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PACKING FOR TOURISTIC PERFORMANCES

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Abstract: Tourist behaviours can be viewed as performances on a variety of tourism stages. This article examines tourist packing practices as planning and preparation for touristic performances. Grounded theory methods are employed to analyze documentary sources in which tourists describe what and how they pack for air travel. The article presents a substantive theory of packing for travel. This theory is viewed through the lens of Giddens' grand theory of self-identity. The contents of a travel bag constitute the costumes and props a tourist believes will aid their performance in each tourism setting. Packing for travel is an act in which the tourist prioritises those items they believe will most assist the maintenance, construction and articulation of self-identity in new settings. **Keywords:** tourism as performance, self-identity, packing, grounded theory.

INTRODUCTION

The study of tourism is likely experiencing a paradigm shift (Noy, 2008). The performative approach views all tourism as performance, in which the tourist constructs place and identity (Brown, 2009; Desforges, 2000; McCabe & Stokoe, 2004; Noy, 2004). Tourism is performed on stages (Edensor, 2001; Noy, 2008) such as airports, hotel lobbies, tour buses, attractions and national parks. Here the performance of the tourist is contextualised and managed by the design of the stage, scripts supplied, and directions given by tourism management and employees. On tourism stages, tourists' identities are performed. There are commonly held understandings of ''how to be a tourist'' (Edensor, 2001, p. 61), for example how to be an airline passenger, a hotel guest, or a member of a tour group. ''Tourism constitutes a collection of commonly understood and embodied practices and meanings which are reproduced by tourists through performances—in alliance with tourist managers and workers'' (Edensor, 2001, p. 71). Expected forms of dress, movement, gaze and expressions of emotion are somewhat prescribed and choreographed for each tourism stage. Thus tourists

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construct and reconstruct tourism places by performing and reacting to these places as prescribed by convention and imagination.

One touristic performance that has received little research attention is packing for travel. This paper examines packing for leisure or business travel both as touristic performance and preparation for touristic performances. The study examines packing as an act of planning and preparation (Jack & Phipps, 2005; Koc, 2003), by which the leisure or business tourist anticipates the touristic performances likely during their travels, and prepares costumes and props that will assist the construction of self-identity during performances.

TOURISTIC PERFORMANCES AND SELF-IDENTITY

The performative approach to tourism has its roots in the dramaturgical view of everyday life presented by Goffman (1959). The dramaturgical view uses a theatrical metaphor to explain social processes in everyday life. The individual is an actor upon a stage, whose performance is viewed and judged by an audience consisting of other actors present. The performance is supported by the use of appropriate setting, script, props and costumes. Success in performance is judged by the actor's ability to communicate the role they are playing convincingly and unambiguously (Schlenker, 2003; Schlenker & Weigold, 1992). The use of scripts and costumes that are familiar to audiences assists successful performance. The actor is not completely in control of their performance; rather, performance is shaped in interaction with the particular setting and other actors present. In everyday life, clothing, words and gestures are chosen carefully by actors, so they more likely succeed in their performances.

MacCannell's (1973, 1989) classic work in theory of tourism in part utilizes a dramaturgical model. Tourism stages are created by tourism management to give audiences of tourists the impression of authenticity. MacCannell uses Goffman's distinction between frontstage and backstage performances to explore the extent to which a tourist is truly exposed to backstage performances. Yet, MacCannell's use of a dramaturgical model is restricted to the performances of tourism management and personnel, and does not consider the performances of tourists themselves. Perhaps the most complete explication of the performative approach to tourism is presented by Edensor (1998, 2000, 2001). Through analysis of tourist behaviour at the Taj Mahal, Edensor identifies repeated patterns of walking, talking and photographing at the site, that represent varieties of constrained or improvisational touristic performances. Edensor (2000) recognises three types of touristic performance. In *disciplined ritual*, tourists are directed where to walk, what to gaze at and what to photograph. The touristic performances are repetitive, restricted in movement and in time. In *improvised performances*, actors choose where they go, what they gaze at and how they act. These are reflexive endeavours. In *unbounded performances* the stage lacks familiar scenery and props. The actor's repertoire of rehearsed

performances is inappropriate to the setting and may expose him or her to ridicule, astonishment or affront from locals who are familiar with the appropriate scripts to follow.

