is more natural. [Pacific cruise, blog]

Marcia had a similar reaction when she went to Puerto Rico with a group of friends and discovered that aspects of everyday life on the island disrupted the pleasure of their vacation experience.

> Two couples went to Puerto Rico, many years ago. And I hated it. We all hated it. We hated, it was a long time ago and it was very unattractive down there, and we rented a car and we went from San Juan. We drove around the island and found just a lot of poverty with nothing redeeming. [Marcia, personal interview]

For people seeking "authenticity" these encounters with what is actually everyday life can thus be dismaying. Often the "authentic" experiences tourists are seeking do not match environments as they reflect an unrealistic, outdated, or romanticized vision of what a place is. The "vivid scenarios" (Swidler 2001, 36) vacationers hold for their destination may not match their physical reality and thus must be reworked, through processes like attending and disattending, or dismissed altogether, when cultural ideals do not match built environments.

On vacation people move to specific places that have been collectively marked as desirable locations for leisure. Daniel Boorstin spoke of the creation of the "attraction" to draw people to a particular site (1961, 103). Such an attraction is anything deemed interesting or amusing enough to draw people in large numbers, and that could be easily commoditized and turned into something salable for visitors. Now in addition to attractions, people colloquially speak of "destinations." Defined as something that is set apart for a particular use, purpose, or end ("destinations," OED 2011), tourist destinations are cognitively "set apart" from their spatial setting by visitors and already commodified for tourist consumption.

The meaning of place becomes transformed as a location turns into a destination. It is set apart from its surroundings and isolated in space as a place to buy a particular experience. Once a swampy area of the island of Oahu set aside for farmland, then a leisure spot for Hawaiian royalty, and then residents of Honolulu (Kanahele 1995), Waikiki is now an

international beach destination exemplifying a commodified Hawaiian culture. Surfing lessons; menus at bars and restaurants selling local dishes; stalls offering island tours, cruises and time shares; outdoor market stalls selling souvenirs; convenience stores with rattan beach mats, suntan lotion, and sunglasses in the front windows; and souvenir shops with leis, plastic ukuleles, macadamia nuts, and tiki statues, all create a sense of place associated with a Polynesian beach destination through the consumption possibilities available in the streets in this area of Honolulu.

Consumption itself is a "place-creating" activity (Sack 1992, 3-4), which is particularly important in transforming locations into tourist destinations. Consumer landscapes are built on the "aura" of all the goods and services that are available: the souvenirs in the shops, the contents of window displays, and the mannerisms of service personnel all provide material for the creation of place (Molotch, Freudenburg and Paulsen 2000, 815). In this way tourism creates place through a specific form of leisure-oriented consumption that can be seen not just at the beach, but in ski towns like Aspen, Colorado or Killington, Vermont, or in urban areas like Times Square in New York, Piccadilly Circus in London, or the Las Vegas strip.

Over time, the effects of mass tourism can be seen to have a homogenizing effect as generic qualities overwhelm the specifics of place (Sack 1992, 159). This can be seen in the standardization of architecture and landscaping in tourist areas and the introduction of multi-national companies and chain stores. This backpacker illustrates the interchangeability of location through his disappointment when he visits a coastal region of Belize that has been transformed into a resort area to appeal to high-spending international tourists.

> The Lodge at Chaa Creek was exactly what we were not looking for in a hotel in Belize. The grounds were expertly manicured, all of the staff wore identical polos tucked into their pants, the thatched roof huts contained single rooms and each had their own surrounding

"lawn", the bar and restaurant were filled with expensive looking furniture, and it was filled with mostly middle-aged "explorer" tourists types with white beards and younger couples who were obviously on honeymoons or just plain rich. For about $320 a night, you can pay to stay in a place that looks more like it belongs in Maui than Belize and get none of the local flavor or culture. [Belize, Blog]

In his description he picks up on some of the transferable characteristics of a resort-style vacation destination. It is this uniformity and the way it can erase place that creates his distaste. The meanings of place disappear as they are replaced by generic signifiers of the corporate resort experience like neatly uniformed staff, "expensive" furniture, and diligent maintenance of the lawns and grounds. For him the "local flavor and culture" is what defines place, and whatever he was expecting to find in Belize that matched that description was not present at this resort. By importing the globalized notions of an upscale resort to rural Belize, the local meanings and cultural identity are taken away and replaced with a set of signifiers that can be found in similar locations around the world. The resort's architecture, landscaping, apparel of the staff, and even the groups of people that made up the clientele were all "out of place" in coastal Belize in the perception of this backpacker.

While he was not happy with the division of place from space, for other vacationers the cultural specifics of place are not as important. For other North American and European vacationers who travel to beach resort vacation spots local meanings of place are overlooked in pursuit of a particular transferable ideal of sun, sand, and sex situated within a not-too-alien environment. The "place" for them is the destination that can offer these things. The specifics of local culture aren't important so much as that the comforts of home are reproduced alongside the hedonistic liminal opportunities of the beach (Salanniemi 2001, 91-92). The resort-style destination offers an expected standard of luxury and comfort to the degree that local-ness becomes less important. Many seek out this standard, while the local meanings that may be in

contrast with it are secondary. This woman at a resort in Cancun has the opposite reaction from the backpacker in Belize when she arrives at her chosen vacation destination.

> Vacation has officially begun – we were really there. The pool was massive, surrounded by flowers, giant palm trees lined the walkways, there was one massive beach with no end in sight [...] Happy music came from the loudspeakers and wonderful smells found their way into our noses telling us it was time for breakfast/lunch/dinner or something. Paradise has been found! [Cancun, blog]

Pools and the beach, flowers and plants, even the colors and scents create a welcomed sensual environment that signifies paradise, which could be found in Mexico or any number of beach locations around the world. The meanings that define her vacation destination are drawn from these features. For her these associations are so primary that seeing them signals for her that the vacation has officially begun. Specifics of Cancun or Mexico are not as important to her as they are overlooked entirely in her description. In other entries in her blog she details her travels around Cancun, as she visits and compares several different resorts. For her the "place" that she has traveled to is the resort itself and not Mexico.

A cruise ship, which is all space and no place, imports meanings and associations to create a sense of place. While not necessarily accurate or authentic, decorations and design lend meanings of place to the location. In this description of a Carnival cruise ship, a customer describes how each floor of the ship is decorated in a way that is reminiscent of exciting or exotic locations elsewhere.

> Although it might be blasphemous to compare our ship to a European rococo cathedral, I was left with the same feeling - where should I look first? The night club has an Egyptian motif - golden mummy cases line the entrance way and the curtains, upholstery, and carpeting is peppered with cartouches and hieroglyphics. A smaller club a floor below is decorated to look like a French palace. A floor above we can order an overpriced drink from a Chinese lounge redolent with the red, gold and black colors that country favors. [Pacific Cruise 4, Blog]

The designers of this boat chose themes to differentiate and make special areas of the ship which otherwise would have no meaning. This also takes place in locations that are specifically developed for a leisure purpose but had no prior local meaning. The resort areas of Miami were developed from rural lands, and the fantasy architecture that now defines them was thus selected and imported, but is unrelated to anything inherent in the locality. American ski resort towns made to look "Alpine" similarly import resonant meanings to create a "self-conscious" sense of place (Zukin 1991, 231-238). Such architectural and retail elements of themed areas make them very much a "place" that has importance and meaning to the people they draw (Gottdeiner 1997, 98).

While on the cruise ship or in undeveloped areas importing meanings from other locations is a way of creating a sense of place that did not exist before, in other, more permanent locations, importing meanings can have the effect of eliminating or altering local meanings of place. In specific areas existing meanings are superseded or replaced entirely by visitors who seek comforting associations of home in what become enclavic areas that attract travelers of the same nationality. Beaches in Thailand that are known as "Little Sweden" or "Little Germany" (Muzaini 2006, 157) or Spanish resort towns where British visitors can eat British foods, watch British TV, and socialize only with other British tourists (Andrews 2005) illustrate such replacement. People travel to them because they are like home and they can have a comfortable experience there without venturing too far from the familiar.

Conrad Hilton had just this intention within his hotel accommodations. Regardless of location, around the world, he claimed, "Each of our hotels is a little America" (quoted in Boorstin 1961, 98). Daniel Boorstin (1961, 80) noted that the mid-twentieth century American traveler wanted to feel as if he or she had experienced the exotic, but could also have the

comforts of home at hand if one had paid for them. Hilton understood this and was successful in

that each of the hotels in his chain is indistinguishable in general feeling and design. One feels as

if one is still in the United States, but with a "measured admixture of carefully filtered local

atmosphere" (98). The overall effect is to recreate a feeling of home during travel, no matter

how far one goes. This style is now the standard for the corporate hotel chain. They follow a

standardized design that is more or less the same from DC to Beijing, with some allowances for

local "flavor". When staying in one of these places the traveler will know what to expect and will

know what is expected. This concept has extended beyond hotels to chain restaurants, which

can now be found around the country, and often around the world, which offer the same

experience, regardless of place.

As travel and tourism changes meanings of place, spaces gain meanings that coordinate

with desired identities. Some vacationers want to experience an exotic or authentic culture and

thus travel to locations such as rural Belize where they hope to encounter "local culture." Others

wish to relax and unwind by a pool and for them local place becomes irrelevant. Others want to

travel somewhere new, but not too new, and so find tourist enclaves where they can find

reminders of home in a new environment. For others, no matter where they are, or why they

are traveling, they can stay in a familiar, or even identical, room. In each of these contexts place

supports identity.

In this way, local environment and the people that design it are essential in creating

spaces for identities. When Hilton creates identical hotels, just like when resorts follow a

standardized architecture, or tourist towns import meanings or themes from other spaces and

places to create or recreate place, they form an appropriate or desirable environment in which

people situate their identities. They create the identity-specific locations in which it is easy to match one's comportment, appearance, and activities to the surroundings.

The Familiar and the Exotic

Conrad Hilton understood the tension between the familiar and the exotic that people feel while traveling. They want to experience something new while doing so in a comforting environment. This is an experience that transcends tourism. Zigmunt Baumann (1996, 29-30) used this fundamental challenge the tourist faces as a metaphor for a form of postmodern identity. In doing so he described tourist spaces.

> You recognize the tourist haunts by their blatant, ostentatious (if painstakingly groomed) oddity, but also by the profusion of safety cushions and well-marked escape routes. In the tourists' world the strange is tame, domesticated, and no longer frightens; shocks come in a package deal with safety […] Having a home is part of the safety package: for the pleasure to be unclouded and truly engrossing, there must be somewhere, a homely and cozy, indubitably "owned" place to go when the present adventure is over.

This view emphasizes the tension between the familiar and the exotic in constructing identity, between wanting something different, while also needing a base of comfort. Knowing one has a safe "home" to return to, makes adventure more palatable because it is not permanent. Within these spaces, when the unusual is introduced it is cushioned and made easy. There are always ways to exit and return to a state that offers stability through familiarity. For Bauman, this is a state that defines everyday life. The placidity of home can translate into a monotony that compels people to do new things, but at the same time offers people a base of stability to which one can return; "home" is a mix of both "shelter and prison" (1996, 30-31).

Thus the identity work done during tourism echoes this basic existential tension between wanting both the familiar and the exotic. While aspects of the exotic may make a

destination more interesting or appealing to the potential traveler they can also be threatening and introduce uncertainty into the experience. On her trip to China Connie sums up how the exotic can feel threatening, "This is so foreign to me. I am the quintessential foreigner. I try to blend in and respect the local customs and traditions here, but it's been very eye opening. Certainly not like Europe, which is, I used to think Europe was scary, but this has been very eye opening." As Connie explains, something that is too different can be frightening.

For Connie, her anxiety comes from her relative unfamiliarity with the culture and context. As it is her first time to the country, the newness of these differences in intimidating. Europe, at first was similarly so, until she gained the cultural competencies to understand it through additional travel. Travel is a skill and accumulated the savvyness built through repeated travel signifies status. This is expressed in one's definitions of the familiar and the exotic. Marcia is a frequent international travel, who has been to China in the past. She explains how her perceptions changed over time.

> I mean I remember how jarring it was when I first came to China. How exotic. But I guess because I've been here enough it's, it's not that unusual. And some of it's also my personality, I mean I'm just independent and I'm not intimidated at all by the traffic and crossing the streets and dealing with the dirt, you know, in the streets doesn't bother me and that sort of thing. I'm just resilient and independent and I guess that has something to do with it. [Marcia, personal interview]

Marcia can equate her successful travel skills with personal characteristics like being independent and resilient, but she has gained her travel-savvy through years of experience and prior exposure to China. She overlooks the degree to which learned skills contribute to her experience of a place rather than personal traits. And how these skills have come to her from a socioeconomic status that provides support for frequent international trips. Just as with Connie, her perceptions of the familiar and the exotic are shaped by these accumulated experiences.

Because of the tension that exists, for many to appreciate the change and novelty of visiting a new location, they must experience it from a base of familiarity. A familiar microenvironment allows them to feel secure enough to enjoy the strangeness of their new macroenvironment (Cohen 1972, 175). Something that reminds people of home must be present, such as food, newspapers, or a familiar living space. For the tourist who goes out to experience the exotic the hotel serves as a familiar and comfortable base from which to ground that exploration. He or she may then experience "home" while away (Bruner 2005, 13-17). Home is embodied in the comfort and safety of the hotel, and one's company there, and is contrasted with the uniqueness of the environment outside of it. Hotels have recently begun expanding on this concept of mixing home and away by allowing customers to request personal preferences that make the hotel feel more "like home," including a favorite newspaper, customizable pillows and mattresses, custom food and drink menus, even temperature controls set before arriving (Contray 2010).

This need for familiarity creates enclavic areas, such as vacation spaces, where linguistic and cultural differences have the effect of isolating interactions in space. Lack of confidence in successfully interacting with others, or practical concerns of how to get by, often limit activities and interactions to those environments where one is confident of a successful interaction. Japanese tourists in Hawaii travel primarily in large tour groups, stay in hotels that are Japanese-owned, and attend Japanese-language shows, events and tours. A significant infrastructure exists to accommodate Japanese-speaking tourists, but this confines their visits to the island of Oahu and for the most part a "Japanese bubble" in Waikiki (Desmond 1999, 13). The same is true for the American and European visitors in China who find the language barrier to be an intimidating, and at times debilitating, impediment to touring in the country, and thus limit their travels to heavily traveled tourist cities of Beijing, Shanghai, and Xi'an. Tour groups regularly go

to these cities and an English-language infrastructure exists. Casey explains how the linguistic

and cultural barriers of China made her rely on staff members for help. "The language barrier

here I think is a lot harder than if we went to a European country. You seem to be able to get by

there, even if you don't speak the language, maybe a little bit easier than here. I don't know. I

think the customs are so different that they [the staff] help with that kind of stuff." Visitors

remained dependent on local staff members for basic assistance, such as cab cards with their

destination pre-printed in Mandarin Chinese, picture menus, and translations.

This grounding of the familiar as a way to experience the exotic does happens

throughout vacation environments. For the volunteer tourists in China, extreme lengths were

gone to in order to ensure that the comforts of home were recreated for a group of curious, but

intimidated and sometimes reluctant, foreign guests. Apartments above the local standard were

provided as living spaces in place of hotels. Computers, internet access, and mail service ensured

visitors could easily communicate with home. Televisions with DVD players were set up in each

apartment with a large selection of American television shows and movies. Home cooked meals

were provided that catered to Western tastes while introducing select, but not too threatening

or "strange" elements of Chinese cuisine. A typical meal would include sweet and sour chicken,

dumplings, stir fried Chinese vegetables, and bread and peanut butter. Linda explains why she

picked the trip. What she describes as an "adventurous vacation."

> It's worth considering whether you think of yourself as an adventurous person or not, in general. And then from that whether you choose adventurous vacations or not, you know? Because I don't normally think of myself as an adventurous person […] I thought this was a very safe way to do what other people thought was an adventure [laugh]. You know, for me it wasn't threatening. I mean the worst part was arriving in Xi'an, after that everything's taken care of. But other people see, you know, just, the whole concept of staying in China is an adventure. [Linda, personal interview]

This tension between the familiar and exotic can be equated to a tension between adventure and security. Campers who take with them complex equipment for the outdoors including portable chairs, portable stoves and even "kitchens," and inflatable mattresses and beds, make outdoor adventure more palatable from a secure and comfortable base at the camp site. Similarly, RV parks for these mobile vacationers replicate the comforts of home with variable levels of amenities including electricity hook-ups, wireless internet connections, and bathrooms and showers.

While the tourist staying at a hotel goes *out* to experience the exotic, for the vacationer staying at a resort, which is often the destination in itself, select elements of the exotic are brought *in*. Key images of the locale outside the grounds are represented within what feels like a more familiar environment of the resort grounds (Edensor 2000, 52; Rojek 1993, 62). Among these design components intended to invoke this experience of the outside world are simulacra of aspects of local social and natural life (Baudrillard 1985; Adler and Adler 2004, 14). The fixtures that are characteristic of many Hawaiian resorts, for example, that are composed of volcanic rock, pools, and fountains are designed to encourage guests to feel they are having an authentic Hawaiian experience, without necessarily having to leave the resort grounds.

In this way the abstract concept of the exotic is put into object form. In addition to the simulacra that fill public spaces, souvenirs, furnishings, and decorations also encapsulate Polynesian exoticness in the form of the "Hawaiiana" that surrounds visitors. Tiki statues, grass skirts, ukuleles, leis, koa wood objects, and muumuus make the exotic accessible and available to bring home. In addition to simulacra, part of the decoration of many of the larger resorts in Waikiki are also museum displays of objects of Hawaiian heritage and culture which historicize the exotic, and give these objects a sense of authenticity often missing from the decorations and

souvenirs. Some such objects are on loan from Hawaii's esteemed Bishop Museum as in the Hilton Hawaiian Village, and others are composed of private corporate collections. These offer a selection of "real" Hawaiiana in juxtaposition with the gifts and decorations.

While people prefer to have their experience of the exotic made accessible, an exotic location cannot be too familiar. In a balance between expectations and security, a location cannot be too familiar or too different. Marcia exemplifies this attitude in her description of Vietnam, "I found the people very friendly. I found it exotic, but not grating. You know, it's colorful, it varies from place to place, the architecture's interesting." For her Vietnam is different enough to feel exotic, but not so much so that it is uncomfortable or irritating. The tourists in China often expressed dismay over how "Westernized" the city of Xi'an was, as their expectation of an "authentic" Chinese city differed from the modern, urban location in which they found themselves. Jackie describes her reaction to her temporary environment. Although it was not what she expected, she was ultimately pleased with the comforts of urban development.

> I expected Xi'an to be a poorer town. I did read about it, but I suppose I only read about the ancient side of it. I didn't realize that there would be such modern parts, and all that beautiful new building all around. The Pagoda and the Tang Paradise [Theme Park], you know, it's a really wealthy looking area. Quite spectacular. I didn't expect that to be like that. [Jackie, personal interview]

Although Jackie was pleased, to many the brand new apartment blocks, highways and shopping malls of the city signified Western modernity and were a disappointing component of the landscape that did not fit with their idea of China.

At the same time these aspects of the city also offered a Western-style comfort and familiarity to their experience that they took advantage of. Frequent visits to Wal-Mart, Starbucks, KFC, and Pizza Hut gave them a base of familiarity from which to ground their experience. These places became prioritized destinations for the tourists once they knew about

them. Even for a group of people who at home may have avoided these businesses, while abroad they became more appealing. A chicken sandwich or chocolate sundae from KFC was a comforting reminder of home in an unfamiliar environment. Emily describes how her behavior changed once she got to China and started eating ice cream every day. "Coming here I eat so much more ice cream than I do at home. But the only reason we eat it is because it's more, it's familiar to us."

