CHALLENGES OF SELF-REALIZATION
-A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF VACATION TRAVEL

MASTERS THESIS BY GITTE MYGIND DU PLESSIS, DEPARTMENT OF ORGANIZATION
ADVISOR: ERIK HØJBJERG, DEPARTMENT OF MANAGEMENT, POLITICS AND PHILOSOPHY
COPENHAGEN BUSINESS SCHOOL, JUNE 2012

Preface

After numerous scavenger hunts through the very back aisles of deserted library floors and in far corners of the Internet, I can now attest to Foucault's description that "genealogy is grey, meticulous and patiently documentary" (Foucault 1977: 139). Despite this, I find it a fascinating treasure to read my way into Foucault's world, so it is not only the unruly, colorful theories of Žižek that account for the fact that I have had a lot of fun working on this thesis. I hope my excitement with this work shows through in the paragraphs.

There are several people I want to thank for their help during this learning process. Firstly I want to thank Professor Michael Shapiro from the Political Science department at the University of Hawaii at Manoa for letting me follow his graduate course on Foucault's lectures alongside the rest of his students, and for his valuable suggestions and input along the way. I am very grateful to my advisor, Erik Højbjerg, for taking on my project, and for excellent advice that has helped me to remain focused, motivated and in good spirits throughout the journey. To my brother, Erik Mygind du Plessis, I am deeply thankful for academic discussions, advice, and critique. Finally I thank my father, Andrew du Plessis, for linguistic advice and my husband, Matthew Barbee, for always providing indispensible support.

Gitte Mygind du Plessis, June 2012.

Abstract

The aim of this thesis is to contribute to a discussion of modern work-life and its challenges of self-realization by looking at it from the perspective of an institution emphasized as absolute non-work, namely vacation travel. The thesis is two-fold, investigating the question both diachronically and synchronically, limiting the field of study to a U.S. context.

Firstly, the historical field of possibility for the contemporary knowledge workers self-relationship as constituted through his vacation travel is laid out by conducting a Foucauldian genealogy on the concept of vacation travel, starting in the industrial period in the mid 19th century. The genealogy shows that vacation travel in connection to the worker's self-relationship has continuously been closely linked to a capitalist mode of production and the contemporary situation for the wage earner. The central finding of the genealogy is that today's idea of vacation as something pursued in the purpose of self-realization is mirrored in discourses of vacation travel the industrial period, where vacation as an escape to nature is viewed as sustaining the very existence of the worker. Differences in the discourses of the industrial period and today however point to an overwhelming amount of responsibility placed on today's worker in relation to actualizing himself while on vacation compared to earlier. While these two periods are also both characterized by discourses arguing for the concept of vacation, suggesting that it is under pressure, in the periods between the industrial and today, it is taken for granted that everyone goes on vacation, and rather than depicting an opportunity for self-actualization, discourses focus on a worker being tasked with managing difficulty and disappointment in relation to his vacation travel.

Secondly, the question to what extent vacation travel today moderates the challenges of self-realization for the contemporary knowledge worker is addressed by employing a psychoanalytically inspired analysis, viewing vacation travel through the Žižekian lens of 'ideological fantasy'. This view adds to the critical potential of the genealogy by suggesting that realizing oneself and being happy on vacation is a strong moral obligation that not only potentially intensifies the stress of self-realization the worker is faced with in his work-life rather than relieving it, but also functions to support the contemporary capitalist way of work the vacation is supposed to be a break from.

In short, this analysis points to forms of oppression inherent in capitalism today in relation to vacation travel.

Key words: Foucault, Žižek, vacation travel, self-realization, capitalism.

Table of Contents

Introduction

The diagnosis of today's work-life for the highly skilled professional knowledge worker is well established. With bureaucratic organization on the decline, characteristics such as loyalty and work ethic no longer describe an ideal worker. New conceptions of management embrace the autonomy of the worker and authorize him to make his own decisions in a flat, decentralized organization. Ideally, he[1] is independent, flexible, employable, entrepreneurial, creative, and with a view of his career as a series of stepping-stones not confined to only one organization. This means the worker now has opportunities to utilize his skills in a variety of activities, allowing him to reach his full potential - to realize himself - through his work.

Following anti-authoritarian rebellions in the late 1960s, these changes may have seemed as if the worker was now finally free to become whoever he wished, free from the Fordist organization, free from a fixed life with fixed roles, free from disciplined order, long-term rational planning, and facing up to long-term configurations of shared responsibility. While the enthusiasm for these changes persists in some 'up-beat' management literature, social science theorists of the 21st century can easily contain their excitement, many arguing, as Richard Sennett, that "these changes have not set people free (Sennett 2006: 13). Rather, it seems that the freedom to be autonomous, employable, flexible and meaningfully engaged in one's work has turned into a demand, creating seemingly unsolvable issues of work-life balance and skyrocketing statistics of people diagnosed with stress or depression.

In the light of this contemporary diagnosis, it sounds as if the autonomous, flexible (burned out) knowledge worker needs a vacation where he can get away from it all, relax, rejuvenate, and reconnect with himself and his quality-time-deprived family. And while vacations may only fill a fraction of the year, their significance seems enormous. Globally, tourism is today the forth-largest industry with an overall export income close to US$ 3 billion *a day* in 2010 (World Tourism Organization 2011). Grounded in this significance, this thesis looks at the contemporary knowledge worker and his quest for self-realization through the lens of vacation travel. What role does it play in the above discussion of modern work, that the tired employee finally boards an airplane, leaves the office behind, slips into the soft resort robe, and breathes moist, plumeria-scented air for a whole week? A part of this question is to examine what role vacation travel played in earlier periods with other diagnoses of work-life. The aim is to contribute to the discussion of modern work-life and its challenges of self-realization by looking at it from the perspective of an institution emphasized as absolute non-work.

[1] "Worker" in this thesis refers to both female and male workers. For simplicity, I use the pronoun "he" throughout.

Background

Work-life in the project society

This theoretical overview will look more closely at the diagnosis briefly outlined in the introduction in order to conceptualize what the contemporary knowledge worker takes a vacation *from* when he travels away. In his book *The Culture of The New Capitalism* (2006), Sennett outlines contemporary business- and work-life, arguing that the workforce is "casualized" (Sennett 2006: 48); employment is now increasingly 'contract by contract' instead of safely positioned on a fixed career ladder in what Arthur and Rosseau (1996) termed 'the boundaryless career'. Sennett links these changes to "the separation of ownership from control" - that "the manager is not allowed to assume effective, long-term responsibility for the firm; impatient investors hold the real reins of power" (Sennett 2006: 71). In a work situation where employment thus becomes 'every man for himself', institutionalized dependency as encouraged by the welfare state of the bureaucratic age is now discouraged, and the individual is left in a situation where nobody depends on him, and he is not supposed to depend on anyone in particular, instead utilizing his "network". These changes have also fragmented the institution of vacation, where increasing periodic employment and growing flexibility in the labor market has transformed the relationship - and the previously well-defined boundaries - between work and vacation (Anttila 2007).

Nikolas Rose adds to the diagnosis by describing what he calls the 'politics of freedom' (Rose 1999: 61), which are related to ideas of free subjects, a free society, and free markets, prescribing that as subjects "we should strive for a style of existence characterized by a certain way of working upon ourselves in the name of freedom" (ibid). Here, a free individual is perceived as synonymous with an autonomous individual, and in the "ethic of autonomous selfhood" (Rose 1999: 90), one is compelled to manage one's life, "understanding oneself, acting upon oneself to overcome dissatisfactions, realize one's potential, gain happiness and achieve autonomy" (Rose 1999: 90). Similarly, Taylor (1991) labels it *the Ethics of Authenticity* and stresses that realizing oneself becomes a moral obligation:

> There is a certain way of being human that is my way. I am called upon to live my life in this way, and not in imitation of anyone else's life. But this notion gives a new importance to being true to myself. If I am not, I miss the point of my life; I miss what being human is for me. This is the powerful moral ideal that has come down to us (Taylor 1994: 30).

These 'politics of freedom' naturally spill into work-life, where "the activity of labor is transformed into a matter of self-actualization, in which the cash return is less important than the identity conferred upon the employee (Rose 1999: 91). The question is to what extent

vacation travel in relation to this work setting also becomes a matter of self-actualization, and how this interferes with other purposes of vacation.

Much in tune with Rose's politics of freedom, Willig (2009) connects the contemporary diagnosis to the neoliberal idea that the individual can be freed from the constraints of limited options through deregulation and privatization. This de-institutionalization turns the individual into an entrepreneur for himself, responsible for bettering and practicing his talents, skills and accomplishments. Keeping track of the options from which to make choices becomes a prime task for the individual. Willig terms this administering an "option portfolio" (Willig 2009: 360), which entails constantly scouting for and keeping open options, thus enabling the subject to navigate in "a life of incessant job seeking: Life is to become a continuous economic capitalization of the self" (Rose 1999: 161).

This becomes challenging for the individual, firstly because "the demand for self-realization is unaccompanied by any guide or dictionary that can translate the norms to actual content" (Petersen 2011: 11). At the same time the individual has to bear the full responsibility for all the choices he makes in relation to the endless options available to him, even though he is in a vulnerable position where everything is possible but not everything is doable (Fogh Jensen 2009: 343), and a failed self-realization project falls back on the individual himself. Under these circumstances, work becomes flooded with insecurity:

> Work itself has become a vulnerable zone, one in which continued employment must ceaselessly be earned, the employment of each individual constantly assessed in the light of evaluations, appraisals, achievement of targets and so forth - under the constant threat of 'down-sizing', efficiency gains and the like. Perpetual insecurity becomes the normal form of labour (Rose 1999: 158).

Perhaps not surprisingly, this situation takes its toll on the individual. Several theorists link the current work environment to a dramatic increase in depression rates, Petersen (2011:6) simply writing; "depression is the social pathology which most starkly reveals the dark side of today's social demands for authentic self-realization."[2] Jensen (2009) labels contemporary society a "project society" as opposed to the preceding "disciplinary society" and argues that the pathologies of the project society are articulated in relation to demands for self-realization, and contrast the constant movement expected of the "project individual". And while the disciplinary society quieted, the project society is noisy, and the pathology becomes to lie awake at night and be quiet (Jensen 2009: 198):

[2] Both Petersen (2011) and Willig (2009) get inspiration on the connection between 21st century living and psychological disorder from French sociologist Alain Ehrenberg, whose best-known work, *La Fatigue d'être soi – dépression et société,* has not been translated to English.

> The depression has substituted the neurosis as the main pathology typical of the period. The depressed is everything one must not be in the project society: introverted, without initiative, withdrawn and indifferent. There are of course also biological and chemical explanations for the depression, but I think its massive increase these years is due to social factors, the transition from the disciplinary structures to the projectary (Jensen in Fastrup 2008, my translation).

