

Time Out of Time: Life Crises and Schooner Sailing in the Pacific

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Introduction

Tourists and tourism were not recognized as subjects for serious social scientific research until the mid-1960s. Since then, however, the literature has grown rapidly, as the extent and impact of tourism have increased. Graburn offers one reason for this new interest:

“The study of the nature of tourist motivations and behaviors reveals much about the underlying value systems of the modern world. If we are to study the nature of solidarity, identity and differentiation in modern society, we cannot neglect tourism . . .” (1980:64).

Much of this recent literature has focused on providing typologies of tourists or examining the economics and socioeconomic impact of tourism. Only one study (Wagner 1977) has explored the behaviors and motivations of tourists in a field situation. In the research reported here, I seek to add to this work by analyzing the behavior of an elite tourist group, which traveled through the Pacific Ocean by sailboat for three months. First, however, a definition of tourism is offered and relevant literature is reviewed.

Defining the Tourist

Smith suggests that the tourist is a “temporarily leisured person who voluntarily visits a place away from home for the purpose of experiencing a change” (1977:2). However, the phrases “temporarily leisured” and “voluntarily visits” fail to describe the business tourist, who travels primarily for work purposes but visits nearby tourist sites. Nor does this definition apply to the retired traveler, who is permanently rather than temporarily leisured.

A more general definition is offered by Nash, who states that the tourist is “a person at leisure who also travels” (1981:462). According to this definition, the tourist does not have to be place-oriented; i.e., the destination may be incidental to the act of traveling. The ambiguity of the phrase “away from home” is also eliminated, thereby avoiding the difficulty of deciding whether a ten-mile or a hundred-mile journey is to be defined as tourism.

Typologies of Tourists

Typologies of tourists classify those who travel according to their motivations, their adaptation to local norms, and their impact on their hosts, among other things. Gray (1970), for example, classifies tourists’ motivations as stemming from “sunlust” and “wanderlust.” Graburn (1977) divides tourists into two types: “cultural tourists,” interested in the historical and ethnic aspects of tourism, and “nature tourists,” concerned with the ecological and environmental side of tourism. Smith (1977) posits a continuum, which ranges from the rare individual “explorer,” who fully accepts the local norms (and may live with a local family for several months) to the “character” tourist, who arrives *en masse* at a destination, demanding to be encapsulated in a “tourist bubble” (complete with all the Western amenities). Smith also presents a typology that focuses on the impact of guests on their hosts and on the type of destination. One of the possibilities noted by Smith in this typology is “historical tourism” along the museum-cathedral circuit, which entails an impersonal host-guest interaction; another possibility is “ethnic tourism” in “primitive” villages inhabited by exotic peoples. The latter type is considered by Smith to have minimal impact on the hosts because of the small numbers of tourists involved.

Both Nash (1981) and Cohen (1979a) use Simmel's (1950) sociology of the stranger in conceptualizing the tourist. Cohen (1979a:21) provides two dimensions for analyzing "the phenomenon of strangeness and familiarity." The interactional dimension characterizes the manner and extent of the tourist's interaction with the host population and the cognitive-normative dimension focuses on how the tourist "conceives of and relates to the host environment" (1979a:21).

Within this framework, Cohen distinguishes five modes of touristic experience, which differ according to the "types of relationships which obtain between a person and a variety of 'centers'" (1979b:180). The center symbolizes ultimate meaning for the individual and may be religious or cultural. In examining the "place and significance of tourism in a modern person's life" (1979b:180), Cohen draws upon the Turners' concept of a pilgrimage or sacred journey (1978) and finds that travelers may range from "the recreational tourist" who "finds no meaning in the surrounding cultures" and identifies only with the "spiritual center of his own society" (Cohen 1979a:22) to the existential tourist who is making a pilgrimage to an "elected" spiritual center. Cohen conceptualizes these modes of tourism as a continuum of motivation and experience, in which the most "superficial" motivation is the desire for "mere pleasure" and the most "profound" a "quest for the center" or ultimate meaning.

Paralleling this continuum of motivations is a continuum of authenticity, according to Cohen (1979b). The recreational tourist, who does not consider authenticity as a factor and thus accepts an artificial experience, stands at one end of this continuum; the existential tourist, for whom authenticity is both inherent in the experience and important, is at the opposite end.

Cohen, then, argues that tourists have a variety of motivations and experiences. He also suggests that there may be multiple motivations for one journey. Thus, he seeks to reconcile a range of scholars' attitudes toward the touristic experience, from Boorstin's view (1964) that tourism is a trivial, superficial, vicarious, contrived experience to Turner and Ash's (1975) diagnosis that tourism is a symptom of contemporary malaise and "a false haven for immature irresponsibility."

A somewhat dissimilar view is expressed by MacCannell (1976), who argues that modern tourists are on a search for authenticity. According to MacCannell, the forces of *anomie* and alienation are the motivating factors of middle-class tourism:

"Everyday life threatens the solidarity of modernity by atomizing individuals and families into isolated local groupings which are not functionally or ideologically interrelated" (1976:159).

Like Dann (1977), who sees the concept of *anomie* as a "push" factor stimulating the tourist to leave the home environment, MacCannell believes:

"Sightseeing is a kind of collective striving for a transcendence of the modern totality; a way of attempting to overcome the discontinuity of modernity, of incorporating its fragments into unified experience" (1976:13).

MacCannell concludes that the touristic experience is not real—that it is artificial. He argues that tourists believe they are visiting the "back region" but are actually visiting a "front region" that was set up for tourist visitation (1976:101). Unlike Boorstin, however, MacCannell believes that the tourist is striving to have an authentic experience, but is not achieving it.