Part of the appeal in the familiarity of these Western brands is that they give people the opportunity to participate in an interaction in a way that they can understand and expect. Culture shock occurs when people move from one community to another and the ease of one's cultural competence is removed (Swidler 1986, 275). The scripts and tools they use in their everyday environment no longer fit their immediate social context. When eating at a familiar chain instead of a local restaurant, the vacationers in China knew what the offerings would be, knew what they would taste like, and knew how to order them. Even if they couldn't speak the language to order, the chains offered picture menus that displayed images of familiar foods that looked exactly as they would in a McDonalds in New York or Vancouver. The entire experience follows cultural scripts that they are familiar with and understand. In China this is emphasized because of the marked difference from their Western everyday life, but this is still the case whenever traveling somewhere new. Familiar environments allow people to participate in interactions in ways that correspond with their existing cultural skills. In this way seeking out Western culture is about more than just the pleasures of familiarity, it is about being able to use one's cultural skills in a way that is ontologically reassuring.

This is further illustrated by Roger who sums up the desire to have access to the familiar within a foreign environment. Coming from a relatively high socioeconomic status in the U.S., fast food was not enough for him as it was not similar enough to his everyday experience back

home. His cultural toolkit differed from others on the trip and he wasn't satisfied in the same

way.

> It's nice to be somewhere like Beijing or Shanghai where you can experience, not
> necessarily the comforts of home, but at least something reminiscent of the comforts of
> home. You know, where you can go to local restaurants that you know are going to be of
> good quality. Or, you know, if you get really tired and you want some American food you
> don't have to go to McDonald's because McDonald's is not American food. Which I've
> found everyone here thinks McDonald's and KFC, that's what American food is, it's not.
> [Roger, China, personal interview]

He doesn't just want what's familiar; he wants an experience that matches his experience and

corresponding took kit of a wealthy American. That he cannot is frustrating to him. The

availability of outlets like McDonalds or KFC was not enough to meet his demands for cultural

competence. Only more "cosmopolitan" cities like Beijing or Shanghai offered something to him

that was "reminiscent of the comforts of home."

Near and Far

Roger's frustration with his environment, in contrast with others' strategies of finding

ways to interact with the familiar, demonstrates how repertoires differ. Culture is not

monolithic and people respond in different ways to different environmental cues (Dimaggio

1997, 265). In this way concepts like the familiar and the exotic are relative. As people will

experience environments depending on their own experience and perspective, they will have

differing ideas for what types of environments qualify as exotic. A primary factor that makes up

this difference is the distance between the new location and that of everyday life. Introducing

some sense of distance from everyday life creates a new setting in which to situate the

temporary identity. Distance is used strategically to create a sense of break whether one travels

many miles or stays close to home. Being placed in an unfamiliar environment can create a

mental sense of separation regardless of physical distance. The extent of the change needed is relative.

"Near" and "far" are cognitive categories that are defined by an individual's own conception of familiarity and difference rather than any concrete geographic measurement. People experience distance "topologically" as well as metrically (Zerubavel 1991, 24-28). A topological understanding of space looks at the distance between things in terms of the similarities they share or the boundaries that separate them. Distance is more a matter of meaning, than of metric measurement. People perceive more distance between things that have a boundary of some kind separating them. A trip to the city feels like more of a long journey if one has never been there before. In this case the boundary is one of experience and familiarity. A visit to a nearby beach can feel less significant if one travels there often. Therefore some can define "far" as a nearby city while, for others it must be outside the borders of one's country.

Some feel they have to travel a very long distance and create a great change in their environment in order to feel as if they have taken a proper vacation. Without this travel and change of location the experience just cannot be considered a vacation. Luke explains this attitude by saying, "the reason to take a holiday is to not be where you are already." For him the whole purpose of going on vacation is to leave your everyday environment. He elaborates that taking time off and not going somewhere equates to doing "nothing," which is not an acceptable use of his time off. "If I have time off while I'm at home, it's not really a holiday, a vacation, it's just sitting around your house doing nothing. So you kind of have to get away from your normal environment. You kind of have to try new things like a different culture." For Luke,

travel to a new environment is necessary to separate a "vacation" from just downtime or time off.

For others who feel stress from their everyday obligations, travel is a strategy in creating not just a physical, but also a mental distance between their vacation and everyday identities. Creating this sense of distance from everyday life is imperative to becoming the more relaxed person they wish to be during their vacation time. Celeste has four children and seven grandchildren at home who live near her and make constant demands on her time. Just their proximity serves as a source of stress to her that she seeks to get away from at her vacation home in Hawaii. "We all live close and when you live close you're always hearing and seeing and things annoy you. When I come here I don't even think about it. I'm totally relaxed. I think that distance helps me to get into this relaxation mode that is more difficult to do when I am at home."

Jamie shares this sentiment, that it is the distance itself that helps create a mental space for relaxing that is not possible at home. Jamie attempted to stay home with her husband and young children for her vacation and was disappointed with the result when she found herself doing the same chores and housework she normally would during what was supposed to be time off. Without traveling somewhere new she was not able to get the sense of release from responsibility that she was looking for. She describes how traveling to someplace new gives her a feeling of release from her family-oriented responsibilities.

> Having a husband, and having children […] It's just a lot of work. […] I think well if I don't cook tonight what's he gonna eat? What are the girls gonna eat? You know what I mean? So to me the getting away takes you out of all that home stuff. But also I think getting away for me is like a mental thing. You know I want to feel that sense of space. Like, I don't have to go home right away or tomorrow and I can't even get there. This is what I really liked about our honeymoon is that we got on a plane and we flew. And I knew we were going to be there for a week and a half, and that was a long time. We were totally

> exhausted from all the wedding stuff. So, yeah, I just really liked that mentally that sense of being away from home and not never having the responsibilities of home again. 'Cause they're fine, you know, it's good. But like a temporary reprieve from the responsibilities of home. [Jamie, personal interview]

Being able to go away gave her a "temporary reprieve" in her day-to-day responsibilities, even though one of them, her new husband, came along with her.

Other people who vacation at home report feeling a similar sense of needing a change of space in order to get away from their responsibilities. They find ways to create that sense of change within their familiar environment. Erik is a graduate student in New Jersey on a limited budget that does not allow him to leave town for his vacations. Because of the demanding nature of his work, and lack of clear boundaries between home and the lab, he feels compelled to work even through his vacation time. In order to make himself stop working he must leave, even if he cannot travel far. He accomplishes this by taking the train from New Jersey into New York for an evening to visit with friends. Only a physical change in space is enough to take his mind away from his work.

> I know that I can never have a real break when I stay here because I'm always tempted to go to do something, to go to the lab and do something. So there at least that erases the temptation of taking work home, because my work is not only in lab, but I do math modeling at the same time. So I only need a scrap of paper and a pen. So if I stay here I notice that I'm always up to something, even though it's not always productive [laughs]. But if I got to New York City or if I go somewhere else at least I can take my mind away from it, so it does help. [Erik, personal interview]

The mobile nature of his work means that it is not confined to the lab. Since all he needs is paper and a pen, he could potentially be working at any time. This makes it difficult to draw clear boundaries around what is and is not work time without the spatial constraints of an office or lab acting as a limit. To address this he uses short-distance travel to create the missing spatial boundaries that separate work and play.

Another tactic of people who stay home on vacation is to temporarily move to a space that is defined for vacationers or tourists that is within their hometown or nearby. By moving into a vacation space they can take advantage of the identity-specific setting without going far from home. As these spaces are designed to facilitate transition into a vacation identity they can also help locals looking for a change. Patrice, a resident of Honolulu, will occasionally check herself into a hotel in Waikiki for the night. In this way she gets to share the experience that visitors to her city have without traveling far or spending too much money. Day trips to amusement parks, water parks, museums, and shows similarly accomplish this spatial change that can facilitate a temporary shift in identity.

Summary

Individuals situate their identities in space and place. While some identity-specific settings encourage and draw out an identity, others discourage such experience. Enclavic vacation spaces offer an environment in which people can easily draw from when constructing their temporary identity. Other identities are located in spaces that support multiple identities and not just a specific or targeted one. These are areas that are not specifically defined for leisure or vacations and identities of people within them will necessarily be more diffuse. That many such vacation spaces are intentionally designed and created with this intention illustrates how meanings of place change or are created in a way that further supports identity work. Individuals further draw from the cognitive concepts of near and far, and the exotic and familiar, to make sense of their environments and situate their temporary identities.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Influence of Others during Identity Breaks

The influence of others is a crucial part of constructing identity. Sociologists have long

recognized that identity is produced and reproduced by individuals interacting with others in

various contexts (Jenkins 2000, 14). Identity is both internal and external, including both how

people identify themselves, and how others identify them within different contexts. As social

actors individuals identify themselves, but also identify others, and are identified by them in

return (Jenkins 2000, 8). As people actively construct definitions of the situation with others,

plausible selves emerge. These selves cannot be independent of other people. In any situation

actors define each other.

Such connections between cognition, society, and self go back to George Herbert Mead

(1934 [1967]) who argued that mind and self are produced through a process of interaction with

others. Through symbolic communications individuals can take on the role of the other, and in

doing so anticipate their responses to behavior, and react accordingly. Erving Goffman (1959)

further developed this connection between society and the mind when he demonstrated how

action is motivated and directed by the meaning attached to symbols. By manipulating verbal

and nonverbal signals people can influence others' impressions (Howard and Renfrow 2003,

261). Identities are built from this interactive process.

Temporary identities are shaped by presenting and responding to others in *new*

contexts. This newness or unfamiliarity makes them sensitive to the actions and impressions of

others. When people are unsure of how to behave they "self monitor" by looking to the

expressive behavior of others for cues, and then use those cues to guide their own behavior

(Snyder 1974, 526-528). In this way, they ensure their self-presentation is appropriate for a

given situation. If they wish to temporarily "pass" their performance must be accepted by those

observing it as genuine. To a degree the successful identity depends on what other people allow

it to be (Renfrow 2004, 489). When trying to enact an identity that is different in some way from

those of everyday life, people must be attentive to the norms, expectations, and schemas that

already exist in the minds of others that define it. Other people are therefore critical to the

construction of temporary identities as they serve as an audience in the interactive, reflexive

process of shaping identity.

This audience can be divided between two basic groups: those who are strangers, and

those who the actor knows. Both influence identity in terms of soliciting or muting particular

behaviors. If leisure identities can be compared to a type of tryout of roles and behaviors (Kelly

1983, 99), then these two groups have different importance. The first is a "blank slate," made up

of people who don't know the actor and won't in the future. Actions within these interactions

will not have lasting significance unless they are chosen to be integrated into everyday

identities. The second audience is made up of people who do know the actor and has more

ongoing influence. The temporary identity will not necessarily be forgotten by those who

witness it, and may even serve as an important component of an ongoing everyday identity.

With family roles, for example, the vacation is not necessarily a break from the ongoing identity

but a part that makes up its ongoing success.

Thus people interact with different groups of people in different ways across contexts.

Audiences help to both solicit and inhibit behaviors in ways that they consider identity-

appropriate. The people observing others within a certain behavior setting will expect them to

act in ways that are consistent with context (Smith-Lovin, 1979, 41). This affects performance, as people are encouraged to act in ways that are considered appropriate for an environment and the identity that corresponds with it.

The presence of an audience that the individual does know complicates temporary identity performance by the connection they represent to everyday life. Connections to other people are one of the key areas in which issues of freedom, autonomy, and identity work are made more complex. Sharing experiences in a new environment with familiars equates to surrounding oneself with a constant reminder of one's everyday experience. Co-travelers ensure that a certain homogeneity of experience will persist on vacation. Persistence of shared norms, expectations, outlooks, interests, material possessions, and language mean that vacationers will remain connected to experiential reminders of home even while away.

At the same time, people represent ties to one's daily experience that cannot necessarily be cut off or left behind. Some social relations can be put on hold, other more "greedy" ones (Coser 1974) cannot. If parents leave their children behind they are expected, and will probably want to, check in. Conversely, some jobs are so demanding that people cannot, or will not completely disconnect during their time off. Communication technologies make it easy for people to interact with one group of people who are present with them on the trip, and another who is still at home. For this reason, audience can be further broken down by the distinction between who is present, and who is not present. New communication technologies have made it possible to have meaningful interactions without physical copresence. In turn, they have expanded the number and variety of generalized others that influence the construction of the self (Cerulo 1997a, 386). As individuals actively imagine, interact with, and respond to

groups who are both present and non-present, they influence both the presentation and expression of identities.

An additional important subset of audience in any location is the people who create the environment and its atmosphere. In vacation environments staff members become critical in a type of dual impression management between visitors and locals. The term "audience" implies that they are passive observers of a role, but in their position as intermediaries between vacationers and a new environment they serve an important role in enabling and supporting the vacationers' identity work. They both provide assistance and support for people interacting in an unfamiliar context, but also create the environments in which identities are situated.

Soliciting and Inhibiting Behaviors

The influence of other people on the temporary identity begins before one even starts the vacation as it as people build their expectations through stories from others. This shapes people's expectations about where they are going and what they can do there. They also shape the ways a person expects to perform an identity, or ideas of what is the "proper" way to do an identity. Schemas can be built on these shared ideas before someone even has personal experience with a particular place. The activities that people will do or not do, such as where they will stay, what they will eat, and where they will go come from suggestions from others, both directly from acquaintances and indirectly from shared sources like guidebooks or the internet. People then have an image of the particular identity that they will have once they arrive that is generated from shared ideas about what someone should do in a particular place. Emily was nervous about her trip to China because her uncle had told her stories about it being dangerous.   She was similarly concerned because her cousins had told her it was too "dirty."

Once people arrive at their destination and take on their identity, others continue to have a strong, direct influence on it. Co-traveling friends and family shape one's vacation behavior (Harvey and Lorenzen 2006; Guthrie and Anderson 2007, 149; Larsen 2008, 28). These people will expect both particular idiosyncrasies from the individual they know, and specific behaviors that fit the environment. A person will not be expected to shed their personality and act completely different, but will be expected to be identity and place-appropriate. The presence of known acquaintances on a trip limits the degree to which a person can participate in "identity play," or out of character behavior, without consequence as they can bring these stories and memories back home with them. At the same time, they can encourage or bring out behaviors one might not do if on their own.

The influence of other people on vacation is strongly felt in encouraging others to participate in behaviors fitting the identity; including getting them to do things they otherwise might not. Even though he does not leave town during his vacation time Erik noticed that when he got to spend more time with his friends during his time off he was also drinking much more than he normally would, because "when you're around people who drink you tend to go overboard a bit." Their indulgent style influenced his behavior. Bonnie similarly explains about traveling companions who are enthusiastic about new things, "if they're really gung ho about stuff then you'll be excited to go with them."

In China, visits to karaoke clubs were a popular evening pastime for people wanting to try out a local form of entertainment. Although many were at first reticent, almost everyone ended up going at some point during their trip. At these clubs, patrons would rent a private room with a group of friends where they could then select from a vast menu of English and Chinese-language songs while alcohol and snacks were served by waiters. While most swore

they would never do this at home, here they went with large groups of friends and would get quite engaged in the activity, sometimes making multiple trips back before their trip ended. Linda, a fastidious college professor who spent most of her time visiting museums, was normally rather reserved yet was persuaded, with some difficulty, on her last night in China to visit a karaoke club. Despite her usual reticence to participate in non-educationally-themed activities she surprised all her traveling companions with her spirited participation once the music started.

In this situation, Linda found she could be criticized by her traveling companions for not abandoning enough of her serious everyday identity, and was encouraged to do something lighthearted she would likely only have the opportunity for in China. Similarly, when people called home too often, as with one man in his early twenties who called his girlfriend multiple times a day, or spent too much time checking email, they were chided for not engaging enough in the new context and holding onto the old. Soliciting vacation-appropriate behavior is a way of encouraging others to let go of everyday constraints and immerse more in their new environment. Someone who hangs on too much to everyday life, and thus brings too much of everyday life into the vacation, is the "spoilsport" who risks damaging the vacation frame for others (Huizinga 1955, 42).

On the other hand, traveling companions may curtail vacation behavior if they do not approve for some reason. Casey, who was traveling with her husband, felt he curtailed her indulgent shopping behavior. "If it wasn't for Jack I would have bought a lot more. I keep telling him he's holding me back." Traveling companions represent a familiar audience from home who share both social ties, and sometimes responsibilities as in a family budget, with the vacationer and so hold certain expectations about how one should behave. Since friends and

family members know each other any inappropriate or out of character behavior can be reported back to people at home. This can restrict the degree to which people are willing or able to act out a more indulgent identity while away.

Similarly, highly salient role associations cannot be left behind if associated individuals come along on the trip. This is especially the case when traveling with family since important roles and responsibilities associated with them cannot be left behind. Parents traveling with children cannot shed their responsibilities as a parent, as they would when traveling alone or with other adult friends (Shaw et al. 2008). Connie was traveling through China with a friend from college. Both also brought their daughters along for the trip. She explains how her vacation-oriented behavior was tempered by the presence of the children.

> Jess and I would go out and would have a drink more often, I'm sure. Because we would be reverting back to our college years. Yeah, we'd be together more often. And her husband just said, 'Have you girls had any, yeah like we're girls, have you girls had any quality time?' Like, no [laugh]. We didn't have any time alone the whole time we were here. [Connie, personal interview]

Connie and her friend's vacation behaviors, and the amount of time they can spend together, are moderated due to their daughters' presence. Rather than "revert" to their college days as they otherwise might when in each other's company, they must adhere to certain expectations placed on them from their role as mother that they have carried with them into their trip.

For parents the vacation identity is very significant for ongoing relationships and the overall parental identity (Kelly 1983, 99). This significance makes the presence of children an important part in shaping it. Rather than leaving them behind, salient role identities can be worked out within these leisure contexts. For example, Connie explained the reason she chose to volunteer during her vacation time and to take her daughter with her was to model the kind

of behavior she wished to see her daughter carry on in the future, and to demonstrate an image of civic engagement she wished to reflect in her role as parent. In a similar vein, Sandra and Jamie, both of whom chose stay-home vacations, made sure to take their children somewhere and include lots of activities to fill the days, as they saw taking the kids on family trips as part of their image of the role as a "good" parent.

While the parents felt limitation on their behaviors with their children around, adult children on family trips can feel the same limitations while traveling with their parents compared with vacationing with friends. They end up spending their time in ways they would prefer not to. Sarah, a college student, compares the two experiences.

> I think it's different though because when you're with your friends you, like, party. That's for lack of a better word. You get to hang out, you can drink. It's like a little different than with your family. Because then I feel like if I go on vacation with my family it's like all touristy things. Like let's go to this attraction. It's like, less laid back then going on vacation with my friends. I think I like going on vacation with my friends better. Just because I like to do that kind of stuff better. I would rather not see so many touristy things. Like they're nice, but I don't want to spend all of my time doing that. [Sarah, personal interview]

While for parents vacationing with their children the limitation is one of having to see to the needs and demands of a dependent, for adult children spending leisure time with their families the limitations put on their behavior are more about meeting parental expectations and not being able to let loose in the same way they might when with friends.

In this sense important status hierarchies don't change while on vacation as long as the traveler is still among people he or she knows. A child traveling with family cannot change status and gain more autonomy over his or her actions, just as a parent cannot cede the status of mother or father and leave behind responsibilities that come along with it. Similarly, a person traveling to a conference, even if in a designated vacation space such as Las Vegas or Waikiki, cannot let loose too much in front of senior colleagues.

