The Flipside of the World:

Sound, Sleep, and Willful Unbelonging among Sailing Cruisers

by

Marion Jeanette Lougheed

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Name:	**Marion Jeanette Lougheed**
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Title:	***The Flipside of the World: Sound, Sleep, and Willful Unbelonging among Sailing Cruisers***
Examining Committee:	**Chair:** Dara Culhane Professor

Jie Yang
Senior Supervisor
Associate Professor

Robert Menzies
Supervisor
Professor Emeritus

Susan Ossman
External Examiner
Professor
Anthropology
University of California - Riverside

Date Defended/Approved: September 29, 2016

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Abstract

Long-term cruisers spend years living and travelling on small or medium-sized sailboats. They balance individualized, flexible lives with ongoing responsibilities to their boat, crew, and a fluid cruising community. They defy mainstream ideals linked to biomedicine, self-help, and economic productivity. While cruisers sometimes mobilize neoliberal discourse, they do not adhere to its undergirding values. Their subjectivity is centered on willful unbelonging; cruisers' choice of living away from mainstream society is a willfulness expressed by enjoying novelty and freedom that challenges the normative North American lifestyle. Enacting and reproducing the cruising identity is thus emblematic of willful unbelonging, a positive process of self-"marginalization". This research illuminates the possibility that unbelonging, and by extension belonging, is not a condition or state of being, but rather an active process embodied in mundane behaviours and experiences, such as sleep, listening, and multi-sensory engagement with (non-human) sounds understood as discourse, voice and bodily sensation.

Keywords: unbelonging; sleep; sound and listening; marine anthropology; responsibility

For Heiko and Cynthia Banks,

the first cruisers I ever met

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Contents

He is not from dry land, with its solid cities, but from the unceasing restlessness of the sea, whose unknown paths reveal such strange truths, that fantastic plain, the flipside of the world.

– Michel Foucault, *History of Madness*, p.11-12

Introduction

For me, cruising is a delicate balance between comfort and novelty seeking. For me, comfort = reduced anxiety, reduced excitement and novelty = increased excitement, increased anxiety. Because we voyage with our home, I have more creature comforts than I would if I traveled with a backpack. I can take a day to relax inside my comfortable, no-longer-novel home instead of exploring. I can use that chill day to reset my internal gyros and gather energy to enjoy my new backyard. When we are in a place for a long time, I have the additional comfort of knowing the town, seeing the same people, having a handle on the resources and options for play. But, too much comfort, too much settling into the community eliminates the reasons that we personally chose this lifestyle: the excitement of travel. We want new experiences, to see new sights and cultures. So we set aside the comfort we have established, and sail on to a novel place.

- Livia, SV Estrellita[1]

In 1895, Joshua Slocum set off to become the first person to sail solo around the world. Three years later, he returned home and his book Sailing Alone Around the World (Slocum 1999[1900]) conferred celebrity status upon him. Many people preparing to go cruising still consider this nautical tale a must-read. He was a sort of lifelong cruiser before "cruising" existed as a lifestyle. His wife and children also accompanied him on many voyages; indeed, the family had no fixed home on land.

Another cruising hero, Bernard Moitessier, took part in the Sunday Times Golden Globe Race from 1968 to 1969. The nine participants set off solo to circumnavigate the globe non-stop. Moitessier soon took the lead. However, instead of claiming his prize, he opted to continue sailing. He spent ten months at sea before eventually making landfall.

Today, thousands of people have left their land-based homes behind, sometimes permanently, to follow in the wake of these early cruising pioneers. Many allot a relatively short amount of time (a few months to a couple of years) for cruising and then return to life as usual. A few interrupt their "normal" lives permanently. They sell their houses, quit their jobs, and put all their belongings on a small or medium-sized sailboat, usually between 27 and 50 feet. Some even take their kids. The sailboat becomes the center of their lives as they travel from place to place, eating and sleeping on board while visiting various locations on land. Their previously sedentary

[1] SV is a formal label for sailing vessels.

lives become nomadic. Their sailboats are their permanent and mobile homes, as Livia describes in the epigraph to this introduction.

Although sailing off to warmer climes might sound like the stuff of dreams (and for many would-be cruisers it remains just that), cruising is actually a demanding lifestyle. As those who have been cruising for years are quick to point out, it is not a life of leisure. In fact, increased self-reliance demands heightened vigilance, posing physical, psychological, and emotional challenges, if indeed we can separate those three spheres. Cruisers are generally cooperative and mutually supportive, but spatiotemporal remoteness and a desire for independence push individual responsibility to an unprecedented level. Flexibility is a key value of long-term cruisers. Having the skills to take care of the boat and the crew is an essential component of a successful cruising career, in terms of both safety and budget.

In my research, I found that cruisers mostly come from middle or upper class lives and have some post-secondary education, usually a bachelor or masters degree, although not everyone fits this profile. Traditionally, cruisers have been mostly men, but more and more women are choosing this lifestyle. Today, a lot of cruisers are married heterosexual couples – in fact, it is very common for a cruising sailboat to have one man and one woman who are married living aboard. Some people cruise solo, while others travel with friends or crew members who might come and go, or who might be a permanent fixture.

My research found that cruisers most often abandon their land lives around age 40 or later – many are retired. However, lots of younger people are getting involved and it is not uncommon to see people in their 30s or even 20s taking up the cruising lifestyle. They are limited to places accessible by water, but within these limits they can choose where they want to go, where they might never go, and how long they can stay – in accordance with any legal or material restrictions placed on them, of course (they are inevitably bound by the notion and reach of the state). They also sometimes explore inland, renting a vehicle or taking a bus to see what lies in the interior of a region, usually on a short trip lasting no more than a few days. In this way, it is obviously impossible for them to have limitless mobility, but their paths are almost infinitely variable. They might retrace the same path year after year or explore new territory within a familiar region, or they might continually push the horizon to see what else is out there.

The cruisers I spoke to and read about generally acknowledge that everyone's cruising path is different. Blogs mention that cruising is not the same in the Pacific, the Caribbean, or the

Mediterranean. For example, weather changes faster in the Atlantic than in the Pacific. In the latter, systems take days instead of hours to pass through a region. The type and size of sailboat, the number of crew, whether children are present, the captain's level of skill, the division of chores, the season, and basic personal characteristics all influence the cruising experience. Thus, I do not claim to represent all cruisers in these pages. Rather, my participants and the blogs I chose to analyze reflect individual trajectories and perspectives that nevertheless speak to some imagined (in Benedict Anderson's (2006) sense), if not actual, cruiser community. I have limited my analysis to those who have been cruising full time for at least a year and I have focused mainly on their experience in the Pacific Ocean, especially the South Pacific and the North American west coast. With this specificity, I was able to tease out common themes.

My initial interest lay in how long-term cruisers experience undesired nighttime wakefulness, commonly termed "insomnia" in biomedical circles and among laypeople. Interestingly, cruisers never used that term either in writing their blogs or when speaking with me. While they sometimes have bouts of being unable to sleep on demand, they never take medications and they generally feel less stressed about it than some of their land-residing counterparts. The main reason for this reduced anxiety appears to be a lack of spatiotemporal fixedness: in other words, as they purposely detach themselves from any sort of stable life or community, their sleep and sleeplessness come to reflect their state of willful unbelonging, a concept I will unpack in more detail throughout this work.

Willful unbelonging (see Chapter 3) is an ongoing, positive, and active process of identifying as an outsider. This identity is produced and reproduced in the balance that cruisers strike between responsibility and flexibility. This balance is central to their lives and emerges not only in their sleep (see Chapter 1) but also through their relationship with the acoustic and physical environment (see Chapter 2).

Methodology

Lucid dreaming aside, it may be impossible to experience sleep while it happens. For this reason, a phenomenology of bodily experiences was unfeasible for this project. Instead, I chose to focus on the narrative themes that emerged through interviews, blogs, and sleep diaries. In a

sense, I treated all of my data as creative non-fiction produced by my participants about their lifestyles and experiences. In this regard, I agree with sociologist Simon Cottee (2015) that:

> stories cannot be dismissed at face value as pure fiction. Stories, certainly, can mislead […]. But stories can also enlighten and shed a profound insight into other people's lives and the texture of their subjective experiences. And stories are all we have, the only means by which we can understand one another, so we must attend to them with the greatest possible care. (29)

In other words, while narratives are not the same as direct experience or embodied knowledge, they also do not simply invent reality. The reality, the experience, does occur in some form and my participants' stories are the tinted window that lets us peek inside. The view is clouded and partial, but it is still a view.

My first glimpse of the cruising life occurred one New Year's Eve when I stayed at a bed and breakfast run by two former cruisers. Inspired by them, I bought my own boat and even spent a few months living aboard. I met other liveaboards and some cruisers. I read books about famous cruisers and started looking at blogs to learn more about what cruising entails. I discovered that they are largely self-governed individuals, free from the normative demands of North American society. Among other things, those living on each boat can independently determine when they sleep and what they do when awake. For this research project, I began by analyzing cruisers' narratives surrounding sleep patterns, the factors that influence those patterns, and the ways in which they conceptualize sleep and wakefulness. I also examined how they situate themselves in the cruising community and in larger society, as well as their self-positioning in the locations they visit.

Cruisers are mostly adults, although some live with children, as mentioned above. For the purpose of this study, I only included adults, since they have had time to establish their preferred sleep habits beyond the influence of parents or other authority figures. I searched cruiser blogs and contacted the writers by email or through online contact forms, with the following inclusion criteria:

1. they had been cruising for at least a year, to ensure that they have had ample time to develop sleeping habits unrelated to their previous land-based existence;
2. their blog was still active at the time of contact, as evidence that they are still cruising;

3. they had spent some time cruising in the Pacific Northwest, to establish a modicum of similarity among participants' trajectories.

As it turned out, my participants had all spent extensive time in the South Pacific. As mentioned, cruisers argue that the cruising region (e.g. the Caribbean, the Mediterranean, or the North Atlantic) influences the cruising experience to a large degree. Thus, I have concentrated my discussion on Pacific cruisers, although some have sailed elsewhere as well. I learned that geographical positioning is perhaps not the most useful tool for categorizing long-term cruisers, since they tend to explore multiple regions and can be hard to pinpoint at any given time. However, my original criteria contributed to another commonality among my participants and the blogs I chose: they all came from North America originally.

All of my data was collected in English. I conducted the interviews via Skype. The Bluewater Cruising Association kindly invited me to post a notice in their online newsletter. As a result, many generous people offered to participate, but unfortunately none of them met the inclusion criteria.

My three principal forms of data collection – blog analysis, interviews, and sleep diaries – overlapped in time. I began with blog analysis in September 2015. This analysis provided some preliminary data on daily cruiser life, as well as cruiser sleep, which helped shape interview questions. I was able to recruit four people for interviews and sleep diaries soon after. Initially, one other couple agreed to participate but then pulled out before the first interview. All of my data collection was completed by February 2016.

I read a few thousand blog posts for general themes and selected about 300 for more specific content and thematic coding. I focused on three personal blogs in depth, with supplementary data pulled from The Interview with a Cruiser Project, The Women and Cruising Blog, and additional personal blogs. This supplementary data added breadth to the research.

I interviewed four people twice each, sometimes in pairs. All of my participants were married or partnered at the time of the interview, leading to an inadvertent focus on cruising couples rather than solo or "single-handed" sailors.[2] The purpose of the semi-structured

[2] The sleep of solo sailors likely only differs greatly when they are on a long passage. Keeping watch by oneself presents its own set of challenges. When at anchor, I believe that solo cruisers have a similar relationship with sounds and movement to the one described by my participants, which I discuss in Chapter 2. Additionally, many solo sailors travel with temporary crew; these days, it is quite rare for

interviews was to elicit narratives about how and when cruisers sleep and how they experience undesired or unplanned wakefulness, as well as various dimensions of belonging or unbelonging.

Additionally, I asked all participants to keep a sleep diary for one week to one month, depending on their ability and willingness to do so. These diaries provided details of sleep patterns. The bulk of the diary consisted of a table (see Appendix) where participants could check off when they were asleep and awake on a given day. I also asked them to note if they took any medication to help them sleep. The freewriting section of the diary offered the participants an alternative narrative form to discuss anything at all that they felt related to sleep and wakefulness. Most chose simply to jot down what they felt affected their sleep positively or negatively, as well as changes of location or time spent on passage.

My main participants were two couples, Behan and Jamie, and Chris and Lisa,[3] who had been actively cruising (or "voyaging" as Behan calls it) for several years. Behan describes herself and Jamie as:

> a 40-something couple with three kids. We've been on our boat, living on it, for seven and a half years, and actively sailing it for over seven years, away from 9-to-5 and quote-unquote 'normal' for the most part.

They each got into sailing independently early on in their lives:

> Behan: It was actually being a teenager in the Midwest in the summertime and our summer place was on Lake Huron and it was the only place I could really escape and be happy and comfortable and you know, teenage angst and all that. We had a little, just a little Sunfish [sailboat] and I would just go way out and master the art of steering while lying down and tanning and things like that. Important stuff for a 15-year-old.
>
> Jamie: My family sailed and so I grew up sailing and it turned out I actually liked it and I was a sailmaker and used to race a lot professionally and so I guess it's part of the DNA for me.

Sailing drew them to each other and has been a shared activity since they met, as Behan notes:

> We actually met sailing and we were both really active sailors in our respective worlds and you know, before meeting each other, so it's kind of always been a part of our lives together, other than a period of a few years when we were busy with having babies and graduate school and things like that.

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sailors to make long passages on their own. I've also excluded long-distance racers, who share some lifestyle aspects with cruisers, but are under much stricter time constraints and do not live and travel on their boat as a full-time, long-term situation.

[3] Behan and Jamie opted to have their real names used. Lisa and Chris are pseudonyms.

Chris and Lisa are in their forties as well. Chris lived aboard before setting out cruising and has owned more than one boat. He's happy with their current boat:

> It's not a really big party platform but it sails really nice, and for the last almost ten years, we've been sailing all over the world.

Like Behan and Jamie, Chris and Lisa both became sailors before they met:

> Chris: I was getting out of [post-secondary] school and I wanted really to live on one of the floating homes and I couldn't really afford it, so I ended up buying a sailboat and then I really got hooked on the whole idea of just the freedom that the whole sailing lifestyle can bring. So once I owned the boat I started to read a lot and I thought jeez, I can go sailing, I can go anywhere I want, so I started to save my money and then about after about nine years of working and living aboard I cut the dock lines and went sailing.
>
> Lisa: A friend of mine just kind of quit his job and was going to go sail around the world, and I thought, wow, you could do that? That's really cool! And I always loved to travel and I loved boating. I grew up kind of, you know, small boats, like water skiing, so I just took some sailing classes and I eventually quit my job, put everything in storage and then just started travelling around, looking to sail around.

Chris was looking for crew and Lisa was looking to join a cruising sailboat. "It turned out to be a really good match," says Chris. "So we got married." Among long-term cruising couples, it is common for both partners to have a love of sailing, whereas those who treat it like an extended vacation may be indulging one or the other's dream.

Theoretical Framework

Due to the unpredictable nature of cruising, cruisers are improvisers. They are living evidence that the "quickened beat of improvisation" (Appadurai 1996:6) has become one of the main drivers of human subjectivity in many arenas of life. Improvisation requires the ability to execute or bring into existence what is in one's imagination. To do so, the improviser needs recognition skills and an awareness of both structural and contextual elements. These elements include who else is playing the game, what kinds of time limits or spatial barriers must be respected, and a familiarity with techniques and tools at hand. To improvise, an individual has to balance their own imagination with the context even as the context feeds their imagination. Social improvisation is rarely based on a single, collectively shared purpose and our contributions and interventions exist on a spectrum of intention. A strong or divergent intention may change the context dramatically, where a weak one may simply reproduce or further existing dynamics. This

spectrum of intention is also a spectrum of willfulness. However, willing to go along with the status quo is rarely considered willful; only a divergent intention appears as such.

Cruisers' subjectivity relies heavily on an improvised balancing act between responsibility and flexibility. This improvisation reproduces a subjectivity in flux. When cruisers unbelong from mainstream life, we might understand them as able to "imagine and articulate different destinies" (Biehl, Good, and Kleinman 2007:10) from those they leave behind. However, they are not particularly interested in far-reaching destinies. Instead, they focus on the next phase, the next passage, the next anchorage. They understand the structure of their lifestyle, but only apply that knowledge improvisationally to help them make the next decision or plan the next step. This ongoing flexibility is their ideal.

To maintain this flexibility, they must take on responsibilities. Some of these responsibilities are bodily, such as provisioning their boat with food or changing sleep schedules to maintain watches on long passages. Cruisers, like other people, have more control over some bodily behaviours than others; for example, fishing is not always successful and sleep is not always attainable on demand. In this way, a cruiser "continually learns and relearns to live *with* as much as *through* [their] body, in its various states of health and illness, youth and old age, boredom and trauma, routine and instability" (Biehl et al. 2007:9-10). I will discuss some of these adjustments throughout this thesis.

Responsibility is also linked to morality and to ethics. In some psychiatric contexts, "the moralism of responsibility has come to govern the determination of truth" (Davis 2012:4). Patients negotiate responsibility and blame, even as the former is thrust upon them as a means of integrating them back into the community. Davis (2012) argues that this imposed responsibility assumes that all psychiatric patients are in fact able to act responsibly and make ethical decisions for themselves. She believes that this assumption is problematic, if not patently untrue in many case.

Cruisers, on the other hand, demand their own responsibility as a sign of detachment from a community. At first glance, this individualized responsibility appears to be in keeping with neoliberal and biomedical frameworks. However, it is not imposed by a caregiver or someone else who shows them the correct way to be responsible. Importantly, cruisers' desire for responsibility is not motivated by ideals of productivity, social inclusion, or economic responsibility. On the contrary, they desire to be free from such external responsibilities and instead be

responsible only to themselves. Unlike those who must be responsible in order to be a member of the community, they seek responsibility so that they can remain on the fringes of a social body. They want to live an improvised life, responding to changing conditions in a way that enables their own ongoing flexibility and safety. Cruisers are responsible only for the sake of the boat and the crew and their own bodies. They are responsible, as well, in the sense of responding to new external material forces, especially sound, which controls both their sleep and their awareness of danger more than any other force. This responsibility ends as soon as practically possible for cruisers; it is subordinated to their strong will to individuality and adventure. It also strives to exist independently of social structures and bodies, although this independence is often only partially achieved. Even state controls inadvertently contribute to cruisers' unbelonging, as I will discuss in Chapter 3.