The Tour

"The Gods do not deduct from man's allotted span time spent sailing."—**Phoenician Proverb**

"Sailing is the means of going somewhere very slowly, at great expense, while getting dirty and sick."—**Modern Proverb**

Organization of the Trip

The tourists discussed in this study are part of a particular segment of the travel market, as the brochure published by the trip's organizers indicates. As Ocean Voyages of Sausalito, California, a ship charter agency established in 1976, explains:

"Ocean Voyages' programs stress participation. People who sail with us tend to be adventuresome, adaptable and interested in learning and experiencing as much as possible. Everyone on board can participate in the various activities to the extent of their interest and abilities" (1980:1).

Thus, the kind of trip offered by Ocean Voyages differs significantly from the mass tourism of Princess Line or Erikson Cruises, which appeal to the less adventuresome and more regimented traveler. The Ocean Voyages trip also differs from cruises that travel to exotic places but attempt to encapsulate travelers in the tourist bubble by exposing them to new environments only under the strictest of supervision.

A large part of the difference in trips can be accounted for by the method of transportation. Although Princess Line and Erikson Cruise trips involve travel by water, the large ships carrying hundreds of passengers differ

significantly from the Ocean Voyages sailboats, which carry four to twenty passengers.

The Boat

The boat upon which we sailed was the "Sol," a 115-foot, three-masted steel schooner registered in Australia. Sol was built as a motor sailer in 1973 and carried freight for several years. It was refurbished and made into a comfortable although not luxurious passenger carrier in 1978. It was capable of carrying up to twenty-two people, including crew members.

The main salon was the center of social interaction on the boat. It was a large room on the upper deck, paneled in polished teak, mahogany, and exotic Costa Rican woods. Besides serving as the living room, it was the dining area, recreation room, bar, and meeting room. It had two large built-in bookcases, which held the ship's library. When appropriate, the captain would place books on the table in the salon, so that we could read about the area to which we were headed or the activity in which we were to be engaged (e.g., navigation, scuba diving, star gazing). Located in the main salon as well was a video TV unit with more than 100 tapes (ranging from Walt Disney's "Fantasia" to "Deep Throat"). The stereo system was also in the salon. Both the video and the stereo set-up, with its large assortment of classical, jazz, and rock-and-roll tapes, were available twenty-four hours a day for the use of the passengers and crew.

Also in the salon, next to the video unit, was the radio equipment. While at sea, the passengers and crew, under the supervision of the captain or first mate, were able to make telephone contacts with friends, relatives, and business associates in the US. One or more people usually made these telephone calls daily, and they served as a source of entertainment for everyone else. Because the sound came through the speaker box, there was no privacy, and everyone present could hear both sides of the conversation.

Off the main salon was the kitchen, or "galley." Although it was beautifully built of polished woods, it did not accommodate more than two people at one time. It had both fresh and salt water (the latter for washing dishes) and a gas stove. The pantry was located in the bow hold just below the kitchen. Sol carried enough food for about six months when fully stocked. Canned and dried goods gathered from around the world filled its shelves. Storage of fresh food was more problematic. Three large freezers, principally used to store meat and poultry, were located throughout the boat. Fresh vegetables were obtained in port whenever possible, but had to be eaten quickly because of the shortage of refrigeration.

Also on the top deck was the captain's (and navigator's) cabin. It was located there so that the captain could be readily available in case of emergency. The most luxurious cabin on the ship, it was wood-paneled, with many built-in closets, drawers, and cabinets.

Below deck were the other accommodations. The largest cabin—the "crew's quarters"—slept six and constituted the main quarters of half of the professional crew members. The remaining professional crew members slept in the "foc'sle." Passengers and the nonprofessional crew members slept in three other cabins. Although these were fairly comfortable, all had limited (if any) closet space, small fans, and only one porthole. The foc'sle accommodations were the least desirable because of their proximity to the bow, where the boat's motion was most obvious.

Sol had two "heads," or toilets, both of which required the user to turn several faucets to operate. Learning how to work the faucets and valves was the first lesson the passengers were given upon boarding the boat. Most of the male passengers preferred to urinate over the side of the boat.

The Crew

Sol's permanent crew included nine people. The most important person on the ship was the captain. Kris was both captain and part-owner of Sol. Thirty-two years old, Kris had had an unusual international background. He came from a wealthy American family, although he had spent most of his childhood in France, where his father was in the diplomatic corps. He received a bachelor of science degree in psychology from an American university. Subsequently, he had traveled with his girlfriend Tracy (the navigator on the boat) around the world.

Kris had had extensive sailing experience, crossing both the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans numerous times. Aside from his formal authority as the owner and captain, Kris' personal magnetism and self-confidence made him a charismatic leader. His calm air gave everyone confidence in Sol and the trip, despite the numerous mechanical and interpersonal problems that arose during the voyage.

Tracy, also thirty-two, was Sol's navigator and part owner. An American, she had grown up in Venezuela, the US, and France, attending college with Kris in the States. She and Kris had traveled together for the past fifteen years. An experienced sailor, Tracy also had her captain's license and had captained Sol across the Pacific. She also had a dive-master scuba rating. More temperamental and moody than Kris, she was also more difficult to get to know.

Tom, thirty-nine, was Sol's first mate. He was second in command of the ship and had the responsibility of supervising the other crew members. An American from the landlocked Midwest, Tom had been at sea since he joined the Navy at seventeen. A year before, he had worked on commercial fishing and diving boats. He had also built a trimaran, which he kept in Costa Rica. Like Tracy, Tom had a captain's license and his dive-master certification. His mechanical expertise was particularly useful during this trip, because of the numerous engine problems experienced.