In relation to Jensen, the question is to what extent vacation travel too has become a "project", and whether vacation travel then potentially mitigates or intensifies the pathologies of the project society.

Following Honneth (2004: 473), who claims that "the mounting claims to self-realization are transformed into a productive force in the capitalist economy," and Willig (2009: 362) stating "the neo-liberal idea of freedom, which seems to state that a free market will facilitate all self-realization options, is incomplete," this thesis also focuses the problem formulation and its possible solution on a political level, thus leaving out discussions of vacation on the level of organizations. The thesis therefore rests on the premise that the current mode of capitalism is where challenges of self-realization for the knowledge worker are rooted. The level of observation in this thesis is that of the individual facing these challenges, the focus being on investigating how the individual bears the burden of the outlined structural discrepancies.

When attempting to map the current mode of capitalism and these contemporary issues of work, Boltanski and Chiapello's *The New Spirit of Capitalism* (2005) offers an excellent perspective. By tracing an ideological history of capitalism, they bring forth a valuable critical potential by arguing that contemporary modes of work represent how capitalism takes advantage of the wage earner/knowledge worker in new, subtle ways. The history of capitalism is not only relevant when discussing current issues of work, but also relevant to both current and previous perceptions of vacation travel, because vacation is intricately linked to capitalist modes of work and consumption and to the status of the wage earner, functioning not only as a way to compensate the wage-earner for his work, but also as something potentially raising the overall output of his labor.

A brief history of capitalism

> Capitalism attracts actors, who realize that they have hitherto been oppressed, by offering them a certain form of liberation that masks new types of oppression. It may then be said that capitalism 'recuperates' the autonomy it extends, by implementing new modes of control. However, these new forms of oppression are gradually unmasked and become target of critique, to the point where capitalism is led to transform its *modus operandi* to offer a liberation that is redefined under the influence of critique. But, in its turn, the 'liberation' thus obtained harbors new oppressive mechanisms

that allow control over the process of accumulation to be restored in a capitalist framework (Boltanski and Chiapello 2005: 425).

This quotation from Boltanski and Chiapello is in itself a brief history of capitalism. The authors trace the ideological changes that have accompanied transformations in capitalism, defining ideology as "a set of shared beliefs, inscribed in institutions, bound up with actions, and hence anchored in reality" (Boltanski and Chiapello 2005: 3). They label as capitalists those few main actors responsible for accumulation and expansion of capital who directly pressurize firms to make maximum profit (ibid: 4-6), and further characterize capitalism by the wage-earning class; the people who possess little or no capital and who derive income from the sale of their labor. The authors argue that the system of capitalism is not naturally geared to suit the needs of the wage-earning class and label capitalism as an "absurd system" because "wage earners have lost ownership of the fruits of their labor and the possibility of a working life without subordination" (ibid: 7).

Boltanski and Chiapello's analysis is of the relationship between capitalism and critique. What they call 'the spirit of capitalism', which they define as "the ideology that justifies engagement in capitalism" (Boltanski and Chiapello 2005: 8), lies at the center of this relationship. The task of the spirit of capitalism is to justify - in the minds of the workers - continuous participation in the capitalist system. Capitalism however has never existed without critique of it. Through history, different critiques of capitalism has forced the system of capitalism to adapt and consequently, the spirit of capitalism - what justifies continuous participation - has also changed. In other words, critiques call for "an ideological reconstruction to demonstrate that the world of work does indeed still possess a 'meaning'" (ibid: 29). In their analysis of the different spirits of capitalism, the authors analyze the different critiques there has been of capitalism and how the system of capitalism has adapted to these, thus resting on the premise Žižek also states when arguing that capitalism "ceases to exist if it 'stays the same', if it achieves an internal balance" (Žižek 2008: 54).

The nostalgic story of pre-capitalist times is one of farmers and craftsmen living simple lives tucked into the rhythms of the countryside or the settled life of city burghers. Then came capitalism and industrialization, bringing with them profit-scouting investors, rickety markets, the rise and fall of factories, worker-migration, and urbanization. In other words, instability entered the stage, or 'creative destruction', as Schumpeter (1962) termed the lifeblood of capitalism, did. Boltanski and Chiapello argue that the first spirit of capitalism presented itself as emancipatory, responding to ideals of autonomy and self-realization brought forth by the Enlightenment (Boltanski and Chiapello 2005: 425). The market gave people the possibility of

choosing their own social condition and what goods and services to own or consume - where to live and what to do were no longer fixed, status was substituted by contracts and the individual was freed from domestic ties (ibid). In the early age of capitalism, corporations applied "military models of organization to capitalism" (Sennett 2006: 20), and profits were secured by applying disciplinary management principles of Taylorism and later Fordism (ibid). This first spirit of capitalism was soon heavily critiqued, first and foremost because the liberation from restricting status turned into deracination:

> Separating people from their concrete spheres of existence, and the norms but also the protections bound up with them, this consigns them to factory discipline and the power of the labour market, with no possibility of resistance. Far from constituting a liberating factor, the separation entailed by deracination introduces universal competition for the sale of labour-power, reducing its price to the point where the workers are condemned to a condition in which the duration of work, enslavement to factory discipline, and meager pay no longer allow for the realization of properly human existence, which is precisely determined by self-determination and a multiplicity of practices. The promised liberation is in fact replaced by a new form of slavery (Boltanski and Chiapello 2005: 427).

The critique was of egoism in private interests and exploitation of workers (Boltanski and Chiapello 2005: 201), and led to the second spirit of capitalism, a "modernist enthusiasm for integrated, planned organizations concerned with social justice" (Boltanski and Chiapello 2005: 201), that met the critique by inspiring "the compromise between the civic values of the collective and industrial necessities that underlay the establishment of the welfare state" (ibid). Thus, the second spirit of capitalism promised liberation from the role of exploited proletariat, and was tied to the bureaucratic firm emerging in the 1930s and 1940s, where the instability and "creative destruction" of unleashed capitalism were tied down. In this era of "social capitalism" (Sennett 2006; Boltanski and Chiapello 2005), life-long employment, career-ladders, security in seniority, clear distinctions between time at work and time outside work, state welfare - in short, stability and predictability - became available to the worker. Also, bureaucracy was deemed efficient, and not only within the organization, but also in the life of the individual, strategic planning became paramount (Sennett 2006). The rationalization of time allowed individuals to think of their lives as fixed narratives of what was going to happen, "it became possible, for instance, to define what the stages of career ought to be like, to correlate long term service in a firm to specific steps of increasing wealth" (Sennett 2006: 23). However the freedoms of the second spirit of capitalism were gained at the expense of what had been won by critiquing the first spirit of capitalism: "Job security and income from work were improved in exchange for working-class populations settling, and the development of factory discipline" (Boltanski and Chiapello 2005: 436).

This is when Boltanski and Chiapello's research merges with the diagnoses and discussions outlined in the introduction - the bureaucratic firm and the second spirit of capitalism came under heavy critique in the late 1960s. Again, the critique was of a lack of autonomy for the individual, who was now constrained by a social capitalism (Boltanski and Chiapello 2005: 201). With the third spirit of capitalism "it finally seemed as if the formal right to become who one wants to be, when one wants to be it, had been recognized" (Boltanski and Chiapello 2005: 436). Boltanski and Chiapello also talk about work today having become de-institutionalized, life-long employment and career-ladders no longer being the reality for many, and also emphasize that the current spirit of capitalism also has its oppressive characteristics:

> We cannot ignore those features of current forms of capitalism that tend to restrict and, to a certain extent, recuperate autonomy, which is not only presented as a possibility or right, but is as it were *demanded* of people, whose status is increasingly frequently assessed according to their capacity for self-fulfillment, elevated to the status of an evaluative criterion (Boltanski and Chiapello 2005: 429).

The conclusion is once again that the freedom the worker was granted after the great transformations starting in the late 1960s has become a yoke, because the worker is unable to realize the freedom, which instead has become a demand.

Research Question

Inspired by Boltanski and Chiapello in what a historical perspective can give an analysis of the present, this thesis takes as starting point a historical analysis of vacation travel in order to better contribute to the discussions of current challenges facing the worker today. Reading the historical circumstances leading up to the current diagnosis of work-life, this thesis asks what role vacation travel has played and plays today. The goal is to understand how vacation travel plays into the contemporary quest for self-realization by looking at discourses and practices of vacation travel through different historical periods. The research question is as follows:

What is the historical field of possibility for the contemporary knowledge worker's self-relationship as constituted through his vacation travel, and to what extent does vacation travel today moderate the challenges of self-realization this worker is faced with in his work-life?

Mirroring the research question, the investigation is two-fold, entailing a diachronic analysis followed by a synchronic analysis. The historical field of possibility for the worker's self-relationship in relation to vacation travel is mapped by developing a Foucauldian genealogy of the concept of vacation travel. The aim of the genealogy is a critique of the present, or as

Villadsen (2006: 88) puts it, a "history of the present" that takes its point of departure in conflicts and power struggles of the present. It is a method that seeks to shed light on the contingencies of what has shaped the reality we perceive ourselves to live in today by pointing to how it could also just as well have been otherwise: in Shapiro's words "it is an attempt to show that the "now" is an unstable victory won at the expense of other possible nows" (Shapiro 2012: 59). Conducting a genealogy of how vacation travel is written about in the nineteenth century, in the post-war decades, the decades leading up to the 21st century and then finally today, allows tracking continuities and discontinuities in practices and discourses of vacation travel, and hereby provides a view that can shake presuppositions of how vacation travel is perceived and practiced today. The genealogic strategy does not view vacation travel as a fixed entity, and does not ask *why* the concept of vacation travel came about or what it *means*, but instead asks; what are the forces such that it appears? Because the current challenges of self-realization point back to capitalism as practiced and perceived in the 21st century, it is relevant to see if capitalism also plays into the relationships between the worker, his self, and his vacation travel in earlier periods.

The second part of the thesis further analyzes the role of vacation travel for the knowledge worker of today, and does so with an emphasis on further displaying the current relationship between vacation travel and challenges of self-realization. The Žižekian view on the subject is skeptical of the idea of an autonomous subject who can be responsible for its own happiness (Cederström and Grassman, 2010), thus making the starting point for this analysis somewhat bleak in terms of the chances for self-realization. Even so, a Žižekian analysis offers an interesting perspective on how vacation can moderate the challenges. This part of the thesis will take the novel *Eat Pray Love* (Gilbert, 2006) as an example and analyze vacation today as a Žižekian 'ideological fantasy', a psychoanalytic concept that explains how practices "grip subjects ideologically" (Glynos 2010: 31). Bringing in the psychoanalytic framework of Žižek can function to further shake presuppositions of how vacation travel is perceived and practiced. Put together, these two analyses deconstruct the concept of vacation travel substantially, and hereby offer a further qualification of what a demand for self-realization entails for the modern knowledge worker of today.