In this way, cruisers seem to echo some of the language of biomedical and neoliberal discourse, but their motives are quite different from what that language might suggest at face value. They craft and explain their willful unbelonging through familiar concepts even as they seek to escape the burden of collectivity those concepts represent for them. They reverse many of the notions of risk, responsibility, and flexibility, rejecting economic productivity and collective responsibilities in favour of fluid, individual paths within a varied, loose, and constantly changing community of fellow cruisers. They do not cut all ties with people on land, because they are not setting out as cruisers to radically change the world or build a new one through their alternative lifestyle. Although many do care about issues like pollution or poverty in the places they visit, their actions and intentions qua cruisers are not closely linked to a socially minded impetus. They cruise as part of willfully unbelonging from their former communities, not as a public or social gesture or statement. They refuse responsibility for fixing society's issues, even as they reject those issues in the context of their new cruiser identities.

Chapter 1: Disorderly Sleep

What is disordered sleep? Is there any way to know for certain? Is it not being able to sleep? Not getting enough sleep? Not sleeping at the right times? Not breathing while sleeping, or acting out one's dreams? Is an inability to control one's own sleep dangerous?

– Matthew J. Wolf-Meyer, (2012:xv)

Freedom To and Freedom From

In my interviews and throughout their blogs, cruisers express a desire for adventure and a rejection of normality. Essentially, they go cruising because they want to have fun and live positively as they understand it. Of course, they have developed an interest in sailing in particular, as opposed to backpacking or some other activity, earlier in their youth or because of their family background. Brian of SV Delos sums up his motivation in an interview on a Cruising World blog:

> I didn't start out with a vision at all…. I just wanted to take some time for myself, sail, travel, explore, a bit of soul searching and discovery. Along the way my brother joined and we met some fantastic, amazing people. In fact we've had over 35 people sail on Delos! Some for only a few months, others for years. Everybody has left their energy and added to the experience in their own special way. To me this has been the most awesome aspect of the voyage, and has really helped to shape the vision of Delos. Which is pretty simple actually- just have as much fun as possible, and show others what a beautiful place this world really is. If we can make someone smile then we're doing a good thing!

Here, Brian lays out what we might call the paradox of willful unbelonging. For him, cruising is a kind of healing or therapeutic process with the goal of self-fulfilment. Brian set out to go "soul searching." To do so, he decided to "take some time for myself," indicating his desire for independence and detachment from social binds and externally determined temporal rhythms. However, he inadvertently ended up forming a community of experience, with "over 35 people" who crewed on his boat. Notably, this community is transient and in flux; meaningful ties are formed, but the shared spatiotemporal experience is consistently marked by the possibility of moving on, both in literal terms of the boat's location but also when it comes to the individual members of the Delos community. Only Brian stays with the boat at all times, which reinforces his separateness from others even as he enjoys their companionship. His "soul searching and discovery" is perhaps best understood as a never-quite-complete process that he reproduces as long as he remains a cruiser. He spends time with others, but his ultimate responsibility lies with his own process; to maintain a flexible lifestyle, he must continuously unbelong from normative constraints. The constant turnover of crew in fact reinforces his unbelonging, promoting both a sense of personal disconnectedness from a stable community and the necessity of flexibility,

since new configurations of people likely force Brian to adapt and change his own habits. By taking "time for myself" through access to a shifting community, Brian makes sense of the paradox of willful unbelonging. I will return to this concept in Chapter 3.

In the same interview, Delos crew member Brady describes his own attitude toward life:

> I have always thought that you should put your happiness and pleasure first (as long as it doesn't affect anyone else in a negative way). Life is short so eat well, drink often and laugh a lot.

In other words, enjoyment and freedom are the ultimate ideal, and these are what motivated him to change his path and go cruising. His motivation echoes that of Livia in the epitaph to the introduction of this thesis. She also seeks enjoyment and freedom, a balance between "comfort and novelty." In her view, too much novelty can provoke anxiety, whereas too much comfort or familiarity can cause boredom. The flexibility of cruising comes with responsibilities. To avoid anxiety, cruisers must be on their guard against danger. At the same time, they want to enjoy themselves, not be bogged down by too much worry. The cruising lifestyle allows them to take responsibility for their own safety without sacrificing their ability to be spontaneous. Since cruisers are only responsible to themselves, not a larger social body, their responsibility only extends to allaying consequences of their own decisions and immediate environment. This can be understood as a kind of positive freedom from social belonging.

Karen and Jim of SV Sockdolager express similar motivations for going cruising:

> In the spirit of testing the limits of the theory that there is no such thing as having too much fun, we have decided to go sailing around in this still-beautiful blue planet for as long as it's fun, which we hope is a long time.

Another Delos crewmember, Josje, also emphasizes the value of freedom. Like others, she leaves the definition of freedom a bit vague, but knows that the concept is vital: "Being on Delos has definitely been a space where being free and open is the norm."

Perhaps the vagueness of the definition of freedom allows cruisers to agree on this point. Freedom is a shared value in the cruising community, expressed both as "freedom to" and "freedom from." Cruisers desire the freedom *to* travel and live by their own schedule. They seek freedom *from* conventional work structures, materialism, and other societal norms in their place of origin. Of course, this freedom from a larger social body comes along with an "unfreedom" originating in the physical or natural environments where they live. Responsibility for avoiding

storms, provisioning the boat with food, or maintaining equipment constrains their freedom. Cruisers grapple with this apparent paradox through the acts that define their willful unbelonging. They consider themselves free in a way that appears to echo neoliberal ideals of individual choice within the social scripts of the social body.

"Consumption technologies" (Rose 1999:86), among other things, have become guides to help us figure out how to lead "a life that is […] both personally unique and socially normal." In this light, "modern individuals are not merely 'free to choose', but obliged to be free, to understand and enact their lives in terms of choice" (1999:87). In other words, when cruisers talk about freedom as a motivation, we could understand it as an extension of contemporary North American ideals that tie into institutional "mechanisms of regulation through desire" (Rose 1999:87). At the same time, however, Rose (1999:87) argues that with so much self-regulation of and through desire, large-scale mechanisms of regulation, including consumption, can be tailored to those who do not desire to conform, depicting them as marginalized through their own "ill will, incompetence or misfortune." Importantly, Rose explains that "Freedom is seen as autonomy, the capacity to realize one's desires […], to fulfil one's potential through one's own endeavours, to determine one's own existence through acts of choice" (1999:85). Characteristically, Rose's analysis is devoid of actual people. The passive voice in his definition begs the question of who sees freedom in this way. Nevertheless, cruisers do seem to support these ideals, at least for themselves, if not for others. According to Rose, then, cruisers would be acting out social norms of individuality, freedom, and choice, while simultaneously self-"marginalizing".

As useful as his analysis is for understanding aspiring cruisers' motivations as middle-class North Americans, it extends only to the edge of this apparent contradiction: cruisers are "socially normal" in their independence and desire to self-regulate, but the selfsame expression of that desire results in social "marginalization" that throws their behaviours out of balance with conventional mainstream norms of conduct. Rather than self-marginalization, they view their unbelonging as self-fulfilment. Instead of centering themselves as members of a social body, they center their own individual body in a world of pathways made of water. They experience their position in the world through their own bodies and in relation to a process of soul-searching within a lifeworld based more on physicality than sociality. If cruisers were as "socially normal" as their use of neoliberal ideals suggests, sports writer Peter Nichols (2002) would not have been so disappointed and unconvinced that a psychologist found one of the Golden Globe solo sailors "distressingly normal" before and after he set sail to circumnavigate. Nichols (2002) writes about

the “Ulysses effect,” where rare individuals do things beyond the ability or even desire of so-called normal people. These exploits draw those normals to the Ulysses types as they become caught up in their adventures vicariously, according to Nichols (2002). It is questionable whether such an effect really exists and can truly be ascribed purely to personalities as Nichols (2002) is wont to do, even labelling the Golden Globe sailors “madmen” in the title of his book, an appellation that he never uses in the actual text. Either way, cruisers may be acting out a “normal” desire for the kind of freedom described by Rose (1999), but their disengagement from mainstream, normal life belies this alleged normality. This willful unbelonging and self-marginalization from the mainstream manifests particularly in cruisers’ attitudes about sleep and their sleep behaviours, as well as their sense of responsibility and flexibility. All of these attitudes and behaviours diverge from the normative narratives of biomedicine, self-help and popular wisdom.

Medical and Economic Sleep

Since sleep is a necessary aspect of human existence, all social groups must either work around it or work it around the other elements of their daily life. These elements might include employment, eating, family time, and many other social obligations we juggle as participants in a collectivity. Sleep only emerges as an object of scrutiny when it becomes pathological or disruptive (Kroker 2007). We tend to notice it most when it does not conform to our socially produced desires or expectations of what sleep should look like. Non-conforming sleep may be considered pathological or disruptive to the individual or to society as a whole, but either way, the question of sleep concerns the ways that spatiotemporal structures determine the mundane flow of existence. Switching off traffic lights at night is a simple example of how sleep-based spatiotemporal regulation of society reproduces itself. Most people sleep at night, so the lights are off, sending the message that night is the time for inactivity (or at least, private activity at home). The days of respecting sleep as a conduit for dreams or as a means of communication with divine beings (Summers-Bremner 2008) are long gone, at least in the biomedical and economic views. Now, the immediate goal is to regulate sleep habits so that they conform more or less to a consistent norm to enhance efficiency and productivity. Sleep hygiene, medication, and other ways of regulating and monitoring sleep do little to recognize the social forces at play. Instead, they focus on refining techniques and technologies that will allegedly enable individuals to normalize themselves. These social norms become so ingrained that we find the blame for non-conformity placed squarely on the shoulders of individuals who Wolf-Meyer calls “disorderly

sleepers" (2012). The idea of "disorderly sleepers" underscores how biomedicine and psychology blame improper sleep on individual failures rather than systemic issues. Wolf-Meyer (2012) flips this notion.

While sleep doctors and researchers have determined that some forms of sleep or sleeplessness are "disordered," Wolf-Meyer (2012) has deemed those forms "disorderly." The distinction refers to what he sees as the aim of medicine: "the production of order" (2012:92). Part of this ordering works to "establish the social as natural" (2012:92), in other words, to regulate the collective through reifying the work day (among other things) as a natural rhythm of human life that is independent of any social factors. For Wolf-Meyer (2012), naturalizing a specific spatiotemporality of sleep gives medicine the right, even the responsibility, to provide solutions to disorderly sleep without considering the social context, to enhance productivity, to boost the economy, and to fulfill certain nation-building purposes. So far, medical intervention and self-discipline have not demonstrated their power to alter every single person's sleep behaviours. Many people categorized as suffering from shift work sleep disorder, for example, may not manage to return to a state of feeling refreshed after sleeping. Despite the obviously social nature of their so-called "disorder," people who work unusual shifts receive a medical diagnosis and prescriptions of pills to keep them awake at work. In this way, they remain productive members of society.

A growing self-help and medical literature points to the ways that getting the "right" kind of sleep boosts productivity (usually at work) and enhances individual health. This merging of health and the economy is significant in that it defines a healthy human as one who can be economically productive. When the majority of people who participate in an economic system sleep and wake at roughly the same time, it becomes much easier to coordinate that system. Thus, disciplining bodies through sleep science promotes economic productivity at the expense of individual differences.

The connection between sleep and the economy suggests that individuals must exert their will to further a project larger than themselves; if they do not, they might be considered willful, in a negative sense. Sara Ahmed (2012) draws on Blaise Pascal's metaphor of the body part willing in accordance with the whole body: "If a part is to have a will of its own, then it must will what the whole of the body wills. The body part that does not submit its will to the primary will of the body causes disorder and mischief" (Ahmed 2012:np). Like Wolf-Meyer, she highlights how social non-conformity or willfulness against the common good might be viewed as problematic or disorderly.

However, Wolf-Meyer does not distinguish between willful non-conformity and the inability to conform, that is, those who choose not to sleep according to social norms and those who try but are unable to comply because their body will not obey their will. This distinction seems incidental to his overall argument about so-called disordered sleep, whereas Ahmed is interested in teasing out the implications of willful non-conformity, which she tends to see as a positive force for undermining existing power structures.

Cruisers do not seem to have the same notion of disordered sleep as the one that flows through mainstream scientific and self-help literature, perhaps because their sense of social order is limited to the confines of their boat and crew. By disengaging from broader social or spatiotemporal rhythms, they have no need to regulate their sleep to match those rhythms. They can and do sometimes plan their day or their travels around personal sleep preferences. On other occasions, some other concern takes priority; they might choose to follow the timing of a favourable tide, instead of indulging an imminent desire for sleep. Individually, they allow their sleep and that of others to be flexible. Instead of discussing responsibility for proper sleep as an area for expert or biomedical intervention, the cruisers I spoke with emphasized paying attention to their own personal needs and preferences. The notion of “deviant” or “incorrect” sleep never cropped up. When it comes to sleep, their main responsibility is to themselves more than a social body.

Behan and Jamie are cases in point. They sleep differently from each other, with Jamie tending to more consolidated sleep and going to bed and getting up earlier than his wife. On SV Sea Dreams, Chris stays up later than Lisa, most markedly when she is away from the boat. On those occasions, he toils away at his various projects and other activities until he is too tired to focus. While they claim to share a more or less regular bedtime, they acknowledge that their preferences actually differ. Lisa prefers a regular routine, whereas Chris tells me that he goes to bed when he feels like he needs to, which can fluctuate:

> I think it really has to do with just when I'm tired. So like when Lisa's here, she's more on her schedule and she likes to get to bed at more of a certain time. She's gone part of this week […], so I'm more free to just go and work on things until I'm tired, so like last night I was working on this [project] until 11, almost 11:30 and then I was just too tired. I was becoming inefficient, but I was really driven to want to finish the project I was working on.

Here, Chris tacitly admits that his sleep is not entirely free of external influence, since he often accommodates Lisa’s preferences. Furthermore, by noting his own “inefficiency” as a sign that he

needs to sleep, he echoes social ideals of productivity linked to sleep and the economy, as discussed above. There is an important difference here, though: for Chris, working on his project is not an economic contribution to some social order. He has no deadlines fixed by an employer. Relatedly, he can work when he wants and take breaks when he wants. He decides on the project and can work it around his sleep as he chooses. He can prioritize his own sleep or Lisa's sleep or the project as he wills. At the moment, his projects do not bring in any money; the couple relies mostly on Lisa's work and existing savings to cover their costs. Therefore, the timing of his work and sleep is flexible and his responsibility is once again only to himself and his crew. No one else is depending on his efforts for economic gain and no one tells him when or how much he needs to work on any given day. While one ultimate goal of his projects is to make some money, he finds self-fulfilment in his work as well. The money, too, is desirable only insomuch as it enables him to continue his flexible lifestyle. He expresses little interest in accumulating wealth for its own sake.

A flexible attitude towards sleep allows different waking and sleeping schedules for different crew members. Behan and Jamie do not set a bedtime for their children, as long as they appear to be getting enough sleep to maintain a positive mood during the day. Jamie explains that his oldest son prefers a later rhythm than his parents:

> Our son will stay up late some nights. His clock is he's fine to stay up later. He sleeps in a little bit, but not much. He sleeps in until 7 o'clock or 7:30.

The idea of maintaining a positive mood through sleep hints at Behan and Jamie's belief in sleep as beneficial. While less concerned about the timing of sleep, they do seem to care at least tacitly about its quantity or quality. For them, sleeping well or enough exists in something like a cause-and-effect relationship with subsequent mood states. In this sense, they do psychologize their sleep to a certain degree, while rejecting a generalizable and prescriptive normativity for sleep. They do not define "enough" sleep for their children, but gauge if it was "enough" according to how their children behave during the day. Thus, for them, agreeable behaviour and positive mood follow in a linear fashion from "good" sleep. Even when they invoke psychomedical discourse, Behan and Jamie never pathologize their own or their children's sleep. Their motivations for drawing on this discourse have to do with promoting personal enjoyment for themselves and their children; sustaining a positive mood is associated with a better experience of life, not being a normatively productive member of a social body. They individualize what counts as good sleep for themselves and their children, defining it as each person's "clock." As Jamie said, their son's "clock is he's fine to stay up later" than his parents. They are okay with individual differences at night as long as everyone can interact pleasantly during the day.

This kind of flexible and individualized sleep does not conform with wider spatiotemporal structures. Another common way that cruisers exhibit disorderly sleep is through napping. Here, as elsewhere, individuality and flexibility are mobilized to determine who sleeps when. Livia detailed SV Estrellita's passage-making routine in a blog post, highlighting some of the changing details that were particular to the day she wrote about it:

> We started this passage with the plan of no set watches which had worked well in the past but we've settled on a fixed night watch that so far works even better for us. 8 days into this passage, the schedule goes something like this:
> - 08:30 or so Livia wakes up.
> - Between breakfast and lunch, we do small chores and download and evaluate weather files. […] Chores have included things like hand washing small batches of clothing, checking lines on deck for chafe, checking on the produce in the v-berth and turning the egg flats over so the eggs stay good. This is also a good time to jibe if we are planning to do so that day. Usually one or the other of us naps.
> - Between lunch and dinner we run the watermaker. […] We take showers in the sunny afternoon, read books, have interesting discussions, and nap. Sometimes there are more chores but usually only if one of us napped away the morning and is using the afternoon for their planned chores instead. Afternoon is time to enjoy the glorious weather and soak in the experience of passage.
> - From 9pm to midnight, Carol stands watch. We both spend a fair amount of each watch just staring at the sky and ocean now that the weather is warm and being outside is more pleasant. The cockpit is still very damp and salty at night but no longer cold, even in the wind. Normal watch activities include logging our position, adjusting the windvane and (rarely) the sails, using the flashlight to check lines on deck and of course, keeping a regular scan of the horizon and doing radar and AIS scans as warranted by the conditions. Carol also likes to listen to whatever he can find on the SSB [radio] and play solitaire
> - From midnight until 5am, Livia stands watch. In addition to normal watch activities, I write email, blog, read and if I'm desperate to stay awake, I play hearts on the computer.
> - From 5 am until Livia wakes up, Carol stands watch again.