The ship's carpenter was Ron, twenty-five. He was from the East Coast, where he had grown up around pleasure boats. After a year of college, he became an apprentice to a ship's carpenter. Once he'd completed his apprenticeship, he had worked for a maritime museum before joining Sol, two years before. Ron was also an avid scuba diver.

Sol had two mechanical engineers. Greg, thirty, was from Lord Howe Island, Australia, and had worked on Sol when she carried cargo. Before that, he had worked as an engineer on fishing boats. Greg owned an ornamental palm tree plantation on Lord Howe and planned to return there to farm and fish when he finally left Sol.

Charlie, also thirty, was from England. Before working on fishing boats as an engineer, he had done post-graduate work in ceramics. He had been with Sol since it had become a charter boat. He planned to buy a farm, probably in New Zealand, and farm and "pot" when he left Sol, probably in the next year or two.

Bonnie, twenty-seven, who was from California, met Charlie in San Diego and joined Sol because of him. She had been the cook on Sol for two years. Although she had a college degree in sociology, she had worked primarily as a waitress. She was also an avid scuba diver.

Gabrielle, twenty-six, from Ghana, was the newest crew member of Sol and worked as the ship's electrician. He had met Kris and joined Sol a year ago. He planned to go to the US to study refrigeration. Before the passengers left Sol, most of them wrote letters to the US immigration authorities, in an attempt to assist Gabrielle in getting a visa. Kris also planned to help Gabrielle enter the US. Whether it was because he was the newest crew member of Sol or because he was black, Gabrielle was the lowest ranking (unofficially) of the crew. He was always given the worst watches and the most extra duties, but he never complained and cheerfully carried them out.

Carlos, thirty-one, from Costa Rica, worked as a general crew member, mainly performing such on-deck duties as painting. A member of a wealthy family, he had received a degree in fine arts from a university in the US. After college, he had held various jobs, including owning a disco in San Jose. He had been with Sol for the past year, but decided to leave her in the Galapagos in order to go skiing with a friend in Chile. He was awaiting the next Costa Rican national election, since he anticipated a change in the political party in power. He expected that the new government would appoint him to a diplomatic post in England. A very experienced sailor, he had used the past year on Sol to fill a gap in his life.

There were two more crew members on Sol, each as important as any of the others mentioned so far. Blooper, three, was an Australian sheepdog. He had lived on Sol for the past two and a half years, since his previous owner, a former crew member, had left him there. Now Kris' dog, Blooper was named in an unofficial survey "best crew member."

The other nonhuman crew member was Rosa, a large green Costa Rican parrot. Given to Sol by Carlos, Rosa was a very evil-tempered bird, fond of biting whoever walked by her, with the exception of Kris and Lynn. She lived in a large cage in the main salon, but would ride around the boat on people's shoulders or would climb the rigging by herself. Louis, the survey-taker, named her the "nastiest crew member."

Although everyone, with the exception of Carlos, had a specific function, all crew members worked together in the day-to-day running of the ship. If it was stormy and the main sail needed to be lowered, all crew members and available passengers worked together. If the airtanks needed to be handed down the hatch, the crew would pitch in to accomplish the task so that the trip could get underway. Some tasks, however, were gender-specific, and these will be covered later.

Working Passengers

In addition to the professional crew members, there were four crew/passengers who worked in exchange for passage. In my data, they were considered passengers rather than crew members.

Cindy, twenty-two, was Kris' brother's girlfriend. She and her mother, Dusty, forty-four, had been on a previous Sol voyage to Cocos Island, and Dusty was on this trip as Tom's (the first mate's) girlfriend. Dusty left Sol in the Galapagos so that she could appear in court for her divorce proceedings, and Cindy left at the same time to be with Kris' brother.

Jessica, nineteen, was Tracy's younger sister. A college student, she came on the trip partly as a vacation and partly to get to know her sister better. Monique, twenty-four, had just received her master's degree in social

work. She had met Kris through her sister and had asked to go on this trip. She left Sol unexpectedly in the Galapagos because she was slightly seasick and did not think she wanted to make the long ocean passage to Pitcairn Island. Jessica also left at that time to take a summer job.

The duties of these working passengers were very light. They consisted of dusting and vacuuming; helping in the galley; cleaning the heads; and washing dishes. All of these duties were assumed by the regular passengers and crew when these four working passengers left the boat in the Galapagos.

Paying Passengers

The final group on Sol consisted of the paying passengers. Lynn, fifty-six and never married, had just retired as director of a national recreation area in California. He had heard about the trip because one of his relatives had put his name on Ocean Voyages' mailing list. Before this trip, Lynn had traveled extensively in the US and Europe and had sailed in the Caribbean. While attending Yale, he had spent a year abroad in France. He had decided to join this trip because "it sounded particularly adventuresome and was heading for interesting ports." He also liked the "romantic" aspects of Pitcairn Island. Lynn disliked the scheduled nature of tours and felt that traveling by ship was a way to avoid this.

Sharing the four-man cabin with Lynn was Louis, thirty-nine, a computer systems consultant from New York City. Louis had also traveled extensively in Europe. A very experienced sailor, who had made many sailing trips in the Caribbean, Louis had chosen this trip because of the mode of travel, the fact that he had never sailed in the Pacific, and his desire for a three- to six-month vacation. Never married, he had recently separated from the woman with whom he had been living for several years. He had also quit his job and wanted to get away to reevaluate his life, goals, and plans.

Also in the cabin with Lynn and Louis was Hal, fifty-nine, who had just closed his practice as a lawyer. A well-traveled bachelor, he had visited the Caribbean, Tonga, Honduras, and Japan and had made many trips to Europe. Unlike the other men, Hal had almost no previous sailing experience. However, the prospect of sailing and the places on the itinerary were the main factors that had attracted him to the trip. He felt that "being able to say 'I've been to Pitcairn' is the ultimate in status." Hal was unusual in that once he had arrived in port, he would leave the boat only once and only for several hours. Even during the three weeks in the Galapagos, he went to shore only once or twice and, at Pitcairn, only once.