Analytic Strategy

Theory of Science

This thesis is based on an epistemological rather than an ontological theory of science, which means that it is not attempting to recite true statements about the world as it is, but is instead occupied with the rules of knowing and of knowledge (Villadsen 2006). An epistemological analyst views reality as we perceive it as socially constructed and thereby as something that can be constructed differently when looked at from different perspectives, and asks in which forms and under what conditions a certain system of meaning (for example a discourse) has emerged. The aim is not, as in ontological inquiry, to ontologize the object under study to be able to say something true about it, but rather to de-ontologize the object under study, to be able to question presuppositions. This is not to say that there is no ontology in epistemological inquiry - the analyst rather works with an 'empty ontology', merely saying that "reality is" (Andersen 2003). For the epistemological analyst, the concern is not method, but analytical strategy, a characteristic that stresses the perspective of study as a choice that could have been made differently with different conclusions as a result (Andersen 2003). The object under study is thus viewed as something anti-essential:

> There is something altogether different behind things: not a timeless and essential secret, but the secret that they have no essence or that their essence was fabricated in a piecemeal fashion from alien forms. (Foucault 1977: 142).

This distinction between epistemological and ontological modes of inquiry (Andersen 2003; Villadsen 2006), is similar to Shapiro's distinction between a hermeneutic and a Foucauldian mode of analysis (Shapiro 1992: 41). In hermeneutics, the goal is to limit the distance between the interpreter and the interpreted, to understand what something *means*, to make sense of observed details by finding their relationship with the whole. In contrast, a Foucauldian analysis seeks to create more distance between the interpreter and the interpreted - to de-familiarize (de-ontologize) the object under study. The question of what something *means* is irrelevant in a Foucauldian analysis, instead the emphasis is on events (Foucault treats discourses as events (Foucault 1997: 125)) and the fields of possibility for emergence of personas, discourses etc. (Shapiro 1992). In Foucault's words:

> Archaeology tries to define not the thoughts, representations, images, themes, preoccupations that are concealed or revealed in discourses; but those discourses themselves, those discourses as practices obeying certain rules. It does not treat discourse as document, as a sign of something else, as an element that ought to be transparent, but whose unfortunate opacity must often be pierced if one is to reach at last the depth of the essential in the place in which it is held in reserve; it is concerned with discourse in its own volume, as a monument. It is not an interpretive discipline: it does not seek another, better-hidden discourse. It refuses to be "allegorical" (Foucault 1972: 138f).

Reading this it becomes clear why Andersen reads Foucault as a phenomenologist, but one "without consciousness as the origin of meaning - a subjectless phenomenology" (Andersen 2003: 2). With Foucault, discourses are not structures; they are never reduced to something else than what they appear as.

When claiming this thesis to be epistemological and Foucauldian in its entirety, including Žižek is quite a contradiction in terms. A fundamental lack in the identity of the subject functions as an ontology in Žižek's theories, and that his theories are thus based on this "truth" separates him radically from Foucault who views the subject as merely a contingent historically constructed category:

> It is because the body has been "subjectified," that is to say, that the subject-function has been fixed on it, because it has been psychologized and normalized, it is because of all this something like the individual appeared, about which one can speak, hold discourses, and attempt to found sciences (Foucault 2003: 56).

The Žižekian way of asking questions and critiquing is essentially what Foucault and his analytical strategies oppose, because answering a "why" question and thereby giving causal explanations is adhering to an ontological mode of inquiry that posits that it has something true to say about the world. Despite these differences, I see the Žižekian critique as one that can add to the Foucauldian critique; as Glynos writes, "a psychoanalytically-inflected poststructuralist approach can offer a decidedly critical – not simply constructivist – edge" (Glynos 2010: 19). Glynos equates the radical contingency in social relations at the forefront of Foucauldian critique with what Žižek calls "the lack in the Other" (Glynos 2010: 30), and it is precisely this lack in the other that justifies putting Žižek into the same post-structuralist box, Foucault is often (against his will) put in to:

> Alienation is not resolved but displaced into another (symbolic) level, to the register of the signifier. On the one hand, due to the 'universality' of language, to the linguistic constitution of human reality, the signifier offers to the subject an almost 'immortal', 'neutral' representation; only this representation is incapable of capturing and communicating the real 'singularity' of the subject. In that sense, it is clear that something is always missing from the symbolic; the Other is a lacking, an incomplete Other. (Stavrakakis 2010: 63).

Glynos further writes of three logics that sustain (discursive) practice:

> In this view, a practice is always a discursive practice, which is meaningful and collectively sustained through the operation of three logics: social, political, and fantasmatic logics. If social logics assist in the task of directly characterizing a practice along a synchronic axis, then political logics can be said to focus more on the diachronic aspects of a practice, accounting for the way it has emerged or the way it is contested and/or transformed. And if political logics furnish us with the means to show how social practices come into being or are transformed, then fantasmatic logics disclose the way specific practices and regimes grip subjects ideologically (Glynos 2010: 31).

The Foucauldian genealogy thus seeks to explain discursive practices through political logic, and adding the Žižekian critique answers the question "why are people doing this?" by asking, "what fantasies are involved?":

> The appeal to logics - and fantasmatic logics in particular - [is that they] simply furnish a language with which to characterize and critically explain the existence, maintenance, and transformation of concrete practices. Logics seek to capture the purposes, rules and self understandings of a practice in a way that is sensitive to key ontological presuppositions. They aim to assist not just in describing or characterizing it, but in capturing the various conditions which make that practice 'work' or 'tick', thereby contributing to our understanding of how a practice becomes possible, intelligible, and vulnerable (Glynos 2008a: 4).

Even though this is answering a "why" question, which is far from merely mapping a field of possibility and refusing to make any causal explanations, Žižek's critique also has the effect of shaking presuppositions. Žižek's ontology of the subject of lack has the effect of throwing away a lot of (other) positivist views of the subject, and fits into a mode of inquiry that seeks to shed light on what Stavrakakis calls "politics of identification":

> For a start, Lacanian theory radically questions the credibility of individualism and subjectivism by advancing a novel conception of subjectivity: the subject of lack. The benefits of such a conceptualization are obvious. First, it avoids positing a positively defined essence of subjectivity and thus moves beyond psychological reductionism and individualism. Second, it permits a thorough grasping of the socio-symbolic dependence of subjectivity: due to the centrality of lack in the Lacanian conception of the subject, subjectivity becomes the space where a whole 'politics' of identification takes place. (Stavrakakis 2010: 60)

Villadsen has posited that the purpose of a genealogy is to create a different, critical perspective on the phenomenon under study - and for this purpose, the end so to speak justifies the means (Villadsen 2006: 103). In this case, the final purpose of adding an (ontological) Žižekian critique is to further de-ontologize vacation travel as a historically constituted concept. One could say that the goal of both the Foucauldian and Žižekian critique is to question characteristics of the present we are blind to.

Foucault

As outlined in the discussion of the epistemological theory of science, the essential characteristic of the Foucauldian discourse analysis is to view statements in their own right without referring them to something else. The aim of the discourse analysis thus becomes to read regularities in statements. Moreover, Foucault's discourse analysis is characterized by including not only what is being said and written, but also material, sociological aspects such as institutions, technologies and social practices. Foucault's discourse analysis is therefore not only linguistic, and it is this inclusion of material, non-discursive practices that separates Foucault from post-structuralists who focus solemnly on the discourse as a language-sign when

analyzing constructions (Villadsen 2006: 98). Labeling Foucauldian discourse analysis as being social-constructivist also implies a social constructivism where the material plays a role (ibid).

Foucault presents his work as a domain of research that attempts to map implicit knowledge [savoir] that is special to a certain society, where different bodies of learning, philosophical ideas, everyday opinions, institutions, commercial practices, police activities, etc. all refer to this implicit knowledge. This knowledge is not the knowledge [connaisances] that is explicated in scientific books, philosophical theories or religious works, but a more subtle knowledge in society - the knowledge that makes possible the appearance of a theory, opinion, practice, or discourse. The investigation is thus of "the condition of possibility of knowledge, of institutions, of practices" (Foucault 1998: 261):

> I deal with practices, institutions and theories on the same plane and according to the same isomorphisms, and I look for the underlying knowledge that makes them possible, the stratum of knowledge that constitutes them historically (Foucault 1998: 262).

Foucault describes his method of critique as archaeological in its method and genealogical in its design - archeological in that it "will seek to treat the instances of discourse that articulate what we think, say, and do as so many historical events" (Foucault 1997: 125), and genealogical in that it "will separate out, from the contingency that has made us what we are, the possibilities of no longer being, doing, or thinking what we are, do, or think" (ibid). It is about showing the fields of possibility for the emergence and continuance of certain concepts, practices and institutions.

Genealogy

The most well-known genealogies produced by Foucault himself are on the concepts of madness (Foucault, 1988a), prisons and punishment (Foucault 1995), and sexuality (Foucault 1988c; 1990a; 1990b). Foucault's theories are usually linked to theories of power, of which he as defined three main types: sovereign power, disciplinary power and governmentality. Foucault's view that "power is never something that someone possesses, any more that it is something that emanates from someone" (Foucault 2003: 4) resonates well with his epistemological standpoint. For this thesis, I choose to take the late Foucault up on his word that "it is not power, but the subject, that is the general theme of my research" (Foucault cited in Gros 2001: 512). From the viewpoint of the later Foucault, his genealogies were all studies of the emergence of the subject, either from social practices of division (madness and punishment), or in practices of the self (sexuality) (Gros 2001). A genealogy of vacation travel

is thus an analysis of the field of possibility for a "vacation travel subject". In this quotation, the later Foucault describes his genealogical method of inquiry:

> It was a matter of showing by what conjunctions a whole set of practices - from the moment they became coordinated with a regime of truth - was able to make what does not exist (madness, disease, delinquency, sexuality, etcetera), nonetheless become something, something however that continues not to exist. That is to say [...] I would like to show how a particular regime of truth, and therefore not an error, makes something that does not exits able to become something. It is not an illusion since it is precisely a set of practices, which established it and thus imperiously marks it out in reality (Foucault 2008: 19).