Touristic performances help construct self-identity. We adopt the approach of Giddens (1991) that self-identity is constructed throughout one's life, as a narrative of identity. ''Each of us not only 'has', but *lives* a biography reflexively organised in terms of flows of social and psychological information about possible ways of life. Modernity is a post-traditional order, in which the question, 'How shall I live?' has to be answered in day-to-day decisions about how to behave, what to wear and what to eat—and many other things—as well as interpreted within the temporal unfolding of self-identity'' (Giddens, 1991, p. 14). Self-identity can be viewed as a reflexive project that unfolds as the life-course proceeds. Self-identity is produced and reproduced in social performances. This view is consistent with the performative approach to tourism. ''In 'doing' everyday life, all human beings 'answer' the question of being'' (Giddens, 1991, p. 48). To support ontological security, the narrative life-story should have elements of consistency and continuity throughout the life-course.

Tourism research is replete with examples of tourism experiences contributing to the construction of self-identity. Both Desforges (2000) and Noy (2004) analyze changes to tourists' self-identity as a result of long-term travel, and travel to unfamiliar environments. Such travel experiences may represent 'fateful moments' in the life-stories of tourists (Giddens, 1991). Confronted with the dramatically unfamiliar, the tourist seeks to reassess their sense of self, and their lifestyle priorities (Brown, 2009). Removed from the security and familiarity of home-life, the tourist has an opportunity for reflexion and renewal (Leed, 1991). Similar observations are made of long-term sojourners, such as ex-patriate workers and international students (Bell, 2002; Brown, 2009; Inkson, Arthur, Pringle, & Barry, 1997; Inkson & Myers, 2003; Osland, 1995). Yet these are examples of extreme forms of travel, removed from everyday leisure and business travel experiences. Brown observes, ''the degree of change wrought in the tourist is arguably a function of the purpose and duration of the trip undertaken: a shift in personal and cultural outlook is less likely in the mass and business tourist whose contact with and immersion into the local culture is often limited'' (p. 505).

Yet mundane touristic performances are also shown to contribute to self-identity. Family vacation photography helps construct family identity, by staging and choreographing scenes of idyllic families that are preserved as an important part of the life-story of family members (Haldrup & Larsen, 2003). Walking in a national park can construct and confirm group membership, family history and ties to the landscape (McCabe & Stokoe, 2004). Even writing in the visitor book at a heritage site is a performance on a stage, which can contribute to one's cultural heritage as part of self-identity (Noy, 2008). The telling of stories of one's travel exploits is also a performance that shapes and strengthens self-identity (Noy, 2004). One touristic performance that

has received little research attention is packing for air travel. After the events of September 11, 2001, the act of packing for air travel took on renewed significance for tourists. Airlines and airport authorities place severe restrictions on which items and how many items tourists may pack for air travel, especially those items they may carry onboard. These restrictions require tourists to be especially vigilant in their choice of items to pack. Issues of what to pack and how to pack attract a great volume of commentary on websites and in blogs, as well as in travel guidebooks, magazines, and conversations among tourists (Jack & Phipps, 2005). Tourists actively seek guidance on matters of packing, and seasoned tourists are keen to share their expertise in this regard. We utilize this dialogue as our data source to examine *what* leisure and business tourists pack for air travel, and *why* they pack these items. We also examine *how* leisure and business tourists pack their travel bags.

Study Methods

The research methodology used was that of grounded theory (Glaser, 1978) with the aim of building an emergent theory of what, why and how tourists pack for air travel. Grounded theory provides procedures for a researcher to explore empirical data and discover theoretical insights grounded in the data. This approach is particularly useful as no theory of tourists' packing for air travel has been established to date. Grounded theory methods are methods of data analysis, rather than methods of data collection. Systematic procedures are employed by the researcher to examine empirical data intensely, to identify concepts within the data and relationships between these concepts, and from there, to build new theory to explain the phenomenon under investigation. Importantly, data analysis should proceed simultaneously with data collection, such that issues and concepts identified in the data guide the data collection process (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