The fourth member of the cabin was Jules. Jules had stumbled onto this trip because of a chance meeting with me at a wine class about two weeks before the trip. He had decided to leave his position as part-owner of a market research company, as well as his "current romantic interest," in order to go on this trip. While on Sol, he decided to leave his job permanently and to find a job in a new field. A cautious and meticulous person, Jules had contacted several people referred to him by Ocean Voyages and had questioned the captain carefully about Sol's seaworthiness before signing on. An experienced sailor, Jules had been to Europe, Asia, the Canary Islands, Greece, and Curacao and had crewed on a sailboat in the Caribbean for a summer. He chose this trip as "a major step in my intended plan to break away from my employment" and "to fulfill a desire/dream I've had to sail around the Pacific, which I've thought about for many years."

Mark, thirty-one, had been to Pitcairn twice before—the first time as a first mate on a sailboat voyaging from Florida to Tahiti and the second time as part of a film crew making a documentary about HMS Bounty. While on Sol, he filmed the boat, the crew and passengers, Cocos Island, and the Galapagos as footage for another documentary. Mark had heard of this trip while on an earlier Sol trip to Cocos Island. A journalist, Mark left Sol at Pitcairn in order to stay for several months and write about the people there. For Mark, the voyage on Sol was a means of getting to Pitcairn. He also loved sailing, saying, "If you open your eyes and look around when you're sailing, you'll see that it's a rugged life with plenty of rewards. It will give you enough courage to do what everyone says can't be done."

There were only two women passengers on the trip, Barbara and me. Barbara, in her mid-forties, had been sent on this trip by Ocean Voyages because she was going to be employed in the home office upon her return. Divorced with two children, she had lived and traveled in Europe, but had never done any sailing. Unfortunately, after one week at sea, it became apparent that she had a severe psychological problem. She revealed to the captain and several passengers that a man named Earl had followed her onto Sol and was in her cabin. She said that he had been following her for three years and that her main reason for going on Sol was to get away from Earl (since she did not like boats and was seasick the entire time). Earl turned out to be imaginary, and Barbara was persuaded to leave Sol in the Galapagos and fly home.

The other female passenger on the boat was me, thirty-two, a senior majoring in anthropology at the University of Santa Clara. Recently divorced, I had heard of a trip Ocean Voyages had organized to Pitcairn the year before. The romance and challenge of a long sea voyage to exotic islands appealed to me. Because I had very lim-

ited sailing experience, I took a basic sailing class just before departure. I also took an advanced scuba class to sharpen my skills. My previous travel experience had consisted of two trips to Europe and several trips to Hawaii and Mexico.

During the spring before the trip, I was told that I should gather data for my senior thesis during the following summer. At that point, I decided to write my thesis about the trip on Sol. Before leaving, I surveyed the literature on sailing, small groups, and tourism in preparation for the fieldwork.

The Voyage

In Port

After a change of departure date and location, we finally met in San Jose, Costa Rica, to board the ship. There were the usual problems. Louis had lost everything but his hand luggage en route from New York. His bags were never found, and, at 6'3", he spent the entire trip in clothing designed for a 5'9" Costa Rican. Kris and Tracy met us to tell us that, since Sol was not quite ready to leave, they had arranged for us to go white-water rafting for a day on the Reventazon River with Costa Rica Expeditions. We would then be transported to Puntarenas by truck, where we would board Sol and set sail the next day.

Once the voyage was underway, our activities varied according to whether we were in port or at sea. While in port, all passengers and most of the crew were free to do whatever they wished. One crew member had to be on board Sol at all times in case of a natural emergency and to prevent unwelcome strangers from boarding. Crew members were assigned this extra watch by the captain, but it was rotated informally among them. If weather or other conditions required it, two or more crew members remained on watch. Any passengers who wished to remain on the ship were free to do so.

Activities in port included sightseeing, eating and drinking, scuba diving, and water skiing. Formal arrangements were made by the captain when necessary. For example, there were opportunities to explore some of the islands of the Galapagos on small Ecuadorian boats for up to three days; to eat dinner at restaurants in some ports; to stay with the residents of Pitcairn Island; and to visit the tortoise reservation at Santa Cruz Island in the Galapagos.

Several informal parties were also given on Sol while in port. The most notable occurred near an atoll in the Tuamotus. After we had anchored in the lagoon of the atoll and taken the small dinghy to shore, we were warmly received by the small, French-speaking population. They showed us around the island and gave us shell necklaces and glasses of beer from their single small store. In return, we asked if they would like to come out and visit the boat that afternoon at 5:00 p.m. They rarely had visitors (because the atoll was in a restricted French atomic testing zone, we later learned), and they had also never been visited by a ship our size. Therefore, everyone looked pleased at the invitation and agreed to be there at 5:00 p.m.

Five o'clock rolled around, and no one had arrived. By 6:00 p.m., we were perplexed, but thought perhaps it was the custom to be late. Finally, the captain took the dinghy to shore to investigate and found a large group waiting for us to come and get them.

About thirty people boarded Sol, dressed in starched and ironed cotton dresses and shirts. They all wore frangipani leis, which they took off and put around our necks, kissing us in French style on both cheeks. At first, the atmosphere was a bit stilted, since only four of us spoke French, but after we'd passed around the beer and rum and Coca Cola, everyone began to loosen up. They stayed for dinner, and the island women helped the cook make a local type of ceviche. Then, after the stereo speakers were hooked up to provide music outside, there was disco dancing on the main and mizzen decks. Since they were interested in the Betamax, we showed them a tape of the Bee-Gees in concert. The party was such a success that the first boat back did not leave until 12:30 a.m., and the last at 2:30 a.m.