In this extended description, Livia mentions napping several times. Naps take place between responsibilities that keep things running smoothly. On top of chores and sailing-related responsibilities, Livia and Carol like to just hang out and enjoy their lack of responsibility. Here we encounter the paradox of willful unbelonging once again. Responsibility is flexible; in fact, personal responsibility is what allows the flexible lifestyle to continue. Since no one else is dependent on the timing of chores and other activities (including passive activities like "soak[ing] in the experience of passage"), the crew of SV Estrellita do not follow a fixed schedule. Most of their responsibilities are related to safety – checking gear, preserving or preparing food, watching out for hazards in the water. Since safety is an ongoing but intermittent concern, Livia and Carol can carry out their responsibilities largely in accordance with their own will, rather than externally

imposed spatiotemporal regularity. They respond to changing weather conditions, heightening or diminishing their vigilance as required. In the midst of this flexibility, they also choose their own sleep preferences, experimenting and adjusting according to what they find most comfortable. When they are tired and do not have to concern themselves with immediate responsibilities, they nap.

Other cruisers confirm that napping is normal on a long passage. It is also normal at anchor, where cruisers might spend a whole day lounging in the cockpit or their berth, reading and napping intermittently. The fact that they sleep in places other than their designated bed indicates that cruisers' sleep is not only temporally "disorderly", but also spatially. They go beyond a particular alternative way of sleeping to sleeping in multiple ways and at various times. Sleeping is not and does not have to be a single thing for them. It is experienced as inherently flexible and fluid.

In mainstream biomedicine, napping is disorderly (or disordered) wherever it occurs. Although napping at work is gaining support in some circles, employers generally still look down on this kind of behaviour. Napping at home is also frowned upon, albeit to a lesser extent. Sleeping during the day appears unnatural, the sign of somebody who is ill. In this way, a medical diagnosis of insomnia or some other sleep-related disorder may offer an excuse for the abnormal sleep patterns of "disorderly sleepers." At the same time, doctors reinforce the social norm by labelling divergent behaviours as illness, rather than challenging the obligations and ideologies that lead to the marginalization of those behaviours.

Cruisers' disorderliness does not end with napping. Many couples find their watch schedule on long passages has more to do with personal preferences than any other regulatory mechanism. The timing of sleep and how long each watch lasts depends on each crew's habits, varying from boat to boat and passage to passage. Livia's description of changing their watch schedule during this trip testifies to the flexibility of watch habits. Fluctuating safety responsibilities coupled with changeable personal preferences contribute to this flexibility. Importantly, cruisers are not critical of other cruisers' habits in this regard. They do not view their own sleep as "better" or "more successful" than that of other boats. Thus, they allow flexibility for themselves as well as others. In this way, they avoid determinacy or regulation across the board. Marcie of SV Nine of Cups explains that different cruisers prefer different watch schedules:

> There are as many different watch schedules as there are sailors out there, it seems. Nothing is "standard". We've heard of one fellow who can't sleep during

> the day, so his partner stands watch all night long and sleeps while he's on watch all day. That certainly wouldn't work for us, but it works for them.

Some people, like the family aboard SV Synchronicity, keep much shorter watches:

> Mary: My husband and I always maintained a 2 hrs on, 2 hrs off schedule. During the day, it was a little more slack as both our daughters took a turn at a watch of an hour or two.
>
> Leah: Mom and dad always did strict 2-hours on, 2-hours off, with me doing an afternoon watch so they could both have a break. The only time they broke from this schedule was when our wind vane[4] broke in a storm... then the three of us did 1 hour watches through the night.

Leah's comment exemplifies that sleep patterns can change in the middle of a passage as well. Cruisers are constantly responding to changing conditions, adapting their sleep and waking periods in accordance with shifting degrees of freedom and responsibility.

The cruisers I spoke to spontaneously discussed sleep quality in addition to quantity and timing. With enjoyment as their ultimate ideal, cruisers care about how good sleep feels, not just its ultimate result. Chris mentioned that bad dreams can make his sleep less pleasant. For the cruisers I spoke with, dreaming is intimately linked to sleeping, especially sleep quality. A lot of modern sleep research focuses on observable physical phenomenon, leaving dreaming as a secondary concern at best (Kroker 2007). This inclusion of dreaming as an integral aspect of sleep is perhaps a minor form of disorderly sleep, but it is worth noting because it reinforces the evidence that cruisers' ideas about sleep are not mainly influenced by the kind of biomedical and economic discourse that relegates dreaming to the background. As far as many mainstream scientists know, dreaming does not have much, if any, effect on health or productivity, which might be one reason why it arouses so little interest in the scientific community. Instead, those scientists in a Freudian psychoanalytical tradition might discuss dreams as symptomatic of mental illness or health, but the dreams are not the solution, merely a diagnostic tool. If we remember Jamie and Behan's linkage of "enough" sleep with positive mood, we might also draw a speculative connection between Chris's bad dreams' reduction in sleep quality and a subsequent lowering of enjoyment levels. However, as I will argue in the next section, cruisers do not feel a responsibility to sleep "well." They very rarely discuss their sleep in such terms. Instead, when talking about the quality of their dreams, they point out the inherent unpleasantness of the experience. They do not relate this experience explicitly to a consequence beyond the immediate sensation of

[4] A self-steering mechanism

unpleasantness. At the same time, they do not remove dreaming into a separate realm of discussion when talking about their sleep.

Cruisers can be flexible and individual in their sleep and they nap during the day, both behaviours symptomatic of disorderly sleep. Some cruisers are disorderly in a third, more conventional way: they are unable to get a consolidated eight-hour sleep during the night. Luckily for them, the perception of being able to catch up on sleep in the near future enables them to take an incursion into their sleep as a simple disruption, not something to fret about. This attitude prevails whether they cannot sleep because it would be dangerous or they are simply unable to fall asleep on demand. Many cruisers wake up in the night without intending to, an experience some label as “frustrating” or at least “mildly annoying.”

Cruisers mention a vast array of conditions that inhibit their nighttime sleep, from a nocturnal pet to the quality of the bed or the need to pee. For those who share a sleeping space, other crew members (including a spouse or visiting friend) may snore or move around at night. Children may stay up later than their parents or partners might gravitate to different bedtimes. Thirst, muscle aches, or bad dreams can wake cruisers unexpectedly. The latter scenario might seem to contradict the assumption that dreams are not a cause of negative mental health. I hesitate to argue this contradiction too strongly, because waking up in the night is not experienced by cruisers in the same distressing way described by much scientific and self-help literature on the topic of insomnia. Although perhaps unpleasant at the time, bad dreams do not appear to have lasting effects on cruisers, according to my interviews. Eating too late or drinking too much alcohol can also prevent solid sleep, as can discomfort from feeling too hot or too cold.

While each of these conditions highlights an aspect of cruiser sleep, some are more idiosyncratic than others. The blogs and interviews analyzed for this thesis point to three common and interrelated conditions that interrupt or inhibit sleep: weather and wind, worrying, and sounds at night. These three sleep inhibitors (or “sleep thieves” [Coren 2012]) feed into one another.

While anchoring out allows cruisers to get off the beaten path, it also means relying on their own skill set to keep the boat and the crew safe at night. Even the best set anchors can drag if the wind comes up or the anchorage does not have reliable protection from swells rolling in from an offshore storm. Of course, the swells themselves can be uncomfortable enough to prevent sleep, but safety is a strong concern that will keep a cruiser awake anyway. I asked Lisa how she

feels about her sleep at anchor and she summed up a few sleep-inhibiting conditions that differ from sleeping on land:

> It depends also if we're at like a rough anchorage or, you know, the weather's bad while we're at anchor or even at a dock and it's all creaky at the dock. So it's definitely not as stable as a house.

Chris identifies three main sleep interrupters:

> If it's not Lisa, it's the cat. Or the wind. Or the weather. So it's one of those three things usually that wakes me up. […] Usually it picks up and then the wind will kind of howl through the rigging or make the mast kind of vibrate if it's really windy.

They recognize their inability to control their sleep absolutely, even when they find it frustrating to be awake when they want to be asleep. Sometimes things go wrong that force a change in sleep patterns. For example, when Behan of SV Totem injured her arm, she was unable to stand watch, another example of how cruisers' freedom and self-reliance are limited by changing circumstances beyond their control. Fortunately, on this occasion they had an adult friend visiting, so he and her husband Jamie could split the watches between them.

For those who experience undesired nighttime wakefulness less frequently, it is not much of an issue. Jamie, for instance, says he just needs to let his mind wander for a while and not worry about it:

> I don't think that I get frustrated, or it's very, very rare that I'd be frustrated about not being able to fall asleep or anything like that. It's just, you know, something woke me up because my mind is going, and so I think about it for a bit and then go back to sleep.

Behan experiences an inability to sleep when desired more often than her husband. She has noticed that she goes through periods of sleeplessness followed by periods where she sleeps more solidly. She hasn't been able to find any kind of pattern, but guesses at potential causes.

> It goes in waves. It could be stuff in my head, or it could be hormonal. I don't know. But I've had, in the last year, periods of - I don't know - weeks at a time where I'll be wide awake at three o'clock in the morning for a couple of hours and then go back to sleep and end up sleeping later in the morning.

Leaving on a long passage can also be a source of worry that interferes with sleep:

> Chris: So the first night [on passage], you're maybe nervous about, like, did we make the right decision to leave? Is the weather going to be right? Is that sound

> creaking up there in the rigging, is that okay, or is it bad? So there's all these, like, ten thousand things that you have to worry about.

Among other things, Chris references sound as a source of worry early on in a long passage, showing its prevalence in cruisers' decision-making and levels of distress, as discussed in the next chapter. Later on in the passage, the worry about the boat settles down. However, other concerns come to the fore as well. A cruiser interviewed for the Interview with a Cruiser Project stated that her main worry occurred when she was trying to sleep at night on long passages:

> I was terrified that my husband or one of the girls would go overboard. I always feared that when I came back on watch during the night, that he would be gone.

But cruisers are not always worried when they are awake at night. Sometimes they feel that their mind just seems to be too active to allow sleep.

> Chris: Maybe I go to bed - or wake up in the night. Usually for me, I don't know, it's almost like 2:30 to 3 o'clock, almost always. It must be some natural time for me to wake up, but then that's okay. For me the hardest thing is if I wake up in the night and I start to think about a project or whatever, my brain is like - maybe it's rested and now it's ready to like churn on a problem again and if it's a big problem, I mean it could be hours of not sleeping, or if it's a small problem, I feel like I have some resolution to it and maybe it's solved and I can go back to sleep. But I do spend a lot of time, like around exactly 3 o'clock to 3:30 thinking about things.

Chris seems to think that waking up at night is part of what Jamie calls a person's "clock." In this way, he accepts the condition as inevitable, even as he would prefer to sleep through the night. He attributes his restlessness to brain activity, another echo of biomedical discourse, as well as its focus on the material and physically observable aspects of sleep. Chris explicitly connects problem-solving with wakefulness, as if sleep is only appropriate when all is well in his world.

Risk and Responsibility

Formal reports on accident prevention point out the risky nature of sleepiness, making individuals responsible to their communities when it comes to sleeping. Today, in many cases, sleeping properly has become the mark of a good citizen who is conscious of their role in protecting other people by avoiding risky behaviours (Williams, 2011). On top of the medical determination of normal sleep, the discourse surrounding sleepy wakefulness or sleep deprivation as a risk to society shapes and reproduces subjective desires. Certain types of jobs demand more than average alertness. Reports of disasters often partially blame sleep deprivation for workplace

negligence. Two famous cases are the Chernobyl nuclear explosion and the Space Shuttle Challenger malfunction, both in 1986. Several US states have made it criminal to drive a vehicle if you have not slept in the past twenty-four hours (Williams, 2011), although it is unclear how the police would know if this were the case. Nonetheless, laws like this indicate how sleepiness is emerging as a public safety concern beyond the workplace. Sleeping is, in fact, a responsibility, or at least a tool to be used to optimize waking experience.

Within the larger scientific arena, human beings have become increasingly biological. Sociologist Nikolas Rose (2007) has argued that a focus on genetics and molecular structures has rooted many human behaviours and conditions in a biological body. Today, this body can be manipulated and enhanced, not just corrected or put back to normal. In this way, biomedicine creates and relies on what Rose calls an "economy of hope" (2007, p.167) that enables a sense of control and possibility for those who can take advantage of its technologies. These technologies are at the disposal of disorderly sleepers who wish to conform to social norms. Interestingly, cruisers never mention taking pills to help them sleep or using sleep hygiene or other techniques. Chris was actually surprised when his habit of taking deep breaths reminded me of mindfulness-based sleep practices, something he had never heard of before

Mindfulness to help you sleep is a more recent incarnation of sleep hygiene, which offers advice on how to fall asleep when you want to. This branch of medical advice comprises "a variety of different practices that are necessary to have normal, quality nighttime sleep and full daytime alertness" (Thorpy, 2015[2003]). It encourages people to overcome unwanted wakefulness by following a series of ritual actions, including perhaps brushing your teeth, changing into pajamas, drinking herbal tea, or regulating the room's temperature (Horne, 2007; Williams, 2007). In an online article hosted by the US National Sleep Foundation, neurologist Michael Thorpy (2015) instructs readers to avoid food or strenuous exercise after a certain time of day and to use their bed only for sleeping, so as to prevent associating it with wakeful activities. On their website, we find these and similar guidelines for linking behaviours with their appropriate times and places.

In practice, of course, the sleep hygiene ritual varies from person to person, but the basic framework comes from the kinds of scientifically based recommendations I just outlined. The purpose is not only to manage sleep times, but also to alter the state of mind experienced by the individual going through the ritual. The principles and performance of sleep hygiene push people to associate "normal" sleep with monophasic, nocturnal sleep in a bed. If that kind of sleep does not come easily, the suggestion is that the individual is doing something wrong to produce

insomnia or excessive daytime sleepiness, both of which are recognized medical conditions in their own right as well as symptoms of other maladies (American Psychiatric Association, 2013). In this case, the person is responsible for correcting their “bad” habits by performing the ritual over and over again until it eventually works in making them sleep right.

The recent proliferation of sleep disorders and the growing number of recorded medical complaints relating to unwanted sleeplessness suggest an economic benefit to controlling sleep and wakefulness. Long-haul truck drivers, for example, consume astounding amounts of both licit and illicit drugs to stay awake and on the road for several days at a time (Derickson, 2014). Benzedrine, an amphetamine stimulant, became a drug of choice in this community, along with cocaine (Derickson, 2014). For many people who get too little or too much sleep in relation to the recommended norm, doctors prescribe sleeping pills like trazodone and pep pills like modafinil (Wolf-Meyer, 2012).

With these medical and non-medical technologies so readily available, sleeping at the right time becomes imperative. A responsible member of society who knows the proper timing of sleep will actively avoid becoming a risk to self and others. People who profess to follow the sleep hygiene ritual or consume the proper normativizing medications may receive less social disapproval and higher degrees of support, since they are trying to behave responsibly. Although they will likely still be held liable for accidents, they may receive more sympathy when it becomes clear that their lack of sleep was not due to a disregard for these risks. Nonetheless, the tacit onus is on them to refrain from dangerous or risky activities when they know they are sleep-deprived. This is true even though the obligation to be productive can make it impossible to reconcile social and economic expectations with staying home to rest.

Cruisers invert the relationship between risk and sleep by staying awake to minimize risk to themselves and others. Instead of sleep being a risk-prevention tactic, in many cases sleeping is risky for cruisers. Thus, when they are underway or in a windy anchorage, for example, safety is more important than sleep. In Livia’s passage description quoted in the previous section, she mentions playing hearts on the computer to stay awake while on watch. This reliance on computer games is an example of how cruisers use technology to subordinate sleep to safety concerns.

Even when they do go to sleep, waking up at night is not always a bad thing for cruisers, despite the annoyance expressed by Chris and Behan about lying awake when they want to be asleep. In fact, sometimes staying asleep would be the worse option. There are two main reasons

to plan to be awake for a few hours at a time – making an overnight or multi-day passage and carrying out an anchor watch when the wind picks up. Both of these reasons come with responsibilities linked to safety. On a passage, cruisers have to ensure that someone keeps a lookout at all times. On anchor watch, they need to check that the boat is holding fast.

Safety is a vital concern during a passage, as well as at anchor. Boats adopt various techniques to remain alert, such as Chris and Lisa's use of an alarm clock to mark the hour while on watch. In the face of personal responsibility and constant risk, cruisers self-regulate their temporality, since they exist outside of – or at least on the fringes of – a larger regulating social system.

Chapter 2: Sounds and Environmental Constraints

What, then, of the ethnographic ear? Clifford's call will continue to resonate until anthropologists attend to the soundscape and the politics of aurality.
– David W. Samuels, Louise Meintjes, Ana Maria Ochoa, and Thomas Porcello (2010:339)

Planning is key for cruisers. They must develop their skills, plan their budgets, divide up duties, and conduct regular equipment maintenance. They study weather forecasts several times a day and plan departures and arrivals accordingly. Tides and wind direction influence the best hour for departure and arrival. If they have kids on board, they carry out homeschooling. They organize meals and activities, keep up regular blogs, ensure that their batteries stay charged, and decide whether the fish they catch are poisonous or not. They deal with paperwork and bureaucracy when they check in and out of countries.

All this planning could make their lives sound rigid and routine, but in fact, the opposite is true. Cruisers plan so much because their lives are so spontaneous and flexible. Things happen without warning all the time and they have to make decisions on the fly. Without planning, they would exist in a constant state of chaos. With it, they are able to respond appropriately to the myriad incidents, small and large, that they encounter on a daily basis.