Data Sources. Most qualitative studies, and indeed most studies employing grounded theory methods, have as their primary data source the spoken word from long interviews. However, an alternative data source was utilized in this study. Glaser and Strauss (1967) speak at length about the use of documentary sources as a basis for building grounded theory:

> But sociologists need to be as skilled and ingenious in using documentary materials as in doing field work. These materials are as potentially valuable for generating theory as our observations and interviews... Every book, every magazine article, represents at least one person who is equivalent to the anthropologist's informant or the sociologist's interviewee. In those publications, people converse, announce positions, argue with a range of eloquence, and describe events or scenes in ways entirely comparable to what is seen and heard during field work (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 163).

This study employed documentary data sources, the printed or electronic word. In the popular press, in books and magazines and on websites, it is common for leisure and business tourists to write about their packing routines—what they pack, why they pack it, and how and when they pack (Jack & Phipps, 2005). It is also common for tourists to provide lengthy advice on these matters. The volume of this commentary in the popular press and on the Internet speaks to the saliency, currency and relevance of these issues to tourists. The documents consulted for the study represent artefacts of a cultural narrative into issues of importance to tourists. The fact that many of these sources are prescriptive in nature is in itself telling, as this provides insight into some of the values and priorities of the actors. Researchers recognise the importance of dialogue on the Internet as a data source for researching the behaviours and perceptions of a population. Kozinets (2002) refers to such research as netnography. For legitimacy, such netnography should meet a number of criteria including having a relevant community of persons to analyze, numerous contributors, a large number of data items, and descriptively rich data which speaks to the research question. The data sources employed here meet these criteria.

A number of magazine and newspaper titles were monitored over a 12 month period in 2008 for articles on packing. Books on the topic were sought. The Internet was searched for websites and webpages offering advice on packing for airtravel. Appendix 1 provides a complete list of the sources utilized in the study. The data for the study comprised 14 magazine articles, 16 articles from webpages, two chapters from books, one tourist travel guide, seven newspaper articles, one website comprising 60 000 words, and one 240-page book on packing for travel. There are two specific limitations to the use of community dialogue as a datasource: the findings may only relate to the specific community studied, and there is a need for interpretive skills on the part of the researcher (Kozinets, 2002). The first limitation of is addressed as follows. This study is not limited to specific groups of tourists such as backpackers, or specific groups according to gender, age, culture, or destination type. Instead the study seeks to understand the general phenomenon of packing for air travel for all leisure and business tourists. The second limitation is addressed through the rigorous application of grounded theory methods of data analysis.

Data Analysis. The following section describes the Glaserian (1978) approach to data analysis employed in the research. An essential edict of grounded theory methods is that new theory is allowed to emerge from the data, rather than the data being forced to fit existing theory or presumptions (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). The researcher should enter the field of enquiry with as few predetermined ideas as possible. However, the researcher should possess theoretical sensitivity, which is sensitivity to identify theoretical concepts when and if they arise from the data. Grounded theory procedure, as recommended by Glaser (1978, 1992, 2002), Glaser & Strauss, 1967) involves three phases of coding—open coding, selective coding, theoretical coding—as well as a

number of related processes—constant comparison, theoretical sampling, theoretical saturation, memo writing, and writing of the theory. No phase of the investigation is entirely separate, but rather the process is highly iterative. To analyze the data, one of the researchers began with open coding, identifying codes that emerged from analysis of the data sources. As Glaser and Strauss (1967) recommend, the data was read line by line and coded. As a check on the reliability of coding, the second researcher then examined and coded source documents and compared their analysis to the work of the original coder. Discussions ensued and codes were agreed upon. Where possible, codes tended towards analytical insight and moved beyond mere description of the data. An example of open coding is provided in Table 1, together with identification of source documents by number, as found in Appendix 1.

When a sufficient number of open codes had been formed, the researchers sought to group open codes into categories, a process termed *selective coding*. Several layers of abstraction are involved here, with a moderate number of lower-level categories representing the open codes, and a small number of higher-level categories representing the lower-level categories. The processes of *constant comparison* are inherent in grounded theory technique. The processes involve ongoing comparison of elements of the analysis; this is highly *iterative*, with the researcher going back and forth between the levels of analysis to achieve optimal fit. Codes and categories were modified, trimmed, deleted, or merged, elevated or demoted; new categories were created. Table 2 shows an example of selective coding.