What Foucault's genealogies have in common is how they put the concepts under study into radically new perspectives. For example in the history of madness, Foucault traces how the boundaries between reason and madness have changed since the Middle Ages and concludes that psychology can never hold the truth about madness because psychology in itself is based on a certain idea of what madness is. In the genealogy on punishment, Foucault concludes that punishment since the Middle Ages has not continuously gotten more humane, but that modern forms of punishment on the contrary can be seen as intensified, because they have moved from merely (publically) tormenting the physical body, to locking the body up in a pursuit of punishing also the soul and controlling the psyche. Thus, Foucault's genealogy is a type of critique, in Foucault's words a "critical analysis of our own condition" (Foucault 1998: 263), that shows how 'truths' we take for granted today have not developed chronologically or even logically, but are instead based on a series of contingencies. Foucault here touches upon the idea of critique:

> Criticism is no longer going to be practiced in the search for formal structures with universal value, but rather as historical investigation into the events that have led us to constitute ourselves and to recognize ourselves as subjects of what we are doing, thinking, saying (Foucault 1997: 125).

The aim is to subject the present and how the modern human being experiences itself to a critical examination:

> Briefly, Foucault's writing has a defamiliarizing effect. By producing unfamiliar representations of persons, collectives, places, and things, and by isolating the moments in which the more familiar representations have emerged, his texts disclose the instabilities and chance elements in meaning-making practices (Shapiro 2012: 51).

Foucault's method of critique is not one that seeks to describe history in its totality or as a universal entity, and in the Foucauldian view "the present is not a product of accumulated wisdom or other dynamics reaching into the distant past. It comes about as one possible emergence form an interpretive agonistics (Shapiro 2012: 52). Foucault discusses this view on history in his essay *Nietzche, Genealogy, History*. A genealogy is not searching for the

"origins" of any concept, simply because a concept has no origin as such, no "monotonous finality" (Foucault 1977: 139). There is no "gradual curve of the evolution" (ibid: 142) of a concept, no "exact essence" (ibid) a historian can trace back to. A history in a Foucauldian understanding is therefore not one that presents the past as a logical story of continuous progress towards the situation we have today:

> Genealogy does not pretend to go back in time to restore an unbroken continuity that operates beyond the dispersion of forgotten things; its duty is not to demonstrate that the past actively exists in the present, that it continues secretly to animate the present, having imposed a predetermined form to all its vicissitudes (Foucault 1977: 146).

It is not the task of the genealogy to show *why* the past still exists in the present, but rather to show *that* the past still exists in the present. In Villadsen's words:

> The genealogy thus describes *how* different historical practices and discourses have been continued (while others have been marginalized) and put together in new constellations. It does not however attempt to explain *why* a certain constellation has emerged by referring to historical laws of development, teleological schedules or general historical processes such as modernization, industrialization or capitalization. A genealogical analysis describes the specific historical *fields of possibilities* that made it possible for a certain object to emerge, but it doesn't hereby conclude causally that it had to (Villadsen 2006: 92, my translation).

In a sense, a genealogy is an attempt to rewrite history in a way that deconstructs it. Foucault explains how he is not questioning universals by using history as a critical method, but actually starting from the assumption that universals do not exist:

> I start from the theoretical and methodological decision that consists in saying: Let's suppose that universals do not exist. And then I put the question to history and historians: How can you write history if you do not accept a priori the existence of things like the state, society, the sovereign, and subjects? It was the same question in the case of madness. My question was not: Does madness exist? My reasoning, my method, was not to examine whether history gives me or refers me to something like madness, and then to conclude, no, it does not, therefore madness does not exist. This was not the argument, the method in fact. The method consisted in saying: Let's suppose that madness doesn't exist. If we suppose that it does not exist, then what can history make of these different events and practices which are apparently organized around something that is supposed to be madness? (Foucault 2008: 3).

To sum up the theoretical background in relation to Foucauldian genealogy I will briefly list some of the main limitations of the analytic strategy as outlined by Villadsen (2006). Firstly, as mentioned earlier, a Foucauldian genealogy does not provide any causal explanations about why certain things have happened or appeared. Still, Foucault can list industrialization, transportation and urbanization as important characteristics of the field of possibility for a certain discourse or practice to come about, just as I will do in this thesis. Secondly, the genealogy does not attempt to be normative, that is to judge how we are to conduct our lives or what institutions are the most legitimate. Thirdly, the genealogy will not be a portrait of how life was actually lived. Reading what people wrote does not mean that people necessarily

thought or experienced exactly as was written. Discourses are taken at face value, what we get is a genealogy of discourses and descriptions of practices, not a genealogy of field notes on anthropological participation. Again, for Foucauldian genealogy, history is used in the philosophical pursuit of an attempt to problematize modern knowledge about humanity and its identity (Villadsen 2006), not as a tool to tell the truth about life as it was lived in the past. This means the genealogy does not primarily wish to be measured by criteria for scientific validity, but instead on its effectiveness as a critique. Nonetheless, this does not mean that the genealogy is exempt from adhering to scientific rules of referencing and documentation, and it is therefore crucial to have a clear, concrete and transparent analytic reading strategy when conducting this type of analysis.

From theory to practice

When conducting a genealogy of vacation travel, Foucault would suggest starting with the decision that vacation travel does not exist, and then ask "what can history make of these different events and practices which are apparently organized around something that is supposed to be vacation travel?" On the question of how to choose what history to read in order to conduct a genealogy, Foucault's answer is uncompromising:

> The choices one could make are inadmissible and shouldn't exist. One ought to read everything, study everything. In other words, one must have at one's disposal the general archive of a period at a given moment. And archaeology is, in a strict sense, the science of this archive (Foucault 1998: 263).

In other words, to map an archive one should know all the institutions and practices relating to the knowledge [savoir] that constitutes the phenomenon under study. This also means that all texts are relevant, that "none of the values traditionally recognized in the history of ideas and philosophy should be accepted as such. One is dealing with a field that will ignore the differences and traditionally important things" (Foucault 1998: 262). On the question of how to choose which periods to focus on in the archaeology, Foucault explains that he is looking for "fault lines in the subsoil of our modern consciousness" (Foucault 1998: 263), be that our consciousness of meaning, madness, or whatever the object under study is. The periods on which to focus are those that show cracks and discontinuities - the periods that justify conducting this sort of genealogy in the first place (Foucault 1998).

The statements above are about as close as we get, relying only on guidelines from Foucault himself. His work is unsystematic, and the question of whether his methods are open for generalization is one he leaves largely unanswered (Andersen 2003: 2). To hope to conduct a reliable Foucauldian genealogy therefore requires a very specifically outlined reading

strategy that gives the critical reader of the genealogy enough knowledge about the research process to retrace the scientific footsteps of the genealogist.

For my reading strategy, I rely firstly on secondary literature that presents and discusses suggestions for a general method for pursuing genealogical analysis. After outlining their suggestions I will further specify criteria for selection and reading of texts for this particular genealogy. Based on Andersen (2003), Villadsen (2006) lists three principles for constructing an archive and conducting a genealogy based on it. *Firstly,* the sources of relevance for a genealogist are not the sources that have been deemed most important by the traditional science of history. Rather, to map the underlying knowledge [savoir], one must also read statements that demonstrate practice, for example statements of institutions, laws and regulations, discussions, etc. For the genealogist, mundane, down-to-earth, and private rather than official texts (Andersen 2003: 13) can acquire central roles while canonical works pointed out by the history of ideas are sometimes omitted. *Secondly*, one cannot construct a full archive by only reading texts that are wholly within the theme of the investigation, because themes relate to each other in unpredictable ways and can change significantly over time. Therefore, the genealogist starts with texts that are well within the discourse, and from here reads texts that these reference to, then references in the referenced texts and so on, until a circularity can be observed in the texts referencing each other. These references include not only the explicit texts that are referenced, but also implicit references to concepts and practices. *Thirdly,* the constructed archive forms the background for picking the texts that become essential in the genealogy. These are texts that clearly illustrate the discourse itself or that display continuities or discontinuities in the discourse. These texts are often reflexive in that they problematize existing practices, theories or institutions, for example by positing a difference between past and present, science and non-science or barbarianism and humanity.

Constructing an archive on which to base a genealogy of vacation travel firstly means finding and reading everything possible that relates to vacation travel. Keeping the principles outlined by Villadsen in mind, I have read not only texts about vacation travel, but also texts about leisure as a whole, enlightenment, work, capitalism, idleness, industrialization, tourism, and so on. I have read everything from academic research articles and books, guidebooks, political discussions, novels, advertisements, memoirs, poems, coffee table books, blog postings, comments on blog postings, and newspaper articles. Many of these sources are indeed mundane. In terms of circularity in referencing, it is one thing to gain an overview of the academic literature on leisure and how vacation relates to this by reading to a point where the explicit circularity in references occurs. However newspaper articles, blog postings or

guidebooks don't necessarily refer explicitly to other materials, and claiming implicit circularity in these texts presents a challenge I will return to in a little while. When picking texts that become essential to the genealogy, Villadsen (2006: 101) writes about *monuments* - texts that particularly clearly describe the discourses and practices of a time period. Because the archive for my genealogy is mostly based on newspaper articles and these by nature are short texts, I have chosen to include many articles rather than picking out only a few texts. This allows showing the reader the "regularity in statements" (Foucault 1972: 131) that makes up the discourses.

Out of the very broad reading in the beginning of the process, I have chosen to narrow my archive to be based mostly on the archive of *The New York Times,* that has many articles about workers' vacation travel from the founding of the newspaper in 1851[3] and up until today, where the paper version is supplemented by a large amount of online material such as blog postings and reader comments. This limits the majority of my study to be of New York City and the surrounding north-eastern American states, and gives me a chance to give a more full - albeit smaller - picture of discourses and practices of vacation travel. The focus is on presenting a diachronic analysis, which in this case comes at the expense of more synchronic width. In order to ensure more reliability in my work, I include other material - books, websites, other newspapers - in my archive, limiting these however to a U.S. context in order to prevent too much complexity. I want to stress that this means the genealogy of vacation travel here is radically different from one with a focus on Europe, where vacations are written into law.

When looking for texts to include in my archive, I look for those who discuss the concept of vacation travel - going away on vacation - where the vacation is a break from work. Those whose vacations I am interested in are the workers, meaning mostly wage earners, but also business owners who grant themselves a vacation. I do not include texts on holiday celebrations such as Christmas or Easter, texts about weekends or the leisure time on weekdays after work, or texts that describe discourses and practices in relation to vacations spent at home. I do not include texts on vacation seen from the perspective of school children or students (unless their working parents take them on vacation), and I have chosen to omit texts that relate to the laws and unionized agreements on vacation, focusing instead on vacation travel as it is practiced, idealized and discussed, not as it is politically and strategically engaged with.