Traveling alone

In other instances, not having someone to vacation with can open up individuals to new or desired behaviors, removing them from the constraints traveling companions can present to one's activities. Jackson came to Hawaii by himself and was able to schedule his trip the way he wanted. He had come to Hawaii a year earlier with his parents and girlfriend, and decided to schedule a trip back on his own. On his second trip he then didn't have a partner or parents with him to moderate how he spent his time. Although he admitted it could be a little lonely he can spend his days sleeping and hiking and in the evenings go out without having to worry about upsetting someone else, or conforming his behavior to someone else's expectations.

Morris has a similar experience when he goes camping on his own, whether it's away in the woods or in his backyard with his family close by. Being alone eliminates the demands from his everyday life that he finds stressful and he can clear his mind.

> I'm a loaner by nature. I don't like assistance from, I rarely, if ever, ask for assistance from anyone. That's home much of a loaner I am. And, you know, I have an opportunity to think. Without distractions, you know, the mundane day to day activities, whether physical activities or mental activities. And my job is a good illustration of that. I mean I can't get a thought completed without going into another scenario. So um, when I'm setting up my little survival campground, I'm self-actualizing, but I'm doing it on the cheap. [Morris, personal interview]

Taking a trip alone, or excluding particular people is an effective method of keeping identities separated. Morris has a wife and daughter who he does not invite to camp with him and reminders of work are eliminated altogether. Jodie similarly describes her motivations for taking her trip to China alone.

> I like it because, I like the freedom of the fact that you can just sort of do and be whatever you want to be, if you've got the actor's skill to do that. But I think you can just sort of start

with a clean slate, you've got no one with you that you think, 'I better behave because that person knows me.' I think you do adjust if you've got someone with you that you know. And I wanted to have the opportunity to be able to talk to anyone here, because I didn't know anyone, and I like that. I like not knowing anyone because it gives you an enormous freedom, I think, to just talk to everyone and not feel responsible. [Jodie, personal interview]

When Jodie says she has the "freedom to do and be whatever you want" she picks up on how the vacation can be used as a concealment track (Goffman 1974, 218) to hide out of character behavior or for information control in the presentation of self to one's everyday audience, since she can behave in ways that people back home will never know about. In this way, traveling alone is a form of "information control" by which individuals can be someone different without their everyday familiars seeing their behavior (Goffman 1963, 41). People acquire "insulation from observability" (Merton 1957 [1942], 429-430), by traveling to these sites, which are in a way, backstage to the front stage of their everyday life. This is most concrete with people who travel to a new location to take on a different identity they feel they cannot express in their everyday life, but also occurs on a more mundane level if people just want to act out a bit while away without repercussions. With no one around who she knows Jodie feels she can act as she likes and it won't get back to acquaintances at home. Traveling alone also ensures that she has no one to worry about but herself and can easily make new acquaintances without having to worry about overlooking the needs of her existing friends. Upon returning home then, she can similarly choose the extent to which she wishes to include her acquaintances in her discarded vacation identity.

While Jodie sees independent travel as a way to express different aspects of her selfhood that she might not in front of people she knows, Jeff sees traveling alone as an opportunity to do what he wants, when he wants, without having to worry about the constraints or demands of others regulating his time. "It's the greatest. Because you really find

out who you are, you do what you want to, you don't have a plan, you know there's no conflict of what you want to do, you just do it, you know? There's no, you take pictures of what you want, everything's at your own pace." For Jeff traveling alone is about autonomy over the identity.

While independent travel can offer certain freedoms by releasing people from the observability of known social relations, it can also reduce freedom of action by removing the safety net of the company of fellow travelers. Especially for female travelers who may need to be weary of certain situations and the advances of some strangers, not having companions can also limit one's options (Kugel 2011). The women vacationers traveling by themselves to China found the group format to be a satisfactory solution. Linda spent the first portion of her trip to China traveling alone in Beijing, then joined the group in Xi'an. She explains how being alone initially limited what she did.

> There are things that I've never really enjoyed doing alone, like going out to dinner. I mean it's not that I can't do that, but it's not something I choose to do. So when I was in Beijing by myself I didn't really. I didn't go out to dinner. I mean I did other things for food, but I didn't go out to dinner. So I didn't push myself to go beyond what I just felt like at the moment although I think I could have. [Linda, personal interview]

After joining the group, even though she was travelling without people she knew from home, she had a base of security from which she had the encouragement to do things she wouldn't do on her own. But for the vacationers in the group this meant while they were not traveling with people they knew, they were not necessarily "alone" in that they were still traveling with a group of people who shared the same cultural dispositions of home.

The experience of Mona, a mother of four in her late 30s who came to China for a month on her own illustrates how vacationers can gain freedom from everyday ties and obligations by traveling alone, but can still face social sanctions from strangers or new

acquaintances who hold certain expectations for them due to those role requirements they have left behind. Mona chose traveling alone to China as a strategy for segmenting identities (Nippert-Eng 1995), temporarily cutting off ties with her family for the duration of her trip. Mona frequently went out to bars and clubs with other tourists she met on her trip. Being away from her family life gave her a new feeling of freedom that she usually did not experience at home where her attentions were more focused on her children. As part of this she was able to put her own interests first in a way that she was not used to. "My daily life is so different. I don't have a lot of time to focus on me. I'm in a periphery of what's going on in my household. So to sit here and think, 'Do I want to read *Vanity Fair* with my coffee?' I don't get to do that." When asked what she enjoys most about not being home Mona responds:

> That nobody really asks about my kids […] It's novel […] My identity is Mrs. Jameson, who's the mother of four beautiful, these perfect little, like cherubic kids, and I am this bigwig plastic surgeon's wife that gets hauled out on occasions to stuff. But it's not like, 'Hey, there's Mona!' This is probably one of the few and far opportunities where people haven't met my husband or my kids first. So that's neat. That's neat. That they might ask a question about me as opposed to them first. [Mona, personal interview]

In this new environment, separated from her husband and kids, who usually define much of her everyday identity, Mona enjoyed the relative anonymity and potential freedom that came from traveling and spending time with a group of strangers and changed her behavior in accordance. Traveling alone also allowed her to be a focus of attention she felt she normally could not receive when overshadowed by her family. Beyond choosing which magazine to read with her coffee, she used the "free" time of her vacation to enact an identity that did not revolve around the care of her husband and kids.

Although she was not traveling with people she knew, however, she was traveling with people who still held a certain set of shared expectations for her behavior associated with her everyday roles. The social mores of everyday life thus traveled with her due to the presence of

her Western traveling companions that she met on her arrival. Because of this, Mona was subject to a lot of criticism about her behavior. She was a frequent subject of gossip among other members of her group because she left her children at home for a month and because of her frequent drinking and preoccupation with alcohol and going to bars and clubs. In this case she was the subject of negative external observation by others because she was abandoning too much of her everyday identity and embracing the vacation identity to a degree that her traveling companions did not think was appropriate for her role as a mother. In *their* view, even though she had traveled away from home the behavior associated with her role should not drastically change.

One benefit to traveling alone in the contemporary world is that it has become much easier to keep in touch with other people who are not physically copresent. New communication technologies have made it relatively easily to maintain ties with people, even if they are not present with someone on a vacation. People can find familiar company, share their trip with others, or find a source of support, even if they have chosen to take their vacation solo. These changes also complicate the ways an individual chooses to take on a temporary identity, and the degree to which one remains separated from or connected to home while away. A result is that they have created an additional, nonpresent audience that contributes to the construction of the identity.

The Audience at Home

Advances in communication technology, from the earliest written languages, to mass-produced books and television, to the internet and cell phones, have enhanced the ability of people to connect with others, even across distances in space and time. This has had the effect

of increasing the number of connections that one can have with others and the nature of those

connections (Chayko 2002, 13-14). People who may be otherwise geographically distant can

maintain connections, share an experience in common, and maintain ties that might have

otherwise diminished without copresence. Sociologists have tended to give privilege to

interactions that involve co-presence, claiming that these "direct" interactions have a higher

quality or are more intimate, while mediated interactions are considered less genuine, more

impersonal, or merely temporary. They are viewed as "less than real" (Cerulo 1997, 49-50).

At first glance, the nature of the internet may suggest that people will be inclined to

present versions of themselves on-line that lack authenticity or connection to real life,

mimicking post-modern understandings of the self as being more concerned with images and

illusions decoupled from any core self (Gecas and Burke 1995, 57). Without physical presence,

representations may appear to be more style than substance. It is easy to hide, conceal, and

misrepresent oneself and identity statements can be continually changed or altered. Research

has shown however, that such virtual presentations may not be as inauthentic and decentered

as it may at first seem (Argyle and Shields 1996; Walker 2000; Chayko 2002; 2008). Just because

one can emphasize style without locating oneself in a community does not mean that one will.

Also, many use the internet to supplement other forms of communication rather than replace

them altogether (Walker 2000, 100). People take their virtual presentation of self seriously and

value it as a way to connect with others.

One of the ways that communication technologies strengthen ties is that they reduce

topographical distances between the actors and audiences. Relationships no longer need to be

limited to spatial boundaries as they once had been (Wellman, Boase and Chen 2002, 154). Such

easy access to others shrinks the feeling of distance between people. Enabling ease of

communication is a way of moderating the feeling of distance. Sarah explains why she appreciates the internet so much while she is far away from home in China, "I think that one thing that is essential, that reminds me of home is the internet. It makes me feel like I'm not completely detached from the States or my friends or my family. Because I can contact them on email or Facebook." This is similarly echoed by David as he sat in front of a computer and said to the room, "I love the internet! It's like my only connection to the outside world right now." Even though he felt distanced from his everyday world in China, the internet connected him with his home life.

Due to the proliferation of these technologies and the degree to which they have become an expected part of everyday life, presentation of self in mediated environments is an important part of identity construction, and much work is put into conveying particular presentations of self on-line (Papacharissi 2002; Schau and Gilly 2003; Ellison, Heino and Gibbs 2006; Robinson 2007). In many ways the audience to the vacation identity that is left behind at home is just as important as the physically co-present one, and has at least as much influence on identity performance. The potential for simultaneous interactions not hindered by space or time means that on vacation individuals are continually working out identity for an audience that is not physically present. The fact that they were so easy to reach made acquaintances back home an additional, distant audience that would be familiar with one's behavior. Instead of waiting until their return and retroactively reconstructing the experience, as may have been done in the past, this work went on as people were creating their temporary identity and moderated the way in which they carried it out. This is exemplified by Jeff's reluctance to wear the same outfit twice during his vacation because, "Every day is a Facebook picture." This comment indicates that he is very aware of his audience and the way he is presenting to them, and that he assumes people are paying close attention. So much so that he easily admits to the fact that he is

engaging in impression management. Vacationers are aware of friends and family back home who were always only a phone call or email away.

This non-present audience is not uniform. Different forms of communication technologies allow for different forms of connection, as well as an expectation for a different audience observing the identity. One knows who one is speaking with via telephone and that audience is usually limited to one person. Facebook limits interactions to a consciously selected group of "friends" who can range from family, colleagues to friends. And a blog post or homepage can be potentially open to anyone on the internet. In this way, certain digital environments make it difficult to know who is listening to one's communications and require the actor to actively negotiate presentation to unknown audiences (Boyd and Heer 2006, 1). With a phone call presentation can be honed for that one known individual, while in other formats identities are shaped for more diffuse audiences.

When the audience is comprised of multiple or potentially unknown others, people must imagine who it is that is observing their identity. Thus there is a difference between the "audience addressed" and the "audience invoked" (Marwick and Boyd 2010, 130). One is real and one is imagined. People may not know who exactly they are addressing, but when constructing an on-line representation of identity they have a mental picture of who they may be. This picture is constrained by who the individuals wish to reach and how they wish to present themselves. Just as in real life, they will adjust their presentation to meet the norms and expectations of this imagined group. This audience invoked may be different from the actual audience addressed however, as it includes all those they *wish* to have observing them, and excludes those that they don't consider, but who may be observing anyway.

As such, people present their identity to different audiences, who know the individual through different contexts, through the same medium. One way they manage the difficulties this presents is through role distancing. People want to show how while they are being tourists, they are separate from other tourists. "Tourists" as a group have developed a negative connotation. "Looking like a tourist" or "acting like a tourist" carries the implication of being rude, loud, or unsophisticated in various ways. Dating back to the Grand Tour "travelers" have sought to differentiate themselves from the "vulgar tourist" (Buzzard 1993), and people still do so today when presenting their vacation identity to others. For the tourist, part of the trouble in taking up the role is being associated with all the other tourists. Some role distancing is therefore necessary to differentiate oneself.

On blogs, a primarily narrative medium, this distancing is done through forms of "identity talk" (Snow and Anderson 1987, 1349) to draw distinctions between oneself and others. In her blog, one woman uses the term "haole" a Hawaiian term for white, mainland Americans, to refer to other tourists, while she herself is visiting from California.

> I was initially a tad concerned that I had gotten sucked into a haole tourist tour when I eyed the very mid-Western looking crowd and cringed at the overdone introduction.

And later,

> I was determined to hike on this trip, but I refused to join a bunch of tourists and their whining kids. (I do everything in my power to minimize my inner-haoleness!) [Hawaii 5, blog]

While this woman reluctantly admits that she is, in fact, a haole no matter how much she wishes to hide it, others use associational distancing (Snow and Anderson 1987, 1349) to group tourists without acknowledging their own membership. One tourist in Italy comments on her experience in Rome, "We liked the fountains, the Trevi, the Piazza Navona Bernini, but they are so overrun with tourists, pushy foreigners, hordes of them following various umbrellas, giant

flowers, radio antennas with colorful scarves" [Italy, blog]. Her comments on the "hordes" of

"pushy foreigners" in Rome overlook that she is one among them. These authors use this

distancing language to present themselves as apart from other tourists to their audience back

home.

In addition to narrative, the interactive formats of the internet allow people to use

images and video to shape presentation of self. A group of young women shooting a video of

themselves on their digital camera illustrates how people can shape their presentations of

identity for an expected audience who will see them on-line.

A group of five young women comes out to the beach and set up their towels on a spot in
the sand. Immediately one of the women pulls out her digital camera and points it at
herself. "Hi," she says excitedly, "this is Kiki and I'm sitting on Waikiki beach!" She then
points the camera at each of the other women and directs them to say hello and introduce
themselves. When they are all done she stops, watches the short video she just recorded,
looks annoyed, and tells them all to do it again, but this time be more cheerful. Her friends
get annoyed and ask why, and she tells them she is going to post the video to Facebook
when she gets back to the room. [Field notes, Hawaii]

The woman creating the video wants to present a positive, happy image of herself and

her friends, and she makes sure they get it right before she is willing to share it with the mixed

audience that will be viewing it on Facebook. That other people can be used as props or

associates in impression management (Goffman 1963, 104; Collette 2005, 328) is illustrated well

in the medium of photography or videos. In this example, the young woman uses her friends as

props in her virtual presentation to people back home. She shapes their behavior accordingly to

present a positive vacation identity.

Performing and presenting an identity for an audience that is not present is not new in

itself. When this woman makes a video she is not behaving all that differently from vacationers

in the past. People have been recording their vacation and travel experiences in some form and

sharing them with people who were not there for a long time. Tourist photography has long

been performed and, in part, specifically framed for a future audience to see (Larsen 2005).

Telephones have similarly tied people to connections from home, voluntarily or involuntarily for

decades (White and White 2004). And people have long stayed in touch through letters and

postcards.

What is new is the increased simultaneity of the event. Such technologies create an

intersubjective experience that draws the non-present audience into the vacation identity *while*

it is being performed rather than after it has been exited. Interactions become synchronized

through rapid communication that allows otherwise separate parties to create "a vivid present

in common" (Schutz 1951, 92). Alfred Schutz demonstrated how this is the case when people

listen to music. When someone reads and performs a piece of music in the present that has

been written by someone in the past, these two parties transcend differences in space and time

to have a shared experience, mediated by the written music, regardless of physical copresence.

A similar sense of "cognitive cohesion" can occur anytime stimuli synchronize the cognitive

experience of individuals or groups, even if they are not in each other's immediate company

(Cerulo 1995, 99-100). This can happen when two people who are separated in space view the

same piece of art, watch the same movie or television show, visit the same web sites, or

celebrate the same holiday (Chayko 2002, 67).

Evermore vivid communication technologies not only offer opportunities for such

shared experience, but the ability to create it together as if physically co-present. Writing and

responding to emails results in a kind of quasi-synchronization between two parties as the

minds of the reader and the writer are "brought together" when the message is read and, in

turn, responded to. When people use other functions during which they can respond to each

other in "real time," such as with chat functions or on the telephone, the experience of a shared

state becomes even more resonant as the temporal gap is eliminated and rhythms are

synchronized (Chayko 2002, 69).

This scenario by a hotel pool in Hawaii demonstrates how two men adapt to a third

friend who is not present but is sending text messages.

> Two men who look about mid-thirties come to sit by the hotel pool. It's a very hot day and
> one jumps in the water to cool off, the other sits in a deck chair and starts playing with his
> smart phone. The man in the pool yells to his friend, "Are you letting her know that I'm
> floating around in the pool like an orca right now?" His friend responds, "No, but I will," and
> raises the phone to take a picture of him. The man in the pool pauses to pose for the shot
> and his friend lets him know he's sending it to their mutual friend. [field notes, Hawaii]

In this situation one friend engages in informal conversation with someone back home through

text messages while the other poses for photos that are being simultaneously transmitted, thus

creating an intersubjective experience between them and their friend back home. The

subjective feeling of distance between the two parties shrinks as their experiences are

synchronized by the common interaction, facilitated by the device. Although the woman is not

physically present she can still be an audience to their behavior, and their performance is, in

part, directed toward her while she is "present" on the phone.

But this enhanced intersubjectivity leads to some loss of control over one's identity. Part

of the benefit of vacations for identity work is the disruption of social obligations that leads to

an enhanced feeling of freedom. People build cognitive boundaries around identities, selectively

integrating or segmenting those elements they wish to let in or not (Nippert-Eng 1995).

Communication technologies can interfere with that work and bring people and experiences

into the vacation whether they wish for them to or not. In the past being physically absent gave

one more control over an exchange, and the one way nature of letters and postcards ensured

that it would be limited (White and White 2007, 100). Today email and cell phones allow non-

present individuals equal and reciprocal opportunity to locate and communicate with acquaintances who are away. Since this communication is made so much easier there is an increased expectation of response. One loses the enhanced control over identity that was granted by spatial distance.

Pete expressed growing frustration as his girlfriend and parents back home both insisted on speaking with him every day of his vacation in China.

> If I don't call [my girlfriend] I can pretty much expect to get a phone call. But, it's like, I don't like to feel obligated. You know what I mean? Like, I want to call someone because I want to call them. I want someone to call me because they want to call me. Not because you feel like, 'oh, I have to talk to this person every day.' And since, because it's so new here there's a lot of things that I want to see and do. It would be nice if I could have that kind of flexibility. [Pete, personal interview]

Pete resented the connection that kept him on the phone with home every day of his trip and prevented him from going out as much as he would have liked. Since having a cell phone made it so easy to locate him and talk, he felt he had to reciprocate. While he could have not answered the phone, waited to return their calls, or not returned their calls at all, he still felt compelled enough to answer. While he felt his everyday life was on pause, the expectations placed on him by his relations were not necessarily put on hold, and this behavior would not have been considered acceptable. He also realized that following through with segmenting them off, when it would be so easy for him to keep in touch during his vacation would have negative consequences once he returned home, as they would be upset with him. The consequences of his boundary work for the vacation identity would eventually spill over into his everyday one whether he wished them to or not. His anticipation of future consequences influenced his boundary work in the present and encouraged him to answer the phone.