Table 1. Example of an Open Code

Open Code	Description
Clothes for evening socialising	Cocktail dress, evening wear (document #5) Dresses to wear out to dinner (document #42) After-hours wardrobe—clothes to wear to dinner (document #513)

Table 2. Example of Selective Coding

Lower Level Category	Open Codes
Costumes for social roles	Learn the dress code Have the right clothes to wear for all occasions Clothing for evening socializing Clothes for formal socializing Ready for each work location Maintain professional appearance Appropriate clothes for religion/culture Modesty Clothing to blend in with the locals

Table 3. Touristic Performances—Components of the Category

Major Category	Lower Level Categories	Open Codes
Touristic Performances	Costumes for social roles	Learn the dress code, have the right clothes to wear for all occasions, clothing for evening socialising, clothes for formal socialising, ready for each work location, maintain professional appearance, appropriate clothes for religion/culture, modesty, clothing to blend in with the locals
	Looking great	You must look good on your vacation, look glamorous, despite the rigors of travel I look wonderful, joy and pride in looking the best on every holiday occasion, fantasizing how great you will look on vacation, take the clothes you love
	Choice of colour	Choice of colour in important, neutral colour, colour not monochrome
	Variety in appearance	Variety in appearance
	Maintaining costumes	Keep clothes looking good, laundry, choice of fabrics, avoid denim, protect shoes
	Other aids to appearance	Cosmetics/toiletries for travelers, stylish wallet, stylish luggage, footwear, handbags, haircare, jewellery, accessories, briefcase
	Props for performing activities	Shopping, facilitate activities, daypack, book, laptop, camera

The researchers then examined, with some mental effort, the relationships between categories, a process termed *theoretical coding*. The researchers asked what relationships exist between the lower-level categories, and what relationships exist between the higher-level categories. It is in identifying these relationships that the new theory emerged. Table 3 shows the construction of a higher-level category from lower-level categories.

A record was kept of all coding levels, such that an unbroken chain of evidence is retained that links higher-level categories to lower-level categories, to open codes, and then to lines of data. Throughout this process, the researchers consistently sought new documents; however, at a certain point in the data collection, new documents no longer indicated any new categories of observation. Theoretical saturation had been reached; the existing categories provided an adequate, easy, and comfortable fit to any new open code identified. With these insights into core categories and their relationships, writing of the proposed theory proceeded. Once the emergent theory was identified via the grounded theory method, it was viewed through the lens of Giddens' (1991) self-identity theory. This provided additional theoretical insights into what tourists pack for air travel, and why these items are packed.

PACKING FOR TOURISTIC PERFORMANCES

Data analysis reveals three facets of leisure and business tourists' packing for air travel. Firstly, tourists pack those items they require to construct self-identity in new settings. Yet travel also demands freedom of movement. These two goals frequently conflict, centred on the tension between packing too little or packing too much. Tourists resolve this conflict in their performances of packing. Only by considering all three facets can we understand what tourists pack for air travel and why. The findings are generalized to all leisure and business tourists, as the population of interest. Individual differences according to the gender, age, or culture of the tourist are not explicitly examined. The presentation of findings that follows utilizes original source materials presented as quotes and explicit descriptions of packing by leisure and business tourists (Table 4).

Constructing Self-Identity in New Settings

In the first instance, leisure and business tourists pack those items for air travel that will aid them to construct self-identity in new settings. ''What to do? How to act? Who to be? These are focal questions for everyone living in circumstances of late modernity—and ones which,

Table 4. Packing for Touristic Performances

Constructing self-identity in new settings	Touristic performances	– Costumes for social roles – Looking great – Choice of colour – Variety in appearance – Maintaining costumes – Other aids to appearance – Props for performing activities
	Rituals to maintain the private self-identity narrative	– Out of comfort zone – Emotional comfort
	Risks to the physical body	– Health and security – Weather – Comfort – Aids to daily living
Freedom of movement		– Airport rules and regulations – Clothing to pack – How much to pack – Surviving the journey – Security of possessions
Packing as performance		– How tourists pack – A plan for packing – Packing light

on some level or another, all of us answer, either discursively or through day-to-day social behaviour'' (Giddens, 1991, p. 70). The travel destination may represent an unfamiliar physical environment, a new climate, a new culture, new activities, and new social situations. Items are packed to enable *touristic performances*, perform private *rituals to maintain the self-identity narrative*, and protect against *risks to the physical body*. These three facets are discussed in turn.