[3] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_New_York_Times

What sources are relevant? The goal here is to find the set of voices that most fruitfully sheds light on object of study, namely how vacation travel relates to a contemporary quest for self-realization. The focus of the genealogy is therefore the worker's self-relationship as it is constituted by his vacation travel. Because this is partly constituted through how vacation travel is communicated in the surrounding society, is it relevant to look at how the public debate in newspapers talks about and "creates" vacation travel and the subject who pursues it. Foucault mentions three criteria for a statement to be relevant for a discourse analysis (Villadsen 2006: 97): It has to create an object, it has to establish positions from which something about it can be stated, and it has to be a part of a network of concepts. Relating to these, for this genealogy, I am interested in texts that create vacation travel as an object one can know, think or feel something about and act upon in relation to one's self-relationship. The subject positions in relation to the object of study for this thesis are those of workers, employers, travel agents and experts, for example psychologists. Finally I am interested in texts where vacation travel gets linked to other concepts such as rest, work, enjoyment, health, and of course self-realization. For example, a newspaper article stating that "the toiling thousands of our city have been waiting eagerly for the summer vacation, where they will go to the mountains or seashore to restore their jaded health" is a valid statement for my analysis: It creates vacation as an object and the "toilers" as a subject position, and speaks of vacation in relation to other concepts, here health and particular places.

When looking for texts on vacation travel that relate to the self-relationship of the vacationer, I look for texts that somehow place value on vacation as a concept, on certain ways of vacationing or on certain subjects pursuing vacation. How is the worker's self-relationship practiced, idealized or problematized in relation to vacation travel? How is the ideal vacation pictured? What is the vacation supposed to do to the subject, how is it supposed to affect the subject? As Villadsen (2006) also suggested, I am also looking for texts that describe or discuss a practice. This can be either of actual practices, which is often what is described in newspaper articles, or of ideal practices as described in for example guidebooks and advertisements. In sum, my archive is attempting to map the discourses and practices of a time period such that a certain vacation-travel-subject emerges or becomes possible, and such that certain constitutions of the worker's self-relationship in relation to vacation travel are laid out.

Let me return to the question of how to claim circularity in the implicit references between the archive texts. Firstly, a claim of circularity is limited to be within the outlined boundaries of the archive. In other words, there might be a different genealogy of vacation in rural Arkansas than in urban New York. With this established, when claiming circularity, I

chose to refer to the concept of *genre*, in this case meaning "a type of story." What I mean by genre in this framework is that I read until "genres" in the discourses and practices of vacations persist within a period of time. It is about seeing similar stories told again and again. For example the genres "the writer cites a large number of experts on human psychology when discussing how vacation is difficult for the human being" and "family fathers or mothers tell the story of a successful vacation where the focus is on how great the vacation was for their children" are two main genres that crystallize in the readings from the 1970s and persist all the way up to the 1990s. It takes a large amount of reading before genres become readable, and I claim circularity when the same main genres keep on being confirmed while no new types of stories come up. During this process, I also look for what I will call triangulation; that the genres I see in the New York Times archive are confirmed in other media (such as advertisements and books) or in texts from other parts of the U.S. For example the genre "vacationers are disappointed with their vacation because of crowds" is backed up by an advertisement for Greyhound busses in a newspaper from another part of the U.S. stating that one can "beat the crowds by going now". Including texts from other sources than the New York Times is a way of strengthening the reliability of the genealogy, because it suggests that the genres are in fact firmly established discourses of the time.

I choose to translate Foucault's statement "fault lines in the subsoil of our modern consciousness", to the continuities and discontinuities in the discourses and practices that make up the genealogy. The criteria for labeling texts as marking continuity or discontinuity is again linked to the above outlined concept of genres. Discontinuities are where new ideals, discourses and practices emerge and replace others that then become out-phased or marginalized. For example the story that vacations are difficult emerged in the post-war years after not being found at all in the nineteenth century. Discontinuity then marks the transition to a new period in the genealogy. Continuity on the other hand is in the discourses, ideals and practices that keep being communicated throughout the span of the genealogy. An example here is the story of the ideal vacation as being "out of the ordinary".

Žižek

Slovenian philosopher Slavoj Žižek (1949-) is at once a very difficult theorist to comprehend, and an "academic pop-star", who has written more than 20 books, frequently writes for popular media, and who often explains his theories by using examples from (measly) popular culture. The ability to grasp that seeming opposites can exist together is not only central to understanding Žižek as a philosopher, his theories are also filled with thinking where "saying

the opposite can be just another way of saying the same thing - if we push the idea far enough" (Dean 2006: xii). The theoretical backdrop of the Žižekian concept of ideological fantasy, which this thesis will look at through the lens of vacation travel, relies heavily on the psychoanalytic framework of Jacques Lacan (1901-1981), which is therefore the starting point of this review.

The subject in Lacanian psychoanalysis

The view of the subject as autonomous and in control of its own happiness, which is at the forefront of contemporary self-help and management literature, cannot be found in psychoanalysis. Instead, we find with Lacan a subject that is not capable of self-evaluation and self-engineering, let alone happiness - here, the autonomous ego is firmly positioned within the imaginary (Cederstøm and Grassman, 2010). This somewhat bleak view of the subject stems from the idea of a fundamental lack in the individual, "an ideal oneness that was never fully realized" (Dean 2006: 4). There are several ways of explaining how this lack comes about - one is the story of the infant who at some point has to realize that she is not one with her mother, that she is in fact a subject in herself, a lack that she from then on has a desire to fill or cover. Another way of explaining this fundamental lack is that we lose the imaginary "direct, unmediated bodily communion" (Dean 2006: 5) when we enter the symbolic (i.e. the laws of language). As Lacan puts it in *Seminar II*, "the human being has a special relation to its own *image* - a relation of gap, of alienating tension" (Lacan cited in Cederstøm and Grassman 2010: 110, my italics). The ego puts the identity of the subject outside the subject itself by attempting to become an image that is however defined by being out of reach, because the subject is unable to construct an external image and at the same time be integral to it (Cederstøm and Grassman 2010). To enter the symbolic world, the subject gives up being the signified and is hereafter illusorily identifying itself as the signifier, and hence is fundamentally divided from itself.

What we give up when we enter the symbolic is *jouissance*, enjoyment, the (imaginary, never fulfilled, impossible) enjoyment attached to the primordial illusion of wholeness. Said differently, we give up enjoying full access to our self-identity (Cederstøm and Grassman 2010). Still, in return for the sacrifice of the primordial, whole *jouissance*, the subject gets *jouissance* in two incomplete forms: as a reminder of a lost state, and as a remainder, a vague feeling of something still being there (Fink 1998 in Cederstøm and Grassman 2010). This can make the pursuit of *jouissance* painful rather than pleasurable, because it is a constant reminder of the impossibility of obtaining the wholeness the subject desires. As Žižek (1999: 291) puts

it; "the trouble with *jouissance* is not only that it is unattainable, always already lost, that it forever eludes our grasp, but, even more, that *one can never get rid of it*, that its stain drags on forever." The subject never had this lost enjoyment, which means the subject can never get it back; however it still structures the desire and being of the subject. In our life, enjoyment becomes an "excessive pleasure and pain, that something extra that twists pleasure into a fascinating, even unbearable intensity" (Dean 2006: 4). Dean uses the example of being in love as something that can be an agonizing pleasure. Enjoyment is always excess, Lacan calls it 'surplus enjoyment'. Žižek writes, "the very renunciation of *jouissance* brings about a remainder/surplus of *jouissance.* Desire stands for the economy in which whatever object we get hold of is 'never *it*', the "Real Thing', that which the subject is forever trying to attain but which eludes him again and again" (Žižek 1999: 291). Surplus enjoyment is thus characterized by the same paradox as capitalism:

> It is not a surplus which simply attaches itself to some 'normal', fundamental enjoyment because enjoyment as such emerges only in this surplus, because it is constitutively an 'excess'. If we subtract the surplus we lose enjoyment itself, just as capitalism, which can survive only by incessantly revolutionizing its own material conditions, ceases to exist if it 'stays the same', if it achieves an internal balance (Žižek 2008: 54).

The surplus enjoyment compensates for the lack of *jouissance*, and although the objects of desire never provide *jouissance*, they resemble *jouissance* and are experienced as excessive, as the surplus-enjoyment. The "not it" or "not enough" overlaps the excess (Žižek 2001b: 22).

Žižek further highlights that "enjoyment itself is not an immediate spontaneous state, but is sustained by a super-ego imperative: as Lacan emphasized again and again, the ultimate content of the super-ego injunction is 'Enjoy!' (Žižek 1997: 114). This is a paradox, in that the super-ego injunction that orders the subject to enjoy "through the very directness of its order, hinders the subject's access to it much more efficiently than any prohibition" (ibid). "The super-ego is, so to speak, an agency of the law exempted from its authority: it does itself what it prohibits us from doing" (Žižek 1991: 159). Žižek argues that this super-ego injunction is at the forefront of the 21st century capitalist society that he characterizes ""nonrepressive" hedonism (the constant provocation to which we are exposed, enjoining us to go right to the end, and explore all modes of *jouissance*)" (Žižek 2006: 310).

The point of the Lacanian subject is that the division between the signifier and the signified as a lack the subject desires to fill can never be filled, because this lack was always there from the start; we were never whole (Fleming 2010: 171). This lack - the idea of the primordial loss of a totalizing harmony, wholeness, union with a (m)Ohter and so on, is thus what constitutes a subject (Glynos 2008b: 681). The lack stimulates desire, and in order to

fulfill this desire, the subject continuously tries to constitute its identity by identifying with socially available objects such as family roles, political ideologies, ideals of consumption, career, etc. (Stavrakakis 2010). Of course society and the identification it offers the subject is trapped in the same symbolic order as the subject itself, and it can therefore never fulfill the desire, never cover the fundamental lack:

> No ideological determination is ever complete. Social construction is always an imperfect exercise, and the social subject cannot transcend the ontological horizon of lack. Something always escapes from both orders – Lacan reserves a special name for that: the *real*, an excessive quantum of enjoyment (*jouissance*) resisting representation and control. Something that the subject has been forced to sacrifice upon entering organized society, and which, although lost and inaccessible/unrepresentable forever, does not stop causing all our attempts to encounter it through our identification acts (Stavrakakis 2010: 62).