This introduces an element of informal social control into the experience as "greedy" (Coser 1974) connections from home can reach into the vacation experience. Family, work, and friendship obligations pull vacationers back into daily experience preventing people from moving too far from the role requirements of everyday life. But obligations to these connections are not all treated in the same way. People have different ways of managing connections depending on the nature of the social relation. They allow increased interactions with some while denying others.

Because communication technologies have made it so easy for people back home to expect interaction, vacationers must be more strict in creating rules and following through on who they will and will not interact with. These choices are based on two factors: who it is that is contacting them, and the nature of the information they want to share. While in Hawaii, Maria demonstrates a true segmentor's attitude about communicating with home. She draws strict boundaries about communicating even with friends and family. If they try to contact her she doesn't respond to their messages.

> Maria: When I'm on vacation, or when I'm off I always tell them, don't call me, I don't want to know anything until I get back, fine.
>
> KS: And people respect that?
>
> Maria: They do. You know I have a friend and she's texting me, but she knows that I'm not going to answer. It's just like "I'm on vacation, don't bug me." [...] I am not answering any emails. I'm not even checking emails or anything at all. No phones, no nothing. That's the way that I like vacations. No contact with home. Or work. [Maria, personal interview]

Maria creates a firm boundary between home and her vacation and she enforces it. Even if people do not respect her wishes she just ignores them. This is effective in part because her friend back home accepts it. She knows she's probably not going to get a response, even though she keeps sending texts. Selena makes a similar rule to keep work responsibilities out of

her identity while she vacations at home as she refuses to check email. "Because I'm not doing or thinking anything the computer doesn't go on. I don't check email. When I'm home, I'm home."

But not everyone has such an easy time getting others back home to respect their wishes even when they make it clear beforehand that don't want to be bothered. Much like Pete experienced, demands from greedy connections to everyday life can interfere with one's choices and prevent an individual from breaking away as much as he or she would like. Margaret, an older vacationer in Hawaii, similarly resented an intrusion on her vacation when a relative insisted on calling her with bad news about a family member who was in the hospital. She had told her family and friends not to bother her while she was away and resented the intrusion of what she felt were someone else's problems on her time off. "You know, why do they do that? I keep telling people, 'don't call me. Don't call me.' You know, like, Jesus Murphy, don't call me here and tell me about it. Wait until I get home." Margaret was attempting to firmly delineate her vacation from everyday life by asking people back home not to contact her, and especially not with bad news. That people did not respect her request illustrates how easy it is for everyday life to intrude in the vacation against one's wishes with the added ease of communication technologies in breaking down the mental boundaries people try to create between their different identities. Her family back home felt it was more important to include her on their bad news than follow her directions to be left alone and called frequently. Like Pete she felt compelled to answer but this time only because of the grave nature of the news.

Of course not everyone wishes to separate completely from home while on vacation, and many welcomed the opportunity to easily stay in touch with friends, family, and even coworkers. Those who felt most compelled to check in with family and did so willingly were

often older travelers and usually parents, who wanted to check in with children or other loved

ones back home. While bringing children along on a vacation affects the identity, leaving them

behind at home also acts as a pull that diverts people's attention back to their everyday

responsibilities. Connie explains,

> You know, it's six of one, it's easier to travel without them, but I worry about them constantly when they're not with us. Like, we did a bike trip in France five years ago, my husband and I, it was won-der-ful. Wonderful. But with all this, 'oh, when can we talk to the kids,' and there was always that nagging, are they ok? […] So it's hard. It's easier to travel without the kids, but I worry about them. [Connie, personal interview]

Older travelers were also more interested in and willing to check in with work. For the most part

this was a voluntary action for them because they wanted to be included on things that they felt

strongly invested in. Connie comments about emailing work several times while on her trip, "I

missed it at first, so I wanted to make sure everything was going smoothly […] I just want to

make sure that they're doing it my way." Similarly, Linda, whose coworkers incorrectly

completed an assignment she was responsible for while she was away decided to do it herself

during her vacation and email it back to them. She did not mind being contact by work,

"because they messed up. You know, I really want the opportunity to straighten it out. I don't

want it to stay messed up for the entire time that I'm away." For others, such connection with

work responsibility would be unthinkable during their vacation time. Communication

technologies have made it easier for those who "can't stop" working to continue to connect

while away.

Interactions with Staff Members

New technologies have made it possible to share intersubjective experiences with

people and groups who are not physically present. A second important type of intersubjectivity

exists among the people within a vacation destination. As these spaces are made up of various groups and not just visitors at leisure, different groups with very different standpoints will be sharing in the same interaction. Some are there for leisure, some are there for work, and some are local inhabitants going about their everyday business. These others are strangers to the vacationers and yet make up a critical part of the audience for the identity. The identity-enabling environments of theme parks, hotels, resorts, and malls are all made possible by the people who work within them and create the environment. In such situations one's ability to live out his or her temporary identity is assisted by others who make them feel a particular way. Staff members are complicit in the impression management of vacationers and enable it. At the same time they help create a feeling of intersubjectivity that makes leisure in someone else's work environment not only possible but enjoyable.

Social actors make conceptual distinctions that categorize people, practices, objects, time and space. These symbolic boundaries help them construct definitions of reality (Lamont and Molnar 2002, 168). Boundaries that separate vacationers and staff members are created and negotiated by employers, employees, and the vacationers themselves. They also define and delimit the frames people use to interpret their social experience. Goffman (1974, 10-11) defined a frame as a definition of a situation that is organized by certain principles that govern events within it, and the subjective involvements of those individuals inside it. A frame operates as a kind of mental filter that guides how people understand and perceive whatever situation they are in. With frames individuals can "locate, perceive, identify and label" events (21). This gives these events meaning, helps to organize them cognitively, and guides people's actions. For the people on vacation the vacation space is unusual, exotic or fun, for the staff members, it is a space defined by work, responsibility and control. These two different groups adhere to different sets of rules and norms that channel their behavior within the same environment. But

these two groups do not only have different frames for the same situation, one group creates the frame for the other. By producing the novelty, security, freedom, or tranquility that vacationers seek, staff members are fashioning the experience for them.

Distinctions that are made between people, groups, and things create the boundaries that separate people both physically and symbolically. Group membership based around these boundaries can create feelings of similarity and difference with others (Epstein 1992, 232). While vacationers are within a bounded space and time in which they might leave behind the restraints that structure their everyday lives, employees at these sites instead operate within a highly controlled environment where their actions are regulated in pursuit of offering this vacation ideal to others. There is an essential difference in experience when someone is paying to be somewhere compared with someone who is being paid. That employees are at work ensures that they must submit to external regulations on their behavior, countenance, and presentation which paying visitors do not have to do.

The nature of the destination and the people within it shape the frame of the event, and this in turn shapes meaning for people within it. The vacation experience cannot be successful without the work of others who have designed, organized, and staffed the environment. As discussed in Chapter Three, when people travel to a new environment they often lose their sense of cultural know-how and must rely on others to ensure their identity is successful. The culture shock that comes from losing this sense of competence (Swidler 1986, 275) makes people reliant on others. Personnel, like a concierge, a helpful waiter, or the staff at an information desk, confer the cultural competence that individuals lose from exiting their everyday environments. They create the comforting base through which people can fashion

temporary identities. By facilitating cultural competence they replace the repertoires that are lost or inaccessible when outside of one's everyday environment.

This reliance on others to provide cultural competence creates an asymmetrical relationship of dependency between vacationers and the staff. Vacationers become dependent on staff members during the duration of their stay and personnel are responsible for providing comfort, security and assurance. Being removed from home and put in a new environment creates a feeling of insecurity for many or just eliminates a general proficiency that comes from awareness of one's surroundings. Visitors to a new environment are dependent on those around them to ensure a smooth and pleasant experience. The respondents in this study worried about any number of details often taken for granted in everyday life, such as basic needs like where to find a bank, grocery store or pharmacy. They also worried whether they would be taken advantage of during a transaction, whether a restaurant would be any good, what something new would taste like, or if a tour or attraction would be worth the price. For some this uncertainty is a reason not to travel to new places, but to stick to familiar destinations. Others rely on paid staff, a concierge, a friendly waiter, or tourist information bureau to provide advice on what to do and how.

Because of the immersive qualities of the vacation experience there are few such situations where so much personal autonomy is willingly yielded for an extended amount of time. Beyond just advice and expertise vacationers rely on staff for many of their basic physical needs, such as access to food, cleaning their rooms, and transporting them around town. This gives staff a certain authority in their capacity as knowledgeable resident. They hold a significant amount of information and resources that visitors need in order for their trip to be successful.

But it is an authority that is grounded in the asymmetrical relationship of employee and customer.

This relationship is defined by the significant amount of social distance which is demonstrated is in the asymmetries in knowledge between employees and customers (Bearman 2005). Vacationers know little about the personal experience of staff, while employees are privy to a great deal of personal information and physical access to vacationers' bodies and belongings. The masseuse and her client at a spa, a tennis or surfing instructor giving physical instruction, or a travel agent given full details on guests' interests, objectives and itinerary are all given asymmetrical intimate access, both physically and with personal information. Bellhops and housekeeping services similarly are given close access to guests' belongings and living quarters, while a reciprocal situation would not occur.

It is also illustrated in the different experience of freedom and control that each group encountered within the same space. Because in these environments different realms of work and play overlap in space, strict rules have to be put in place to create symbolic boundaries that prevent the overlap of realms for either group. Employees are not to feel as if they are at play, and guests' exposure to the other world of work is to be limited.

The dress and comportment of the clients and the staff at the coffee shop in Waikiki illustrates the differences experienced in freedom and control. As the shop was located next to a pool and adjacent to the beach customers often came to the counter to buy drinks and food wearing little but revealing bathing suits. Employees often remarked on their discomfort or unease serving scantily clad customers. For vacationers, not covering up while ordering their coffee was an expression of the freedoms that come along with the vacation identity. They were able to ignore the rules of "no shirt, no shoes, no service." For employees, even the spatial

organization of the resort and the setting of a tropical beach were not enough to allay their discomfort at serving partially dressed customers in their work space. In contrast with customers' relatively free dress, employees had to adhere to a dress code. At the coffee shop black tee-shirts, pants that covered at least the knee, close-toed shoes, and an apron with a name tag had to be worn at all times while working. Hair had to be pulled back, and adornments such as tattoos or piercings had to be concealed or removed.

Boundaries were also maintained by restrictions on movement and the organization of space. Employees were limited as to where and when they could go to certain areas of the resort grounds, while other areas were off limits to guests. Instead of entering through the front, employees were required to enter through a separate employee entrance at the back of the building, near the loading dock and trash collection. Similar "backstage" (Goffman 1959) areas included a network of hallways and elevators that employees were to use to move about the hotel instead of public areas. In this way staff were only seen on the floor in places that corresponded to their work and spent little time in front stage areas that were outside their station (Adler and Adler 2004). In addition to limiting their exposure on the floor this ensured that all associations of work were done out of view of guests and away in areas where they would not go.

The decoration of front stage areas reflected the novelty of the location. The design of these areas was dedicated to enhancing leisure and one's sense of the exotic. The simulacra, designs and cultural specimens discussed in Chapter Two that decorated the front stage areas and helped to define place for visitors were stripped from all backstage areas which were defined by cinderblock walls, lack of windows, and neutral paint. Material nods to identity were instead those related to the employee roles, like motivational posters, slogans about team-work

and customer service painted on walls, and codes of conduct. Décor in these areas was directed more toward how to behave and which rules to follow as an employee.

In this way social distance between customers and staff were maintained by rules and spatial constraints put in place by the management of the hotel. But distance was also maintained by the vacationers and employees themselves. Primarily, this was accomplished by not talking about it. At a resort, many experiences with staff involve close interpersonal or physical experiences. Even in, or perhaps especially in, situations marked by such relations, like at the spa, the properties of the asymmetrical relationship were maintained by not acknowledging them.

A related way that social distance is maintained is ironically by people who attempt to eliminate it by trying to befriend or "learn from" locals. By trying to elide distances and ignore boundaries without acknowledging their existence they become reinforced. Visitors may wish to learn more about local residents or include them in their vacation experience, but this is often done in a way that reduces them to an element of the total "experience" of being somewhere and thus strengthens the boundaries between them. Instead of being treated as an individual the employee is reduced to being a representative of the local culture. This is illustrated by a woman at a Hawaiian resort. "One of my steadfast travel rules is to never, ever, ever miss the opportunity to chat with a local. So the minute my porter at the [resort] loaded my bags onto his cart, I followed him and started yak-king" [Hawaii 5, blog]. While this vacationer wants to interact with the porter she still relies on him to carry her bags for her, thereby ensuring an asymmetrical exchange.

Creating Frames

> The Disney culture is enchanting and unique, and we have found a kindred spirit in the living heritage and graceful rhythm of O'ahu. Planned upon 21 acres of oceanfront, Aulani, a Disney Resort & Spa, will welcome Guests in true local fashion, calling on your natural passion and Aloha spirit to help us cultivate an experience that is upbeat, colorful and rooted in tradition. Here, you will form close connections with Cast Members and watch neighbors become friends. While our Guests take home happiness, the legends of O'ahu will become as much a part of them as they are of you. [Disney Recruiting Ad, Craigslist, Feb. 3, 2012]

Staff members employed in tourist areas not only do not share the same frame as vacationers, they also work to create the frame for them. As discussed in the previous chapter, part of this work is done by changing temporalities to suit the vacation identity. Vacation institutions like resorts and hotels also seek to create for visitors the experience of being in a place, and the feeling that they belong in that place. Vacationers must feel at all times that they are welcome, that they are visiting someone else's world and being invited into it. As part of this staff members learn that they must act in a way that affirms the visitor's self-image as a welcomed guest in a particular location (Rothman 1998, 2). About her time in Hawaii, Cindy echoes the sentiments of many visitors, "I feel like I live here. Everyone's so friendly and welcoming." The importance of what is colloquially called this "aloha spirit" is emphasized in recruitment ads and training sessions where employees are reminded of the importance of making visitors feel welcome. This term, now fairly ubiquitously used to describe a Hawaiian feeling of friendliness and warmth was coined by the Honolulu *Advertiser* to describe the opening of the Royal Hawaiian Hotel, a mainstay of Waikiki, in 1927 (Chapin 1996, 148).

The Halekulani is a five star resort in Waikiki. An excerpt from their promotional material highlights the important role staff plays in creating the luxury escape experience of their customers.

A key part of the Halekulani experience is the service and keen attention to detail. There's the personal escort who accompanies you to your room where you are registered in privacy. There's the housekeeper who remembers your preferences such as an extra towel or a fruit bowl filled only with papaya. There's the room service staff who sets up your breakfast, complete with toaster, on the lanai. Then, there's the personal wake-up call topped with good wishes. That's just for starters. [Halekulani 2002, italics in original.]

It is the personal attention, individual service, attention to detail, and good wishes from staff that make the experience, and are offered as an incentive to attract customers. Such customers are now typically called "guests" and not customers, intentionally connoting warmth and personal experience and not commercial interests. Guests are not only warmly welcomed, they are individuals whose personal needs will be seen to. These personal attentions help create the feeling of comfort and familiarity that certain people seek when traveling far away from home. The luxury of the experience is increased by the amount of personal attention they receive from staff.

Individuals in a given situation are able to share a common experience despite the fact that they hold their own subjective understandings and "inner life," because they assume they hold a similar perspective and understanding of what is going on (Schutz 1962, 11-12). Unless given reason to think otherwise people will operate under the assumption that everyone in the same interaction is approaching it from the same stand point. This intersubjectivity helps form the sociomental bonds that allow people to share perspectives and experiences (Chayko 2002, 25-26).

Successfully framing a situation for someone else relies on ensuring this belief in intersubjectivity on the part of the other party. In the case of the vacation where two groups are approaching the situation from such different standpoints, one of leisure, and the other of work, they do not share the same perspective, but they must be made to think that they do. To achieve this then, key staff members present in a way that reflects the leisure-based

environment. Bar tenders, pool attendants, activity leaders, tour guides, and cruise directors, for example, present themselves to suggest an intersubjective experience of play and leisure. Pool attendants who serve drinks wearing bathing suits, bar tenders who wear Hawaiian shirts and sunglasses (and who accept offered drinks), and cruise directors who "stop working" to join in a game, all do so in order to suggest this intersubjectivity to guests, and reduce the perception of the work-play boundary between them.

At the same time, care and support are also a crucial part of constructing the frame and for other employees the intention is not to suggest leisure or a lax attitude, but responsibility. These staff members will present as professional or competent in a manner that is reassuring to the customer. People who hold responsibility or accountability for ones' experience will not be presented in such a lax way. While a cruise director may be having fun, the captain of the ship will never be seen out of uniform. Similarly, a concierge, travel agent, front desk attendant, or valet entrusted with a car, wear a suit or some other more formal attire that suggests work is taking place.

Staff members create frames in other vacation environments beyond the resort. When river rafting, for example, guides both "construct danger" as well as protect their passengers from it on the rapids (Jonas 1999). Guides make the experience feel exciting during times that it may not be, while preventing serious harm or too much alarm at other times. Exotic dancers, an off-resort pastime in Waikiki and other destinations like Las Vegas, must be "charming and sexy" and pleasant with customers, both on and offstage, while at the same time trying to hide their own negative perceptions of the interaction (Ronai and Ellis 1989, 272). At Sea World, nature is constructed as a "spectacle" that includes plants and animals, but excludes unpleasant things

like dirt, sickness, and death. Staff balance friendliness with efficiency in delivering an interactive yet safe experience with nature to large crowds (Davis 1997, 77-78).

The perception of intersubjectivity can be so successful that it leads to misunderstandings between staff members still within the frame of work, and vacationers in the frame of leisure who overlook the boundary. Staff members definitely felt the boundary separating them from vacationers, but because of successful attempts at creating intersubjectivity, vacationers did not always see it themselves. Staff then can be viewed as potential friends or vacation-time acquaintances without guests sensing the artificiality behind the interaction. While employees may be genuinely friendly, or not, the motivation for the behavior is grounded in the requirements of the job. At the resort in Hawaii, employees at the coffee shop, where comportment was relaxed and staff were encouraged to socialize with customers, were occasionally approached by hotel guests who wished to spend time with them, such as go snorkeling or get a drink, not realizing that for the employee the relationship was more transactional than social. Tess, the manager of the coffee shop who was very friendly with customers admitted she had been asked to do things many times by customers who wanted to socialize more during what would be her time off. She was not interested as for her this would be an extension of work. Her response that "I work all the time" rarely convinced persistent customers who did not believe that the life of a resort employee was not as leisurely as their vacation. These vacationers could not see that what for them was a place of relaxation and break, was for staff members very much a place of work and everyday responsibilities.

The question of intersubjectivity was further complicated when employees ran into familiar customers outside of the resort during their own time off. This eliminated the spatial context that defined the work identity. For staff outside of their work environment, they no

longer had an occupational obligation to be friendly or support a shared definition of the

situation, but for vacationers who only knew them in their role as a friendly vacation-identity-

facilitator this was not always understood.

Creating a sense of intersubjectivity can also be challenged or lead to conflicts when

employees must enforce rules with visitors who have come to see them as friends or fellow

relaxers. By creating familiarity customers may think they can sidestep rules or regulations.