Behan says food is her boat SV Totem's "highest variable cost of cruising." In other words, the biggest chunk of their unallocated money goes toward food and they never know exactly how much it is going to cost. Some cruisers try to grow their own food, but the wet, salty air and the constant motion of the boat do not lend themselves well to agriculture. Even keeping food safe on board can be complicated. Bananas hanging in the cabin, for example, might end up mashed to a pulp and leaking all over your crew members.

One cruiser likes to take the time to find good quality local produce for sale, no matter how hard it is to get to it:

> I try to find the best open-air market in the area, even if it means walking a couple of miles there and back!

Others rely as much as possible on food that is available for free in their environment. They fish, hunt crabs, and pick fruit off trees. Many cruisers ask permission from local people and ensure that the food does not belong to somebody. Fishing can be dangerous, though. Sharks are

sometimes a hazard, especially when spearfishing. Anything that bleeds will attract them, but so will rapid, jerky motions in the water. Another common risk is poison. Fish in some areas have become toxic. It is not always species dependent, since the same fish can be fine to eat in one bay, but not safe in the one next door. Cruisers learn from those who have gone before them, but conditions change. Most consider it wise to ask the local people if the fish are okay to eat or not.

Provisioning for long passages is especially challenging. Not all cruisers have refrigeration and even fewer have freezers. This means that food spoilage can be a major problem if it is not properly packaged. Cruisers learn a lot of tricks and techniques to keep themselves well provided for while at sea. For example, wrapping oranges individually in paper extends their longevity. Dried and canned foods will last a long time. Some people bring flour and other items necessary for baking, so that they can enjoy fresh bread on passage.

Finding a grocery store after a long passage does not only mean replenishing the basic food stores. It can also mean access to treats that are not available in every anchorage. Arriving at land does not always mean being able to buy whatever you want, though, especially since prices can vary considerably in different places. And in some cases, the things cruisers are used to eating may not be available. Whether a grocery store exists or not, local fishers and farmers are often willing to trade food for sturdy knives, batteries, or clothing.

Clearly, access to clean, safe, affordable food influences how and when cruisers provision. On a more basic level, it also determines what they put into their bodies. The constraints on food availability and safety can be environmental or social or both. In addition to physical impediments like wind or bad weather, other cruisers can affect where a crew chooses to spend the day or night. Sometimes a boat will opt for less common cruising grounds to get away from the crowds. One person in the Interview with a Cruiser Project described the joy of being alone:

> Approaching the next anchorage and arriving to find it empty…no other boats there, having it all to ourselves! Not that we don't love hanging out with our friends in an idyllic spot, but empty anchorages are increasingly hard to come by, so when you find one, it's especially sweet.

Being in a quiet anchorage has a lot of advantages. In general, crowded anchorages are not as desirable as more isolated ones. Lots of boat traffic can create swells and wakes, which can make a calm anchorage less comfortable as the disturbed water tosses the boat around.

Crowded can mean swimmers and local traders or fishermen too. While these people may be friendly and quiet, cruisers find it hard to navigate around people swimming without hitting them, since a person in the water is extremely hard to see from a sailboat deck. Most cruisers motor in and out of anchorages, since there is not enough space and leeway to trust to sails alone. Many also have small outboard engines on their dinghy, which is a small boat that they use to get to shore and back. The motor's underwater propeller poses a risk to anyone in the water, another reason why crowded anchorages make cruisers nervous. Bugs or a rash of thefts can motivate cruisers to relocate too. Some people do prefer to be closer to a larger town, while others like remote areas best.

When it comes to seeking out more isolated areas, one appeal is privacy. Even the best-designed cruising boats are small and intimate; there is not a lot of personal space. Since cruisers spend a lot of time just hanging out on deck or in the cockpit, other boats are also privy to much of what goes on; sound carries on the water. More remote, less crowded areas offer a degree of privacy that popular hangouts cannot provide.

A good anchorage will have good holding for the boat's anchor. Cruisers often have more than one type of anchor, since different anchors will hold better in different kinds of bottoms. Not all anchors work equally well in seaweed, mud, or rocks. Cruisers also want to avoid damaging coral and go to great lengths to set up complicated anchoring systems to keep the bottom safe.

Since boats will swing around on their anchor line as the wind and tides turn, it is important not to anchor too close to another boat. Less experienced boaters often do anchor too close. This is a common complaint from cruisers, although some are more tolerant than others.

One of the most important features of an anchorage is calm waters. This means good protection from ocean swells, as well as from the wind. Trying to sleep while the boat rocks from side to side is not as pleasant as it might sound. In fact, many sailors use what is called a "lee" cloth while underway. A lee cloth is a small sheet, often canvas, attached to the open side of a bed in such a way that it keeps the person from falling out when the boat moves. At anchor, most people do not use such things; some do not even use them at sea. It partly depends on the boat's layout and where they sleep. The forepeak or V-berth, for example, is a triangular bed at the front of the boat. It is generally bounded on all sides except for a small door, so the risk of falling out of bed is nil.

Cruisers are more likely to comment on what they like about an anchorage than any discomforts. Mainly, they will often mention that it was calm, or that it was rocky. It is not always obvious how comfortable a given anchorage will be, even when they have been there for a while. Sometimes they anchor in a place with good protection from the wind - but the protection only lasts as long as the wind blows from the same direction. If the wind switches in the night, a calm anchorage can turn into an uncomfortable one very quickly. If it is too rocky, cruisers might stay up to make sure the anchor is okay, because the bouncing anchor line can pull it free from its holding. If the boat breaks free, it can damage another boat or run ashore. In serious cases, it can mean financial ruin, the loss of home and all belongings, personal injury, and the end of the cruising life.

A lot of cruisers seek natural beauty in an anchorage. Livia of SV Estrellita often blogs about the physical environment: “The water was crystal clear. The beaches on the point were lovely.” Or: “Everywhere you look you see the brown-green of earth, the white-and-blue of the sky or the blue-green of the tropical water.”

The crew of SV Shanti tout the value of just enjoying their surroundings and enjoying their own company:

> To me, being a cruiser is about […] being intimately in touch with the surrounding natural world, having an appreciation and acceptance for everything new - whether good or bad, and recognizing what truly has value in life.

Cruisers tend to value being able to decide their own schedule. Generally, this schedule means going where the wind blows - and if it does not blow, they wait it out. Behan of SV Totem summed up this kind of existence in her blog: “We’re moving slowly as usual.”

There are cruisers who live on powerboats instead of sailboats. Those who choose the latter, however, relinquish some of their control over trajectories and timelines. Sailing cruisers, the subject of my project, rely mostly on the wind to get them where they want to go, or in some cases, to determine where they go next. Fuel is expensive, so even sailors on boats equipped with engines tend only to use those engines with some reluctance. Cruisers make these kinds of decisions in response to their changing situation.

Sounds

A variety of conditions affect cruisers' choices and behaviours, but perhaps none so much as sound. The force that sounds exert in cruisers' lives speaks to their unbelonging from the social body. As they detach from societal obligations and normativity, they become increasingly self-reliant and must form a new relationship with their acoustic environment. When cruisers talk about sleeping, they inevitably talk about sounds. Unlike those who live in a house, they need to know what every sound means. Is it a threat? Is the anchor dragging? Is there a bird on the boat? Is it just something moving in the cabin with the motion of the boat? Cruisers' sense of safety and security relies on their interpretation of the sound they hear.

Noise that interferes with sleep can include anything from seagulls to jets. If you are anchored near an airport or a busy road, those sounds will intrude into the boat. Other boaters can be fun to hang out with, but they can also be noisy. Whether playing loud music, running their generator, or just having a conversation, their sounds easily cross the water. Boats coming and going might involve the sounds of engines or anchor chains rattling, which can happen at any time of the night or day. In fact, a lot of people depart at first light or even earlier if the tides and wind are appropriate. They often time their passage so that they get the longest period of daylight possible for their passage and so that they do not have to fight the current.

These sounds have different meanings, but that meaning is not inherent to the qualities of the sound. For cruisers, the soundscape is a form of communication; in other words, they identify, categorize, and interpret sounds to understand what is going on around them. This communication does not necessarily stem from an act of conscious agency, although it can be. Blasts of a boat's sound device can be warnings or informational (five short blasts usually indicates danger, whereas a long blast followed by two short blasts simply means a sailboat is nearby but not visible due to fog). Other sounds, like wind in the rigging, do not originate from human agency.

Whatever the source, cruisers listen to interrogate the sounds, to draw a message from them. This type of listening is not the only possibility for humans. We can listen out of curiosity, or as a type of engagement with our environment, or to decide on the best orchestration for a collection of sounds (Kelman 2010). These possibilities highlight the distinction between the sound itself and the transformation of the sound through listening. Thus, "a sound means

something partly because of what produces it, but mainly because of the circumstances under which it is heard" (Truax 2001:xviii). Sounds have their own qualities from a purely physical perspective, but the nature and variability of human hearing influences what is actually perceived. With all this variation, "no sound is ever listened to in a way that is singularly true […] – we don't even know how to describe what singularly true […] listening would be" (Durkin 2015:171). Not only the actual perception of the sound, but the meaning or message conveyed by a sound comes from our understanding of our context, both physical and social.

Thus, for cruisers, some sounds mean that they have to get out of bed and do something, but this is not an inherent or essential characteristic of that sound under all circumstances. For example, Lisa of SV Sea Dreams commented to me that one night:

> We had significant rain, which is very loud on our boat and it kept me awake wondering if all the hatches are closed tightly.

For many people who live on land, rain at night is not a call to action. Some people even find it soothing and might sleep more soundly because of its gentle pattering. In order to determine what a sound might mean, we need to consider "the interlocking behavior of sound, the listener and the environment as a *system* of relationships, not as isolated entities" (Truax 2001:xviii). While the term "system" can be problematic in its implied rigidity, it is a useful concept in that it enables us to conceptualize cruisers' listening as only one piece in a larger process. I prefer the word "process" for its suggestion of flow and movement, in contrast to the static and repetitive connotation of "system."

Another sound that makes cruisers respond is when gear breaks suddenly during the night. These malfunctions occur most often when it is especially windy or rocky. Dave of SV LightSpeed blogged about that kind of experience: "It's now 2AM and the anchor snubber,[5] […] just snapped with a huge bang." Generally, in such situations, someone has to get up to tend to the issue. Self-reliance and potentially impending catastrophe mean that cruisers cannot ignore even the remotest possibility that something is wrong. If they do not know what the sound is, they need to check it out. Otherwise, their cruising days might be abruptly over.

Sounds that trigger a response are known as "signal sounds" (Schafer 1977). It could be an ambulance siren that causes people to pull their car to the side or plug their ears. It could be

[5] A shock absorber on the anchor chain

a knock on the door that makes the person inside call out, “Come in!” Or it could be the sound of a certain bird that indicates the spring has come and it is time to plant your garden. Signal sounds vary from one social or cultural context to another; again, it is not some inherent quality of the sound that triggers the response, but rather a contextual understanding of its significance within your lifeworld.

Cruisers have a special relationship with sounds, especially when they are sleeping or trying to sleep. This relationship reflects their unbelonging; by willfully self-marginalizing, they take on a level of personal responsibilities that necessitate paying attention to sounds more intimately than they did as part of a social body. No one else will warn them of an issue or mitigate a risk to their boat, because no one else is aware of the specifics of their situation at every given moment. Additionally, no one else is responsible for their wellbeing – no government or doctor or boss or parent can suggest or prescribe an appropriate course of action or response to cruisers’ changing circumstances. As a result, cruisers have to categorize sounds intensively and continuously. This ongoing scrutiny makes every sound a signal sound initially, since it triggers active listening and conscious categorization. Every sound needs to be checked against the cruiser’s knowledge of their boat and surrounding environment.

In this way, cruisers regularly engage in an “adjudication of sonic experiences” (Kelman 2010:219). They judge and differentiate between significant sounds or “sounds that matter” (Kelman 2010:219) and those that can be relegated to the background. Once a sound is recognized as benign by the cruiser, it ceases to be a signal sound, but rather becomes part of the “noise” of the soundscape. Chris describes how noting the boat’s behaviour becomes an ingrained habit after cruising for awhile:

> Because we spent so many years travelling where we're anchored in remote places and we had to be really self-reliant, we're really switched on to what's going on with the boat. So if we're anchored and something shudders or something, we might stick our head out the hatch to make sure the anchor's still holding and we're not going to crash into a reef.

Even though some sounds become easily recognizable after a time, listening remains part of cruisers’ habitual practice. This long-term listening enables cruisers to “discern signal from noise” (Barry Truax, in Kelman 2010), that is, to distinguish between something that needs a response and something that does not. Still, being able to recognize a sound does not mean no response is required. When the wind picks up at night, cruisers often get out of bed to check on the boat and the anchor. The wind will whiz through the rigging, triggering a specific behaviour.

One long-term cruiser wrote in his blog about a particularly harrowing night that he stayed awake on anchor watch:

> The wind is also making me worry as it's shifted and has us backed up to a shallow coral reef only a few hundred feet away so I don't expect to get any meaningful sleep tonight… if any. At the moment it's a little past midnight about 3 hours past my bedtime but, I know I won't sleep a wink with the catastrophic risk of losing the boat to a coral reef. I've decided to stay up all night on anchor watch in these windy and squally conditions. Julie, Karl and Kitty all offered to stand watches as well but, I know I still won't sleep with wind sustained gusts howling though the rigging up to 35 knots[6] making the times it drops into the low 20's seem calm by comparison. Karl dove on the anchor after we initially dropped it and confirmed we were well set with the anchor hooked on a huge chunk of coral. I'm still worried as if the anchor system were to fail we would have precious moments to try to start the engine and avoid the reef.

Sounds tell cruisers how much danger they are in. In this passage, Dave does not pathologize his sleeplessness, but rather considers it a duty to ensure the safety of the boat and crew. The loss of the boat or injury to any of the crew, including himself, would curtail his ability to continue cruising and living the flexible lifestyle he enjoys. Staying awake becomes a responsibility motivated by personal bodily safety as well as future enjoyment. The loss of the boat would certainly be an economic blow, but that does not appear to be Dave's main concern. We can take responsibility in its literal sense – a response to sounds that signal danger. Furthermore, responsibility in this case actually requires flexibility, the will and ability to change his sleep patterns according to emerging conditions. The response is triggered by warning signal sounds. Staying awake and on anchor watch is an act of responsibility in both senses of the word. It is also a testimony to his process of unbelonging; no one outside of his crew will come to his aid if something goes awry. In this instance, flexible responsibility emerges as a bodily practice to ensure the reproduction of unbelonging.

In this light, interpreting and managing sound is a kind of risk management. Unlike the risk management of psychological therapy (Rose 2007), cruisers do not have a biomedical discourse of risk, but rather a mechanical and naturalistic one. The risk does threaten their health and safety, but it is not to be mitigated through medical practices. Instead, cruisers need to learn to locate and interpret the sound within their current and changing context: sails flapping while underway means they have gone off course or lost their wind, but the same sound at anchor could simply mean that the mainsail has come loose or fallen out of the sail cover, not an urgent matter in

[6] Known as gale force winds on the Beaufort Wind Scale. Equal to about 65 km/h.

terms of safety, even if the noise might inhibit sleep. In other words, not all sounds that disturb sleep must be dealt with immediately, but they must all be categorized to assess the degree of danger that they signal.

In an applied study of composer and sound scholar R. Murray Schafer's (1977) original notion of the soundscape, Jack Fong (2016) uncritically repeats the former's assertion that "natural" sounds are more positive than "urban" or "industrial" sounds. He believes that this inherently positive essence of "natural" sounds stems from their gentle or unobtrusive quality. However, this positive nature extends even to those with "a dramatic presence on the primordial soundscape – thunder, crashing waves, powerful winds" as they "were only intermittently heard because they manifested through seasonal cycles" (Fong 2016:175).

The exceedingly ideological romanticizing of some harmonious "primordial" state of humanity and the limited regional awareness of "seasonal cycles" aside, this argument does not hold up when we examine how cruisers relate to the so-called "natural" sounds of their environment. Wind is not a friendly sound, unless it is a steady breeze while the boat is underway. In an anchorage, wind is an enemy, a signal sound that the boat and the crew's safety may be at risk. It requires a response. The positive or negative nature of a sound is largely contextual, not an essential property of that sound. As Dave's anchor watch shows, many sounds can signal danger; for cruisers, all sounds might signal danger until they are properly categorized. Thus, sounds carry no meaning for humans outside of human interpretation. They also do not exist as signal sounds or "noise" without a human understanding of context. Cruisers' context is one of social separateness, which alters the meaning of sounds like wind or rain. For cruisers, listening means deconstructing the soundscape, not experiencing it as a background wash. It also means subordinating other desirable activities, such as sleep, to managing risk.

Even the idea of an anchor "watch" is partly aural and auditory, i.e. pertaining to both the ear in a physical sense and to the experience of listening. Like sleep, listening and interpreting sounds are bodily activities, although they may be harder to observe from the outside than the former. These bodily activities are responses and responsibilities for cruisers, molded and triggered according to the individual's experience with their boat, the location, sailing in general, their crew, and so on. Cruisers make a decision to act or not act according to a sound and their interpretation of that sound. Of course this interpretation is necessarily based on their comfort level with risk, but that comfort level cannot be assessed without an initial awareness of risk. The sound provides this initial awareness.

At this point, it is important to distinguish between the sound and the actual risk. The sound is not the risk. The sound may not even be created wholly or solely by whatever poses the risk. For example, wind in the rigging means that the anchorage has become rockier, which in turn means that the anchor is less likely to hold and the boat could end up on the rocks or a reef or up against another boat. There is a step-by-step thought process involved in assessing the risk indicated by a sound. This process shows that the sound is not the cause of the risk, or even directly related to the risk. The risk is a grounding or collision, not the wind. A competent and responsible cruiser recognizes the relationship between the wind in the rigging and a potential scenario and responds in a way that best prevents that perceived danger from becoming real. The motive for this risk management and responsibility lies once again in safety more than in some economic ideal of productivity. The key to responding in the interest of safety lies in a successful interpretation of the sound that allows the step-by-step thought process to occur, whereby the cruiser decides on how much risk the sound is signalling.