Touristic Performances. The largest proportion of touristic dialogue on packing addresses the packing of clothing, especially for presentation of the self in new social settings. It therefore is appropriate to use the terminology proposed in Goffman's (1959) dramaturgical analysis of presentation of the self in everyday life. We refer to the tourist as an actor who undertakes performances in a series of social scenes, with the aid of the costumes and props packed in the travel bag. The data indicate seven aspects of packing for touristic performances: *costumes for social roles, looking great, choice of colour, variety in appearance, maintaining costumes, other aids to appearance, and props for performing activities*. To ensure clothing appropriate to the roles a tourist will perform, tourists typically identify the dress code that is appropriate for each scene. In this way they construct self-identity through their touristic performances.

> When you consider that you will never get a second chance to make a good first impression, it's obvious that careful wardrobe planning is the key to a successful business trip ... Dressing for business is not about wearing what you feel like wearing; it is about wearing what you must to get the job done and make the best impression. If you travel in sweats and your business contact unexpectedly meets you at the airport, it will take a lot of suit-and-starched-shirt days to change this too-casual image. (Document, D#513)

Tourists buy new outfits for the journey, to make a grand impression on audiences. The tourist's choice of colour in costumes appears important, as is variety in costumes. Tourists prefer a costume change for each major scene, because audiences may frown on the actor who wears the same costume repeatedly. Keeping costumes looking good is a particular challenge, as garments are likely to crumple in the travel bag or become soiled during the journey. Metaphorically, tourists do not want to look as if they have just climbed out of a suitcase. Tourists pack supplies to launder and care for their costumes at their destination.

> Unpack and hang your clothes immediately after checking into your room if at all possible. Shake each item well and hang to air out and shed packing wrinkles ... If you have selected travel-friendly fabrics and packed to minimize wrinkles, you won't need an iron or a steamer. (D#521)

The variety of cosmetic and toiletry items that tourists deem essential for successful impression management can be extensive (Schlenker, 2003; Schlenker & Weigold, 1992). Tourists worry in particular about the appearance of their hair, so pack hair care products. Tourists pack

other props to enhance their appearance, including stylish footwear, handbags, jewellery and accessories such as belts, ties, and watches. Even the tourist's choice of luggage can communicate self-identity to audiences who view the tourist walking through an airport concourse or hotel lobby.

> Make a statement with the new Manhattan Quilt four-piece collection by Liz Claiborne … Find the right bag for you—after all, it's an important accessory that should help organize your life with minimum effort as well as making a statement of style. (D#25)

The tourist undertakes activities at the destination that require props for performance. A business traveller who makes presentations at meetings needs props such as a laptop computer and memory device. The leisure tourist who wishes to go skiing, hiking, or swimming requires specific equipment, footwear or clothing.

> Two pairs of togs [swimsuits] so that I always have a dry pair ready to go … Two pairs of sunglasses because one pair will always go missing. A wide-brimmed hat to guard against sun damage … Sunblock. Mosquito repellent … A pile of trashy novels. (D#42)

Leisure tourists may pack a camera and books to read. Others plan to engage in extensive shopping during their vacations, so deliberately leave space in their bags or carry an empty travel bag to accommodate the purchases they intend to make.