> A woman sits at the bar with two male companions, near a sign that clearly states "No
> alcohol outside the bar area." She has been joking with the bartender who laughs at her
> jokes, although his smile seems a little too large, and his laugh a little too loud to be
> completely genuine. Her friends decide to leave and she grabs her full drink she has just
> ordered to take with her, passing by the sign and ignoring it. The bartender stops her as she
> leaves and tells her she can't take it with her. She looks surprised and refuses, smiling at
> him conspiratorially. He takes the drink from her and tells her he will hold it for her at the
> bar for when she comes back. [Field notes, Hawaii]

This difficulty is exemplified by bar tenders who must at the same time be friendly and

relate to customers, but also be ready to enforce rules with guests who come to think of them

as friends, or who just have had too much alcohol. In this case the guest mistook the bartenders'

friendly conversation and attention as a sign that he shared her standpoint of the rules being

flexible on vacation. This changes when he abruptly switches to enforcing the rules of the bar.

The strongly dramaturgical aspect of vacation space is essential in creating the frame for

visitors, and in creating intersubjectivity. Employees as performers must embrace their role with

sincerity in order for it to be truly effective. Both parties, the visitors and the staff, must project

a sense of immersion and commitment to the role in order for it to be successful (Pearce 2005,

143). A half-hearted performance by an employee, or one marked by too much evident role

distancing will not be effective in creating the frame. The believability of the group doing the

framing is essential.

Disney World is one such place where the performance of staff is crucial in creating an image of friendliness and in creating fantasy. This is emphasized at Disney where in addition to staffing concession stands, amusement rides, and hotels, staff members are literally performing as Disney characters throughout the theme park. The line between literal and metaphorical performance is indistinct at Disney. Staff are called Cast Members and the "stage" becomes the entire park as these employees take on a role and then interact with guests throughout the grounds. This means they must be in character at all times. Disney is famous for creating a series of underground tunnels and backstage areas precisely to prevent employees from being caught by visitors acting out of character or in the wrong place while on the grounds of the theme park. This applies to restaurant workers and ticket collectors as well as the people acting as characters. This couple who has made it a goal to visit every Disney theme park around the world recognizes and values the important role that the employees there take in creating the experience for them.

> Jane and I have always believed that the one thing that makes Disney World and Disney Land CA so perfect is actually the 60,000+ cast members. They turn something amazing into something magical as many of you know already. These cast members go well above and beyond their job to make your day as magical as possible. They treat every guest as if it were their first and last time in the park and do everything in their power to leave you with amazing memories. They can't have a bad day, because that may reflect on the guest that saved all his/her life to visit the parks just one time. In fact, they can't even have a bad hour because that could affect hundreds or thousands of guests negatively. [Europe 4, Blog]

The particularly staged character of Disney parks makes it obvious to the writer that the people who work there are the ones who create much of the "magical" experience for the guests. They are equally important, if not more so, to the effort that has gone into the physical staging of the environment. If they falter in their performance, for even an hour, this can ruin the experience for visitors who expect the "cast" to be constantly on. The importance of this is recognized when the author contrasts his experience with staff at American Disney parks with

his experience at Disneyland Paris. While they still do their job, they do not manage to convey

the extra effort that is needed to create the Disney magic for this visitor. In part, this is because

they are uneven in their level of commitment to their performance. In describing his

disappointment, he makes a distinction between someone who is just an "employee"

adequately doing his or her job, and a true "cast member" committed to the performance.

> We can describe the cast members at Disneyland Paris as simply polite. Certainly they are friendly and smile to almost every guest but that is pretty much it. They do their job and nothing much more. They even horse around and break character in front of guests. We would describe them as more of a "Would you like fries with that?" employee rather than a "Let me make your day the most magical day possible" cast member. There is nothing wrong with this but it severely reduces the magic that you would expect from a Disney park. [Europe 4, blog]

This author also recognizes the important role of staff in creating an experience, that

although for them is repetitive and routine, must feel special and one-of-a-kind to the people

who are visiting, because for them it is a peak experience. A lackluster performance would be

acceptable for someone working somewhere mundane like a fast food restaurant, where

intersubjectivity does not matter, but in the exceptional world of Disney extra effort is required

to make it work. A similar sentiment was echoed by staff members in China who had to do the

same set of activities on a repeated two-week cycle as new groups of vacationers came. A visit

to a spice market, the history museum, the countryside, a traditional Chinese medicine hospital,

dumpling making, and Chinese painting and music lessons were repeated over and over again

for each new group of visitors. Every time staff had to approach the event with the same level of

enthusiasm as their guests. They explained that while for them it was routine and even

mundane, as these were aspects of everyday life that were being picked out as instructive

entertainment, for the tourists these experiences were quite exceptional, so it was their

obligation to approach it with the same enthusiasm and interest as if it were also their first time in order to maintain the quality of the experience for their guests.

The enthusiasm, or lack thereof, of the person leading the experience, has a large influence on how it is experienced by everyone within it. Again the intersubjectivity of the situation is moderated by the staff as they have a lead role in creating the situation. An enthusiastic leader controls the tone of the event. In Waikiki, a popular activity is a trolley ride that takes passengers to various tourist spots around Honolulu. Among the drivers of these trolleys, who themselves must travel in the same circular route repeatedly over the course of their shift, some can be very animated, blasting pop songs from the trolley's speakers, cajoling passengers to sing and dance, and joking with customers.

> As we pass the zoo we can see the giraffes. From up on the trolley you can see their necks poking up above the hedge. The driver gets even more animated than he has been, pointing out the giraffes to the passengers in both English and Japanese. The Japanese people on the trolley all get very excited and lean over and yell and point. Some quickly grab their cameras to take a picture. A few Americans in addition to me are sitting near the driver at the front of the trolley and he tells us that the Japanese always get over-excited about things. He goads them on a bit with his enthusiasm. He also tells us that he does not act anything like this when he is not working. "You have to act the part, you know?" [Field notes, Hawaii]

This trolley driver is aware of the part he plays in creating the frame for his customers and seems to enjoy doing it. He recognizes that it is a role that he plays that helps create the experience. He, and other trolley drivers, however must cope with what is a very repetitive daily schedule, and therefore come up with ways to make the experience more interesting for themselves. As they lead the interaction, making it fun for themselves also makes it more fun for the others. As the couple in Disneyland Paris discovered, if the staff members shaping the interaction are not fully committed or do not embrace their roles, the experience for visitors is affected.

These actions can thus be understood as serving a dual purpose within the interaction. For customers they introduce fun and novelty to the experience, while for drivers they help reduce the monotony of a mundane and repetitive experience. Similar tactics used by trolley drivers included speeding up and taking turns at top speed, reciting memorized speeches about locations as fast as possible, and joking with customers in languages they couldn't understand, especially with the Japanese passengers who could often not speak English. If done right, these activities could enhance the playful aspect of the experience for passengers, while also making the work more interesting for drivers.

Summary

Other people play an important role throughout the vacation experience. They shape expectations, inhibit or encourage behaviors, and serve as an audience for identity. This audience can be both present and non-present. Both assert a strong influence on the temporary identity. Developments in communication technologies have made it possible to cultivate simultaneous presentation of self to an audience left back at home. The audience can also be divided between those who know the individual and those who do not. Among those who do know him or her, they can serve as a link to everyday life that carries with it expectations or responsibilities, while those who do not know the individual can serve as a blank slate for new or different identity work. Critical among those who do not know the individual are the employees who staff and run vacation spaces. These individuals create the experience for those others who are visiting.

CHAPTER FIVE

Constructing Cognitive Boundaries

My dearest friend in San Antonio has a house in Miami and we go for a weekend to Miami. And it's just fun. Because we can hang out and, like, I still like rap music. I can go listen to rap music. I can't do that with my kids. So that's fun. But it's a very different trip. Because I'm traveling as myself versus as a mother. You know?...I don't have to watch out for somebody. They have to watch out for me. [Mona, personal interview]

While the previous chapter discussed symbolic boundaries that are created between groups and within space, individuals also navigate personal cognitive boundaries when negotiating coexisting identities. In this sense individuals construct and manage mental divisions between different facets of self. These cognitive boundaries are then reinforced in practice through interaction with objects, enacting behaviors, and repeating routines. Vacations are an excellent basis for a discussion of cognitive boundary work because they are created specifically by drawing distinctions between everyday life and time off. People must then choose how they wish to connect or disconnect from day-to-day experience to fashion their experience. When seeking to get away from it all individuals must negotiate their connections to home and their presentation of self in order to create and sustain a personally meaningful and externally validated temporary identity. This process is inherently social because people use shared symbols, rituals and systems of meaning to create these boundaries, but at the same time it is individual as people selectively pick and choose, embrace and drop connections to create their own identities.

One of the primary ways they do this is through identity integration or segmentation (Nippert-Eng 1995). Individuals use these processes to manage differently manage cognitive boundaries. Some people make strong efforts to mark off their vacations and separate them

from their everyday lives, others more willingly integrate the two. At the same time, people integrate and segment differently in different vacation circumstances. One would not necessarily, or possibly, always combine identities or always keep them completely separated. As structure and content vary so too do aims and desires of segmentation and integration.

Activities and objects help actors create boundaries around the vacation identity and in doing so they highlight the relationship between practice and cognitive identity formation. These behaviors serve a dual function in experientially reinforcing identity for the individual and externally corroborating it with others. Packing one's bags for a trip, buying and wearing particular outfits, or indulging in an extra drink or dessert all allow the vacationer to create a distinguishable identity that is defined by its difference from the everyday one. Carrying out these actions that one would not normally do creates a contrast marking this time as exceptional to routine, everyday existence. These behaviors then serve as "sociomental" (Zerubavel 1993, 398) signposts experientially underpinning the new identity. That people employ similar mechanisms regardless of the type of vacation they undertake underscores that these cognitive patterns of identity formation persist across substantively different situations (Zerubavel 2007, 133). Participating in established patterns before, during and after the occasion underscores the experiential foundation of constructing an internally coherent and externally discernible identity. This chapter examines the routines, objects and behaviors people employ to instrumentally create an identity that is temporary and shaped out of personal choice. Analysis follows their preparation before leaving, to their activities while on the trip, to their return.

Entering the Vacation Identity

The work of constructing and transitioning into the vacation identity begins prior to departure. There is much work to be done before one can leave for a trip and vacationers engage in a variety of activities before leaving in order to prepare. These arrangements can be divided into two categories, those for the "here," or those things that relate to home, and those for the "there," or things that relate to being away on the trip. Arrangements that relate to life at home include things like scheduling time off work or getting someone to cover shifts, and making a checklist of things to pack. Arrangements for "there" include things like booking plane tickets and hotels, sorting through guidebooks and on-line pictures and guides, learning a little of the local language, and getting visas and vaccinations.

Along with complementary activities performed upon return, such as stopping and then restarting the mail and packing and unpacking one's bags, these actions serve an important experiential function in marking the beginning and end of the identity. By delineating the proper time during which it should be performed these preparatory actions establish "brackets in time" (Goffman 1974, 45) that mark off the proper temporal space for the identity. Similar to planning and preparation, social activities like going away parties and get-togethers with family and friends also mark the beginning of the trip for many and help to create this symbolic bracket.

Linda is a semi-retired college professor who chose to come to China on her own. She enjoys learning about and teaching on-line courses on Asian culture, and as such, she wanted to use the majority of her vacation time visiting museums and cultural spots. As she hoped to make the most of her two week trip, she put a lot of time into planning and preparing where she would go and what she would do. This included much research of her future surroundings and available activities. She lists some of her preparatory activities, including buying tour books and

maps of multiple Chinese cities, reading fiction books set in the cities where she would be, and doing extensive pre-trip reading on the internet. She also put a lot of care into selecting the proper items to bring, shopping for new things she needed, carefully selecting clothing and making a packing list. In an example of the thought she put into her preparation she says, "I had read, actually, in one of the tour books that this particular museum was very, very cold. So I tried to find something that would be comfortable […] That was both dressy and comfortable and didn't wrinkle and all that kind of stuff." Ultimately she had to "pack and unpack five times" before she felt she felt she had her suitcase just right.

These activities are more than just preparation. They serve as the rites of passage performed before entering a new identity (Turner 1969; Van Gennep 1960). As the physical transition into the vacation identity is very abrupt, these actions prepare the individual both materially and cognitively for the shift (Rubin, Shmilovitz and Weiss 1993). Since it is an identity formed in contrast with everyday life the transition into the vacation identity can be a very dramatic one. In some instances, stepping onto a plane and stepping off again can be all that separates a routinized everyday identity from a very different vacation one. Activities associated with anticipation help prepare individuals for this shift by allowing them to cognitively inhabit parts of the identity before the physical transition. People can become familiar with the parameters of the identity in advance. Through reading guidebooks and doing internet research Linda became quite familiar with her future environment and all the things she could do there before she left. Pre-trip shopping allowed her to buy necessary items, as well as acquire props uniquely associated with the future identity. And the suitcase, particularly symbolic of movement and transition, received particular care and attention, with much packing and repacking before she felt ready.

By investing a lot of time into the preparation, Linda was heavily integrating her

vacation identity with her everyday one before she even left home. She welcomed the overlap

of vacation-related activities into her everyday routines and allowed the two identities to

combine. Not everyone invests as much time and effort into the preparation as Linda, however.

Others who remain tied to the demands of their everyday identity find more difficulty in

allowing the two to overlap in this way. Linda is then contrasted with Jodie, a busy physician in

the UK, who took a segmentor's approach to her preparation, putting as little work into the

temporary identity as possible before she left. This is exemplified in that she put off most of her

preparations and packing to the last minute.

> I packed my bag the morning I left. Apart from that, apart from booking and paying in time, I did very little. Apart from panicking […] Because I was just absorbed with other stuff that was going on. The only thing that I did do was download some Chinese lessons on my IPod. And when I went walking or when I did some sort of walk around the house I tried to listen to some of the Chinese lessons in the hope that I would be able to say a few things by the time I got here. And I started quite well, but then I got, sort of watered down, and I only got to lesson three or something and I've never used any of the words. So, that's about the only thing I did […] But I got bored and I think, generally, I just sort of wanted to see what happened. [Jodie, personal interview]

This American woman on a rowing trip similarly exemplifies the segmentor's approach to

preparation.

> Sometimes before I go on trips I live in a busy world of chaos and don't remember that I'm supposed to be going somewhere because I'm lost in the everyday details until I step onto the plane and they announce the destination, "Good morning, this is your Captain speaking, welcome to Flight XYZ to...Amsterdam, Munich, Hawaii, Tokyo...' Wherever. [New Zealand, blog]

As they were caught up in the demands of their jobs and everyday obligations, both pay

little attention to preparing for their trip. Jodie waited until the last moment to complete the

necessary tasks. Although she made an attempt to integrate the identity a bit by downloading

some Chinese language lessons, this failed as she quickly lost interest. Although she did experience a brief panic before leaving when she realized she had not gotten much done, the future identity could not compete with the demands of her present one, and until departure she refrained from getting too involved in it. The second traveler similarly remains so immersed in the demands of her everyday life that she cannot focus on the vacation until she is literally on the plane and is surrounded by the embodied aspects of travel to remind her.

Part of this segmentation is due to the intensification of work vacationers often experience before leaving for their time off. In order to clear the temporal space for their break it is often necessary to increase one's workload both before and after the trip to get done all the things that one is responsible for. This makes the experiential shift between work and play even more distinct as work levels can become more intense before leaving and after returning.

The more different or special a vacation is to the individual the more it will be bounded and marked as separate from everyday life. If a playful identity expends significant resources, it will be subject to greater boundary maintenance (Abrahams 2005, 98). As much more is invested in the experience, more effort goes into policing its boundaries. Increased commitment to the new identity is more likely in these environments that are heavily bounded and made distinct from everyday life.

Selena, who usually stays home for her vacations, had the opportunity to go to Puerto Rico for a friend's wedding. Because it was an unusual event for her she planned and prepared meticulously for her six day trip, taking days to pack and months to plan. She says, "I wanted to see as much as possible since I don't really get the opportunity very often. And plus I was very excited, so I was always reading up on it and going, 'oh, I can go here! I can go there!'"

Conversely, people put much less effort into bounding a vacation that is done routinely than one that is special. A "once in a lifetime" trip somewhere far away or expensive will be more heavily marked and invested with more significance than a trip that is repeated often. When asked how he prepared for his trip to Hawaii Brad replied, "Just packed my stuff and left really. That's about it [...] I've been here a lot of times. I pretty much know what I want to do before I get here." A lot of anticipatory planning was not necessary for him as he was already familiar with the location and the experiences he would have there. Francine, another frequent vacationer in Hawaii says, "I come so often that I kind of have a routine, it's almost routine to me. I just throw everything into the suitcase." The same is true not just when leaving, but also when returning home. Less work is required to navigate the transition when it is frequently done. Ethan, a frequent traveler on a long vacation in Hawaii says, "It doesn't take me long. I adapt real fast. I just settle in, turn on the television. Turn on the television, you're home."

For people like Ethan and Brad who travel often, the ability to put limited time into their preparation and adaptation is a mark of skill and a way of indicating accumulated travel experience as status. Since international travel costs both money and time, frequent travelers like this are usually of higher socioeconomic status and so have more resources and opportunities to hone this skill, which is then reflected in their attitudes and actions. This is in comparison to people like Selena, for whom a trip to Puerto Rico was an unusual and exciting experience, and who reflects this in her meticulous planning. This difference was exemplified through embodied and experiential differences in preparation, anticipation, anxiety, and adaptation to changing environments. Connie illustrates this when talking about her daughter, who even though she is still a teenager, has traveled quite a bit, and easily adapted to China.

Traveling with my daughter has been amazing. She's very mature. She's very well-traveled. She's gone on trips with her school. She went to Ireland two years ago, she went to France

this year over spring break […] So she's very, she's very outgoing […] and she just jumped right into it. [Connie, personal interview]

Susan, also an experienced traveler explains how her years of traveling affected her preparations for the trip to China. She did very little, while others prepared extensively.

You know I have stuff that you can wash out and it dries easy and that kind of thing. I didn't need anything at all. Nothing. And usually I'm telling you, over the years, I've always had to go. I always need this and that and I'm running around. You know what I mean? It's been many years of it. [Marcia, personal interview]

Traveling more over the years has allowed her to develop her skills and the means by which to easily move in and out of the identity. Additional travel and vacations serve to reinforce her identity as experienced traveler. Doing very little prep work and easily "falling into" a new or different environment is learned and shows off this skill.

Performing the Vacation Identity

Once the vacationers arrive at their destination they begin the work of acting out the identity. Work on impression management in leisure settings often focuses on creating and projecting a long-term identity or a favorable impression of one's "everyday" identity within a new context (Jonas 1999; Vinitzky-Seroussi 1998). These individuals want their identity to be taken seriously. The vacation identity is different, however, in that it is short-lived and constructed only for the duration of the trip. The image being projected to others is not necessarily meant to be a representation of one's ongoing behavior. Instead, vacationers want their performance to be interpreted as special or different from that of their everyday life. Their performance is meant to convey that "this is play," (Bateson 1972, 179) and that everything that occurs during it should be interpreted as such. This involves a great deal of

impression management work that is achieved through the primary means of props and

behaviors.

Props

Vacationers actively use props in an instrumental way that helps generate personal

conceptions of identity (Andrews 2005; Baerenholdt et al. 2004; Crouch and Desforges 2003).

Lurie (1997) argues that objects are what comprise tourism and as they are invested with

symbolic meaning, cultures travel with objects. As such, we can learn much about the

vacationers themselves through their objects. This is true not just in the souvenirs and things

that they bring home with them from their trip, but also in the objects they take with them to

the vacation and surround themselves with.