Ideological fantasy

The concept of fantasy comes in because the subject covers the fundamental lack in both itself and its surrounding society by attaching a fantasy to the excessive *jouissance*. "What makes the lack in the Other 'invisible' – and thus sustains the credibility of the organized Other and the integrity of its desire – is a fantasmatic dialectic manipulating our relation to a lost/ impossible enjoyment" (Stavrakakis 2010: 65). The fantasy operates so the impossibility is transformed into being perceived as only a prohibition or difficulty, thus leaving the subject with an illusion that the impossibility (primordially lost) can be transgressed (Glynos 2008b). Zizeks main example of the ideological fantasy is the role of the Jew in the Nazi regime, to which Zizek's explains; "what appears as the hindrance to society's full identity with itself is actually its positive condition: by transposing onto the Jew the role of the foreign body which introduces in the social organism disintegration and antagonism, the fantasy-image of society qua consistent, harmonious whole is rendered possible" (Zizek 2001a: 90). The logic of fantasy is thus a narrative structure with reference to an idealized scenario promising an imaginary fullness or wholeness (Glynos 2008a), where the obstacle preventing the realization of one's fantasmatic desire is a crucial element:

> In Lacanian psychoanalysis, realizing one's fantasy is impossible because the subject (as a subject of desire) survives only insofar as its desire remains unsatisfied. But the obstacle, which often comes in the form of a prohibition or a threatening Other, transforms this impossibility into a 'mere' difficulty, thus creating the impression that its realization is at least potentially possible (Glynos 2008a: 10).

Ideology in the Žižekian understanding offers the subject a fantasy about complete being, but because complete being is impossible, the ideology can't offer it when it comes down to it. What happens instead is that the ideology explains or covers up this existential lack in such a way that the fantasy of complete being can be sustained. Fantasy is thus a narrative through

which some perceived content - an object, person, experience, or practice - comes to function for us as what we desire, the fantasy tells us where to direct our desire (Dean 2006). Keeping the desire unfulfilled, the fantasy gives us an explanation for why our enjoyment is missing; we could enjoy, if only.... The fantasy allows the possibility of enjoyment to remain open by telling us why we are not really enjoying, and this makes it very difficult for us to resist or break out of the situation upheld by the fantasy (Dean 2006). The fantasy hereby also explains the incompleteness of society, and this both promises and produces enjoyment, for example by telling us that our enjoyment has been stolen by another object we can then "enjoy" hating.

The link between fantasy and ideology in the Žižekian framework is in Glynos' words that "fantasmatic logics disclose the way specific practices and regimes grip subjects ideologically" (Glynos 2010: 31). To explain why Žižek does not agree that we are living in a post-ideological world, he revises the Marxian formula for ideology, "they do not know it, but they are doing it", from focusing on the aspect of not knowing to the aspect of doing. Žižek argues that today people "know very well how things really are, but still they are doing it as if they did not know" (Žižek 2008: 30). The ideology works because everyone is acting according to it; the question of their knowledge in relation to the ideology is not the issue. There is still a misrecognition, but it is not of reality itself, it is of the illusion which is structuring people's real social activity. As Žižek puts it, "the fundamental level of ideology [...] is not that of an illusion masking the real state of things but that of an (unconscious) fantasy structuring our social reality itself" (Žižek 2008: 30):

> The illusion is therefore double: it consists in overlooking the illusion which is structuring our real, effective relationship to reality. And this overlooked, unconscious illusion is what may be called the *ideological fantasy* (Žižek 2008: 30).

In this understanding, even if we are doing things and keeping an ironical or sarcastic distance to them, for example watching reality TV while claiming that one is just relaxing and that it is funny because it is so stupid, for Žižek, this doesn't count: "Cynical distance is just one way - one of many ways - to blind ourselves to the structuring power of ideological fantasy: even if we do not take things seriously, even if we keep an ironical distance, we are still doing them" (Žižek 2008: 30).

In the context of Žižek's diagnosis of postmodern subjects, ideological fantasy in relation to vacation travel is tied up to people knowing that their next vacation will probably not leave them happy, balanced, rested, reconnected; that it will probably not be "the best days of their life", and that it will not be as it is depicted in the newspaper travel section, but still, they are planning and going on vacations, as if they believed that the vacation could fulfill all

these images. "The fundamental level of ideological fantasy [is] the level on which ideology structures social reality itself" (Žižek 2008: 27). Even though we know on some level that the vacation will never be all we want it to be, we still act as if we believe, and overlook that the illusion is thus allowed to structure our behavior. As an example, guidebooks speak to this vacation fantasy, benefitting from us buying the book that sells the fantasy we desire. Introductions with phrases like "you want to be shown those things that will make this vacation the best of your life" (Doughty 2007: 9), and "this region has it all: beauty, variety, and a chance of the hike or fish of a lifetime. There is nothing else like it" (Stienstra and Brown 2009: 3) speak to the illusion we willingly spin ourselves into: that our next vacation will in fact give us everything we want from it and be the vacation of a lifetime.

Empirical challenges

The above psychoanalytic framework is a tricky jumping-off point for analysis, because the concepts seem closed around themselves, yet there is no frame for concretely showing where in texts and practices they are visible. When the object of study for Žižek is the unconscious - a concept, which by definition we are unable to see - making Žižek's concepts empirically recognizable is a big challenge. This is also part of what can make Žižek's theoretical framework seem arrogant - it claims to know what the subject himself is unaware of. In this context, a Žižekian view claims that really enjoyable vacations exist only in the imagination, and that we keep on trying to have such a vacation to spare ourselves from being faced with the fundamental lack constituting our own existence. As with Foucault, there is little help to get from the theorist himself in relation to concrete analytical practice, but again, secondary literature can help get a reading strategy started. Glynos outlines three key aspects of the logic of fantasy:

> First, it has a narrative structure which features, among other things, an ideal and an obstacle to its realization, and which may take a beatific or horrific form; second, it has an inherently transgressive aspect vis-a-vis officially affirmed ideals; and third, it purports to offer a foundational guarantee of sorts, in the sense that it offers the subject a degree of protection from the anxiety associated with a direct confrontation with the radical contingency of social relations (Glynos 2008a:14).

I have chosen to focus on these three aspects when conducting my analysis of vacation fantasy, and will here briefly outline how I read vacation into them. Firstly, vacation is a concept that easily reads as narratives of ideals and obstacles. In the texts of my archive, a vacation is often told as a story, and there is often a search for the perfect vacation dispersed with difficulties hindering the perfect vacation (crowds, weather, family issues, clogged toilets, bugs, etc.). Also advertisements and guidebooks can take a narrative character when depicting vacations, for

example in an advertisement with the wording "We'll give you a story to tell" (*Hana Hou*, vol 15 no. 2, April/May 2012:111). The transgressive aspect positions itself between the obstacles and the ideal; the obstacles have to be overcome, boundaries have to be crossed, difficulties faced, and so on, in order to get closer to happiness on the perfect, ideal vacation. Finally, the guarantee of a safe identity I read as being linked to ideals of "finding oneself" on the vacation, to become self-realized, happy, relaxed, balanced, fulfilled, or "reconnected" as an authentic parent, spouse, or person in general - goals of vacation that are outlined in texts I have read. The "safe" identity the vacation offers is then closely linked to self-realization - it is a happy "me", we are looking for when we travel away. A "safe" identity is tied to what Žižek labels as "misrecognition". There has to be a fixed identity to hinge onto somewhere, the fantasy must never be realized, because the subject, who is constituted by a lack and by desire, survives only when the lack and desire persist. The obstacles for obtaining the ideal described in the narrative are thus crucial in keeping the subject somewhat balanced, because it enables the subject to sustain the impression that the ideal is potentially possible, and hereby to sustain the subject's identity. Even when the vacation is wonderful and everything one had wished for, the obstacle becomes that the vacation wasn't long enough, that one had to return to work. The desire is never fulfilled, and we get another chance for wholeness next year, and next year, and maybe also at a little fall get-away this year, and this is exactly the mechanism, Žižek argues, that draws us to continue vacationing - or in Glynos' words, the mechanism that makes vacation "grip" subjects ideologically.

For example an article with the headline "I Loved Everything About It, but It Didn't Love Me Back", on the front cover of *The New York Times Travel* section with the subheading "How hopes for an intimate mother-daughter escape were dashed by clashing sleep-cycles, a cold Jacuzzi and yesterday's towels. I also couldn't find a drink" (Stanley, 2012), can be read against the three aspects. The narrative is there: "I imagined sunrise walks on the beach, giggly mother-daughter spa treatments and intimate candlelit meals during which Emma would lean in and at long last tell me what college was like besides "fine"" (Stanley, 2012). Through the narrative, the ideal is established. So are the obstacles - that her daughter wants to sleep until 1 pm every day, and then a whole range of issues with the resort that prohibits the author and her daughter spending quality time together: "On our third day of so-so meals, erratic service and no Jacuzzi or bike repair, I went to a manger and complained" (ibid). The transgressive aspect is also related to the resort, the bad service is what needs to be overcome and complained about. Finally the safe identity offered is that if it weren't for the resort or their different sleep patterns, the author would in fact be a mother who bonded with her college daughter on a

perfect spring-break getaway. She can keep that identity as a possibility, putting the resort in as the obstacle preventing its realization. Even if she knows that the perfect resort wouldn't make her daughter open up to her, she still *acts* as if she believes it, and writes the article as if she believes it. That is the vacation fantasy as I read it.

In addition to these three aspects making up the ideological fantasy, I will further read into examples of the lack in the subject, the surplus aspect of enjoyment, and the super-ego injunction to enjoy. The subject-lack I read into descriptions of feelings of despair in relation to identity, to feelings of not being in touch with oneself, in other words to feelings of not having reached self-realization. The surplus aspect of enjoyment I read into intangible aspects of a vacation that make a vacation special. When reading advertisements from the vacation travel industry, for example here for the destination Puerto Rico, this "coincidence of limit and excess, of lack and surplus" (Žižek 2008: 54) I see in the wording:

> Up above the treetops and over rain-fed streams, we'll teach you how to fly. There are 37 unique zip lines waiting to take you on the adventure of a lifetime. Challenge yourself on our world-class bike trails, or explore the only official rainforest in the United States. Discover 12 tropical waterfalls and over 1,500 different species, 3 of which are found nowhere else on Earth. For over 500 years, people have come to Puerto Rico and the Caribbean to discover, explore and create memories (NYT Travel Section April 1, 2012, p.3).

Flying, exploring, discovering, unique, world-class, found nowhere else on Earth, what *is* all this, what *is* in fact the memories one is invited to create? It is at once something - an excess - and nothing at all; something that the subject can feel it has attained but at the same time can keep on trying to attain forever. In relation to the super-ego imperative compelling the subject to enjoy, Žižek writes, "permitted *jouissance* necessarily turns into obligatory *jouissance*" (Žižek 2006: 310), and I see this as very parallel to the "demands" of self-realization, and the pressure to be authentic. The super-ego injunction in relation to the vacation fantasy I thus relate to the demand for self-realization as it finds expression in relation to vacation travel.