Rituals to Maintain the Private Self-identity Narrative. Convincing touristic performances are crucial, so costumes and props dominate the items in tourists' travel bags. Tourists also focus on rituals to maintain the private self, so pack items to maintain a private self-identity narrative. Giddens (1991) observes, ''All human beings, in all cultures, preserve a division between their self-identities and the 'performances' they put in specific social contexts'' (p. 58). "A person's identity is not to be found in behaviour, nor—important though this is—in the reactions of others, but in the capacity to keep a particular narrative going'' (p. 54). Because travel takes a person away from familiar settings, performing in new settings can challenge the stability of a person's self-identity (Brown, 2009; Desforges, 2000; Noy, 2008). Maintaining the self-identity narrative in private is essential to ontological security, psychological and emotional stability (Giddens, 1991; Markus & Wurf, 1987). The business traveller, in particular, requires confidence in their self-identity to perform convincingly on stage. Private rituals are performed to maintain the ongoing story about the self. Tourists pack familiar possessions to gain emotional comfort in a strange environment (Belk, 1988, 1992), such as photographs of loved ones or rosary beads. Tourists pack favourite music, comfortable pyjamas, or familiar soft toys.

> Here's how you can turn your hotel into a home away from home. Photos of loved ones left behind in a compact folding frame. Your favourite bath oil. A travel-sized scented candle. Your own favourite soap. (D#14)

Risks to the Physical Body. The data collected speaks a great deal about risks to the physical body in new settings. Items are packed to maintain health and security, clothing is packed appropriate to the local weather and to maintain physical comfort, and various items are packed that aid daily living. Tourists are concerned about their health and hygiene in new settings and so pack hand sanitizer, hand wipes or water purification tablets. These items are a reflection of the priority the tourist places on personal health and hygiene, as well as their perception of the standards of hygiene they expect to encounter in the new setting. Giddens (1991, p. 126) observes, ''The body is in some sense perennially at risk. The possibility of bodily injury is ever-present, even in the most familiar of surroundings''. Tourists pack medicines and pharmaceutical products, including regular medication as well as pharmaceutical items for occasional needs, such as insect repellent, antihistamine, anti-diarrhoea medication, painkillers, bandages or antiseptic cream. Other items are packed as aids for daily living, including favourite food items not available at the destination, electrical power socket adaptors, cellphone chargers, flashlights and batteries. Such items may satisfy multiple purposes; a flashlight packed to prevent *risks to the physical body,* may also act as a *prop for performing activities.*

Freedom of Movement

Packing a sufficient number of costumes and props for touristic performances encourages the tourist to pack a maximum number of items. But every tourist also has another goal, to ensure freedom of movement. This encourages the tourist to pack a minimum of items. These two goals frequently conflict, causing anxious moments during the packing of travel bags.

> Some people just hate to pack . . . I should know—I'm married to one such reluctant packer. David complains, procrastinates, threatens to stay home, and begs me to help. (D#511)

We recognise five aspects to freedom of movement for the tourist: *airport rules and regulations*, *what clothing to pack*, *how much to pack*, *surviving the journey*, and *ensuring security of possessions.* Modern air travel is fraught with barriers to freedom of movement. Since the events of September 11, 2001, airport authorities and airlines have enforced strict rules regarding what tourists can pack into luggage and how much they can pack.

Tourists recognize clothing as their biggest packing challenge. Motivated by the goal to perform their roles convincingly (Edensor, 2001; Goffman, 1959) through frequent changes of costume—as well as to achieve colour, variety, and great looks—tourists are tempted to pack an excessive number and variety of clothing items. Tourists then worry they will struggle with the weight and number of their bags, or confront excess baggage charges. For tourists, such as backpackers or busy businesspeople, freedom of movement and haste of egress are key. Such tourists likely minimise how much they pack.

> The lighter you pack, the faster you can move through the airport to your taxi, hotel and meeting. (D#18)

For tourists, air travel represents an ordeal, especially long-haul travel that lasts many hours. Tourists therefore pack a variety of items in their carry-on luggage to take on the flight to survive the journey in some semblance of comfort. These items aid in keeping the tourist warm, hydrated, comfortable, and entertained.

> Modern air travel is more a gruelling ordeal than a glamorous adventure. The best we can hope for is to endure it without feeling like we want to bail out over the Indian Ocean. (D#14)

In many cases, an audience may be waiting to greet the tourist after the flight; the actor does not want to appear dishevelled to this audience, so may bring a change of clothing, a selection of cosmetics and toiletries to prepare for their stage entrance. Tourists may also be concerned for the security of the possessions they pack, especially the possibility the airline will lose their checked luggage. In response to this concern, tourists may keep their most valued possessions, such as business documents, essential medicines, and jewellery, in their carry-on luggage.