Clothes are a primary example of the use of objects to convey an identity. Dressing in a

certain way that confirms one is on vacation is an outwardly-oriented strategy in defining

identity and soliciting the support of others in maintaining it (Stone 1962, 91-93). Dress and

appearance help establish identity for the individual. In part this is achieved through expected

responses of others to the way that person is presenting him or herself. A particular style of

address announces an identity to others and it is expected that people will respond in a manner

supportive of that identity. But this process is also internal as a particular mode of appearance

reaffirms for the individual the identity he or she is currently prioritizing. When "dressing in"

people outfit themselves in such a way that corresponds with and supports their desired

identity. Maria describes how she has changed from her more formal dress at home where she

works as an executive, to a more casual style that matches her new environment in Hawaii. "I

put on what I want, when I want. I rarely wear a bra [laughs]. Hang loose, right? And just, I wear little short dresses a lot of the time, just kinda very casual. Just be more free and easy going."

Maria notes that she can wear what she wants, *when* she wants. This reflects the temporal flexibility to the presentation of self that comes from the temporary identity. At home she still has the option of wearing more casual clothes, but this style is relegated to times of the day when she is not fulfilling work-related role requirements. Her appearance and presentation are structured by her routines and obligations. On vacation, this temporal restriction is eliminated. Dressing in a way that matches the environment is a way of transitioning into a new identity at the same time as setting it apart from everyday presentation.

But not all vacation styles are the same, they also differ depending on location and purpose of the trip. Appearance is a way of demonstrating membership in a particular group (Collett 2005, 328) and by dressing in a specific way people can demonstrate their allegiance to a particular *type* of vacation identity. In Hawaii, clothing and accessories followed an "island style" of bright floral prints, sandals and open-toed shoes, shorts and t-shirts. Women often wore fresh flowers or flower pins in their hair, and men wore brightly colored aloha shirts. Many arrived with luggage sets in an aloha-print pattern. In China, vacationers similarly wore trip-appropriate clothes, but instead of the bright colors and casual styles of the beach, clothing often conveyed some sense of "adventurousness." With heavy-duty walking shoes or sneakers, passport bags, old or sturdy clothes that can wash easily and not wrinkle visitors were conveying a message of "explorer."

For other types of vacations, people may bring separate clothes or other objects not because they fit in with a particular place-specific identity theme, but instead to meet local cultural expectations about presentation. These also help people segment identities as they

would only be worn within this new context, and might not even reflect what one would normally choose. Women traveling to Muslim countries, for example, may bring long-sleeve shirts, long pants, and scarves to help them "fit in" with a local culture that they otherwise would not plan on wearing.

In addition to clothes carrying certain objects and using certain realm-specific (Nippert-Eng 1995, 36) things further mark a vacationer. Instructions for getting by such as maps, guidebooks and language dictionaries are only needed when outside one's everyday environment. Travelers have an interactive relationship with these objects, using them both as props in their identity performance and as essential guides (Brown 2007, 372). Similarly, travel-size toiletry bottles, portable alarm clocks, passports, plug adapters and converters are all exclusively used during travel and reinforce for vacationers the identity into which they have moved.

Although they may make an effort to segment their everyday life from the vacation, the innumerate objects the vacationers surround themselves with are often mundane items brought into the vacation from everyday life, like electronics, clothes, CDs, books and toiletries (Larson 2008). These objects serve to unintentionally surround vacationers with reminders of home and bring an element of it into their trip. When asked if he brought anything with him to remind him of home, Blake, an American college student responded, "Not on purpose [laughs]. I have a laptop with several thousand pictures on it. But I didn't bring the laptop to have the pictures." Nevertheless, they traveled with him into the trip and provided a reminder of his home life that was close at hand. Even though they were brought without intention, Blake's and others' pictures from home were referred to and shared with new people met on the trip as a way of sharing elements of one's everyday life with people only acquainted with the present vacation

identity. Similarly, Mp3 players were loaded with favored music, and cell phones stored old text messages, phone numbers and photographs. Laptops carried music collections, video files, and work-related material saved from home.

While these items served to *unintentionally* integrate the home and vacation identities, some vacationers *deliberately* used objects to integrate the two. Jess, for example, an American mother of two in her mid-forties, brought a pound of Starbucks coffee with her to China because she was worried she would not be able to find the franchise there and felt she could not go without. Sarah, a nineteen-year-old American, brought her pillow, and Carleigh, a British college student, kept a small travel alarm clock with her that she kept set to London time. This allowed her to stay in sync with people and events from her everyday life, while she remained situated in a different time zone. Another popular activity among the younger tourists in China, buying and watching pirated versions of American television shows and movies, allowed them to interact with objects in a way that enabled them to replicate experiences of home. When watching these videos they could literally duplicate their home behavior while consuming images of familiar people and environments. Using computers and cell phones to access the internet, send emails, and check Facebook similarly linked people to everyday life through their use.

Other items from home travel into the vacation identity that have been bought in anticipation of a future identity and set aside for it. Different from the ubiquitous disattended items that travel in, these objects have been chosen for that purpose. Board games that usually sit on a shelf, leisure reading, and portable video game systems are some of the items bought for and brought into the identity.

Others intentionally used their objects to segment their vacation identity. Jeff, a college student who planned an elaborate multi-continental trip for his summer break, presents an extreme, yet illustrative example of this practice, as he bought himself a new version of everything he needed for his journey. He says, "Everything I have with me is new […] I mean from my white T-shirts and my, like, ExOfficio travel underwear, to my suitcase and my shorts and my shoes and my hat. It was all in preparation for the trip." By wearing a completely new wardrobe, Jeff willfully segmented his everyday and vacation identities in a conscious attempt to ensure that none of the mundane objects from his everyday life would travel with him into the trip. For Jeff, this new wardrobe set the stage for a temporary identity in which he felt more free to indulge in some of the leisure activities he denied himself in his everyday life.

Souvenirs

Things also carry a significant reminder of the vacation after one's return home. In addition to being personal reminders, souvenirs are a physical portrayal of self that display for others where a person has been and what he or she has done. The heavily commodified nature of tourism allows individuals to transform their trip into objects and images that encapsulate their experiences (Bruner 1989, 112). Culture becomes detached from place and travels with objects, out of their original location and into a new one. In this sense traveling objects undermine the "fixity of culture" in a specific place (Lurie 1997, 76-77; Franklin 2003, 111). Souvenirs contract the distance between a vacation and everyday life and bring the significance of that place back home with the traveler (Stewart 1984). They also bring back the significance of place in an accessible format, a format that can be held in one's hand or placed on one's

shelf. A hallmark of the souvenir is to reproduce things in miniature form (Stewart 1984, 137-138). A tiny Eiffel tower or Mount Rushmore reproduces the grand into something tangible that can be acquired and brought home.

People assign their own meanings to these objects, often in a way that differs from the original one. Objects are thus given "new" meanings that become part of a narrative of the identity (Morgan and Pritchard 2005, 44). Vacationers often take certain "everyday" items from their original location and invest them with personal meanings after they bring them back (Lurie 1997, 79). For example a shell, sea glass or volcanic rock taken from the beach and placed on a shelf at home. In their original environment these objects hold little value and make up a small part of the natural world. When singled out and placed in a new context they are given the symbolic value of embodying that place from which they were taken. All the meanings and associations of the beach are thus imparted on a single shell.

Other items have a particular everyday social use value in their original environment that is transformed by the traveler keeping them as a souvenir. A foreign coin, a bus ticket, or a subway card that are kept as tokens of a place thus they take on a symbolic value they did not previously hold. These mementos of the trip are then saved and incorporated into the ephemera of everyday life, integrating elements of the vacation identity into the ongoing one

Other items are made and purchased with the sole intent of being souvenirs. These objects have no other function than to tell stories (Lofgren 1999, 87). Such commercially produced souvenirs are made to embody aspects of the local culture and to retain that same inference after they have been purchased by the tourist and brought home. The symbolic meaning remains the same as they were manufactured solely for the purpose of being bought as souvenirs. The importance that these items can be seen in the ubiquity of souvenir shops in

any location that has been designed for tourists, and also in the many objects vacationers in China purchased and brought home with them, to name just some: chopsticks, teapots, t-shirts, silk clothing, cushion covers and table runners, fans, hair clips, pencil cases, stuffed animals, musical instruments, paint brushes, carved seals with Chinese characters, jade jewelry, Chairman Mao paraphernalia including small novelty copies of the Little Red Book and wristwatches with his waving arm, and anything with the Beijing Olympics logo.

At the same time, many of the souvenir versions of these products that tourists buy are not the same ones that actual residents will buy and use. Instead visitors buy a specially packaged version produced only for tourist consumption. While many Chinese residents do use chopsticks, teapots, and hairclips, the ones used in everyday life are not the same as the ones sold as souvenirs in the tourist markets. The vacationers themselves were uninterested in the "actual" products available in grocery and department stores.

Many of the souvenir objects, while replications of objects with a use function were not created for actual use themselves. Instead they came heavily adorned with signifiers of the "local," like Chinese designs, or Hawaiian floral patterns, that serve only to recreate that time and place for their purchaser once they are placed in their true context as souvenirs in the home. The manifest content of the object itself is not what's important, rather it is the ability to bring to mind a time and a place (Glassie 1982, 369-370).

These objects are important to vacationers because they highlight important events and activities and give tangible evidence that someone has gone somewhere and done something. They give physical form to experiences that make up salient events in one's personal biography (Silver 1996, 2). Returning home with a souvenir allows people to integrate the exceptional into their everyday life and reflect on it, or just present it to others as evidence

of experience. In addition to their myriad souvenirs the vacationers accomplished this in various other ways, including creating scrap books for themselves and photo presentations for people back home, storing their photographs on their computers and creating screensavers out of them, and setting up special shelves to display their objects within their home. Jackie turned a spare bedroom into a "Chinese room" for her guests to stay in when they visited, thus integrating the experience into her daily life while simultaneously displaying it for others.

Souvenirs can be understood as an opportunity for a brief mental slide back into the identity and an attempt to make a small bit of the temporary permanent. Through interactions with these objects after the identity has been exited vacationers can remind themselves of a positive identity they assumed in the past and one they could possibly take on again, as well as share it with those back home who were not there to experience it. As one man who came to Hawaii with a group of friends said, "After we all get home we can get together, eat macadamia nuts, drink Kona coffee, reminisce and enjoy it all over again" [Hawaii 2, blog]. These distinctly Hawaiian objects will serve as an evocative reminder of their trip when they get together again at home.

Objects help bring material reminders of people from everyday life into the vacation as well. This reminder is felt not just in the objects themselves but in the act of going out to buy something for another person. People often give gifts that they feel reflect the identity of the receiver (Schwartz 1967, 2). But people also "confirm their own identity by presenting it to others in objectified form." Buying a gift for someone shows they were thought of while away, and also involves sharing a piece of the former identity with someone who wasn't there.

Buying gifts for people back home involves actively thinking about them, what they like, their personalities and what they might need. This can be evocative work. The effort of buying

souvenirs for others is a task that intrudes on segmentation as vacationers cannot just "forget"

about people back home during the time they are gone. In fact, the giving of a gift proves to

them that they weren't forgotten. When asked what kind of things she does that remind her of

home, Betty, an American grandmother on vacation in China responds,

> Remind me of home? Shopping. Because I have to think. Chris is 31, what size T-shirt is he going to wear? And I have two grandchildren that live in California, and that's the biggest thing that I spent time on […] I kept thinking, how can I go back without getting something for Joe and Jenny, that's their names. And I must have made four or five trips to the Muslim Quarter [a local tourist shopping district], and I walked through and walked through and that really made me think about home. [Betty, personal interview]

People like Betty spent a lot of time thinking about what to get for others, making

multiple trips to find the appropriate thing, or always keeping an eye out for something a

particular person might want, keeping the individual constantly in mind. In this way, objects like

souvenirs or photographs become symbolic reminders that cue the "sociomental bonds"

between people. Relationships with others that are "temporarily dormant," as they are not

present, are brought back to the conscious mind through these evocative objects (Chayko 2002,

81-82). The act of seeking out gifts for people keeps them in mind.

Seeing a specific souvenir that someone would like similarly brings them to mind. Luke

illustrates how evocative shopping for others can be when talking about difficulties bargaining

with a local salesman over a novelty Mao pocket watch he wanted to buy for a friend. "I ended

up paying 50 [yuan] for it because they wanted 200 or 150 and I tried to get it down, tried

getting it down. But they could see me holding it, rolling it in my hand thinking, 'Oh Liam's really

going to like that.'" Luke is actively conjuring up his friend as he sees this trinket that reminds

him of him. This reminder is so distinct for him that he speculates that a savvy shopkeeper can

even pick up on it.

People buy two types of gifts to give to others: specific gifts for specific people that they have put thought into, and then generic gifts for larger groups of people which don't necessarily relate to the individual. Putting thought into a good gift shows the receiver that one has kept them in mind while away and wanted to find something to please them. Most seek these specific thoughtful gifts for only a small number of people. This effort involves sometimes deliberating over what they might like to receive that would simultaneously strike a personal note for the receiver and reflect the trip taken by the giver. In addition to the pocket watch, Luke spent several hours searching for the perfect Chinese wok to give his brother in cooking school back in the UK and Linda spent the first week of her trip searching for the right Asian-motifed cloth for a friend who enjoyed quilting.

While respondents usually spent time searching for special gifts for those most close to them, they also bought more general gifts to be distributed to others. While these others were remembered, it was not with the same degree of attention and thought as those who had been given a personal gift. Shopping for these gifts then was not as evocative of individuals necessarily but of a generalized other back home who needed to be seen to. Jackie, a woman who set up a Chinese room in her house, had a large family of children and grandchildren at home, and felt she must get gifts for the many family members who attended a going-away party thrown for her before she left. Because of the large number of people she was buying for, the gifts had a more generic character. She details just some of her purchases.

> Since I've been here I've bought presents for everybody. But I've been quite lucky because I've bought a lot of Beijing [Olympics] stuff. Like, there's been Beijing stuff in all the stores here. So I bought Beijing pencil cases for the kids and stuffed them with Beijing pens, pencils and loads of sweets and stuff like that. And I've bought some T-shirts. I've bought cushion covers. I've bought some table runners for presents […] and two silk dresses. And quite a few silk bags and purses. And I've been buying bracelets for people and putting

them inside a silk bag or bag with Chinese writing on it or something like that. And chopsticks. [Jackie, personal interview]

Rather than spending time deliberating on specific gifts like Luke and Linda did, Jackie buys in bulk to satisfy her many family members and friends. While they may not have received the same level of attention on her part, they are still remembered.

Behaviors

Individuals within the vacation sphere also adopt a number of realm-specific behaviors that contrast with those of their everyday lives. Many of these activities involve abandoning day-to-day responsibilities or "acting out" in some way different from daily life. Vacationers can feel more "free" to create boundaries of the self that are less restrictive or more open to particular activities than they otherwise might. Their actions reflect this sense of freedom. As a result vacationers can be more open to eating, drinking and drugs (Belhassen et al. 2007); sex (Kruhse-Mountburton 1995; Lofgren 1999); "partying" (Diken and Lausten 2004); and danger and risk (Kane and Tucker 2004; Elsrud 2001).

This feeling of freedom and the indulgence that often comes with it derives from the creation of difference from the structures and ties of everyday life. Everyday life is often budgeted in numerous ways in addition to money, including time, and diet. People must save and plan. Ignoring budgets, splurging on eating out, and spending more money on oneself creates a contrast and temporary experience of a lifestyle in which measured control over these things is not necessary. Being temporarily separated from the roles and responsibilities inverts the structuring principles of everyday life. Owen speculates on his plans for his evening in Waikiki, "I think tonight I'll get as drunk as I did last night. Drink as much as I can get into my

body, and then probably call 911." Jeff, made similar use of his time off as he frequently went out to bars and clubs where he drank a lot and stayed out late with other tourists he met on the trip. He explains what motivates his behavior, "I'm a nerd during the school year. A big nerd. I don't do anything but school work. And I, whenever I come here, I come to party a lot, to drink a lot, because I don't do it during the school year at all. So it's completely different." During his summer travel, as he is removed temporally and geographically from the obligations of school, Jeff can indulge in the behavior that he usually denies himself.

Forms of indulgence vary. Not everyone chooses to drink excessively or go out a lot with friends. Relaxing and "doing nothing" can also be an indulgent contrast when everyday life is filled with stressful responsibilities. This is illustrated by Sandra, a busy mother and psychologist, who describes her ideal vacation as just sitting still and doing nothing.

> With kids I'm just so overwhelmed and there's always constant demands. There's just constant demands. And I'm a psychologist so there's constant demands to be on. You know and helping people, and when I'm not helping people I'm dealing with my kids. You know, everybody's just always needing me and needing me [laughs], you know, I sound a little ridiculous, but, so the ability to just sit and do nothing is awesome [...] And I am a person who likes to be on the go [...] I don't like to sit. I always have my kids doing something or going somewhere. But for some reason on vacation, I am like complete opposite. I'm like, sit. Let's just sit and read a book. [Sandra, personal interview]

For Erik, over-indulgence on vacation is not just a privilege derived from changes in time and space, but a tactic that he uses to get his mind off work. Drinking a lot helps him create the necessary mental distance while he vacations at home. "The standard that I set for myself, it's a little bit overboard […] You want to take your mind away from work, it dulls your mind a little bit. You forget an experiment didn't work or your boss wants that report."

Thus people indulge in two ways. First are people like Jeff who change from their everyday life. They use their time off as a change to do things that they would not normally do.

The second type are people who indulge by doing the same things they would normally do, such as have a drink, read a book, or visit with friends and family, but they do it much more once the limitations on their time that usually prevent them from doing it are removed. For someone who likes to golf but can only do so on the weekend, a golfing vacation involves indulging in a favored but not unusual activity. Conversely, for someone who is highly regulated during everyday life, switching to an indulgent vacation identity is a big change.

Similar to indulgence in food, drinking, and drugs, vacationers may also be more sexually promiscuous during their break. Among island vacationers explicit discussion of sexual activity, lewd jokes and promiscuous behavior that would be considered inappropriate in everyday life is common (Lett 1983, 50). People again substantiate this change in attitude through flirtatious behavior or different forms of dress that suggest openness to sexual experience. This is further instantiated in the phenomenon of sex tourism, and its female equivalent termed "romance tourism," in which individuals can rely on the inversions of vacations and tourism to provide a realm in which sexual access is available in a way "that would be highly improbable at home" (Kruhse-Mountburton 1995, 197; Sanchez-Taylor 2001).

People are also more willing to engage in risky behaviors while on vacation. Activities such as skiing, rock climbing, white-water rafting, bungee jumping, and para-sailing are all activities that entail a significant amount of risk that is overlooked in pursuit of a fun vacation. Owen's earlier example of drinking to the point of needing medical attention is in itself a form of risk done with the goal of having fun. Joanne also describes a day mopeding around the island of Oahu, "*We wouldn't do that at home.* That was different, that was fun. Dangerous as hell, but fun [laughs]. No helmet, don't need a helmet." Risk is the primary way in which vacationers not only play at the forms that structure and limit their everyday experience, but also push at the

boundaries of what they may and may not do. Risk, as with each of these forms of excess or indulgence, is about challenging the structures of everyday life, and combining thrill, novelty and danger (Gini 2005, 56-57). It tests the limitations that one normally lives within. Risk is a way of taking chances in order to break out of the monotony of daily experience.

This inclination toward indulgence, risk, and openness to sex is concretized in the offerings of many vacation spots. In Las Vegas, a destination where people specifically go to experience excess, indulgence and risk are an institutionalized part of the experience. The all-you-can-eat buffet is a standard and expected offering of all the major resort hotels, and institutionalizes over-indulgence. It draws from and delivers on the inclination toward and expectation of excess. The overt sexualization of space including strip clubs and legalized prostitution further concretize the expected indulgences of the vacation, just as risk also is institutionalized in the legalization of gambling. It's excessive, but excess is the point of the experience that people seek out when traveling to this destination.