After outlining the background for the problematization underlying the thesis and describing the theoretical frameworks and concrete analytical strategies in relation to Foucuadian genealogy and Žižekian ideological fantasy, we have now reached the analyses themselves. First is the genealogy of vacation travel with specific focus on how vacation travel has related to the worker's self-relationship through time. After this is the reading of the novel *Eat Pray Love* with the purpose of analyzing any vacation fantasy within it. These analysis together form the basis for a further discussion of the role of vacation travel for the contemporary knowledge worker as it relates to his quest for self-realization.

The genealogy of vacation travel

Preface: When vacation didn't exist

During the assembly of an archive for the genealogy of vacation travel, it has become clear that *vacation* - understood as a rest from work that is viewed as compensation - did not exist before the industrialization. This is the reason I choose to begin my genealogy here, and not in ancient Greece, as Foucault usually does. This is not to say that it wouldn't add to my genealogy to include earlier periods, but I do not find that feasible within the limits of this thesis. Nonetheless, I find it useful to briefly introduce the period preceding industrialization, namely the 18th century. In that period there is talk of travel, because people - especially the upper class - did travel and call themselves tourists, both in the eighteenth century even earlier, and also talk of holiday, understood as a celebration of for example Christmas, but there is no talk of vacation. *Letters from an American farmer,* a collection of letters written by a farmer in Pennsylvania to an "enlightened European" first printed in 1782 (De Crevecoeur 1926), gives a little insight into everyday life before industrialization and capitalism became essential shapers of society. At this time there is talk of both leisure and recreation, and of the bourgeoisies as a "leisured class" who merely live off their land and assets, but are nonetheless not particularly focused on "relaxing", instead educating themselves academically, managing their assets, taking walks, going hunting etc. In the introductory letter the farmer tells his receiver of his wife's hesitations on his behalf:

> James, wouldst thee pretend to send epistles to a great European man, who hath lived abundance of time in that big house called Cambridge; where, they say, that worldly learning is so abundant that people gets it only by breathing the air of the place? Wouldst not thee be ashamed to write unto a man who has never in his life done a single day's work, no, not even felled a tree; who hath expended the Lord knows how many years in studying stars, geometry, stones, and flies, and reading folio books? Who hath travelled, as he told us, to the city of Rome itself! Only think of a London man going to Rome! Where is it that the English folks won't go? (De Crevecoeur 1926: 8).

What we find here is a very different relationship between leisure, travel and knowledge than we have today. Here, leisure and knowledge seem to go hand in hand, for example when the local pastor says to the letter-writing farmer: "neighbor James, we want much the assistance of men of leisure and knowledge" (ibid: 13), placing the ideal far from today's knowledge workers, whom Žižek (2012) labels "the new bourgeoisie" because they appropriate surplus value in the form of what Žižek calls "surplus wage":

> The bourgeoisie in the classic sense thus tends to disappear: capitalists reappear as a subset of salaried workers, as managers [as well as all sorts of experts, administrators, public servants, doctors, lawyers, journalists, intellectuals and artists] who are qualified to earn more by virtue of their competence (Žižek 2012).

In the 18th century, knowledge is not work, knowledge is leisure, and the mind can be at leisure while one works:

After all, why should not a farmer be allowed to make use of his mental faculties as well as others; because a man works, is not he to think, and if he thinks usefully, why should not he in his leisure hours set down this thoughts? I have composed many a good sermon as I followed my plough. The eyes not being engaged on any particular object, leaves the mind free for the introduction of many useful ideas [...] Of all tasks which mine imposes on me ploughing is the most agreeable, because I can think as I work; my mind is at leisure; my labour flows from instinct, as well as that of my horses (De Crevecoeur 1926: 16f).

Løfgren (1999: 109) describes how leisure was simply a part of everyday life in pre-industrial Europe and America, and for the privileged gentlemen and gentry, leisure simply *was* everyday life. It was in the industrial society of the nineteenth century that the idea of leisure as compensation developed.

Sustaining life by the seashore or in the mountains

From the mid-nineteenth century and onwards, vacation has indeed entered the vocabulary. It is described as a wonderful and cherished time; "summer vacation is very precious to the citizen - very" (N.N. 1859). An excitement of the concept of vacation is characteristic:

There is probably no season of the year whose advent is more eagerly looked forward to or more gladly welcomed by the toiling thousands of our City, than the annual Summer vacation. The Christmas holidays, with their hallowed associations, afford a time of peculiar enjoyment to old and young; but the term is short, and the amusement confined to the fireside. But how delightful are the Summer holidays when every object in nature, arrayed in its gayest attire, conspires to promote our happiness and health! What pleasant reunions than take place between long-separated friends! What health-giving rambles among the breezy mountains and hours of refreshing rest in the leafy shades! How many charming hours are spent by sea, lake and river, bathing, sailing, rowing, riding, fishing and in other ways innumerable! (N.N. 1870a).

Characteristic in this quotation is also the role nature plays in the concept of vacation; it is nature bringing happiness and health that is the purpose of vacation. I shall return to this. Vacation is something lucky workers are granted for a week or two during the summer, and is seen as an annual opportunity to escape the summer heat and hard industrial work in the city.

We have escaped the dust and heat of the city (N.N. 1864).

There comes a season of respite from labor, during which they may run away for a few days from their work-shops, stores and counting-houses, and breathe fresh country air (N.N. 1870b).

The tired worker, seeking physical rest, escapes either to the mountains or to the seashore:

As the sweltering days approach, the city man, with expectant eye [asks] where and how he shall spend his vacation hours, shall it be wandering among the mountains, or by the seaside? (N.N. 1873a).

Thousands of whom have been for weeks past longingly awaiting the joyous hour which would set them free, and enable them to leave the City behind them in their search for cooling breezes and healthful pastimes among the mountains or by the sea shore (N.N. 1868).

The lucky ones "escape" the city and are "free" doing so:

And now we were off. Oh, the delight of that early start, the sweet sense of freedom, the delicious feeling that for six days at least we were free as air to go and come as we pleased, to rest by this shady brook or on younder mountain-top (N.N. 1875a).

You that are fortunate enough to get your vacation "with pay" and you that have sufficient worldly store to enjoy your vacation "without pay" while you are basking in your pleasure of country life, cast but one kind thought upon the many left behind you amid the daily hum of the city, and as you do so try to wish "that all were as free as I" (N.N. 1870b).

The travel memoir *One vacation* (1906) emphasizes the importance of nature:

Stillness reigns, save for the rustle of pine boughs that tremble in the breeze, and the babble of the little stream that wends its way down over its rocky bed. A rustic seat in a shady retreat nearby invites one to sit and muse a while in this solitude and to forget all about the great noisy world outside (Moore 1906: 80).

In this quiet retreat one might dream the day away, for the great heart of Nature beating so close to his own soon lulls the senses to rest. But we must shake off our reverie for there are other things that we must see ere the sun sets (Moore 1906: 85).

A Guide to Catskills Mountains again puts emphasis on nature and further explains why one has to go away for the vacation to be complete:

But there is also another phase, and it pertains more directly to the aesthetic side of our nature. We need change, and cannot live on monotony or systematic routine. Every one of the five senses needs a new diet and a change of regime. This cannot be had in the atmosphere or horizon of the town home, even with an entire cessation of work or business. All must be changed—the air, the scenery, the environment, the room, the food, the people we meet, the sounds we hear; all these must be different, to make the rest complete and secure the benefits desired. These things we have learned during recent years, and there are still other lessons in the ethics of a Summer vacation which are being studied by careful observers and scientists (Hendricks 1903: 5).

Getting away and being in nature for a little while restores physical health, which is described as the main purpose of travelling away for vacation:

The trip takes off all pressure from nerves, muscles and brain; and the air, strained by the ocean of all its impurities and oxygenized to a stimulant, builds up health on new and firmer foundations (N.N. 1864).

Everybody manages to escape the paved streets some time between the 1st of July and the 15th of September, thereby restoring freshness to his jaded body and renewing his youth (N.N. 1859).

But there are quieter places along the New-England beach, where shattered nerves, tired bodies, and weary brains may escape from the labor and wrench and strain of our American life, and find in water, air and sky a balm and a restorative (N.N. 1875b).

The health benefits of escaping work and the hot city are often illustrated by describing the workers before and after the vacation:

For every day that he has been away, he will feel a year younger, while his bones are tougher, his flesh firmer, and his skin of that rich nut-brown color that is all the fashion in New York about the first of September (N.N. 1859).

You who went out jaded, languid, aching all over, shall return from the green fields to the dust of the arena fresh and buoyant, with every nerve like the string of Robin Hood's bow, and game to the back-bone (N.N. 1869b).

A poem printed in a newspaper also focuses on the importance of being in nature and restoring oneself. Here, what is restored - or made complete - is the whole "life" of the worker:

Burdened heart, we soon shall wander
To Sierra's dizzy peaks,
Where the granite braves the thunder,
And in tears the cataract speaks.
[...]
In the peace and rest of nature
Far above the haunts of men
Fanned by breezes, kissed by sunlight
We'll renew our lives again (N.N. 1873b).

Another article about vacation quotes contemporary poet Walt Whitman's line from 1855 "I loaf and invite my soul" (Whitman 1904), again pointing to an existential importance of vacation:

There is certainly about the place a quiet and repose most grateful to nerves irritated by the incessant roar, and rattle, and strain of city life, and the tired toiler, fleeing from the dust and drudgery of town, can find no fitter places wherein to "loaf and invite his soul" (N.N. 1871b).

This "vacation verse" describes how vacation will make the worker ready for the rest of the year:

For us today is rest and peace,
The blessing of complete release
From toil and care;
But life moves on; our world is round;
We float toward this horizon bound,
Though unaware.

A store of strength for future days
Comes to us in all unseen ways,
Above our ken;
In future days we will be strong,
And distant echoes of a song
Shall reach us then (Dowd 1891: 11).

Also in Longwell's travel book, the vacation is a short but magical time that will give him strength to work for the rest of the year:

In the twilight of the day and of my vacation, in the space between scenes past and comradeship to come, I sit here in a half hour of retrospect and write these final lines, for to-morrow will bring its resumption of duties and the spell will be broken (Longwell 1902: 50).