This isolated atoll, with its friendly residents, provided one of the most pleasant memories of the voyage. The next atoll was a disappointment, being neither as pretty nor as welcoming. But, we were not surprised to learn that it had had much more tourist contact than our friendly atoll of Amanu.

At Sea

Most sailors in the US never experience long ocean passages. Instead, they stay near the coast, moving from port to port. We, however, spent a substantial amount of time in off-shore voyaging, with the longest passage consisting of a twenty-three-day trip from the Galapagos to Pitcairn.

During this period at sea, a routine developed. Our primary activities consisted of standing watch and eating. Everyone except the captain stood watch. On Sol, watch consisted of three four-hour shifts between 2400 and 1200 hours and another three between 1200 and 2400. Usually, four people stood watch at one time, so that each

person was at the helm for one hour of the shift and on deck or in the salon for the other three. This system was designed so that people would be readily available to perform such chores as putting up and taking down sails, assisting the helmsperson, performing other topside tasks, and helping in cases of emergency.

Sol's captain insisted that the helmsperson steer with the outside wheel and compasses, which were located at the stern. This philosophy was based on the idea that if the weather was cold and rainy, a helmsperson who was already chilled and wet would not be as reluctant to go forward to inspect the sails and rigging as a person who was dry and warm from steering in the cockpit. This was probably true, but most of us regretted it as we occasionally froze and felt unhappy and wet during the early hours of the morning watch.

As we moved away from the Galapagos and the weather became warmer, watch became more pleasant. For many of us, it was the only time of the day to be alone. It was an exhilarating feeling to be at the helm alone with a strong wind and a sky full of stars. Living on a boat—even such a large boat as Sol—was claustrophobic at times. For example, at first, it was disconcerting to be in the shower while a stranger brushed his teeth and gargled less than two feet away. After a week or so, however, the concept of “privacy” almost completely faded from consciousness, and most of us adjusted to “public life.”

Being on watch, however, did not guarantee needed and desired time alone. When the weather was warm, people gathered on the stern after meals to have a cigarette or drink and to chat with the helmsperson and each other. In other words, watch then became a social event.

At other times, people read while on watch or listened to their Sony Walkmans to relieve tedium. Once away from land, there was nothing to be seen in the ocean, with the rare exception of flying fish or dolphins.

As a result, food became unusually important at sea. It was also a link with the mainland and the familiar.

On Sol, meals were served buffet style in the main salon, where, to prevent spillage, we all learned to eat with one hand on our plates and silverware and the other on our glasses.

Most days, Tracy prepared breakfast, Bonnie prepared lunch, and Tracy helped Bonnie make dinner. Besides typical American meals of stews and steaks, we had Costa Rican rice, black beans, and fried plantains and Indonesian curries, which Tracy learned to make. Dinners also featured fresh fish when available, but oddly, we did not catch one fish during the entire twenty-three-day passage from the Galapagos to Pitcairn.

Kris asked the passengers and crew members other than Bonnie and Tracy to cook, so that the two women could take a break. Jules made outstanding scampi; Ron, fettucini alfredo; Gabrielle, Ghanaian stew; and Monique, *coq au vin*. Cooking took on a competitive flavor and became a means of self-expression and an outlet for creativity. In addition, as each person tried to provide the best possible meal, they began to appreciate Bonnie and Tracy's efforts much more, having experienced the frustrations of cooking in a kitchen that pitched and rolled, requiring all materials to be held or tied down.

Cold drinks were not kept in the kitchen, but rather in a large refrigerator located in the main salon. Keeping drinks cold on Sol was a problem, because the refrigerator only worked while the generator was running. As a result, warm Coke and rum became a favorite beverage.

Drinks were on the “serve yourself” system. Different schemes for charging the passengers were considered, but, about two-thirds of the way through the trip, the captain decided to charge all passengers \$200 per person for beverages consumed. This proposal was offered at a meeting with the passengers and was accepted without much discussion. In most cases, it was considered a bargain.

The working passengers did all the housekeeping chores until we reached the Galapagos, where they departed. At that point, Tracy drew up a work schedule, and the group divided into partners, with each pair rotating the dish-washing, vacuuming, and cleaning of the heads and shower. This schedule worked fairly well, except that the captain and first mate refused to do their chores. The captain's partner (the navigator) took over the captain's chores, and the first mate traded with the cook so that she did his chores and he stood watch for her. Since cleaning the heads was considered more disagreeable than standing watch, this was not an even trade. There were no formal sanctions if the job was poorly done; informal sanctions were delivered, however, in the form of barbed remarks, usually from the passengers. Laundry was another major chore, particularly for the engineers, since their clothing was covered with black oil and diesel fuel. Most people did their own laundry; however, Tracy and Bonnie did laundry for most of the male crew, in addition to their own. A couple of the crew members tried to get me to do their laundry for them (because I was a woman), but did not try to upset me when I refused. Washing clothes was usually accomplished by throwing a bucket over the side of the boat to fill it with seawater, pulling it back up on deck, and leaving clothes and detergent to soak, often for several days. Life at sea was not as clean as people on land may believe.

Personal Appearance

The personal appearance of the passengers and crew who made the entire trip changed radically over the

course of the voyage, particularly after we left the Galapagos. During the trip from Costa Rica to the Galapagos, most of the women wore makeup during the day and took time to do their hair. Men and women wore neat, clean clothes, and except for some men with scruffy new beards, most people were generally well groomed. During this period, there were several festive evenings, and everyone dressed up for them. One of the crew members had a hair dryer, which he loaned to several of the passengers.