Indulging in such behavior is therefore also an effective method of role embracement. Embracement involves demonstrating a commitment to an identity in a way that reaffirms it both for the individual as well as for others observing him or her. In this sense it requires performing a role with passion, animation and commitment (Drew 1997, 451). According to Erving Goffman (1961b, 106), "to embrace a role is to be embraced by it." One loses oneself to the situation and to an image of total acceptance of that role. The bounded nature of the temporary identity makes submission to role embracement easier. Making an effort to dress and act in a specific manner or willingness to engage in risky behaviors demonstrates a commitment to a particular identity through embracement of the role at a level that does not need to be maintained over the long term. In Waikiki, couples and families wearing matching

outfits in aloha print, people driving brightly painted miniature novelty cars through the streets, or dressing in a plastic grass skirt and a coconut bra to do a hula dance on stage illustrate such public demonstrations of role embracement.

Exiting the Vacation Identity

Tourists experience a "reality lag" when they transition between home and away and back again. On the first day of their trip tourists are still partially in "everyday reality," while the day they return they are still somewhat in their "tourist reality" (Schmidt 1979, 462). I argue that this lag in the transition is asymmetrical. While people often abruptly transition into the vacation identity, the transition home is more of a gradual slide (Davis 1983, 46). As the brackets that open a particular frame are often more significant than those that close it (Goffman 1974, 255-256) the boundaries that vacationers build around their return to everyday life may be more permeable than those they established when leaving. The reason for this may be, however, not that is easier to close a frame, as Goffman argued, but the opposite. They may not want to close the frame, and thus allow themselves more leeway to extend certain aspects of their temporary identity into their everyday one.

When people undertake the routines and rituals of leaving for and then returning from vacation they do what Arnold Van Gennep (1960) called rites of separation and rites of incorporation. Rights of separation are primarily concerned with severance, and thus eliminating elements from before. Rites of incorporation, on the other hand, reintegrate an individual who has been transformed in some way, necessitating inclusion of elements from the liminal period. He also describes these rites of separation and incorporation as having a double structure of reciprocity. By performing certain routines upon leaving and then similar ones upon return, the

two ends of the vacation mirror each other. These reciprocal routines bring an end to the feeling of absence from everyday life and close off the space demarcated as "vacation" that they initially helped to create. Stopping and then restarting the mail, setting an "away" message on email and disabling it, hiring and then paying a house sitter, dropping off a pet at a kennel and then picking it up again, having a going away party and then a welcome home party, and being dropped off and then picked up at the airport are just some of the reciprocal rites vacationers engaged in that opened and then closed the vacation identity.

The acts of packing upon leaving and unpacking after return home illustrate well an action that opens and closes the identity and yet has an asymmetrical character. Just as vacationers had to pack their bags before they left, marking the beginning of their trip, they then had to unpack once they got back. This action that is singularly associated with travel therefore delineated the beginning and end of the identity. They also do a separate unpacking, and then repacking again within the vacation when they arrive at their destination and then leave again, in a kind of inverted internal bracketing, but this settling in is done with the knowledge that it is impermanent. After returning home some vacationers reported being somewhat reluctant to immediately unpack and thus bring the identity to a close. Casey comments, "I usually wait a day before I unpack. 'Cause you're on vacation, and you come home, and all of a sudden you have to unpack and get back to your life. So I like to extend that a little bit and wait a day before I unpack." Those more inclined to integrate their identities will be willing to leave this time between unpacking and settling into their everyday identity. Segmentors, on the other hand, may have different motivations for putting off unpacking. To Luke, it represented too much of an intrusion of the vacation into his rapid return to routine.

> Unpacking usually takes about a week. Or a week and then I decide to unpack. I just leave it. Just fall straight back into the routine of things […] For me it's just that as soon as you get

back you have a lot of clothes anyway that you didn't bring with you so you don't need the stuff that's there. And you can just continue your life. And I guess one way of looking at it could be saying like, as soon as you're back you just don't need to look at the time you spent away, which is what is still in your bag. So that just goes to one side, so when you're eventually forced to do it it's not like you're unpacking, it's just like you're doing laundry and it's not anything related to the trip still. It's just that you have a bunch of stuff in this box and you have to spring clean it. As soon as you get back it's not your vacation anymore and you don't do stuff vacation like. There's no like down briefing, like at the end of my vacations. It's just like ok, let's go back to work. [Luke, personal interview]

Luke prefers to abruptly transition back to everyday life and doesn't want the physical reminders of his vacation to interfere. The meaning of his things is not lost on him. He seems to find them very evocative of his vacation time when he says, "You just don't need to look at the time you spent away, which is what is still in your bag." However, this association is transient as much of the contents are also objects he associates with his everyday identity, unlike a souvenir which holds its meaning, as its only meaning is associated with the trip. With enough time they lose their significance from the vacation and become "stuff in this box."

The asymmetry of the transition back into the everyday identity is emphasized by the fact that both integrators and segmentors will experience it. While integrators will be more likely to extend the vacation identity in various ways, like putting photos from the vacation on a computer screensaver at the office or organizing get-togethers with friends made on the trip, both of which were undertaken by vacationers after their return, only the most extreme segmentors would block off their vacation identity by not bringing back souvenirs or pictures by which to remember the trip.

Part of what creates the asymmetry, besides a reluctance to leave a favored environment, is anticipation of having to catch up on what was missed in everyday life while away. Celeste comments on returning from Hawaii, "When I get back the first few days I'm busy, busy, busy. Getting things organized again and visiting friends." Everyday routines usually

cannot be returned directly back into as the disruption of leaving can interrupt everyday

schedules even after the return. While vacationers may experience a pause, the rest of the

world has not and will have continued to call on them while away. For this reason many

vacationers experience an increase in obligations after returning as they must catch up on work

and responsibilities that went untended while away, including responding to emails that have

built up, doing laundry, meeting with friends and relatives, and catching up on work duties.

People have the choice of doing these things during their vacation, but that comes at the cost of

sacrificing leisure time. Brenda comments on how disruptions to schedules continue into her

everyday life after completing family vacations. Returning to everyday routines is a challenge

that takes a few days for everyone in her family.

> It takes about two or three days to get settled back into a routine […] The kids have been staying up late so they don't want to get up in the morning because now it's school and they have the time change thing. For instance right now we're letting them stay up past their bed times because we're on vacation and they know it. So there's that and then my husband goes back in and I know it's tough for him because he's the boss and he's missed so much time at work and the emails have built up and he may be working later the first few days we get back because he's trying to catch up. You know, it's just normally you would have the routine of doing something on different days, but you kind of get suspended for a few days because you need to catch up on laundry and schedules and responding even to my emails and doing different things. [Brenda, personal interview]

In anticipation of these difficulties, many develop strategies to try to ease the transition

back before they even leave. Many of the preparations done before leaving are actually done

with the goal of making it easier to return to everyday life. Erik comments,

> It's in the back of your mind that you need to prepare for what's going to wait for you when you get back […] Before going on vacation you already prepare for that. The first thing that comes to my mind is what I'm going to do, how I'm going to adapt quickly again to come back to normal life when I'm back from vacation. [Erik, personal interview]

Donna accomplishes this by making sure she returns to a clean house.

I make sure our bed has fresh sheets on it. The day that we leave I make sure our sheets are changed. So that when we come back, after being in a hotel, or on a cruise for ten days, it's not such a culture shock when you go home and the kitchen's cleaned. I make sure the kitchen's cleaned up; everything's all tidy so you don't go home to a big mess. [Donna, personal interview]

Making the extra effort before she leaves makes the transition back easier for her. This way she doesn't experience as much of a "shock" when she has to return from the luxuries of her vacation to the quotidian obligations of her everyday environment. This is less similar to the culture shock of not having the skills for one's environment and more in the sense that Schutz (1971, 231) uses it, as a sharp transition between mental realms, since seeing the dirty kitchen would too abruptly snap her out of her vacation mindset and back into everyday life.

Another way people manage the transition back is by setting up social obligations with others that they then feel they must meet. Scheduling appointments or meetings mean they must get back into their everyday routine or else let others down. When asked if she does anything in particular to help her get back into her everyday routine, Francine responds that she makes appointments with people. "Then you gotta show up [laughs]. You gotta make appointments, you gotta answer the phone, start to have things scheduled already and it just kind of throws you back into the routine of it."

Similarly, Selena, a graduate student who works in a lab where she shares equipment with others makes agendas before she leaves and reserves shared lab equipment she will need in advance. "Just starting to reserve equipment, say OK, I'm doing this and I'm doing that. And once that goes down then you have to do it. Especially if you're reserving stuff. Then you screw up other peoples' schedules if you don't stick to it." There is then a social obligation to follow through that compels her transition back to everyday life, as otherwise she will be inconveniencing her coworkers.

Summary

A temporary identity is experienced in addition to one's set of everyday identities. Cognitive boundaries are therefore created in order to manage this identity among other overlapping identities. People do this differently, allowing select elements of everyday life in while keeping others out. Vacations are especially good for study of such cognitive boundary work as they are defined in their contrasting relationship to everyday life. Whether someone is taking on a separate identity, or engaging more with ongoing facets of self that go under-realized, the vacation is in some way different from day-to-day experience. To maintain this definition, then, people must manage the degree to which they allow everyday life to intercede into their temporary identity. When seeking to leave select aspects of home behind, individuals must carefully negotiate connections to home and their presentation of self in order to create and sustain a personally meaningful and externally validated temporary identity. This boundary work done by vacationers to separate and define their vacation creates a cognitive space within which vacationers may indulge, relax, or forget about the obligations of home life. To do so, people partake in a number of routines before leaving and when returning home that establish the brackets in time delineating where the identity begins and ends, and mediate their identity through objects and behaviors.

CHAPTER SIX

Conclusion

Vacations are ideal for the study of identities because their meaning comes from their contrasting relationship with everyday life. Whether that means being someone completely different, doing a desirable activity even more than usual, or spending that time to build social relationships, they are in some way defined as different from day-to-day experience. Regardless of activity, in order for vacations to retain their meaning of contrast or difference, this separation must be maintained in the mind of the person.

While on vacation, individuals are physically separated for a set period of time from many, but not all, of the factors that define their everyday identities. Ideally, they leave work, they leave home, and they leave select friends and family members, and encounter new locations, new social relationships, and new presentations of self. But at the same time connections to home can rarely be cut off entirely. On vacation individuals construct identities that in some way contrast with what they do in everyday life, while at the same time negotiating these connections to daily experience.

During breaks and pauses individuals may restore some of the spontaneity and agency that is robbed by a temporal regimen that limits freedom of action in everyday life. Vacations in particular highlight the contrast between the ordinary and the extraordinary that is constitutive of culture. They also illustrate that much of the structural breaks that define a vacation are temporal in nature, and thus the importance of temporality in peoples' experience of social structure. It is the change in, or introduction of new, routines, demands, and approaches to time that substantiates the break that defines a vacation, whether one is at home or far away.

The significance of a vacation for identity work then comes from this temporary relaxation of one's experience of structure, and not necessarily the activities that one does (or does not do). The people one interacts with on a daily basis, obligations of employment, even one's social class position may be temporarily altered. Since people have more flexibility in who they want to be and what they want to do for this short period of time, vacations are an interval during which individuals have more agency in determining their identity.

In this way vacations address the paradox of freedom and constraint in the creation of identity by offering a socially and temporally bounded space that is disengaged from certain constraining elements of social structure. Vacationers are seeking some form of freedom from the structure of everyday life, and at the same time respond to, and even look for, constraints they find supplied by physical environments, temporal organizations, and other people. The agency introduced is a matter of perception. Although an individual remains tied in many ways to the structured everyday life world, they can have the perception of change, of being able to do something else, if only for a short period of time. It is a period of time that both is and isn't liminal. On the one hand, there is the potential to leave everything behind, to break free, bend rules, and make inversions. New environments, new social contacts, and new temporal regimes either allow or require new roles. On the other hand there are many connections, limitations, and responsibilities that keep one grounded in the realm of everyday life. As resources are not finite, with or without everyday social structures, throughout the experience people engage in a cost-benefit analysis of what they can do versus what they will be giving up in order to shape the identity.

This tradeoff between freedom and constraint, and autonomy and security is one of the fundamental ways that people make choices about what they want and at what expense.

People are looking for autonomy and freedom in many ways, but throughout the vacation they are voluntarily giving it up, for security, comfort, and ease. If people want to be on their own, they must attend to time, closely watching the clock in order to be self-reliant and successful. Otherwise, they can have someone else attend to it for them and give up that freedom as they submit to shared schedules. Similarly, people wish to travel to new locations in space and experience a new place, but they also want escape routes if things go wrong, and a comfortable environment to return to at the end of the day. Traveling with others offers support and company to share the experience, but comes at the cost of using valuable time to do things one might not want to do. Traveling alone can be liberating, but it can also be dangerous, lonely, or potentially boring.

Other people play a critical role in allowing and enabling others to inhabit the identity they desire. They both design and share the spaces in which identities are situated, they shape temporalities, and they introduce control and uncertainty. Others also provide security and enable autonomy. Certain individuals make it possible for vacationers to have their identity. People who create and staff environments shape how identities are enacted. Individuals share spaces and times with other people, but potentially experience them very differently. Vacations illustrate the degree to which individuals' phenomenological experiences differ even while involved in the same interaction. For example, for people in a vacation space such as a tourist attraction or resort, the experience is unusual, exotic or fun, for the staff members, it is a space defined by work, responsibility and control. These two different groups adhere to different sets of rules and norms that channel their behavior within the same environment, and thus operate within different, overlapping frames.

Identity Breaks and the Self

An identity break then builds on other such situations where individuals temporarily make a shift that requires a period of non-permanent cognitive reorganization or alteration of the identities that make up their ongoing self, such as a period of injury (Charmaz 1995; Collinson and Hockey 2007) or sickness (Cherry 1995), going to college (Silver 1996; Karp, Homstrom and Grey 1998), joining an organization such as a sorority or fraternity (Hunt and Miller 1997), a term in prison (Schmid and Jones 1991), or working or studying abroad (Ichiyama, McQuarrie, and Ching 1996; Adler and Adler 1999). Such shifts may be very short, such as when going out for the night (Grazian 2003), or can be as long as non-permanent life transitions, like being a teenager (Frietas et al. 1997). They may be expected and anticipated, like a vacation, or they may be the result of unexpected disruptions, such as periods of illness or unemployment (Becker 1999). This raises questions about the duration of such breaks and how long they can be considered to be until they lose the category of "temporary." Retirement is usually permanent but reflects many of the structural releases of a vacation or similar identity break. Alternatively, unemployment is hopefully not long-lived, but is complicated because it does not have an anticipated end point.

It is important to note that the flexibility and rigidity of the boundaries that individuals set for themselves is changing as the possibilities for interaction without physical presence increase. With the growing ubiquity of communication technologies individuals rework methods of forming cognitive boundaries as these devices take some of the control over identity and boundary work away from the individual. These changes also introduce new ways of connecting that reduce involuntary boundaries. While people may be increasingly physically separated from one another, through such forces as increased geographic mobility, fast technological change, or

efforts at combining work and home lives, they still find new and multiple ways to create social

connections (Chayko 2002, 6).

The significance of the changes to identity boundary work caused by communication

technologies extends beyond vacations and into the multiple role transitions people make on a

daily basis. People face decisions on how firmly to draw boundaries not just during the

temporary identity taken on during leisure travel, but also on a business trip, deciding whether

or how often to check work email over the weekend, or even when bringing one's cell phone

along on errands. In each of these situations when the individual is "away" from home, he or

she must confront issues of interaction without physical presence and attending to conflicting,

coexisting obligations and decide the extent to which identities should be allowed to overlap.

These changes should also extend into the ways that we conceptualize self and identity.

The idea that an identity can be temporary suggests that identities start and stop. But where an

identity begins and ends is complicated. Of course not all identities are permanent, many come

to an end, which is either voluntarily (Howard 2008), or not. But people maintain a set of

ongoing identities, and as this study has shown, they very often cannot just stop being

something and then start up again at another time. Connections to everyday life carry over

between identities. Some are put on hold and some are maintained, but none are abandoned

entirely. At the same time, facets of self overlap within different identities even when saliences

shift across radically different contexts.

On vacation people usually remain connected to home and certain constant

components of self that they either cannot or do not wish to control. Individual identities are

interconnected (White 1992, 13) and cannot be easily disentangled. Actions in one identity will

influence another. Saving for a vacation, for example, denying or reducing interests or activities

in other identities to suit, or even make possible, the vacation identity; as does taking time off work, or choosing with whom one will spend one's time off. Tradeoffs are made within certain identities, including very salient ones, to support others.

Although identities shift and change, what emerges from this analysis is the degree to which the self, while mutable, overlaps between, and extends into different situations. Acquaintances, responsibilities, and interests are not left behind entirely; they often travel with the individual and influence one's sense of identity, voluntarily or involuntarily. Followers of Erving Goffman have equated his version of the self to an onion. If you peel away the layers then there is nothing left. Others equate it to an artichoke with some core beneath those layers. But the question is not if the self is more or less like either one. The layers are just not so discrete that they may be easily peeled away and discarded. They persist, overlap and combine. This is not to say that there is something as simple as one "true" self either. What exists, rather than a layered whole, is more like an amalgam, elements of which may be drawn from or temporarily left behind, but rarely eliminated completely. A temporary identity then is like a container within this whole in which saliences are provisionally reorganized. People can put aside some elements of self for the time being and return to them later, but they are still there, in the background.

The fact that it is so difficult for many to truly "get away from it all" either because they don't have the resources, cannot get away from responsibilities and obligations, or simply cannot stop themselves from checking in with home suggests that claims about the lack of an anchored self may be realistic. Elite hotels now charge high rates to offer guests the "privilege" of no internet access or other connections to everyday life, because if given the choice people won't do it for themselves (Iyer 2011). The extension of technologies, from pencils to cell

phones, draws people together, in ways that reconfigure time and space, and reinforce responsibilities, rather than decenter them. They allow for synchronous interactions between people who are many miles apart.

This is similarly illustrated in situations where attributes and responsibilities are so salient that they cannot be separated from temporary identities. Parents take their children with them on vacation, and if the children do not come with them, they are checked in on, or at least thought about. Equally, the activities they do with their children as part of the vacation identity contribute to their ongoing parental identity. The different facets of self are not separate from each other, and instead reinforce one another. For others with strong work obligations one's willingness to stay connected and check in with responsibilities may be seen as a test of one's commitment to a job. If responsibilities of the everyday self involve maintaining that career this cannot be taken lightly by the traveler.

While the vacation experience is an exemplar of an identity break, these central issues of identity formation and interrelation are not limited to leisure. Other areas of study that address the temporal nature of identities, such as on employment and unemployment, and changes in the life course can be informed by such study. Similarly in areas where issues of identity salience across situations are important, such as the family, and occupations, and where they coincide in questions of work-life balance, a consideration of temporary identities can be beneficial.

APPENDIX ONE: Data and Methods

My primary research objective was to understand how people use breaks in social

structure to do identity work. Doing so helps us understand how people alter roles and

construct identities when they have some added element of agency that is not usually available

to them. It also sheds light on how people negotiate the demands of multiple identities in new

contexts and during identity transitions. The research that has typically been conducted in this

area usually focuses on long-term social identities, such as those associated with race, sexuality,

or those associated with work and home. Or, the in area of tourism studies, primarily on the

identity work done during long-haul travel. In this study I sought to focus attention on the

identity work people do as they move between salient short-term identities and to broaden the

scope of study on identity work done during vacation time.