> Always pack a survival kit in your carry-on. Include basics needed should your bags be delayed. I pack a small cosmetics case, prescriptions and other medications, a change of underwear, and a clean blouse ... Barbara recommends carrying on anything that, if lost, will ruin your trip (ski boots), expensive necessities (eyeglasses), and anything irreplaceable. (D#510)

Tourists who are especially concerned about the security of their possessions refuse to use check-in luggage at all, instead travelling only with carry-on luggage.

Packing as Performance

In packing their travel bags, tourists employ a variety of tactics to resolve the conflicting goals of constructing self-identity in new settings while ensuring freedom of movement. *How* tourists pack their travel bags influences *what* they pack and *why*. We discuss three aspects related to packing as performance: *how tourists pack*, *a plan for packing*, and *packing light*.

How Tourists Pack. Three facets of how tourists pack for travel are identified, having a system of packing, utilizing only one bag, and protecting one's possessions in transit. First, tourists pack their bags systematically, storing each category of item—shoes, coats, shirts, toiletries, and electronics—in a specific location in the travel bag. The tourist adopts a system of packing to reduce damage to possessions or the crumpling of costumes—the actor does not wish to perform in soiled or crumpled costumes. The system adopted is inherently idiosyncratic, peculiar to the individual tourist and the type of bag he or she carries.

> The bottom layer holds heavy and irregularly shaped items, grouped items, plus soft rolled things. The middle layer contains interfolded clothing. The top layer holds the things you need first. (D#511)

An adjunct to a tourist's system of packing is a ritual location where they perform their packing—perhaps a bedroom or a lounge. The tourist lays out all the items he or she plans to pack, considers their bulk and composition, and then places selected items in the bag in an orderly manner.

Second, to resolve the conflict between packing too much and packing too little, many tourists carry only one bag and thereby restrict their choice of items to just those items that will fit into the bag. At one extreme, there exists a segment of tourists who fervently believe that all items for travel must be packed into one carry-on bag, which accompanies them onboard the aircraft and everywhere else they travel. These tourists clearly place the highest priority on expediting freedom of movement. Third, the protection of possessions in transit is a cause for concern among tourists, so they adopt various tactics to protect their possessions. For example, they may pack fragile items in bubble wrap or thick items of clothing.

A Plan for Packing. For many tourists, planning what to pack commences weeks prior to their departure. They may purchase new clothing, swimwear, sporting equipment or aids to daily living ahead of time, then store these items in preparation for their journey. Tourists use a packing list, recording items they consider essential, then limit themselves to packing only those items listed. In constructing a packing list, tourists consider their touristic performances and the costumes and props required for each performance. Tourists use their ritual packing place to physically arrange a costume for each scene.

> I start to pack a week before I go because I want to take as little as possible so I give it a lot of thought. I count the number of days I'll be away and make sure that my basic wardrobe includes cocktail and eveningwear. (D#5)

Frequent travellers, such as business travellers, own a travel-only wardrobe—a set of costumes they put aside and use only for business performances in distant settings.

Packing Light. The final aspect of packing as performance is the desire by tourists to pack the least amount possible to minimize the weight and bulk of their travel bags. This requires the tourist to be selective about which items to pack. We recognise five tactics employed by tourists in this regard: to minimize what is packed, pack clever clothes, minimize other aids to appearance, consider what items the destination may supply, and be willing to discard items after use. Tourists make a conscious effort to minimize the amount they pack, particularly the number and variety of clothing items. A tourist may make a first attempt at packing, then assess how heavy their bag feels or how difficult it is to walk with it, then make compromises in the choice of items.

> We packed very light, knowing that European trains allow little time to board and baggage is most often stored in an overhead rack, not checked. We also knew that train stations in small towns sometimes have stairs only (no elevators, escalators or ramps) so carrying our luggage would be necessary. (D#502)

Clever clothes refer to garments in a limited range of colours that can be coordinated to create a wide range of costumes and give the impression of variety in appearance (Schlenker, 2003; Schlenker & Weigold, 1992). Business tourists often limit themselves to a simple range of garments in blacks and greys that they can mix. Because toiletries, cosmetics, jewellery, accessories, and footwear contribute significantly to the bulk and weight of the travel bag, tourists consciously limit themselves in the number of such items they pack. Reliance on small, travel-sized packages of favoured brands of toiletries and cosmetics is used.