Everyday dress for both sexes consisted of T-shirts and shorts or bathing suits when the weather was warm; jeans and sweaters when it was cool; and foul weather gear when it was raining or windy.

After we left the Galapagos with only fourteen people aboard, appearances changed. As we settled into a routine of hard sailing, appearance became less and less important. Hairstyle, showering, makeup, and pleasing color combinations all became secondary. This attitude persisted even when conditions became less adverse. By then, disregard for appearance was both a habit and the hard-earned mark of a "true sailor."

During the Galapagos-Gambier portion of the trip, water conservation was stressed more strongly than before, because fresh water would not be available until we reached the Gambier Islands. Showers were limited to a half-gallon plunge every other day, and because of the cold weather during this part of the voyage, saltwater baths on deck, using a bucket, had very little appeal. By the time we reached Tahiti, almost everyone needed a haircut, beards needed trimming, T-shirts and shorts were stained and torn beyond repair, and everything was encrusted in salt.

Health

Aside from a few ear infections, coral cuts, assorted bruises, and other minor ailments, the health of both crew members and passengers was generally quite good. Sol was well equipped with medical supplies, and the captain was experienced in first aid. Medical assistance from a doctor in California was available via short-wave radio, but, fortunately, this service was never needed.

Entertainment

While at sea, evening entertainment usually consisted of watching movies on the Betamax and drinking. Reading was also popular and games of gin and chess were often played. Occasionally, board games were attempted, but usually deteriorated when the drunken players refused to play by the rules.

Marijuana and cocaine were used as recreational drugs by the crew. Only two of the passengers were invited to participate in this use on a regular basis: one because she was female (i.e., women were a scarce and desired commodity), the other because he was the best sailor among the passengers.

Before we entered our first inhabited port, the captain asked the crew and passengers to turn over any drugs in their possession to him for safekeeping. Customs officials would inspect the boat, and Ecuadorian penalties for drug possession were quite stiff. However, no one did so, and usage continued, although the crew went to some pains to hide their drug use from the passengers. The only time drugs were used communally by passengers and crew was in the Gambier Islands.

None of the passengers had brought drugs with them, having assumed that the captain and crew would share their supplies. Although use of cocaine increased among the crew after they added to their previously limited supplies in French Polynesia, it was not used by the passengers except when the crew offered it to them.

The most commonly used recreational drug was alcohol. No one on Sol was a nondrinker, and two of the individuals were flagrant alcohol abusers by any standards. Most of the crew members were very heavy drinkers, while the passengers ranged from light to extremely heavy drinkers. The passengers reported that they used a great deal more alcohol during the trip than they did at home.

Beer was the most popular drink, and some people opened a beer can as soon as they got up in the morning. A total of 450 cases of beer was consumed during the voyage, and more was drunk on shore during the three weeks spent in the Galapagos. One hundred fifty cases of rum were finished during the trip as well.

There was only one time when it was considered inappropriate to be drunk and that was while standing watch. Otherwise, no one objected to alcohol consumption, even when the person was "falling down" drunk. It soon became apparent that it was the norm to consume however much or little as one pleased, and no criticism of drinking behavior was tolerated.

To illustrate, one passenger described a drinking incident at a small local restaurant in the Galapagos as follows:

"By this time, Kris was noticeably wobbly on his feet and was getting loud and belligerent. He continued drinking the rum and was getting to be an obnoxious drunk fast. He started breaking glasses and dishes. Charlie, Tom, and Tracy tried to stop him but were all insulted by him and told to 'fuck off or piss off.' Cindy and some of the girls also tried to tell him to cool it, but he turned his anger toward

them. The party broke up as we went onto the dock. Kris was obviously looking for a fight with anyone who got in his way. Everyone was feeling that the evening had turned ugly fast. I've never seen such a metamorphosis into a Mr. Hyde at close quarters, but the others said it had happened before, usually the first night in port.

"Kris was weaving around the dock in his bare chest and feet, narrowly avoiding the broken glass. We got him into a dinghy, where he proceeded to punch a few people, including Tracy. She lashed out at him and punched back. When the dinghy got out to Sol, Kris refused to get out and took a punch at the Ecuadorian driver. So they decided to take him back to shore before he fell into the water. The rest of us stayed on Sol. We heard shortly that Kris had jumped or fallen into the water and swam to shore or was picked up by fishermen."

What was remarkable about this incident was the fact that the captain's behavior was not discussed that night, nor the next day when he returned to Sol with assorted facial lacerations. The crew would not discuss it with the passengers, and although the passengers mentioned it among themselves surreptitiously, everyone knew that the prevailing norm was to act as if nothing unusual had occurred. This set the stage for future incidents on the trip.

Research Methods

Using participant observation combined with formal and informal interviewing and followup questionnaires, I examined the motivations and interactions of the eleven passengers who participated in the trip for at least five of the twelve weeks. Although I did not study the crew members, since they were not tourists, I did include myself as one of the research subjects.

Initially, I presented myself to the crew and to the other passengers as a fellow passenger, scuba diver, and, only incidentally, as an anthropology student. However, on the second day, as the passengers discussed their backgrounds, Monique suggested that I study our tour group, and I seized upon the idea as if it had just occurred to me. I brought it up with the group after we had been traveling for about a week, and the reaction ranged from mild disbelief to outright humor.

Most of my note-taking was inconspicuous, since three other passengers also kept journals. My observations of behavior were relatively simple, because the group being studied was confined to the small space of the boat.

The most useful source of information was the informal interviews that usually consisted of long conversations with individual passengers. During the Galapagos-Pitcairn portion of the trip, I also conducted formal interviews, according to an interview schedule I had developed. These proved to be the least productive of my data-gathering techniques, usually yielding little more than basic demographic information.