Even the location of the listener can change the interpretation of that sound. If you hear the sound of dripping water above deck, it is not the same as if you hear that sound below deck. Above deck, you are probably hearing sea spray or rainwater draining overboard through the scuppers; below deck, it might indicate a dangerous leak or at least a slow encroachment of water into the cabin. The latter communicates a necessary tightening of a hatch to improve the crew's comfort, such as their ability to sleep without getting wet. Even in the same space, two different people might hear different things depending on where they are standing or sitting, as well as their own hearing abilities and listening habits (Durkin 2015; Sterne 2012).

Cruisers exemplify how social positionality changes how we hear as well. They compare their relationship with sounds when living on land to the kind of "deep listening" (Oliveros 2005) required by the cruising lifestyle, although they do not use that term. Deep listening is "a total, mindful, reflexive sonic awareness that moves between trying to hear everything at once and deep attentive focus on a single sound or set of sounds" (Sterne 2012:9). Cruisers learn a new bodily behaviour by relinquishing the visual focus of so-called Western culture (Howes 2014; Samuels, Meintjes, Ochoa, and Porcello 2010) in favour of a more attuned attitude to acoustic communication, a strategic listening that requires categorization, if not intervention. It is a sensory and cognitive engagement that draws on new bodily behaviours and attitudes of mind, if we can readily distinguish between the two.

Chris told me how listening and cataloguing sounds disturbs his sleep on board in a way that he never encountered on land:

> Waking up in the night in your bed in your house, you know, could be frustrating, but having to be always sort of sleeping with one eye open and being concerned about your safety and, you know, your house isn't going to go down the street and go off a cliff or run into the mountain or something. But your home is your boat and you always have to be switched on and, yeah, your awareness level has to be a lot higher, because it's your safety. I think it's totally different and that's why it can be much more disruptive to your sleep. I mean, in your house, if there's a windstorm, you wake up and go, yeah, there's a branch rubbing on the side of my house or I heard a tree crack or whatever and you go “that's fine” and go back to sleep. But here it could mean the loss of your house and maybe loss of your health too. I mean, you definitely could be imperiled at certain times. So yeah, it's a totally different set of responsibilities and stresses, I guess, that definitely go towards quality of your sleep.

Chris links his responsibilities as a cruiser directly to safety. He differentiates between the kinds of responsibilities he experienced in his land-based life according to how much danger certain sounds might signal. On land, he suggests that he was not immediately responsible for his safety in the same attuned way that he is on board, in part because the degree of risk is perceived as smaller in a house on land. A large part of this increased responsibility has to do with his response to sounds. By unbelonging from a land-based existence, Chris has heightened his personal responsibility and changed the motivation for that responsibility. This heightened responsibility based on safety rather than social concerns emerges through his relationship with sounds.

Chris notes that sounds can be a source of distress that disrupts and interrupts sleep. Since boats are much more susceptible to the elements than the average North American single-family home, cruisers must take on immediate responsibility if there is even a chance that something will go wrong. Here, responsibility is both a bodily sensation and an observable action. Cruisers are responsible for auditory awareness at all times, as well as for taking action when and as necessary to promote further enjoyment and safety. As they willfully unbelong, cruisers’ responsibility shifts from social obligations to more physical concerns. Many of their responsibilities are fulfilled on a very personal, physical, and bodily level. They sleep, listen, stay awake, handle the boat, carry food, and so on according to their own perceived needs and safety, rather than in accordance with social workings and norms. Cruisers’ heightened auditory awareness comes along with their rejection of social membership in that sounds affect sleep and other activities far more than do societal commitments or other people’s expectations, including the expectations of those in authority.

As a dominant force that supersedes social structures, sounds can also be a source of relief. Chris explains his listening and categorizing as a kind of stress reduction technique, since it allows him to localize the source of the sound and weigh how much of a risk it signals. After a while at sea, Chris finds that being aware of his sonic environment through deep listening helps him relax:

> You've also worked through all those little things that maybe you were listening to while you're trying to fall asleep, like that little creak. You're like, okay that's just the closet door creaking, that's fine. You know, it's not the mast that's going to fall down.

This stress reduction technique goes beyond the mainstream therapeutic mechanisms of North America that seldom pay attention to those aspects of stress that extend beyond internal personality issues and interpersonal relationships. This environmental awareness as stress reduction could be considered as a form of ecopsychology, but one that does not conform to a generalizable system or follow a prescribed routine.

Thus, sound signifies risk but it can also signify that everything is okay. A lack of certain sounds means that nothing has changed since the last safety check; a new sound can alert the cruiser to emerging issues, while the cessation of a sound might announce that a danger has passed. Cruisers' listening is diagnostic, a kind of multisensory engagement with the human and non-human environment.

Non-Human Voice

Through the process of willfully unbelonging, cruisers take their main cue from the non-human environment. Non-human elements such as sounds are part of a kind of dialogue, a non-intentional intervention in cruisers' lives. While the cruisers may respond intentionally, the non-human half of the dialogue does not exhibit any observable intention even as it acts upon cruisers' lives. We know that the non-human can be an active player in all kinds of social pursuits (Latour 1993; Tsing 2009; Hsu 2015). Anna Tsing (2009), for instance, carefully chooses her language to express the ways in which the non-human shapes and responds to human actions within economic systems. While it is unlikely that she believes that mushrooms show conscious intent in choosing where to grow, her approach suggests that the non-human is sometimes taken for granted when we examine connections among people. The non-human, we might often forget, enables specific connections to exist in a given form, just as it hinders other types of connections

from emerging. Without a boat, cruisers would be unable to explore in the way that they do. Technology, defined broadly or narrowly, is a somewhat obvious case in point; it has a dialectical relation with society (Wajcman 2002), meaning that it influences humans even as humans mold technology. While on long passages, Chris and Lisa of SV Sea Dreams use an alarm clock to mark the hour every hour. It reminds the person on watch to write in the log. It also helps them stay awake in the wee hours of the night. This sound technology is a signal that keeps them on track temporally by triggering both an observable action (writing in the log) and a state of mind (alertness).

People who do not live on boats use similar sound devices to regulate their temporality. A phone alarm can draw the owner's attention to upcoming appointments or deadlines. We also use sound alarms when it comes to determining our waking times. Interestingly, many technological devices now have their own ability to "sleep" and that sleep does not always conform to human sleep patterns (Hsu 2015). A computer might "wake up" in the middle of the night, emitting beeps, musical tones, or whirring noises that interrupt the human sleeper (Hsu 2015). Although these sounds are generally part of the soundscape's background, not necessarily signal sounds, they do convey information about the physical environment, even if the meaning is literally just that the computer has woken up. Like cruisers, anyone who can hear has the ability to recognize familiar sounds and judge whether or not they require a response or signify a threat. In the same vein, sound notifications of Facebook or Twitter updates tell us something about our social environment. The opening bell of the New York Stock Exchange indicates economic activity in process. Improvised banging of pots and pans in the street could be a sign of political protest. All of these sounds contain meaning within and about their cultural contexts.

Like sound, humans "use discourse to render meaningful every aspect of our social, cultural, political environment. […] In short, discourse is what transforms our environment into a socially and culturally meaningful one" (Blommaert 2005:4). Discourse can emerge linguistically, but also visually, as Jan Blommaert (2005) explains with his example of a print advertisement: the text is only one piece of the ad. Colours, shapes, layout, and images contribute to the overall discourse. I would add sound to the list of elements that make up discourse.

For Blommaert (2005:4-5), voice is the key aspect of discourse:

> Voice stands for the way in which people manage to make themselves understood or fail to do so. In doing so, they have to draw upon and deploy discursive means which they have at their disposal, and they have to use them

> in contexts that are specified as conditions of use. Consequently, if these conditions are not met, people 'don't make sense' – they fail to make themselves understood – and the actual reasons for this are manifold.

This definition of voice is well thought out as a means of getting at the intricacies of discourse and even communication in general. The reasons for misunderstanding or miscommunication are indeed manifold. One important cause of misunderstanding is a lack of contextual awareness.

We have just seen how sounds fit the definition of discourse: they convey meaning about the physical and social environment. On a cruising boat, sounds from the radio, from neighbouring boats, from electronic equipment, from the sails, from wind, from water, and from animals help the cruisers "render meaningful" their environment. Blommaert (2005) extends his definition of voice only to human-made elements of discourse. However, the sounds of the boat and the surrounding environment are a non-human "voice," giving warnings, triggering actions, and so on. The body's response to sounds is indicative of the mobility of cruisers' self. Their subjectivity is one of engagement with auditory stimuli whenever they are on their boat. While spending time on shore, they do not have to pay attention to sounds in the same way they do when on board, although if they notice that the wind has picked up, they are likely to go back to their boat to make sure it is safe. Although anthropologists have argued for over a decade now that the self is not stable (for example, Biehl et al. 2007), many people still perceive or experience themselves as a single entity. Cruisers explicitly make a break with a past version of themselves when they break away from land-based routines and habits. They use phrases like "former life" when talking about their pre-cruising days, to highlight their sense of discontinuity between their sense of self then and now. Paying attention to sounds contributes to this fluid subjectivity in that it is a new biological and cognitive practice that evidences their willful unbelonging.

Sounds also act as discourse in that they allow cruisers to extend their powers of observation beyond their own bodily capabilities. Sounds can be observed directly, but cruisers are not actually interested in the sounds themselves. The sounds are part of discourse in that they communicate something and cruisers want to observe what the sounds reveal, the unseen, not the sound itself. Wind can only be observed by cruisers through its effects, one of those effects being the sounds it makes when it increases or changes direction. Engine problems or a leak inside a crawl space on the boat might become evident through sounds long before the cruiser would have done a visual check in places that are only accessible with some difficulty. Deep under water, a dragging anchor might send shock waves up the chain, making a rattling sound heard below deck. These sounds are a part of cruisers' observations, stretching their ability to detect

issues that would remain invisible if they did not cultivate this auditory subjectivity. In other words, cruisers regularly engage their aural skills to supplement their other senses, thereby gaining the ability to grasp what the sounds are communicating.

Following Tsing (2009), discussed above, I would hardly suggest that this communication is intentional. But we cannot disregard the vital nature of sounds for cruisers especially when it comes to keeping themselves safe. Understanding the sound's meaning stems necessarily from an awareness of the larger context; the longer a cruiser sails a specific boat in a certain region, the easier it is for them to interpret the soundscape. In this way, sounds can also fail to make themselves understood, in Blommaert's (2005) sense, although the breakdown occurs at the point of attention or analysis by the cruiser, not the sound's misuse of available "discursive means" or the absence of the correct context. If a sound's voice does not come through, it is the cruiser who has bumbled; they do not have a strong enough grasp of the context to understand the message. In any case, a connection has been made, since "the very act of listening is by definition a connection" (Durkin 2014:165). The effectiveness of that connection depends not on the efficacy of the non-human voice, but rather on the competence and listening skills of the cruiser. Listening involves cognitive skills, but the experience of a sound goes beyond cognition in a simple sense; it involves bodily sensations. The cruiser must be ready to respond, i.e. take responsibility, when their body registers a sound. The sound dominates the dialogue. The cruiser has no say in when a sound occurs and little choice but to identify and categorize the sound, and then respond flexibly. Responding to sounds takes precedence over other activities, including sleep and relaxation. Choosing sleep over responsibility when faced with a sound signalling danger would be unheard of for a successful cruiser. Their sleep must be flexible; that is the only responsible choice.

Non-human voice in the form of audible sound is one of the most powerful forces that determines cruisers' actions and attitudes, from sleep patterns to a sense of responsibility and flexibility. Because cruisers try to be self-reliant and choose to unbelong, sound controls their sleep more than any other force. When it comes to sleep, sound wakes cruisers up or lets them know when it is safe to sleep. Sound enables them to stay awake when they are tired but need to keep watch. Sound lets them check in with other boats and weather stations via VHF (Very High Frequency) radio or through sound signals in the fog. The non-human voice is a key player in cruisers' sleep and in their lives, even as they seek freedom from external constraints.

In this way, sound shapes cruisers' responsibilities and sense of flexibility in a way that diverges stridently from the notion of responsibilization as a neoliberal pillar (Rose 1999;

Rajchman 1991). According to Rose (1999:68), “individuals […] must come to recognize and act upon themselves as both free and responsible, both beings of liberty and members of society.” The first part of this quotation could describe cruisers; as we have seen, they promote both freedom and responsibility. However, their lifestyle and attitudes contradict the second half of this quotation: cruisers view themselves as “free and responsible” and as “beings of liberty,” but they are unquestionably not “members of society.” Their disorderly sleep exemplifies this lack of membership, as discussed in Chapter 1, and their attention to sounds showcases their state of independence and self-reliance. However, their unbelonging goes further than that, as I will show in the next chapter. Thus, cruisers rework ostensibly neoliberal values and mobilize them in a new context, simultaneously rejecting other neoliberal ideals, such as “transparency, observability, standardization and the like” (Rose 1999:154), as well as economic productivity. This rejection and withdrawal from mainstream social norms is willful unbelonging.

Chapter 3: Willful Unbelonging

Cruisers are neither spatially nor temporally conformist in their sleep, in their sense of responsibility, in their relationship with sounds, and in their lives in general. To focus for a moment on the first of these non-conforming aspects, let me recall that sleep hygiene and medication aim to maintain normative spatiotemporal rhythms, as we have seen. Although not always inherently negative, these practices compromise or at least constrain the life of the individual. Mainstream ideas about sleep are as normative as ideas about many other areas of life. Since conforming to a norm is a type or sign of belonging, long-term cruisers' non-conforming sleep rhythms reflect the spatiotemporal unbelonging they have chosen for themselves.

Literally, unbelonging denotes simply an absence of belonging, but I use the term to designate a process. Cruisers are active in constructing and reproducing their own unbelonging; ultimately, it is bound up in their ideal of freedom. To return to Ahmed's (2012) discussion of the willful part in Chapter 1, I would argue that cruisers enact this willfulness by actively going their own way and refusing to belong to a collective in the sense of subordinating their own needs and desires to the greater good. Unlike non-conformity, unbelonging is not focused on being different from others; rather the goal is to will as an individual, whether or not the result mirrors what others are doing. Willful unbelonging, then, is a process of exempting oneself from norms without necessarily criticizing or seeking to undermine them. It is not a rejection of specific norms, but rather a rejection of normativity in general.

One interpretation of willfulness points to bringing oneself and one's will into the social foreground (Ahmed 2012). In this view, "To recede into the background requires giving up a will other than the will of the whole" (Ahmed 2012:np). Ahmed also suggests that membership or belonging to some sort of collectivity implies duty to and engagement with a larger or more dominant will. Drawing on Hegel, she describes how belonging gives a member certain privileges, but also "can require participation" (2012:np). In other words, belonging means that you are responsible to others who belong similarly. Fulfilling this responsibility emerges through specific behaviours, ethics, or subjectivities.

In a reversal of this notion, cruisers express their willfulness by receding into the background. If we consider unbelonging as self-"marginalization", then cruisers are choosing to be marginal in a normative sense. They detach to some significant degree from their routine and

their existing social networks. Of course very few people can completely detach from all social interaction, and those who do would be impossible for an anthropologist to locate. But cruisers are in the background for everyone who does not live on their boat. For themselves and their crew, they are the absolute center and perhaps the only constant, while the rest of the world pays them little mind. Even for other cruisers, they are a transient blip in their trajectory. In this way, willfulness can involve self-effacement rather than self-promotion in relation to social bodies.

This process of disappearing from mainstream sight is willful unbelonging. Cruisers are exercising their will to be in the background, to not be socially important or bear immediate responsibility to a collectivity. It would be hypothetically possible to be physically distant and still socially involved through technology, but my research suggests that cruisers are no longer engaged in the same way that they used to be. They may not disconnect completely, but their connection exists on their own terms. They are responsible for when and how they engage with larger social bodies. The first time that Livia was away from the United States for the country's federal election, she was able to set her own balance in how much information she got and when she received it:

> I have to say that I've really enjoyed being out of the US for this cycle. I don't hear a thing about the election unless I search the information out myself. No TV hyping the mini-drama of the day. No dire warnings of death and destruction of life as we know it if you don't vote for person X. I've been glad to be gone and although it requires some planning (and I almost screwed it up), it was easy to vote absentee.

Livia experienced as much of the election as she wanted to. The distance from events was positive for her and she enjoys having control over her own involvement in the entire process. She did choose to vote, but it was her own responsibility to do so; nobody would check up on her or assist her along the way. Even when she opted to take part in the social collective, she did so invisibly, with as little influence from the outside world (e.g. TV) as possible. She selected her own information, taking responsibility for her choices and her access. She is willfully unbelonging by removing herself from the mainstage, even as she chooses not to sever her ties entirely.

Cruising life brings new kinds of responsibilities, as we have seen. Cruisers are responsible for the safety of their own boat and other crew members. But again, nobody supervises or checks up on cruisers' activities. The responsibilities they have stem from their unbelonging. Since nobody else will ensure a cruisers' safety, they must do so themselves or fail at their lifestyle.

Although this willfulness puts cruisers out of sight, it is still willfulness, the kind that "refers to the part that in willing has forgotten it is just a part" (Ahmed 2012:np). Ahmed (2012) uses the metaphor of the body to symbolize collective membership. In this light, we can see unbelonging as a kind of temporary or permanent dismemberment, a detachment of a limb or organ to pursue its own path. However, the metaphor only goes so far; losing a leg would modify the body's functioning, whereas cruisers' social absence seems to have little impact on mainstream society's continued flow.[7]

Despite their willful unbelonging from an identifiable collectivity, cruisers do have a notion of social indebtedness that imbues them with responsibilities to others as a kind of payment for their ability to unbelong. Gustav Peebles (2010:226) argues that credit and debt are an inseparable dyad. He also points out that many anthropologists have discussed "credit as power and debt as weakness." For cruisers, social debt exists without creditors, an absence attributable to the twist on reciprocity that comes from the self-reliance and freedom that they embrace. Instead of an assertion of power or weakness, this debt is an attempt to erase, or at least obscure, relations of power and privilege within their own community and with outsiders. Cruisers with more expensive boats or equipment can travel faster and more safely without as much personal skill and vigilance than those who do not have these things. However, none of the cruisers I spoke with and read about even hinted that this difference mattered in a social sense. It is mostly left unmentioned, which supports the idea that it is an uncomfortable topic. Erasing these differences allows cruisers to identify themselves and others as social equals even in the face of financial disparities.