Since vacationing and vacation behaviors represents a broad variety of definitions and

actions I chose representative groups based on where they spent their time off and what they

chose to do with it. In doing so I emphasized distance, temporalities, and the presence of others,

as these are primary factors in shaping identities. I investigated three categories of vacationers

based on their break from everyday life: volunteer tourists in China, beach vacationers in

Hawaii, and stay-home vacationers. As vacation activities are so broad I further supplemented

these groups with a narrative analysis of vacation blogs to capture more diversity of experience

across a broader range of examples.

I first divided my sample target among those who stayed at home for their vacation and

those who left. Those who stayed home for their vacation, or took "staycations" did so usually

for economic or family reasons and worked hard to create a novel or relaxing experience within

their everyday environment. Although staying home has long been a use of vacation time that has largely gone overlooked or not acknowledged as a "proper" vacation, the stay-at-home vacation achieved popular legitimacy as a valid use of time off in the recession of 2008-2009 during which this research was largely conducted. The majority of vacations taken in the United States do involve travel, and because of the diversity of experience and activity, I further divided traveling vacationers into two subgroups that follow culturally-and historically patterned uses of vacation time: those who travel for culture and learning, and those who travel for rest and relaxation. While many vacations involve both of these aspects, a trip to the beach that includes a tour of a historic city-center, for example, I treated all of my categories as ideal types. Volunteer tourists who traveled to China for two or three weeks used their vacation time in a culturally "enriching" or educational manner. In this sense their leisure was productive. They further represent a growing portion of Americans who value international travel and use it as a marker of status and skill. Finally, beach vacationers travel primarily for rest and relaxation. This form of leisure is taken not as a form of work or productivity in itself, but as a respite from and reward for it during the rest of the year.

For each group I examined the meanings people gave both to their specific vacation and to vacations in general, how they contrasted it with their experience of everyday life, and how they maintained or limited connections with everyday life. Qualitative research methods, and in-depth interviews in particular, are well-suited to uncover such perspectives. As such, I completed 45 in-depth interviews: ten with stay-home vacationers, fifteen with beach vacationers, and twenty with tourists in China. Each answered a shared set of questions about vacation meanings and experiences, including definitions, favored, and ideal experiences; a set of questions about how they maintained contact with home; and questions about their typical routines for preparing for and returning from vacations. They also answered a set of questions

specific to their experience to understand why they chose that particular type of vacation and how it related to prior experiences.

Ethnographic research provides a deeper immersion into the experience of other people in order to better understand what they consider important or meaningful (Emerson, Fretz and Shaw 1995, 2). With shared experience, the researcher can see from the inside what people do and how they do it. My research question is dependent on understanding how people shape identities in response to environmental contexts, and specifically how they are influenced by the milieus of space and time. I travelled to the vacation destinations of interviewees in order to observe how environmental contexts shaped action in ways that respondents themselves may not sufficiently describe through interviews alone. I supplemented interviews with two periods of participant observation: three months as a volunteer tourist in Xi'an, China, and four months working at a resort in Waikiki, Hawaii. In this way I could locate the identities of vacationers within cultural and spatial context as they were doing them.

A potential limitation this methodology provided was that I could not find out information about how people exited this specific identity, as they had not yet done so. I countered this by asking questions about their usual or normal experience exiting a vacation identity. As all subjects had already participated in multiple vacations before the current one, they had a large base of prior experiences to share, as well as an expectation of what they would do to exit their current identity. To the degree possible I tried to conduct interviews at the end of the respondent's trip to capture the majority of their experience.

A contradiction of ethnographic research is that one must at once immerse herself in the experience of the subject in order to gain insight into his or her perspective, but at the same time maintain objectivity and a not lose an impartiality. There is value in observing behaviors

both from the inside and the outside. Working as a resort employee at one research site, and participating as a fellow tourist in another, allowed me this emic and etic perspective on my subject (Pike 1967). I was able to view vacationers both from the inside as one of them, and from the outside as a staff member in the industry designed around them.

In China, Interviewees were selected according to the length of their stay, being limited to a two-to-three week trip, and from those who identified the trip as a "vacation." Participants ranged in age from 18 to 75, with ten of the interviewees being college students, and the other ten ages 23 and above. Most respondents were Americans, but there were also several British and Canadian individuals in the group. Of this group, seventeen had traveled to China by themselves and three were there with family members. Four had been to China before while for the other sixteen it was a new experience. On the other hand, sixteen had prior experience with international travel, while for four it was their first time leaving the country.

The vacationers lived in several apartments in the center of the city and after two hours of volunteering each day, spent the rest of their time engaged in tourist activities such as visiting local museums and temples, shopping, and visiting nearby sites during the day, and frequently going to bars and karaoke clubs at night. They spent the majority of their time in each other's company, living together, eating all meals together, and touring together. Educational-themed activities were organized by the company in charge of the trip, such as Chinese cooking classes, calligraphy lessons, language lessons, and music lessons; as well as excursions to tourists sites like the Terra Cotta Warriors (a well-preserved archeological site of terra cotta soldier statues marking a tomb from an emperor from the Qin Dynasty (Jiang 2005, 267-277)), or a weekend hike in the mountains. Other activities, like weekend trips to other cities, were organized by the

tourists themselves. A new group of ten to twenty tourists would arrive every two weeks, creating a constant turnover, but also group cohesion between those who arrived together.

I lived in the apartments with the vacationers and participated in volunteering, shopping, weekend excursions, meals, and frequent trips to bars and cafes in the evenings. Because of the high degree of group interaction, I was able to build a strong rapport with subjects, despite their short stay. I introduced myself and my study upon first arriving and to subsequent groups at they arrived. I did not encounter any known objection to my presence there as a researcher, no requests for interviews were denied, and many offered opinions and observations outside of interviews. In fact, conversations about interview questions usually extended beyond the confines of the interview and into the trip as people were eager to talk about their experiences. I informed and gained permission from the organization operating the trips before departure, and local staff members were informed of my purpose there and were supportive.

Interview subjects in Hawaii were recruited in beaches and other public areas. In order to overcome reluctance to give up leisure time, subjects were offered a five dollar gift card for coffee in exchange for their participation. Only two out of seventeen subjects approached refused participation. I found that most were again eager to share their vacation experiences with someone who wanted to listen and subjects gave detailed accounts of their activities. Of the fifteen, fourteen were traveling with relative or friends, and one was traveling alone. Nine had been to Hawaii before, while six had not. All had been to the beach on a prior vacation.

In addition to interviews, I worked at a coffee shop in the lobby of a large resort hotel in Waikiki. Living and working in Waikiki offered the benefit of twenty-four-hour immersive contact with the study site, but also the opportunity to view the vacation experience from the

outside perspective of someone who works to provide the experience for others. The resort

where I worked offered a variety of typical attractions to visitors: multiple pools, restaurants

and bars, shopping, conference facilities, courses in Hawaiiana including lei making, hula

dancing, and playing the ukulele, and evening hula performances and live music. The resort itself

was situated on the beach, between several other large resort hotels, and near the main avenue

in Waikiki. Visitors who wished to leave the pools and beach area had only a short walk to find

shopping and night life. The resort was a part of a large international chain of hotels and

attracted clientele from primarily the United States, Japan and Australia. During the time I was

employed about 50% of the clientele at the resort were Japanese. This is a standard figure for

Waikiki which attracts many Japanese tourists. About 43.9% of all visitors to Oahu at the same

time the prior year were Japanese (Hawaii Tourism Authority 2009). Although they made up at

least half of my customers on any given day I elected not to include this population in my study

due to linguistic limitations (their English was usually extremely limited, as was my Japanese)

and my inadequate cultural knowledge about Japan.

The coffee shop where I worked was located directly adjacent to the pool and outdoor

bar area of the resort, itself overlooking the ocean. Customers stopped by for drinks, food, and

often, advice on Waikiki. Working in this environment offered opportunities for informal talks

with vacationers over the course of their trip as well as with other staff members employed by

the resort who shared observations and insights gathered over their long-term employment in

the tourism industry.

Since I had the privilege of round-the-clock immersion in my study site opportunities for

data collection came from a variety of additional sources. I lived in various accommodations

over the four-month period I was in Hawaii, including budget hotels, hostels, and vacation

rentals. This proved a valuable source of information as it offered further exposure to a variety of tourist accommodations offered in Waikiki, and the people that frequent them, beyond the relatively upscale resort. In addition to strangers approached in beaches and public areas several valuable interview opportunities, as well numerous informal yet informative conversations, came from friendly fellow hotel inhabitants eager to share the details of their trip. In further attempts to gain access to the widest variety of tourist experiences while limiting my expenses, I volunteered at a popular tourist attraction in Waikiki, participated in various free or low-cost tourist activities and attended free cultural events, such as hula performances, lei-making classes, and frequent festivals and parades.

Data with stay-home vacationers consists of ten in-depth interviews with individuals who chose not to leave their hometown for more than one night during their vacation. Respondents lived in New Jersey, Virginia and Hawaii and were interviewed over a two-year period during 2009-2010. Recruitment was done through ads posted in on-line forums, public libraries, Facebook and a local community college. Participants were asked if they knew anyone else who vacationed at home and additional respondents were recruited through a snowball sample. Five respondents are graduate students, three are working parents with young children, and two are working professionals. Their responses represented a range of motivations for their vacation choices, from not having the money or time to go away for vacation to people who felt that they "couldn't vacation," or stop working long enough to go away, to parents who felt the responsibility and challenges of vacationing with young children made staying home a preferable option. Their reasons for staying home structure the ways they spend their time and create their own concept of vacation. During the recession of 2007-2008 the term "staycation" was coined as this became a popularized form of vacationing considered to be financial responsible. This form of vacationing is not new but during the time I was doing my research it

became something of a lifestyle choice for people looking to save money. Because of the nature of their vacation I could not supplement interviews with participant observation.

A narrative analysis of eighty blogs people kept and posted publicly on the internet about their vacations further supplemented the targeted in-depth interviews with a broad sample of vacation destinations from a variety of perspectives. Written as a kind of public journal or diary, individuals use these blogs to record details and memories of their trip while sharing them with others back home. The blogs offered detailed and rich accounts of peoples' vacations, often beginning before departure and ending after return. This had the further advantage of providing information on planning and performance at all stages of the trip that was at time lacking in the in-person interviews with people currently on their vacation.

In addition to providing a narrative of peoples' trips, blogs and similar internet formats are particularly useful for my research question as they are increasingly used by people as a form of presentation of self. Individuals use these outlets to project an image of themselves to others, and a particular perspective of their trip that they wish for people to see. Internet forums, social networking sites, and other on-line networks that allow one to convey images of oneself to others, aid in the construction and presentation of multiple, ongoing identities (Turkle 1995, Kendall 1998).

Travel blogs are a way for people to present identity and interact with people back home while away. While I do not have an actual number of how many exist, multiple sites offer a specific travel blogging platform, including travelpod.com, lonelyplanet.com, and travelblog.org, and host thousands of individual blogs. A Google search for sites at travelpod.com, the largest of such platforms and a primary source of data for this portion of the

study generates approximately 150,000 results (using search query:

site:blog.travelpod.com/travel-blog/ -inurl:entries, retrieved February 6, 2012).

As with any blog, these were written as part of an intentional presentation of an identity to others. While they may not always be representative of the authors' true experience, they are an excellent example of how they wish their identity to be perceived and interpreted by others, and the ways in which they go about presenting their identity to a general audience. For this reason, while blogs are an excellent source for data on the presentation of self, they are in themselves a construction of the identity that vacationers' wish for others to see, and data must be used selectively for understanding the actual experience of the authors, especially in terms of a vacation, which tends to be thought of and presented as a positive experience. People want to project a positive identity. Certain situations are more reliable than others therefore, such as when the authors complain, or describe mishaps, as these potentially represent a more sincere presentation than glowing and pleasant descriptions of experience.

The blogs selected for this study are written specifically for two audiences. First for acquaintances, friends and family, who often interact with the authors and leave comments throughout the text. In some cases these people are referred to specifically by the authors as they write. The other is a more general, open-ended audience of people browsing the travel-blogging websites on which they are hosted. Authors have the option of either keeping a private blog, which only those granted access may see, or keeping a public blog, that anyone may read. All blogs used for this study were set to public access, and thus were intended for a general audience. Authors occasionally make references to a more generalized audience with suggestions and advice, which suggests that they know that strangers will be reading their work. People similarly provide brief snapshots of their vacation identities on other internet outlets like

Facebook and Twitter, but blogs were specifically selected as they are more thoughtfully

constructed by the user to present their vacation identity and provide much more detail. Blogs

were selected from websites that host this function specifically for travel and were searched

using the terms "vacation," "staycation,", "family vacation," "camping," "cruise," "resort," and

"road trip." Among this group some authors gave little data or posted only photographs. To

ensure richness of data, only those blogs with at least two type-written pages were selected for

inclusion.

APPENDIX TWO: Interview Questionnaire

For resort vacationers:

1. Can you walk me through a typical day in your vacation? Please give as much detail as possible.

2. Why did you choose to do this sort of trip?

3. What did you enjoy most about the vacation?

4. What did you enjoy least?

5. What was the most memorable experience of your trip?

6. In what kind of ways would you say your behavior changed while you were away?
    Prompts: Have you been dressing differently?
            Have you been eating or drinking differently than you normally would?
            Are there any daily responsibilities or routines that you no longer have to
follow?

7. What is something that you did on this vacation that you wouldn't do at home?

8. In what ways was your behavior the same?

9. Before you left what did you think the trip would be like? Has it lived up to your expectations?

10. What kinds of things did you do to prepare for the vacation?
    Prompts: Did you buy anything?
            What kind of research did you do to choose a location?
            Did you do any research to plan your activities?

11. What kinds of things did you do to remember your trip?
    Prompts: Did you buy souvenirs for yourself? What kinds of things?
            Did you buy gifts for people back home? What kinds of things?
            Have you been taking pictures? Of what kinds of things?

12. While you were away, what kinds of things reminded you of home?
    Prompts: Did you ever find yourself thinking of home? What were you doing when you
                thought about home?
            Did you do anything in particular to remind you of home?
            Did you bring anything with you that reminded you of home?

13. Did you try to stay in contact with people from home? How did you stay in contact?

14. When you do contact home what kinds of things do you talk about? Is there anything that you don't want to tell people about?

15. What did you like most about being away from home?

16. What did you like least about being away from home?

17. After you retuned, what kinds of things did you do to transition to being back home? Did you find the transition easy or difficult?
    If difficult: What do you think made it difficult to adapt to being back?

18. What kinds of things did you do to remember or share your vacation after your return?
    Prompt: Did you give out gifts?
            Did you share pictures with family or friends?
            Have you discussed the vacation activities or stories with others?

19. In retrospect, is there anything you wish had been different about your vacation?

20. How do you define a vacation?
    Prompts: Does it have to be a certain length of time?
            Do you need to travel?

21. Do you have a typical vacation that you take? What's it like?

22. What would be your ideal vacation? Where would you go and what would you do?

For volunteer tourists:

1. Can you walk me through a typical day in your vacation?

2. Why did you choose to volunteer during your vacation?

3. Why did you choose China?

4. What have you enjoyed most about the vacation?

5. What have you enjoyed least?

6. Overall, are you happy with the experience? What has made you feel this way?

7. How often do you engage in similar/related activities back home?

8. How do you think, if at all, this trip will affect your behavior or attitudes/perspectives after you return home?

9. What has been the most memorable experience of the trip? What made it so important for you?

10. Before you left what did you think the trip would be like? Has it lived up to your expectations?

Vacations in general:

1. How do you define a vacation? (Distance, length of time, break from routine?)

2. Describe your typical vacation experience. How is this different? How is it better/worse?

3. If you could go on any vacation what would it be? Where would you go and what would you do?

Preparation:

1. What kinds of things did you do to prepare for your trip?

2. Do you have any particular routines or activities that you feel you must complete before leaving?

3. How soon before you leave do you start to pack?

4. Do you make an itinerary? How detailed?

Material things:

1. What kinds of things did you buy for the trip and why did you choose to buy them?

2. What kinds of things have you bought on vacation and why?

3. Have you bought a lot of souvenirs or gifts for people back home? What kinds of things did you buy?

4. Did you bring anything to remind you of home?

5. Have you been taking photographs? Of what kinds of things? Why do you choose to take pictures of those things?

Activities and behavior:

1. What kinds of things have you been doing while on vacation?

2. How do you think your activities on vacation differ from your everyday activities back home? And how are they the same?

3. Why do you think your behavior has changed (or not) while you're away?

4. With whom do you spend most of your time? Why with those people?

5. (If activities are done in a group.) How do you feel about spending so much time with the same group of people?

6. Do you dress differently here than at home? Do you put the same amount of time into your appearance that you normally would?

Connections to everyday:

1. What kinds of efforts, if any, have you made to stay in contact with people back home?

2. Who have you communicated with? Why them?

3. Are there any people you do not want to communicate with? Why do you think you don't want to?

4. Did you come on the vacation with anyone you know? Did you plan this for any reason?

5. How would you feel about vacationing with family members/colleagues/friends?

6. Do you think about home/family/friends often? In what way?

7. When you call home what aspects of the trip do you talk to them about? Is there anything you don't want to tell them about?

8. Do you ever think about work/school?

9. Do you expect to keep in contact with people from the trip after you return home? How?

For stay-home vacationers:

1. Can you walk me through a typical day in your vacation? Please give as much detail as possible.

2. What kinds have things have you been doing during your vacation?
        Prompts: Have you taken any day trips?
                Are you doing anything you might consider work?

3. Why did you choose to stay home during your vacation time?

4. Do you usually stay home or is this a new experience for you?

5. What did you enjoy most about your vacation?

6. What did you enjoy least?

7. In what was did your behavior change during the vacation?
        Prompts: Have you been dressing differently?
                Have you been eating or drinking differently than you normally would?
                Are there any daily responsibilities or routines that you no longer have to follow?

8. Did you do anything that you would not normally do?

9. In what ways was your behavior the same?

10. Did you do anything in particular to make this time feel special or different?
        Prompts: Have you gone anywhere new or different?
                Did you allow yourself to do things that you wouldn't normally do?
                How did your daily routines or responsibilities changed?
                Do you make an effort not to communicate with certain people?

11. What kinds of things did you do to prepare for your vacation?
        Prompts: Did you buy anything?
                Did you do any research into activities to spend your time?
                Did you make any sort of plan for your time?

12. What kinds of things did you do to remember the vacation?
        Prompts: Did you buy anything? What kinds of things?

Did you take any pictures? Of what kinds of things?

13. What do you like most about vacationing at home?

14. What do you like least about vacationing at home?

15. After the vacation ended, what kinds of things did you do to help you return to your normal routine? Did you find it easy or difficult?
    If difficult: Why do you think you found it difficult to adapt back?

16. What kinds of things did you do to remember or share your vacation after it ended?
    Prompt: Did you share pictures with family or friends?
        Have you discussed vacation activities or stories with others?

17. In retrospect, is there anything you wish had been different about your vacation?

18. How do you define a vacation?
    Prompts: Does it have to be a certain length of time?

19. Do you have a typical vacation that you take? What's it like?

20. What would be your ideal vacation? Where would you go and what would you do?

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Stein, Karen. 2011. "Getting Away From It All: The Construction and Management of Temporary Identities on Vacation." *Symbolic Interaction* 34(2):290-308.

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Courses independently designed and taught:
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>Race Relations, (300 level)

Courses Assisted:
>Introduction to Sociology
>Sociology of Normality and Abnormality, with Dr. Allan Horwitz (200 level)
>Contemporary Social Theory (300 level)
>Introduction to Human Evolution (in Department of Anthropology)