Although I assured each informant that I would not disclose any information reported to me, people were reluctant to reveal personal information about themselves and their relationships with others on the boat. I attributed this reluctance to the extremely confined environment in which we were living. Knowing that we were stuck together for the next six weeks for twenty-four hours a day undoubtedly encouraged discretion.

Generally, my informants were much more forthcoming with information about themselves and their feelings when they filled out the followup questionnaire, which I sent to them after their return home. At that point, they were no longer dependent on others, including me, for their survival and well-being. The anonymity of an "official" questionnaire may have also added to their openness.

Discussion

Although the passengers on this trip appeared to be a heterogeneous group, they shared some important characteristics. All of them were American, Caucasian, middle class (based on education, occupation, and income), and well traveled. An unusually large number were experienced sailors and scuba divers. However, the most striking common denominator was that 89 percent had experienced a major life crisis within the twelve months prior to the trip. I defined a life crisis as an experience that causes a major shift in one's life (e.g., divorce, an occupational change, a change in social status). For example, four people were experiencing or planning an occupational change; two had retired; two had experienced or were in the process of a divorce; and two were undergoing other major life crises. The one person who had not experienced a major change wrote that the trip was "another step in my growing to be an adult," which indicates that she was already in the process of transition before the trip began.

I believe that the passengers on Sol embarked on the voyage in response to these life crises. In most cases, this was not a conscious motivation. But most passengers were aware that they needed time to "think things out." The passengers were in a process of movement from one phase of their lives to another, but they had not yet accepted this change internally.

As MacCannell states:

“Sightseeing is a kind of collective striving for a transcendence of the modern totality; a way of attempting to overcome the discontinuity of modernity, of incorporating its fragments into unified experience . . . as tourists they may attempt to discover or reconstruct a cultural heritage or a social identity” (1976:13).

Although MacCannell recognizes a basic motivation of tourism, he does not specify how this attempt to overcome the discontinuity of modernity is actually accomplished through sightseeing. In this paper, I argue that the type of touristic experience described here serves as a rite of passage through which the “discontinuity of modernity” is overcome.

Van Gennep describes rites of passage as rites that accompany every change of place, state, social position and age (1909). Turner has extended this definition, stating that rites of passage “are not restricted, sociologically speaking, to movements between ascribed statuses. They also concern entry into a new achieved status . . .” (1967:95).

Following Van Gennep (1909), rites of passage may be divided into three stages: preliminal (rites of separation); liminal (rites of transition); and postliminal (rites of incorporation).

Rites of Separation

Rites of separation serve to remove or detach the individual from a previous state or place in the social structure (Turner 1969). In this study, separation began when the passengers prepared to leave home and lasted until they joined the boat in Costa Rica, entering a new environment in which they had no known social role. These rites of separation did not occur abruptly, however. Almost all of the passengers reported that they had undergone some type of farewell party or celebration. Usually, this took the form of dinner parties, drinks, and/or farewells at the airport with friends. Additional rites of separation occurred in Costa Rica, before the passengers joined the ship. The passengers met for dinner at their hotel twice before joining the crew and Sol and also went white-water rafting together. These events provided an opportunity to adjust gradually to the coming voyage and to each other.

Rites of Transition

During the next phase, the liminal period, the state of the ritual subject is ambiguous, according to Turner (1967). Subjects pass through a realm that has few or none of the attributes of past or future states. Subjects are no longer categorized by their social status, wealth, heritage, or any of the other social symbols used to fix individuals into their places in society.

The liminal period is distinguished by certain properties or hallmarks. According to Turner, these can be expressed in terms of “a series of binary oppositions or discriminations” (1969:106). Chief among these are the oppositions of transition/state, equality/inequality, and property/absence of property. On this trip, the passengers were in a period of transition, in contrast to a state of relative fixity or stability in their social roles. Furthermore, they were viewed as equal in status on the ship, whereas, at home, they would have been differentiated by age, occupation, wealth, and other factors. On Sol, these factors were not used to distinguish one passenger from another. Rather, abilities acquired or manifest on board the ship (e.g., sailing, cooking) were used to differentiate subjects, but without the development of a hierarchy.

Another aspect of the passengers’ liminality was their lack of property. At home, the passengers varied in their amount and kinds of possessions. Whereas some owned homes and drove Mercedes-Benzes, others rented apartments and drove Volkswagens. However, because individuals were limited to two duffelbags aboard the ship, comparisons involving property could not be made during the trip. Passengers’ clothing also tended to be similar on the voyage, further reinforcing the identity of the group. On only two occasions after leaving the Galapagos did individuals “dress up,” thereby exhibiting individuality in their attire.

Another hallmark of liminality was the disregard for personal appearance, as discussed in detail in an earlier section. Although the change in appearance was partially a practical response to the situation, it was also part of the mystique and ritual of sailing.

Of all the markers of liminality, however, the most striking was the development of “*communitas*” among the passengers and between the passengers and crew. As Turner describes this phenomenon, *communitas* is “almost always thought of or portrayed by actors as a timeless condition, an eternal now, as a ‘moment in and out of time;’ or as a state to which the structure of time is not applicable” (1974:238). He further defines it as “. . . being no longer side by side . . . above and below . . . but with one another” (1969:127).

The bonds of *communitas* quickly formed among the passengers, even before joining the boat. Having been thrown together (both literally and figuratively) into an entirely unknown and dangerous white-water rafting situation in a strange country, the group emerged as cohesive, bound by a shared experience. This quality of communi-

tas was maintained by the passengers during the entire trip. Friendships that would never have occurred at home, for reasons of age, occupation, and differences of interest, were forged among the passengers.