To serve this erasure, cruisers hold apparently opposite ideals at the same time by promoting the ideals of both solidarity and self-reliance. Nancy of SV Saga writes to this point:

> To me, being a cruiser is about self reliance [and] being part of a wonderful and helpful community.

In this quote, Nancy succinctly expresses the contradictory yet simultaneous values of self-reliance and mutual solidarity and support. In a single sentence, she points out that self-reliance is essential to being a cruiser, but so is "being part of a helpful community." Having people to call on for help seems to contradict self-reliance.

[7] Future research might investigate the social spaces left behind by cruisers when they leave their land-based lives. Perhaps their families and friends do notice a gap.

Because of the variations among cruisers, it is hard to make broad generalizations about access to material resources. Some have decades of savings while others have minimal budgets. However, even the most frugal long-term cruiser risks running out of money eventually, since they do not work regular jobs – or any job in most cases. This material and financial insecurity goes along with a lifestyle that often takes its practitioners to remote places. Even if they have the money, cruisers cannot always find parts or food for sale, just like they cannot count on hiring an expert to do repairs or maintenance work on their boat.

Self-reliance thus becomes a necessary asset for long-term cruisers. It is woven into the lifestyle so tightly that even those who cruise in well-populated and well-resourced areas promote self-reliance as an ideal. Some people even complain about how modern electronics and boating equipment enable people to cruise even when they do not have the level of skill that used to be required in the past. Of course, that does not stop those same cruisers from outfitting their boats with many of the gadgets they claim to deplore. This contradiction can be linked to the widespread cruiser value of independence and self-reliance. Fancy gadgets act as symbols that appear to diminish the importance of individual skill and knowledge, even as they reduce reliance on other people in practice.

One cruising couple explains how they use tools for traditional navigation on long offshore passages. In their view, this usage is emblematic of cruiser self-reliance:

> The sextant allows us to be independent and self-contained, conditions that lie at the very core of ocean cruising.

Despite this somewhat negative attitude toward people who cannot readily take care of themselves all the time, most cruisers promote solidarity and mutual support as a positive aspect of what they call the cruiser community.

Some cruisers use a particular phrase to highlight the solidarity ideal of their lifestyle. It is called “leaving a clean wake.” The “wake” imagery is, of course, nautical, referring to the track left behind a boat moving through the water. This connection likely appeals to the cruising identity. Literally, leaving a clean wake means not polluting the water behind you. However, the meaning of leaving a clean wake goes beyond pollution.

Livia of SV Estrellita wrote about leaving a clean wake in her blog:

> Most cruisers have heard of the concept of leaving a clean wake. According to the Seven Seas Cruising Association: To leave a clean wake is to show respect for others and for our environment so that those who follow in our wake will be warmly welcomed. It is our most cherished tradition. [..] To irreverently, and probably inaccurately, paraphrase, the idea of leaving a clean wake is: If "being a good person" and "not destroying the environment" aren't strong enough motivators, we cruisers should keep in mind that other cruisers are following us and we shouldn't screw everything up for them before they get there.

In this description we can see that cruisers do have a collective moral code of sorts. The code revolves around respecting local people and areas, so that future cruisers can enjoy them. Being a cruiser – or at least a "good" cruiser – means acknowledging and paying a debt to others in the cruising community by not causing harm.

Leaving a clean wake is not only about not causing harm, though. Livia goes on to say this:

> It is impossible to "leave no trace" either physically or electronically. If you consider the fact that you can have a positive impact on a community, leaving without a trace isn't even desirable.

In other words, cruisers are not only responsible for not making a mess; they should try to do good of some kind in the places they visit. This responsibility reflects a kind of indebtedness or social contract among cruisers. The contract is tacit, of course, but it requires cruisers to continuously recognize their positionality within a fluid community. Although each boat is often alone, leaving a clean wake reminds them that others have passed this way and will follow behind. Their own sense of indebtedness to the former works as a sign of gratitude to those who took care not to do any harm in a particular location. The social contract with the latter, those who will visit the spot in future, involves humility on the part of the cruiser who is currently there. The place is not theirs to do with as they please; others have just as much right to enjoy it as they do. This lack of entitlement stems once again from cruisers' unbelonging wherever they may be. In leaving a clean wake, cruisers belie capitalist market fundamentalism in that they do not view land and all its trappings as something to be exploited or "developed" for financial gain. What they want is to experience a place and leave it unchanged. They do not become citizens wherever they go, but rather scratch the surface of life in various places, as if they are briefly playing at membership without fully diving into any permanent community. The result is a kind of social responsibility to their fellow cruisers who share this anti-materialist mentality.

There is also a debt owed by cruisers to local people who live in the areas they visit. Part of the debt simply revolves around showing respect. Behan of SV Totem supports learning at least a few words of the local language. Similarly, Rika of SV Brillig offers some tips on how to be what she calls a "professional foreigner:"

> Do not argue with local peoples' traditions, not force our traditions, to learn their culture, custom, language and habit and their food.

A lot of cruisers carry items to give away or trade with local people. The trades are often heavily in favour of the locals. When they do not have the items desired by local traders, some cruisers express remorse, like they have failed in their contract. Dave, currently of SV LightSpeed, blogged about one occasion where two traders approached their boat offering pearls:

> They had some nice ones and wanted to trade for whiskey of which we had none, and in hindsight we should have brought a few cases of cheap Mexican whiskey costing about $5 a bottle in Mexico. The local rot gut costs at least $45 a bottle so it is highly coveted by the locals.

Here again, the sense of owing something seeps through. "We *should* have brought a few cases," he writes [emphasis added], showing how he recognizes an obligation and, in this case, a failure to fulfil it. The sense of obligation does not seem to stem from some action or words from the traders; Dave simply asserts that bringing the right goods is part of his role and responsibility as a cruiser. He owes it to the local people and he has failed to pay up. Such trades involve an economic transaction, but Dave and others almost unfailingly trade in a way that profits the local people much more than themselves. They talk about their responsibility to have the right goods as something that they owe in payment for their very presence in these people's homeland.

The social contract or indebtedness among cruisers and between cruisers and locals suggests that there is an implied or tacit cost to the self-reliance that cruisers advocate. Cruisers continuously earn the right to remain disconnected from regular employment and social obligations as long as they give back to the people they encounter, as well as members of their imagined extended cruising community. Being a cruiser involves awareness of a social debt or indebtedness, no matter how remote or isolated a single boat may be, or how likely or unlikely it is that someone else will in fact follow in their wake. Polluting the environment and insulting local people online are both aberrations of the social contract, because future cruisers might not be welcome in that place as a result. The debt agreement involves sharing or offering aid to other cruisers even when it is inconvenient. In cruiser discourse, the emphasis is placed on the

obligation to be helpful, not the idea that other cruisers are there to support your own cruising endeavour. It is a debt owed, not a credit received.

What I find most significant about this unstated contract is how the debt clashes with the most basic and most explicit ideals of cruiser living, that is, the desired freedom from mainstream obligations, the lack of employment contracts, the goal of absolute independence, and the elements of risk and uncertainty that make self-reliance so vital. I believe that the debt among cruisers blurs any financial differences that may exist between boats, since part of the community's collective goal is to get away from mainstream economic relationships. All cruisers have at least one skill or part on hand, and they can share them around no matter how much or how little money or stuff they may own.

When it comes to indebtedness toward local people living on land, cruisers are perhaps trying to avoid the feelings of discomfort that come from their own obvious position of privilege. Sharing, trading, and gifting with locals places everyone on an ostensibly equal footing; cruisers are often eager to learn from local people, but they are also willing to teach a new game or help with daily chores or other projects. In this way, debt acts as a democratizing force that seeks to erase privilege and economic inequality. Cruisers are trying to disengage or escape from their land-based socioeconomic positions; they reject materialism and the ethic of productivity for pay. Behan of SV Totem says:

> We're certainly living with less, but don't really think about it much. If we do, it's usually to lament that we still have too much on board- things get in the way, there's more than we need.

Behan sums up the rejection of materialism that many cruisers profess. A lot of these people are used to material abundance and they want to escape from that. They criticize having too much stuff and actively seek to reduce their own belongings. In this way, the social debt within their community and externally is a means of overcoming the systemic class barriers that they are rejecting but cannot fully escape. Material goods are only prized as a means of continuing their cruising; accumulation is bad, partly because boats have limited space and partly because of the economic mindset that it represents for cruisers. In this way, boat parts, clothing, and other items are necessary for comfort and safety, but anything superfluous is donated to another boat or traded locally.

This social contract seems to belie the inseparability of Peebles' "credit/debt dyad" (2010:225). It appears to be a debt without a creditor. Cruisers owe without borrowing from

anybody. Their perpetual indebtedness can never be fully repaid. Also, they cannot demand assistance from other cruisers; they are not creditors who can demand that their debt be paid up. Similarly, local people are not creditors in the sense that they can set terms or demand a repayment. Cruisers continue to recognize their debt and act accordingly for as long as they cruise. At the same time, cruisers can show up anywhere they get a visa for; the local people have little say in the matter. Then if a cruiser does not "leave a clean wake" in any way, the locals are often powerless to do anything about it. Cruisers tacitly understand self-reliance as the prerogative of those with privilege, namely themselves. Thus, cruiser indebtedness aims to remove the differences in privilege and power between cruisers and locals, but it can never fully succeed in doing so, which could explain why the debt never goes away.

With this ongoing awareness of social indebtedness, how can I argue that cruisers truly unbelong? Viewing unbelonging as a process rather than a condition helps clarify this apparent contradiction. Cruisers are not generally misanthropic, trying to avoid all human contact. On the contrary, some cruisers greatly enjoy the company of other cruisers and local people. They might feel that they have shifted the locus of belonging, rather than rejecting all social belonging outright. However, truly being a part of the body means subordinating or quashing one's own will in favour of the whole (Ahmed 2012): "Sympathetic arms must be willing to carry" (Ahmed 2012:np). Cruisers do express some obligation to one another, often in a generalized, abstract sense. For example, many cruisers feel that the community is mutually supportive and helpful. They can highlight specific instances of such support.

Evidently, cruisers have not fully detached from social expectations and the duties of belonging. However, I believe that their sleep patterns and relationship with the acoustic environment reflect an ongoing willful unbelonging. We may see this willful unbelonging as partial or never fully realized, but that would once again mean that we understand it as a clearly delineated condition or goal. Cruisers' willful unbelonging exemplifies sociologist Floya Anthias' view of identity as "a process," not "a possessive property of individuals" (2006:20; see also Butler 1990). Anthias draws out the idea that "displacement has become the most powerful imagery for the modern world. Displacement already presupposes its opposite, which can be thought of as being 'in place'" (2006:17). It is difficult to reconcile the notion of being in place socially with the concept that identity is processual and ongoing, not easily fixed and located. As Anthias rightly points out, critiques of the challenges to belonging that come along with displacement assume that being in place has been the normal or common position of people in the world until recent

history. I have my doubts about such a claim, considering the prevalence of people on the move throughout time (e.g. Wolf 1982). Minstrels, travelling salespeople, foragers, sailors, explorers, traders, pastoralists, mercenaries, transient workers, and countless others have lacked the quality of being in place. The situation of long-term cruisers forces us to ask whether they are displaced or if they simply lack the quality of being in place. Unlike some of those just listed, however, cruisers are intentional in constructing their unbelonging and they have a lot of decision-making power over their own spatiotemporality. At least, this intentionality holds true for adult cruisers. Some nomadic people are socialized into a mobile lifestyle from birth, whereas cruisers come from sedentary lives and then take to wandering later on. The key distinction, however, lies in their motivation for doing so; unlike some others, they do not seek food or economic gain or social status. Cruisers seek to willfully unbelong from the land-based world where they were formerly fixed in place.

In order to join the imagined community to which cruisers often express belonging, they reject the notion of geographical or locational place, as well as social place, quitting their jobs and vacating their homes. Since the cruising community is so fluid and transient, they consciously unbelong as part of developing their cruiser identity. They choose to say goodbye to their fellow cruisers and to move on to new locations where they will once again be strangers. Their status may be reflective of sociologist Georg Simmel's (1950) view of the "stranger" as someone who comes to a group as an outsider and might leave at any moment, a "*potential* wanderer" (1950:1) even when the wandering is temporarily halted. In this way, unbelonging is a continuous process of identity for cruisers. We could call it the "will to unbelong," but the gerund form indicates more clearly that it is in fact processual and ongoing, and perhaps never fully realized.

Belonging has to do "with stability of the self, or with feelings of being part of a larger whole" (Anthias 2006:20). In this light, cruisers belong by unbelonging. Being self-reliant makes them a part of an imagined larger cruiser community, but it is necessary to continually move on and interrupt relationships to remain a member of the community. Anthias astutely points out that "Such communities themselves are not homogeneous in any case, nor do they have members who agree on the forms of participation best for them in society" (2006:24). In other words, although many people may self-identify as cruisers and accept others who choose that label, they do not always agree on what that means. Discussions online and in blogs often indicate that some people think you are not a "real" cruiser unless you have sailed offshore, while others believe anyone who lives on their boat and travels regularly is a cruiser. Some say that cruising part-time

and spending part of the year on land precludes true membership in the community. Others disagree. Meanwhile, some tension exists between those who actively travel and those who simply live aboard at a dock but rarely take the boat out sailing. I do not mean to overemphasize these conflicts, since a lot of cruisers advocate not judging how others live, but these discussions do arise somewhat regularly. As we have seen throughout this thesis in several contexts, many cruisers simply assert that everyone's cruising experience is different. Variety comes with the lifestyle and it helps reproduce their unbelonging, since they do not follow a specific script.

Yuval-Davis, Kannabiran, and Vieten (2006) offer a general definition of belonging as inclusion. It follows that unbelonging would mean exclusion. This perspective suggests that belonging or unbelonging happens through the will of others. For cruisers, though, unbelonging is not imposed from the outside. Yuval-Davis et al. (2006) also propose that "non-belonging" is forced onto those who do not meet the criteria for citizenship or those who are relegated to the social margins. According to Yuval-Davis et al. (2006:4), unbelonging occurs when social forces "structurally marginalise those individuals and communities who do not fit into the mainstream profile of the well-educated, secular, mobile and flexible manager and consumer of his/her modern life style" (2006:4). Generally speaking, the couples in my study who cruise long term actually match Yuval-Davis et al.'s description of the "mainstream profile." Rather than being structurally marginalized by external forces, they choose to self-marginalize as an act of freedom from and freedom to, as discussed in Chapter 1. Many cruisers identify themselves and other cruisers with the country where their boat is registered, usually also the country where they are considered citizens. They could stay "home" where they are legally welcome to belong, but they leave the nation's boundaries to encounter citizens of other places. The fact that they can and sometimes do stop cruising and subsequently reintegrate themselves into mainstream society at will supports my claim that they are not structurally marginalized. In this regard, cruisers might belong more readily to the category of "people with lives that present grey inclusionary-exclusionary realities" (Yuval-Davis et al. 2006:7, drawing on sociologist Boaventura De Sousa Santos). This category refers to those who exist in between mainstream social inclusion and full-blown social exclusion, since the outsiders are becoming the larger group, according to Yuval-Davis et al. (2006).

In general, social scientists have little to say about unbelonging specifically. Instead they prefer to speak in negative terms of exclusion, alienation, estrangement, erasure, or marginalization (e.g. Arnett 1996; Yuval-Davis et al. 2006; Peake and Ray 2001). On the positive

side, cultural studies scholar Mica Nava (2006) discusses how an interest in difference promotes "more inclusive experiences of belonging" (2006:51) in London, England, where interpersonal relationships have evidenced a sense of "domestic cosmopolitanism" (2006:42), i.e. a willingness to merge ostensibly disparate groups. Within this context, she focuses on the intersection between racial and gender conventions and how people can reject both through intermarriage, among other things.

Most contemporary scholars who discuss concepts related to unbelonging use the notion to tackle questions pertaining to ethnic minorities, immigrants, gender, racism, nationalism, or citizenship (Yuval-Davis 2006; Bouchard 2008; Chandler 2006; Nava 2006). Sociologist Kalpana Kannabiran (2006) focuses on the politics of caste as race in India. Her argument subsumes the politics of becoming into the politics of belonging to show how those with marginalized social identities reconstruct those identities to reposition themselves more favourably in society.

Sociologist Nira Yuval-Davis (2006) distinguishes between belonging and the politics of belonging. The first is based on "social locations; identifications and emotional attachments; and ethical and political values" (2006:199), while the second has more to do with discourse and political projects surrounding solidarity, shared values, status, or entitlement. In this sense, it would seem that unbelonging (or non-belonging) is a condition, something that is experienced or felt, perhaps responded to or accepted, but never willingly chosen.

This kind of work is vital to understanding the positionality of those excluded from mainstream life. It ties into the notion of unbelonging discussed by Germaine Greer (2007) in her preface to the edited volume *The Pain of Unbelonging*. Here she presents the situation of those descended from European settlers in Australia, although their unbelonging may translate in some form to settler descendants around the world. They know that their country does not truly belong to them; it belongs to those who were here first, now represented by their descendants, those identified as aboriginal peoples. Greer (2003) laid out this unbelonging in her own book, *Whitefella Jump Up*, but did not use the term in that publication. Although Greer is not officially a scholar, I believe that her insights are important for social scientists, since they divert the focus from the "aboriginal problem" (Greer 2003:258) to understanding what we might call the "settler problem". In her depiction of Australia as an aboriginal nation, the aborigines belong; it is the descendants of settlers who are chronically out of place (they do not belong in Europe either). As with many other takes on being out of place, Greer seems to suggest that unbelonging is an uncomfortable aspect of a person's positionality.