> It's always the toiletries that bugger up your carefully laid packing plans. They weigh more than anything else, invariably leak and are usually left behind half-full at the end of your holiday. (D#13)

Instead of packing favoured items, tourists consider what items will be available at their destination, such as toiletries supplied in the hotel room, or batteries available from a local convenience store. Tourists leave out items of clothing from their bag, knowing they plan to purchase new clothing at their destination. Finally, tourists plan to discard costumes and props once a scene has been played, rather than repacking them for the return journey. Tourists discard books they have read or packaged toiletries they have opened.

Differences likely exist in how early tourists start to pack, the extent to which they plan their packing and whether they use a system of packing (Zalatan, 1996).

> I'm always highly organized before I go. Every inch of my suitcase is packed to precision. (D#14)

Tourists make compromises in the selection of items they travel with. Not all the items tourists might wish to have for convincing touristic performances (Edensor, 2001; Goffman, 1959) can be packed for each journey. The items that tourists pack thus reflect the compromises they make between the competing goals of constructing self-identity in new settings and ensuring freedom of movement.

CONCLUSION

Packing is a mundane practice performed by all tourists prior to travel. Yet this ubiquitous touristic performance has attracted little research attention to date. This paper has presented the first substantive theory of the touristic performance of packing. The theory has been built from documentary sources, the pervasive narrative on what to pack and how to pack that tourists present on websites, in magazines, newspapers and in books. Though often pre-

scriptive in tone, such sources are a legitimate basis for theory building, as they reflect the views and priorities of the study population of leisure and business tourists (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Kozinets, 2002).

Having built a grounded theory of packing for travel, that theory was then interpreted through the lens of Giddens' (1991) grand theory of self-identity. Undoubtedly the substantive theory could have been applied against other grand theories, for alternative insights. Yet we find the application of Giddens' self-identity theory particularly illuminating. Our findings inform self-identity theory by showing how packing constructs self-identity. Items are chosen for the travel bag that represent how the tourist sees themselves, or wishes to construct themselves in new settings. Because of strict limits on how much can be packed for air travel, these packed items reflect priorities for the tourist's self-narrative. This paper enhances our understanding of tourism by showing how packing for air travel is preparation for touristic performances. We note that the tourist's selection of clothing is likely the most important category packed for travel, as these items constitute the costumes that will assist the tourist to give convincing performances and make the right impression on audiences. We note the importance placed by tourists on the style, colour, variety and care of costumes.

The substantive theory represents mid-range theory. It is not presented at the detailed empirical level where one might say conclusively, a specific practice applies to one group of tourists but not another. Undoubtedly, future research will observe heterogeneity in packing practices. We invite future research precisely in this regard, to compare the packing practices of men and women, business people and backpackers, and tourists from varying cultures. Such research could potentially result in the development of a typology of tourist packers. Gender differences, in particular, should be explored. In some social environments packing might be viewed as 'women's work' or possibly as 'men's work' (Zalatan, 1998). The theory of packing presented here could serve as a useful guide to the formulation of propositions for such research endeavours.

Tourism can be viewed as a series of performances upon tourism stages (Edensor, 1998, 2000, 2001; Haldrup & Larsen, 2003; Noy, 2008). Packing represents an act of planning and preparation for touristic performances. Packing practices resolve the conflict between packing too little—and thus lacking adequate costumes and props for effective touristic performances—and packing too much—and thus impeding freedom of movement. The contents of a travel bag constitute the costumes and props a tourist believes will aid their performance in each tourism setting (Goffman, 1959). In packing the travel bag the tourist prioritises those items they believe will most assist the maintenance, construction and articulation of self-identity in new settings. Packing is a performance that helps the tourist create and express self-identity across time and place (Giddens, 1991). A

APPENDIX 1. SOURCE DOCUMENTS

Source. No

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