The crew also shared *communitas*, as was evident the moment the passengers joined the ship. However, the two groups did not share *communitas* together until reaching the Gambier Islands. There, after spending twenty-three hazardous days crossing the Pacific from the Galapagos to Pitcairn and having had the deeply moving experience of living with the people of Pitcairn, we met an American who hosted a goat roast in celebration of our arrival on the Islands. This was one of the highlights of our trip and was the catalyst for the *communitas* that subsequently developed between crew and passengers.

Life on board the ship also lent itself to the timeless quality of liminality, since time was structured according to four-hour watch segments, twenty-four hours a day. Work could not be separated from free time; instead, both were incorporated into the integrated daily cycle.

The comradeship of *communitas*, with its ease and familiarity, allowed everyone to “be themselves” and to try out new modes of behavior. For example, several passengers who drank only moderately at home drank excessively on numerous occasions during the trip. There was also experimental drug use. Almost everyone watched pornographic movies, and there was increased sexual promiscuity. In general, behavior could be described as “abandoned.”

Turner and Turner state that liminality is “not only TRANSITION but also POTENTIALITY, not only ‘going to be’ but also ‘what may be’ (1978:3). Experimental behavior was one of the most prominent aspects of the trip, but this behavior was not without a purpose. This behavior can be seen as part of a process of growth and change, a positive aspect of the liminal state.

As with this analysis, Wagner (1977) also makes extensive use of the concepts of liminality and *communitas* in her examination of the behavior of tourists traveling on charter trips. She states that charter trips are periods of normless living, a release from ordinary, everyday social structure. This touristic period is not antistructural, but nonstructural, according to Wagner.

Wagner states that there is a major difference between the mass tourist’s “unstructured life” and Turner’s notion of liminality; this difference, she states, is due to lack of time on the charter trip and the consequent inability of norm-governed relationships to develop.

I believe, however, that the short-term *communitas* of tourism (mass or otherwise) is equally norm-governed and structured, except for those brief bursts of “spontaneous *communitas*” that occasionally occur. Just as with ritual initiations, which vary in duration, the development of norms and/or structure during holiday periods is not time-dependent. Although the norms governing the tourist’s vacation period are not those of the larger society, they are norms nevertheless. For example, holiday norms include the wearing of unusual dress (e.g., flowered Hawaiian shirts); the forming of friendships without regard for equality of status; and “being oneself.” The critical feature of these norms is that they apply only to the vacation period; they do not extend to ordinary life.

It is important to note that structures are set up by those catering to tourists in order that tourists may shed their ordinary lives and take up different, less inhibiting norms. The tourist lives within a new structure of hosts, guides, and resort personnel and, within this structure, finds that social approval or at least tolerance is accorded to those who behave as they wish, unconstrained by the norms of the larger society.

Rites of Incorporation

The last stage of the rite of passage, the so-called rite of incorporation, parallels that of separation. During this stage, the ritual subject separates from the group, gradually and with small ceremonies.

For those of us on Sol, this occurred when we arrived in Papeete, Tahiti, where both crew and passengers underwent “culture shock.” The sheer number of tourists, cars, soldiers, and stores overwhelmed us after the peace and isolation of the past three months.

The passengers pooled their money and arranged for an elaborate dinner at a local Chinese restaurant. Fortunately, we were able to arrange for a friend to “boat-sit” so that all crew members and passengers could be present at the ritual celebration. Everyone dressed up for the occasion, and we were treated to an excellent dinner.

The next day, the first passenger, Lynn, who had missed hot showers and modern amenities, moved off the boat to a hotel, where he stayed until he left the island. Some passengers toured the island, and others played golf. During these last few days, the passengers booked flights, exchanged addresses, and planned to meet again when they returned home.

Conclusion

This Pacific voyage served as a personal rite of passage for most of its participants. During the three-month expedition, passengers came to terms with themselves and their changing statuses. The tour served as a transitional

period, a testing ground for new ideas and behaviors.

In a followup questionnaire sent by me to trip participants, most of them reported that the voyage had made a difference in their lives. Wrote Louis:

"I think it helped me restore my perspective on what's really important in my life. It made me value closeness to my friends more. It made me realize my job isn't that important as long as it allows me to pursue other things."

Monique referred to her trip on Sol as a "pilgrimage," while Jules wrote:

"I'm easier going, even if I'm out of work. My value systems have once again been rearranged: The almighty dollar has once again been put back into perspective as *not* all mighty. Also, I've realized more so that there are many things about myself that I probably will never change, and I am therefore more accepting of myself, with both strengths and faults."

Although the traditional rite of passage includes socialization into new norms by group elders acting as spiritual guides, this did not occur on the trip. Rather, the passengers harnessed their own resources to achieve their resocialization and reintegration into society. They did not take up their previous lives exactly where they had left off; instead, the trip allowed them to grow and change in response to their changing lives.

In discussing the effects of tourism, Graburn has said:

"We are a new person who has gone through recreation and, if we do not feel renewed, the whole point of tourism has been missed" (1977:23).

I believe that the passengers on Sol not only felt renewed, but that they also felt they had overcome the "atomization of modern society" (MacCannell 1976). This happened to most, although not all, of the participants. As with other forms of personal transformation, the passengers got out what they put into the process. Those looking for sun and sand found sun and sand, while those looking for a change of life discovered that a change of life was possible.

Turner and Turner have written of pilgrimages:

"Insofar as it is a rite of passage, an initiation, it succeeds the major initiation rites of puberty in tribal societies as the dominant historical form. It is, indeed, the ordered antistructure of patrimonial feudal systems" (1978:254).

It follows, then, that tourism is the ordered antistructure of postindustrial systems.

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