Anthias suggests that belonging is revealed through “experiences of enablement in society, as well as experiences of hurdles” (2006:20). Thus, the social and political will must include people if they wish to belong fully. She equates belonging to feeling “at home in [a social place], or at least more at home” (2006:20), but recognizes the challenges of thinking with “multiple” or “hybrid identities” (2006).

Within this literature, unbelonging is never chosen by those who must suffer from it. It is a negative and undesirable condition, one that leaves people on the fringes of society against their will. Cruisers are not excluded from mainstream life by some powerful social force. Instead, they choose to actively unbelong and enact that unbelonging even through their sense of social debt, as explained above. Therefore, the aforementioned works, though valuable in the right contexts, are limited in their applicability to those who purposely seek out and initiate their own unbelonging, as cruisers do.

Legal restrictions such as visas or anchoring permits suggest a degree of exclusion or imposed unbelonging, but for most North American cruisers, these do not present major barriers. Additionally, they unbelong wherever they go, since almost no cruiser spends much time in their country of origin. Thus the bureaucratic or state unbelonging is almost incidental for them, despite its constant prominence in their lives. They even welcome this unbelonging, willingly undergoing the checking in and out process as an acceptable part of their cruiser identity. Their ongoing relationship with the state might even confirm their perpetual outsider status. Having to gain permission to place themselves in a given location for a specified amount of time reinforces the idea that they do not belong there. In this way, their subordination to state demands actually supports their lack of social and physical place in the face of dominant social forces. Interacting with the state is part of the process of unbelonging.

As much as the state contributes to regulating the movement of cruisers, they are still a minority group and largely invisible to the mainstream North American world of those who live on land in a single location for years on end. One of Yuval-Davis’s key identifiers for exclusion is the “lack of adequate economic and political participation” (2006:10). It is not clear what “adequate” means here. Cruisers choose to disengage to varying extents from economic and political life back in their country of origin; some are retired and live off a pension, while others make a living as they cruise. Some work in foreign ports - Behan and Jamie spent a year docked in Australia to replenish their “cruising kitty.” So economic and political participation fluctuates, but overall they are more disconnected from spatial and state belonging than the average person, if there is such

a thing. But again, they choose this lack: they willfully unbelong economically and politically, as well as socially. They are often absent in person, with technology (VHF radio, internet, etc.) mediating their communication with others beyond their boat. For cruisers, "adequate economic and political participation" means extremely limited involvement. If they are satisfied with this limited involvement, are they being excluded? There is no barrier to their participation other than their own lifestyle choices and processual identity.

Belonging is tied up with identity (or identities, as some would have it) and processes of becoming. This becoming can be based on what Kannabiran calls

> a solidarity of location in the context of social suffering that quite clearly separates the 'we' from the 'not-we', so that even while re-inventing the 'we,' the politics of becoming keeps sight of location, of belonging. In this process, the building of the constituency of belonging shatters hitherto unquestioned foundations of location and puts in place *un-imaginable* ones. (2006:56)

Whether location is meant socially or physically, cruisers do build a new identity, understood as an ongoing process, not a personal attribute. However, Kannabiran's version of the politics of becoming seems to suggest that a bounded group of people evolves into a different version of that group. Are the same people still included? Does the previous form of their group identity still exist for others, as in a splinter group, or has the new form entirely replaced it? This definition has many limitations, including the suggestion that becoming only occurs when people suffer. While it is possible that some cruisers felt that they were suffering prior to leaving their life on land, they express their decisions more in terms of making their lives even better than they were previously, not exchanging a negative for a positive. They maintain ties with family and friends, as discussed, which also suggests that they are not entirely casting off their previous social positionality, even as they choose to unbelong to it in meaningful ways. Rather than "a re-invention of the 'we'" (Kannabiran 2006:57), cruisers engage with a very individual kind of belonging and unbelonging. They find their social location by unbelonging from the obligation to be normatively social. Many cruisers enjoy the company of other people, but they can choose when and how they interact with them to an extent largely beyond the reach of those who are caught up in the spatiotemporal rhythms of mainstream, land-based life.

Social Unbelonging

How can cruisers truly unbelong if they so often refer to the “cruising community” as helpful and friendly? Generally, cruisers will assist one another when someone runs into trouble. The Interview with a Cruiser Project blog is full of comments to this regard. One cruiser gives personal examples of the kindness of others and paying it forward:

> When a cruiser has a problem, almost everyone pitches in to help! One Brit showed me how to remove the diesel's injectors and blow the water out by turning the ignition switch momentarily. In kind, I fixed a lot of radio and computer problems for others.

Along with sharing skills, cruisers find it easy to make friends quickly, because everyone is in the same transitional state of mind. Chris contrasts the cruising community with his experience of mainstream society:

> I think in more entrenched society people have more of a guard up and they have more of a schedule and more commitments and less interest in striking up a conversation with someone they just met. So I think it's availability and time and also just interest and you know. Making new friends, it's really a neat aspect of the cruising community is that we're all really quick to make friends, and the entrenched society of let's call it North America, yeah, it's harder to break in because people are just in too big of a rush.

However, that transitional or transient lifestyle places limits on the ability to form lasting bonds with others.

Some cruisers on the Interview with a Cruiser Project blog say that the mutual support in the community is diminishing as money becomes more essential than skills. Nonetheless, they enjoy the sense of sharing that they still encounter:

> We love the camaraderie, the fact that we can know someone we’ve just met in an anchorage better within a day or two than some of our immediate neighbors from land life. We love the bias between cruising boats to offer mutual aid, although it seems to be on the wane as cruising becomes more accessible and a rapid-fire circumnavigation something money can more readily buy.

Money can buy more high-tech boats and gadgets, which reduces the need for long-term skill and community building. This trend is viewed as negative by some cruisers, in part because it contradicts the ideal of self-reliance that cruisers often uphold, as discussed above. In any case, many cruisers do emphasize that their community is warm and supportive. Yet it remains a dispersed and mobile community, with ties based more on recognizing basic common values than

building strong interpersonal relationships. The balance between individual paths and a shared experience leaves cruisers, who on the fringe of social belonging, in a state of “translocational positionality” (Anthias 2006). Newbies come into the community and those who have finished cruising or run out of money drop out. At the same time, long-term cruisers are hard pressed to maintain their ties with friends and family back home. During one trip to visit family, Behan wrote about the relationships and opportunities that only come from time spent in physical proximity with relatives:

> This has been a wonderful time to reconnect with friends and family. I am immensely grateful to have had the time to make the visits we did- there are indelible memories of good times, and building more bonds as our children grow older. They have a sense, now, of the people, relationships, and ties of our extended family.

Physical distance is not the only obstacle. Cruisers have to live within their budget. Like others, Chris and Lisa find themselves weighing the cost of visiting home against other actual or potential expenses. They do not always agree on priorities. Lisa confesses that being away from family and friends all the time is one of the downsides of cruising, although she prefers cruising to staying near her family permanently:

> I think money's an obstacle as far as going to visit family and friends regularly, or my husband who doesn't want to go, or spend the money to do it… but I don't need to be too close.

Behan agrees:

> Long stretches away from loved ones are one of the hard realities of our cruising life. For cruisers doing more than a sabbatical stint, many make it a priority to take annual trips home. In a perfect world, we’d do that too! We just can’t afford it, and given the choice, we’d rather be cruising – even if it means those trips home aren’t in our budget. That doesn’t make it easy.

Lisa also would like to build and maintain more regular friendships, something that transience makes difficult, if not impossible. She explains that she meets lots of people she likes but often does not see them again.

> I guess I wish there was more of a sense of community, which is kind of hard when you're moving around a lot.

In her blog, Behan echoes this sentiment:

> But the nature of our itinerant life means we’re saying goodbye a lot also. I’ve made friends for life that I might not see again for years, if ever.

For Behan and Lisa, their lifestyle entails a lack of emotional belonging in the sense of long-term relationships beyond their own boat. Chris has a more positive perspective on the lack of permanent community:

> We're pretty active in our sailing community and you know, we're living on our boat and we're within this community so we're constantly meeting people that either do what we do or want to do what we do.

Instead of feeling a need for more intimate or long-term friendships, he thrives on making all kinds of new friends. For him, the notion of community is a framework of living that does not coincide with geographic or geopolitical community:

> I don't really care like, you know, what your religion is, what your politics are, or anything else. I'm more interested in just having that sort of genuine interaction […] I'll just get to know someone and whether or not they're like me or not like me is not important. It's probably less interesting if they are like me, because I know millions of other people that are sort of like cut from the same cloth as far as their background and socioeconomic status and education. Meeting someone else different is far more enriching and learning something new.

Whether or not cruisers enjoy their relative social isolation, the fact remains that they flit around from place to place, relying on the internet or various types of radio networks to stay in touch with old and new friends. Livia explains how they keep in contact with other people, even on long passages away from land:

> With an SSB [radio] and modem, I didn't feel isolated. As a HAM [radio operator], we were able to get phone patches to our family via the Pacific Seafarers Net so I talked to home while near the equator! I emailed everyone on night watches to pass the time and listened to two nets every evening. I wrote and posted blog posts via the modem.

Travelling for a while with another boat can also allow friendships to flourish. Behan tells her blog readers about some of the benefits of cruising in company:

> Always within about a five mile range of each other, we could share everything from bored check-ins in the wee hours on watch to comparing notes on the lights of distant fishing boats, and their cross track to our bearing. It also made for some lovely photo opportunities.

Sometimes cruising buddies are pre-cruising friends who took the same path. The journey together can last a long time, but it always ends in a parting:

> Behan: After talking about cruising with the Bakers for the better part of the prior two decades, we were able to live our dream together the last 8 months as they joined us in Mexico and across the Pacific. They're heading back to Puget sound [*sic*] soon, by way of Hawaii, and we're really going to miss them!

Despite the pleasures of making new friends, being away from family can take a toll, especially on special occasions, as Behan recounts in her blog:

> It was hard not to be able to talk to our families far away on the holiday.

From time to time, cruisers host friends or family on their boats, a situation that can be varying degrees of enjoyable and stressful. Jamie finds that having an extra person on board can be very positive and easy to manage:

> We've had friends or family visiting, and we have had a couple legs where we have had crew, people that were sailors and really interested in doing a longer passage. In fact our trip from Madagascar to South Africa, we had a man crew with us who crewed with us once before and he was a Bainbridge Island-to-Seattle ferryboat captain. He's a great guy and he would sleep in [our son] Niall's cabin in the other bunk. And yeah, I think that works pretty easily.

Chris and Lisa rarely have other people on board. Chris explains that the convenience of an extra set of eyes or more sleep on passage is not worth the complications of having someone else in their space, although they do enjoy the company of friends:

> The reality is the benefit you get from the crew for those extra few hours of the night watch, that's great, but the other, you know, 21 hours or whatever that they're on the boat – it changes the dynamic of everything and it cuts into your privacy and, you know, living on a boat is already a complicated sort of social experiment, just living in a small space, so having extra people and personalities and I find the crew probably is more disruptive to my sleep because […] they're doing stuff, making noise or whatever that's different. My preference really now is not to have crew. Because we're both competent and good at what we're doing. I mean, once we get somewhere, we just don't need the crew so then they become a burden, unless they're a friend. Unless they're friends that are visiting or there's some other redeeming thing, but if they're just there for watch keeping, it's not usually worth it really for us.

Like other aspects of cruising, people's comfort level with their social unbelonging depends partly on their personal preferences and personality. For Chris, their unbelonging is partly related to the limited resources they have on board, particularly space. Some cruisers prefer more privacy or personal space than others. Yet almost everyone expresses sadness at saying goodbye to friends all the time. Livia of SV Estrellita writes about how hard it can be to part ways with friends:

> We said a particularly sad "farewell" to Aaron and Nicole on Bella Star […]. It was our first painful cruising farewell, to fast friends whom we will watch carefully as they choose a different cruising path. From Little Star to Beautiful Star, fair winds and following seas.

A post on the Interview with a Cruiser Project blog offers similar comments on the sadness of repeated goodbyes:

> I was surprised to be so sad each time I had to say goodbye to cruising friends we had really connected with due to different cruising schedules or destinations. Even though you know that you're both going to continue on with wonderful future adventures ahead, it is many times difficult to say goodbye after sharing many exciting adventures together. I did not realize the close friendships you can form over a fairly short period of time in the cruising world that would make it so difficult to say "until next time."

Cruisers do not only make friends with other cruisers. Any time they remain in a place for more than a night or two, they get to know people who live there and then they move on. Livia blogs about such an experience:

> We have never stayed in one place long enough to become a part of the local community until this portion of the trip. Through kiting we've made some strong connections with other kiters who have included us in their kiting lives and over time into their home lives. By being a regular presence, meandering about on foot, we have made friends with the shop keepers, the vegetable stand owners, and even found ourselves having beers with the local police. It is difficult to say goodbye to these people.

One respondent for the Interview with a Cruiser Project, Leah, says the most difficult part of cruising is leaving people behind:

> From the local kids who showed us their awesome local swimming hole, to the Omanian kids we spent two days playing non-stop with (through hand-signals only, since we didn't speak each other's languages!) to the four or five kid-boats that we developed life-long friendships with but had to leave eventually... Hands-down the hardest part is leaving behind the people you meet.

Another respondent puts it more simply:

> We don't like the goodbye's [sic], and we have to say that a lot.

So why do cruisers leave? Except for when visas expire, nobody is forcing them to move on. They choose to seek the next island or coast, to find new people instead of fostering relationships with those they already know, to cut ties over and over. Cruisers do want to connect to people on some level, but these connections must be temporary in the face of their desire for independence and freedom. One of Behan's blog posts sums up the conflicting emotions that come from following the siren call of the horizon:

> There was sadness in parting from dear friends and a wonderful community, and anticipation for what the journey ahead would hold.

They choose to disconnect socially in order to pursue their ideals of freedom and adventure, as discussed above. This mixed emotionality is part of cruisers' willful unbelonging, an intentional act of self-marginalization.

Temporal Unbelonging

Chris also told me that one benefit of being a cruiser is being able to rest when he wants to:

> Because of our lifestyle, we don't have maybe as much stress. We don't spend time commuting and we don't do a lot of other things that kind of eat into the available amount of time to sleep.

Other cruisers recognize the abundance of time that comes with their lifestyle as well. After cruising for half a year, Behan reflected in her blog about how much free time her family had as cruisers:

> Time is what we have, and the absence of time pressure is truly marvelous.

Scott and Kitty, currently of SV Tamure, sailed around the world in the early 1970s and again in the late 1980s. They took up cruising again in 2001 and are still at it today. Scott promotes the idea of taking one's time as both safe and pleasant:

> You have all the time in the world so lay back and enjoy the trip. […] I always take the attitude that another day I have; but, another mast I don't have.

Livia goes a step further in her blog:

> I felt like we had stepped out of time, to a place where not only was no one else in a hurry, but we weren't in a hurry either.

Significantly here, the time abundance is so striking that the very concept of time seems to disappear entirely for her. Temporal structures no longer seem to matter. Of course, this absence of temporal structures is always impermanent. As discussed above, temporal regulation has more importance during a long passage or when it comes to visas and permits. Cruisers are not literally outside of time, but they have enough flexibility with it that they can sometimes feel as if it has no relevance to their lives. Responsibility often arises through emerging sounds and conditions, not a pre-planned set of activities. In terms of sleep, Jamie points out that his wife Behan has the freedom to sleep in if she does not feel rested, which he suggests mitigates the problem of recurring nighttime wakefulness:

> It's easy in those times. She can just stay in bed and still end up with the same net amount of sleep.

Behan agrees and compares her flexible rising time favourably with an imagined mainstream work schedule:

> I mean it would be no fun to have to go to work and be mentally on, not having had some extra sleep.

When I asked how she feels about not being able to sleep through the night, though, she condemns it emphatically. This annoyance emerges as an emotion felt in the body, a tension between her desired image of her self as active and the reality of being tired from a lack of nighttime sleep:

> Oh, I can't stand it! I would so much rather have a good night's sleep. I like being up early and getting into the day and I can't when that happens.

Notably, Behan does not fret about an inability to perform or be productive in the morning, the topic of much sleep advice. Instead, she is annoyed about being restricted in achieving her ideal lifestyle. That lifestyle includes active early mornings.

Like many things, the value of active days varies from one cruiser to the next. This dissimilarity coupled with the example of Behan sleeping in when she feels tired shows how much (though not all) of cruisers' temporal regulation is self-imposed, not pushed upon them by an external social force. Even when environmental or political conditions require that they pay attention to time, the temporal structure that emerges tends to affect each boat differently; they do not fall in line with the larger social pulse.

Economic Unbelonging

The desire for freedom from conventional work does not mean that cruisers do not want to exert themselves at all. For example, Brian's desire to become a cruiser was not driven by an avoidance of work in general. In fact, getting ready to go cruising is laborious. Rather, he wanted to get away from the world of business in particular, a process described on the "Crew" page of the SV Delos blog:

> After years in the business Brian dreamt of bigger adventures and more meaning in his life. He read the book "3 years on a 12foot boat" [*sic*] and the dream to create his own odyssey and sail around the world was born. Three boats later and endless days of hard work, Brian's dream became a reality when he bought Delos in Seattle in 2008 and has lived on board ever since.

My participants and several blogs state that cruising is not being on holiday, nor is it purely leisure. Equipment fails or needs maintenance, laundry and dishes get dirty, food runs out, and so on. Some cruisers are engaged with making an income as they travel, often by affiliate advertising on their blog, writing books, or submitting articles to sailing magazines. Others have online consultant businesses or similarly flexible careers that allow them to work remotely. On top of this, those who visit different countries have to stay on top of their visas, anchoring permits, and other administrative requirements, as previously discussed. A cruising joke goes, "Cruising is doing repairs in exotic locations." It is a busy life that can involve just as much work as the one they left behind, but one major difference is that nobody has a boss.

In a sense, the cruiser becomes their own boss. For couples, decisions are often made collaboratively, although frequently the man is the official captain. That being said, many women captain their own boats and more and more couples seem to be sharing responsibility equally, with both taking on the role of captain at different times, or neither ever having the exclusive final say in decision-making. Boats with extra crew, on the other hand, tend to have a designated captain, who is usually the boat owner as well. In situations where a captain takes charge (or can potentially take charge), we might assume that the actual freedom of other crew, including a spouse, is more limited than that of the captain. In general, however, the captain's decision-making authority applies only to how and when the boat is sailed. The other crew may have exclusive control over provisioning or other aspects of cruising life. In most cases, even when and how the boat is handled, including the division of watches or the appropriate sail plan, is decided collaboratively. A crewmember will likely defer to a person with more sailing experience, but when all are considered equally competent, everyone's input seems to be valued.

Since everyone has responsibilities, cruisers need to be self-disciplined if they want to accomplish their goals. This discipline includes budgeting and dealing with bureaucratic requirements. However, where a designated captain exists, the captain bears more responsibility, which means that they have to change their sleep patterns to match the needs of the boat and the crew, perhaps putting their own immediate needs second. For example, both Jamie and Chris sometimes make themselves more available during their off-watch by sleeping in the main cabin

during a long passage instead of in their berth. Thus, while the captain might be in charge, the crew members may actually have more freedom in choosing their sleep schedules. Being in charge means always being ready to drop what you are doing, including sleeping, to respond to changing conditions or assist a crewmember. Listening and identifying the meaning of sounds also falls to the captain more heavily than other crew if the former is ultimately solely responsible for everyone's safety. With all this in mind, most long-term cruising couples appear to share sailing and anchoring responsibilities, although many women still do "pink-collar jobs" like cleaning and cooking. This division is by no means universal and younger sailors like Livia and Carol of SV Estrellita overtly counter such assumptions. Despite apparent generational differences, gendered dynamics are still prevalent in the cruising community, as evidenced in part by the number of photos of women posing sexily in bikinis that get posted to cruiser Facebook groups. However, cruiser gender dynamics may be the topic of some other thesis.

Even in the face of responsibilities, cruisers do not necessarily experience the same anxieties that those with regular work or social obligations often do. Some cruisers make the connection between work and stress explicit in their comments. They describe how their sleep was worse when they worked regularly, whether they felt they could not sleep long enough or that it was less pleasant, as when Chris told me about his history of work-related nightmares when he lived on land and had a regular job.

Perhaps the single most influential time constraint on people's sleep habits is employment. With the evolution of industrial and post-industrial work habits, sleep was increasingly touted as a tool for enhancing workers' efficiency. In this sense, I believe that the impetus for disciplining sleep comes largely from capitalist interests in economic reproduction.

Several studies have identified job performance as a motivator to sleep well (see Williams et al., 2010). In at least one study, research respondents noted work as "the primary causal agent in the development of their insomnia, the primary reason for needing good sleep, the reason for seeking medical help, and the reason why individuals complied with medical regimens" (Williams et al., 2010, p.287). Popularly accessible advice on sleep reinforces the status quo in that it promotes sleep discipline as a means to succeed within the socioeconomic system. Furthermore, business owners and managers can maximize profits by balancing salaries and other operating costs with expected revenues according to foreseeable consumption patterns based on daily cycles. This emphasis on daily rhythms implies that economic processes depend directly on sleep habits, and that without sleep it would be difficult to renew the economic abilities of workers. Of

course, sleep and daily routines have a dialectical relationship. As Wolf-Meyer explains, “the presence and rhythms of sleeping structure our everyday lives. Simultaneously, the structure of our everyday lives impacts our sleep” (2012:xiv). In this way, belonging to a society based around an encompassing economic system like capitalism shapes our sleep even as our sleep shapes the spatiotemporal organization of that system.

Cruisers do not participate in such a system. Some say that their sleep has improved since leaving behind a regular work life. The main benefit stems from the reduction of work-related responsibilities:

> Chris: I know my sleep's better than when I was working really actively because I'd be stressed out and dream about work things. That would be bad.
>
> Behan: I think we do really well with sleep now, especially compared to pre-cruising when we probably stayed up too late and got up too early because of commitments at home at night and then getting to work in the morning.

Like others, Behan and Chris explicitly compare their current lifestyle with the obligations of a regular, mainstream working life. As cruisers, they are able to work around their sleep, instead of having to work their sleep around jobs and other duties.

Cultural theorist Jonathan Crary (2013, p.11) has argued that “nothing of [economic] value can be extracted from [sleep],” making it a safe haven from capitalist exploitation. Contrary to Crary’s assertion, prescription sleep medications contribute hugely to the economy. Approximately 3.3 million Canadians over the age of 15 experience insomnia, at least a quarter of whom take some form of sleep medication (Tjepkema, 2005). When multiplied by the number of people around the world consuming pills and other substances to help them sleep and wake up, the market value extracted from disciplining sleep becomes obvious. On top of this, scores of other non-medical products promise better quality sleep, despite having never been scientifically tested (Penzel, 2014). From memory foam to lavender-scented candles to whale song recordings, creative possibilities abound for financially exploiting people’s desire to sleep on demand. In this way, sleep is in fact an economic activity.

In the discourse of productivity, sleep does not appear to have any intrinsic value on its own. It is only through its relation to waking activities that it becomes worthy of care and manipulation. As Williams notes, encouragement to sleep well emerges from “a growing *recognition* or *revaluation* of sleep as vital *preparation* for the *performance* of everyday roles, routines and duties” (Williams 2011, p.31, emphasis original).

This focus on alertness highlights the importance of economic productivity over health, as opposed to cruisers' need for alertness based on personal safety and security. Taking time off work due to a lack of sleep is rarely possible without negative sanctions. Also, getting the best quality sleep in the proper dosage and at the right time should allow us to switch on our productivity in its maximum mode when the time comes to join the wakeful world. Then a whole other range of products and medications can help with this side of things, from alarms that supposedly wake you up at the optimal point in your sleep cycle to energy drinks and exercise plans. Sleep is mediated to contribute most effectively to economic productivity.

Alternately, cruisers find intrinsic value in the experience of sleep. Chris, for example, describes being asleep as mostly positive: "Truly being deeply asleep is excellent and awesome because you're achieving your goal of nourishing your body." The positive experience of sleep is wrapped up in sleep's alleged purpose, i.e. "nourishing your body." Like Behan and Jamie when they talk about sleep serving to produce agreeable behaviour in their children, Chris highlights a view of sleep as purposeful and necessary. As noted above, he judges when he needs to sleep according to how efficient or inefficient he is becoming. Thus, he believes in paying attention to his own body, rather than sleeping according to a regimented timetable.

Having a lot of unstructured time means that cruisers rarely spend their days the same way. Sometimes, they might take several hours to hike or explore on land, or they might go swimming or snorkeling. They might have chores to do or need to buy food or fuel, which can take up a whole day at times. Weather plays a role in how they can spend their time; if it is rainy or too hot, they might decide to stay on the boat all day, whereas more pleasant weather might draw them out. If there is a lot of swell and the waves crashing on the beach are especially hard, cruisers might be stuck on the boat, since it can be dangerous to take their dinghy to shore in such conditions.

Even though cruisers detach from normative economic obligations and embrace flexible daily rhythms, not everyone embraces a total absence of routine. Lisa likes knowing the clock time as she goes about her day:

> [It's moderately important] just to kind of plan, you know, lunch and dinner and see how much I'm getting done during the day.

Watching the clock has more to do with planning her routine and staying on top of chores than being in a rush. Getting things done is an inherent part of the cruising life, because neglecting to

follow through on tasks like provisioning or equipment upkeep would impede the continuation of that lifestyle. This same responsibility emerges in cruiser listening habits; any signalled risk must be dealt with immediately.

Like all cruisers, Livia and Carol have ongoing responsibilities, but they try to maintain a balance between obligations and spontaneity, including the ability to put off those obligations in favour of a rest. Livia sums up their philosophy of cruising as a balance between novelty and comfort. This balance becomes a new desire and aspiration that regiments their time, their space, and their bodily behaviours, including sleep. Wanting to be comfortable includes getting enough sleep to feel rested, and seeking novelty promotes a desire for energetic waking hours. Livia and Carol rely on what they call the "fun-to-suck ratio," meaning that toilet repairs, boredom, or lack of sleep on long passages are outweighed by exploration, meeting new people, beautiful scenery, and relaxation:

> Our definition of fun is at least 80%-20% on the fun-to-suck ratio with an ideal fun-to-suck ratio of 90%-10%.

Livia recognizes that a life of enjoyment or fun necessarily requires an element of work and unpleasantness. Her and Carol's goal is to reduce the latter and maximize the former.

This goal echoes Rose's (2007) discussion of optimizing bodies through medicine, rather than merely restoring them to a "normal" state. Livia and Carol know that there are constraints on their desire for pleasure; they do not medicalize their experience, but they adjust some of their own behaviours in order to optimize their experience. In addition to vigilant listening, a perhaps obvious example is the self-discipline to keep watch at all times while underway. Sometimes one or the other crewmember must go without sleep, as when Carol got sick on a long passage and Livia stayed up through the night to keep the boat safe. Cruisers must battle the elements and respond to changing environmental conditions. All cruisers have to juggle such responsibilities if they wish to achieve the enjoyment they seek. Their desire for fun can be inhibited by what happens around them, and they learn to prepare or respond in ways that will enable them to keep enjoying the cruising life, that is, to keep willfully unbelonging.

Conclusion

When cruisers leave their land lives behind, they seek freedom and independence. They willfully unbelong from a larger, land-based social community, although they are never wholly able to disconnect from others. Among other things, the state still manages to infiltrate their lives, but they continuously reject external impositions on their lives.

My research with cruisers illuminates the possibility that unbelonging, and by extension belonging, is not only a condition or state of being, but rather an active process embodied in mundane behaviours and experiences, such as sleep and listening. Additionally, unbelonging is not inherently negative. Cruisers' ongoing rejection of societal membership is a process, a willfulness expressed by receding into the social background.

The cruising lifestyle is a process of identifying as an independent non-member of society. It involves learning to respond to changing conditions, but also developing a sense of flexibility and slower living. Cruisers deal to a certain degree with environmental constraints such as tides or wind direction. At the same time, however, they are able to follow their own personal temporal preferences, in particular when they sleep and when they are awake. No cruiser has absolute control of their sleep, as evidenced in part by Chris's inability to sleep on demand and Behan's frustration with recurring nighttime wakefulness. But they can compensate for this lack of control by sleeping longer than land-based members of mainstream society or at medically and socially unusual times, such as during the day. This makes them "disorderly" sleepers who disrupt conventional North American notions of "natural" sleep. Cruisers' disorderly sleep is emblematic of their willful unbelonging: since their sleep does not conform to the spatiotemporal rhythms and norms of the larger society from which cruisers come, this disorderliness makes it impossible for them to remain integrated into those rhythms.

Of course, cruisers do not want to be integrated into those rhythms. They explicitly reject their former work lives and the constraints of land-based life. The cruisers I spoke to and read about wish to conduct their lives in accordance with their own whims, their "body clocks," shifting environmental conditions around them, and the demands of non-human voice. As part of the cruiser identity process, they aim to self-regulate as much as possible, including taking on responsibility for their own safety and continued ability to enjoy a flexible lifestyle. Their attitudes about sleep and their relationship with sound in this regard reflect their willful unbelonging. All

sounds become signal sounds within the context of cruising, a non-human voice that not only *can* be understood by the crew, but in fact *must* be listened to and interpreted if they want to continue cruising safely. The cruising life necessitates multisensory engagement, so that they can extend their powers of perception through the discourse of sounds. These sounds dictate their waking and sleeping more than any other force; they can also trigger distress or set the cruiser at ease. Cruisers must learn to identify and categorize sounds by extracting them from the wash of the soundscape and then placing them in a meaningful relationship with the physical and social context. Other than sailing techniques, listening is one of the most important skills a cruiser can develop if they wish to succeed in their ongoing attempt to willfully unbelong.

The importance of listening indicates the power of non-human elements over cruisers' everyday decision-making and behaviours. As the obviously or explicitly social recedes or is pushed into the background of cruisers' lives, non-human sounds affect when they sleep or when they feel at risk. Other physical or environmental shifts influence cruisers as well, such as impending good or bad weather or a change in the wind direction. However, cruisers are subject not only to the non-human; sounds from other boaters can impact where they anchor, in both positive and negative ways, as discussed above. Loud partyers might turn quiet cruisers away in search of a more isolated place to spend the night. On a long passage, radio hailing can offer comfort or be the signal that instigates a gift of freshly caught fish passed from one boat to another. In general, and perhaps most significantly, sounds determine largely how calm cruisers feel about their immediate situation or what action they must take, even if that action is sitting still in the cockpit to watch the anchor, or, more simply, the act of listening itself. Sounds readily categorized as safe or non-threatening allow cruisers to relax into sleep.

As this study has suggested, people's ideas about sleep and wakefulness can teach us something about their positionality and responsibility. Cruisers' reliance on physical and aural cues speaks to their social unbelonging. Like other identity categories, unbelonging affects people's daily lives as much as its negative companions, such as exclusion or marginalization. However, cruisers' attitudes toward mainstream society presents us with a more positive perspective on outsider status than much of the social science literature offers. Unbelonging by choice is a positive process, even a sense of purpose in its own right. Among other things, cruisers exhibit their willfulness by sleeping in contravention of normative prescriptions. Therefore, trying to conform to sleep norms could be understood as an effort to belong more generally.

Disorderly sleepers who try to “fix” their sleep, that is, to realign it with dominant spatiotemporal rhythms and structures, may feel guilty about an inability to sleep “right.” They may feel like they are not fulfilling the social contract or that they cannot contribute properly to the economic system to which they apparently belong. This willingness of the part to subordinate its idiosyncrasies and individual desires to a larger body, in this case the social body, is a kind of belonging through self-effacement. On the other hand, as we have seen, cruisers unbelong through self-effacement in relation to social visibility. But this social self-effacement is simultaneously a form of individualized self-promotion, or at least striving toward self-promotion, in the sense that social or collective needs tend to be subordinated to the cruiser’s idiosyncrasies and individual desires. In this reversal, sleeping becomes potentially unsafe, a flipping of public safety risks associated with inappropriate sleeplessness.

As part of the cruising lifestyle, a dialogic interaction emerges between biomedical and neoliberal economic discourse and cruisers’ own discourse. Cruisers use some of the language of the former without buying into the values ostensibly attached to it. Instead of economic, social beings, they develop a sound-based, sensory subjectivity. This subjectivity reflects their unbelonging in that it stems from a concern for safety and the awareness that no one else will take responsibility for the security of their body, boat, and crew. This concern flips the mainstream relationship between sleep and safety, wherein the former is necessary to ensure the latter. For cruisers, sleeplessness is often more valuable than sleep when it comes to staying safe.

In this light, cruisers redefine sleeplessness as something constructive. Although not always pleasant, the bodily sensation of tiredness is secondary in the hierarchy of concern. For cruisers, sleeplessness is not a pathology that needs to be cured, but rather something to be accepted and even self-imposed in cases of danger or risk. Thus, cruisers do sometimes invoke psycho-medical discourse, but they go beyond the normative therapeutic approach to healing or dispelling distress. This traditional approach generally relies on consciously altering personality traits, modifying social relations, or dealing with past trauma. The underlying assumption is that individuals are responsible for sleeping appropriately and that they have the power to change their sleep in accordance with social and medical expectations of normality.

Cruisers are not concerned with normality. Instead of internal reflection, they minimize stress through a multisensory engagement with their surroundings and by paying attention to flexible patterns and preferences. They do not speak or write prescriptively about sleeping or safety, as if their own methods and ideas are universally applicable to all cruisers. They recognize

and cherish variety within the community and even in their own lives. Their immediate responsibility for safety means adopting flexible behaviours that can adjust spontaneously to new conditions or signals.

This reversal of safety and risk, as well as self-effacement and self-promotion, stems from a framework where other seemingly unbreakable connections are also overturned. For example, a social debt exists without a creditor, as discussed in Chapter 3. Life as a cruiser is perhaps indeed “the flipside of the world” (Foucault 2006:12), that is, an inversion of the land-based world that cruisers hold up as a negative space in explicit opposition to their own practices.

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Appendix.

Sleep Diary Template

INSTRUCTIONS: You can use this diary any way you want. I only ask that you try to write in it every day for at least a week and up to a month. (If you miss a day here and there, just pick it up again as soon as possible.) Don't focus too much on the table on the first page. I'm more interested in your personal experiences, especially in relation to sleeping and waking. You can use the blank pages to write about these experiences. Think of this sleep diary as you would a personal journal or diary, where you can record your thoughts and moods, as well as experiences and events. It's up to you how much you write, but please try to do it every day. You can write multiple entries in a day or just one, but please include the date for each one. Anything you would like to share about your sleeping habits and experiences is valuable. If you think I wouldn't be interested in something, you're probably wrong. ☺

Some writing prompts to get you started every day (remember, these are just suggestions):

- When I woke up, …
- I felt like my sleep…
- Going to bed is like…
- I planned my day so that…
- I woke up because…
- To help me sleep, I…
- I got tired after…
- Today/Yesterday, I had to…
- Normally, I…, but today I…

For the table, don't worry about a hundred percent accuracy. Just mark the boxes to fit what you remember. There are no wrong answers.

1. Write the date and day of the week.
2. Put "M" in the box when you take any medication to help you sleep. Please specify the medication in your writing section.
3. Put a line or a small letter L (l) to show when you are trying to sleep, but stay awake or wake up when you don't want to.
4. Put a capital letter L to show when you are asleep.
5. Leave boxes empty to show when you are awake.

Date	Day of week	Noon	1pm	2	3	4	5	6pm	7	8	9	10	11pm	Midnight	1am	2	3	4	5	6am	7	8	9	10	11am