[...] and I seem to realize all the more how thorough has been my comfort, benefit and enjoyment, now that I am about to turn away from it all. But I have lived these days and I carry home with me, I hope, sufficient of the glories of nature to give strength and courage for the year's duties. And so with a last lingering word of gratitude to a Divine Providence and appreciation for the tout ensemble of a splendid outing, I write these lines and say with Tosti

—

Good bye to summer !
Good bye.
Good bye (Longwell 1902: 51)

In another travel memoir, the writer describes a little town in Missouri and spells out the role of vacations in industrialized society:

Her picturesque situation, her broad, shady avenues, pleasant lawns, and pure air, combined with her quiet, peaceful ways, afford the greatest delight and satisfaction to the visitor from the dusty, smoky, stuffy city with its evil sights and smells, its impetuous rush and intolerable noise. What a pity that society is so organized that the great mass of humanity have to wear their lives away on our large cities, existing, but not really living, save for the few precious days each vacation time when they can get away from it all (Moore 1906: 25).

Vacation is framed as a rare time where the individual can restore not only his health, but his whole humanity - the human exists in the city, but lives when he is allowed natural surroundings. The introduction to the guide to Catskill mountains quoted earlier is almost a "manifesto" for the concept of a summer vacation, arguing for vacating by saying that it is human nature, necessity, rationality and tied to the modes of the contemporary society, and that with the industrialization a "conservation of forces" has become vital:

The Summer vacation is no longer a fad, but a necessity; no longer a mere luxury for the rich, but an Inestimable reality for the poor. No man or woman will care to contradict these statements in these opening years of the new century. From every point of view they will be freely conceded. To ignore the fact is madness that can be indulged in only at the peril of the transgressor. If such a vacation a hundred, or even fifty years ago, was less important or imperative to the people of that period, it was because of the different conditions in social and business life that prevailed in those days of moderation and comparative composure. No such tension of human existence, no such hustling competition, nor any of the hot conflicts that now dominate the efforts of men and women in every walk of life were even dreamed of in the days of our ancestors. Nor is the average man or woman of to-dav more liberally endowed with strength or resistance than at that time. Neither in brain nor physique do we find any material change in normal conditions. We must, therefore, meet the exigency of the situation by the conservation of forces. There must be a time for rest and relaxation, complete and unreserved; a period in which to regain and build up lost energy and vital force. This is the sanitary aspect of the vacation on its practical and serious side. Natural laws cannot be set aside with impunity (Hendricks 1903: 5).

Another article states that summer vacation is "not only sweet, but a matter of duty", in fact that "rest is as much of a duty as work" (N.N. 1869b). In another article, the purpose of vacation is described through a narrative of what would happen if the worker did not have a chance to relate to nature:

> But for the universality of this custom, all the corners of the citizen's brain would be upholstered with cobwebs, his hearth get tanned into leather, he would *perforce* rush to the Dictionary when one spoke of *Nature*, and all the area of the land shrink to his notion into one cluttered, noisy, restless centre, and a few shreds of iron railways hurling him at the call of business to a few other smaller but still cluttered, noisy centres. We should be metamorphosed into [...] monsters with enormously overgrown business faculties and shriveled affections - into wretched snobs. After the May-moving, then, the one great question is, Where to go Summering? (N.N. 1859).

Alongside discourses that argue for the concept of vacation as something of existential importance because it enables a human to conserve his strength by gaining health and happiness in nature, there is also an element of guilt, tied up to the concept of "idleness". A vacationer can sit "as idly as a painted ship upon a painted ocean" (N.N. 1864), be a "gentle idler" (N.N. 1871b) or a "Summer idler" (N.N. 1873a), but the idleness is constricted to times of vacation. The book *By the Way: An Idler's Diary* (F.F. 1887) is a selection of quotations, dedicated "to summer Idlers, Especially those who at other seasons are busy keeping in motion those wheels by which our social, domestic, and intellectual lives are regulated". Examples of quotations from this book are:

> And I am tired; so tired of rigid duty;
> So tired of all my tired hands find to do;
> I yearn, I pant, for some of life's free beauty,
> Its lose beads with no straight string running through.
> O gift of God! O perfect day!
> Whereon shall no man work, but play;
> Whereon it is enough for me
> Not to be doing, but to be!
> *Longfellow*

> Hard work is good an' wholesome, past all doubt
> But 'tain't so, if the mind gits tuckered out.
> *Lowell*

> It is said in Tartary "Idleness is one of the torments of lazy people in the other world." To enjoy the pleasure of doing nothing, one must do something.

As fantastic as the concept of vacation may be to the human, work must not be abandoned. Along with the discourses that display unlimited excitement about the concept of vacation travel is the discourse that vacation is only acceptable if it is an intermission from labor. The idea of the "leisured gentleman of knowledge" is cast away:

A little periodical flaccidity, haziness, torpor, dreaminess, between sleeping and waking, is good for the human constitution, and helps to repair the waste of activity. It is in the order of nature. We must be content to relapse, now and then, into that muddy, slimy, reedy, fishy state, which geologists tell us our globe has passed through. As our good mother earth must here and there dip again into Saurian life, so humanity must sometimes fall back into the primitive period - the stoutest muscle into pulp - the swiftest blood into puddle - the liveliest brain into sap. [...] However much of the inscrutable there is in the mental relations of the physical organization and the mind, one thing at least is beyond dispute, and that is - that both alike require intervals of absolute rest under the penalty of destruction, if it be denied. [...] It is one mark of the divine origin of the Ten Commandments that one of the first is devoted to the injunction of alternating *work* and *repose* - an obligation never conceived in its full scope by man in his natural state. The barbarian never of his own accord practices such alteration, With him it is either all repose or all work - the former if he be uncivilized, the latter if *civilized*. [...] Your really idle man has no right to a Summer vacation. If he gets one it is sure to pall upon him. If it don't kill him outright it ought to. There is not a more useless or a more wretched being than a man without business or profession, arts, sciences or exercises. We know by the proverb what personage occupies his brain, and the deil ought to have him altogether. Some regular employment is absolutely necessary for the development of any decent kind of manhood. The young man, however intelligent and clever - who sits down to lead what is called a gentlemanly life of leisure almost invariably becomes a stupid old man - a superfluity and bore, a burden to himself and everybody else. Be it remembered that vacation means intermission from labor, and that only he has a fair claim to it who has faithfully done labor. It is only in the case of such a man that leisure is dignified, commendable or enjoyable. But to him it is all these and more. Let our rusticating friends then rest and be thankful. Let them enjoy to the full the blessing of having time to breathe, to look around, to think - time to enjoy the scenes of nature, the hills, sunsets, breezes, fields and rivers, woods, pastures, vales, springs, rills. We say enjoy to the full. [...] The whole duty of man in the country at this season is *enjoyment*. It is a high sin to take there a grain of our City care, an atom of our business atmosphere. Banish care. *"Expellas" furca*. Borrow the first farmer's pitchfork, if need be, and toss it sky high. Otherwise it will kill your vacation and you with it. Give your vacation fair play and it will be the making of you - or better yet, the *re*-making. You shall in due time come back to us, literally recreated (N.N. 1869b).

Excitement about vacation is only acceptable if one also embraces work. The ideal worker here is one who works hard for most of the year, and who then dutifully restores his being in nature during his short vacation. Work in the city is in this period described as something essentially opposed to human life, but nonetheless necessary. To the extent that the worker can manage the potential guilt of being idle - which doesn't seem to be an issue so long as he has worked hard while not on vacation - the worker's self-relationship as a human is sustained through the vacation by allowing the worker restful time in life-giving nature. Here, the worker *lives* when on vacation; he collects the humanity he needs for the rest of the year's necessary work. As the next part of the genealogy will show, after two world wars, this has changed.

Planning and potential disappointment

In the post-war decades, the big issue facing the individual in relation to vacation travel has become avoiding vacation crowds, and gone is the discourse of arguing for the concept of vacation that was so prominent in the industrial period. Nearly every summer, an article in the New York Times has a headline like "Motoring Holidays; Forecasts Show 24,000,000 Cars on U. S. Highways This Vacation Season" (Pierce 1949), "Motorists urged to switch Routes; New

Jersey Suggests Alternate Roads for Summer Trips to Vacation Areas" (N.N. 1950), or "90 Million to Go on Road For Vacation This Year" (N.N. 1963). As a writer concludes; "the industrial revolution of recent years [has] spread the blessing of holidays to more and more workers and white-collar employees" (Lawn 1955) and "the problem of arranging vacation schedules under the new order of things has been a headache alike to employers and employees. Nearly everyone in a shop or office wants to get away in July or August" (ibid). Automobiles and a democratization of vacation with consequential crowds have broadened what it means to "rest":

> These days the worker in every field enjoys more time off than he used to have. [...] For most Americans vacation satisfies the national urge for change - of scene, of pace or of occupations. Look at the railway stations, the highways and byways, the beaches, the mountain trails, the trailer camps and motels during the summer season and you perceive that our idea of "rest" is not slowed-down but accelerated motion, not contemplation but physical activity (McCormick 1952).

Vacation is no longer strictly tied to being in nature; cities are now also vacation destinations. One article talks of "the recent increase in the number of visitors coming to New York for recreation" (Rice, 1948), However, "big cities, too, tend to get overcrowded in season, with visitors either passing through or coming to see points of interest within the city itself" (Carew, 1949). Going away on vacation is now "essential to the American way" (Friedlander 1949), and another author describes how "that great American institution, two weeks' vacation with pay, will swing into full gear within a few weeks. It is probably the most planned-for fourteen days out of the 365" (N.N. 1955). Planning is now an essential element of the vacation:

> To enjoy such rest and relaxation in the future requires some activity now: there are decisions to be made. What kind of holiday is it to be, and where, and when, and how much will it cost? These are personal questions that must be answered by the vacationist himself. [...] If he leaves the decision to someone else, the chances are good that it will, or it might just as well, rain for the whole two weeks he is away (Friedlander 1949).

Now, if you do not or cannot plan your vacation in detail, then "during the peak tourist season that poses a problem" (Carew 1949), for example because the motor inns are all full when you arrive after a long day of driving. The crowds are a source of potential disappointment:

> We arrived at Yellowstone late in July with what looked to us like about half the population of the United States. We and hundreds of other visitors could not get even unheated cabin space. [...] The traffic out of the park that afternoon was almost as heavy as the incoming line with disappointed tourists heading for the fast-disappearing accommodations [...] The endless number of out-of-state licenses and the midsummer heat discouraged us completely (Carew 1949).

Suddenly, one can be "part of a horde of summer visitors", and "that very fact, we felt, prevented us from enjoying those trips as we had hoped to" (Carew 1949). In contrast to the industrial period, it is no longer given that the vacation will be a wonderful and fulfilling time.

One can try to plan to raise the chances of a successful vacation, but there is no guarantee - disappointment is now a potential pitfall of planning and going away for vacation. A working girl, "newly set adrift from the routine of family summer holidays, completely on her own with two weeks with pay and, presumably, the whole wide world to choose from", describes "that crucial period last spring when I was trying to decide where to spend my first vacation" (Lerner 1952):

> There is something about the very first vacation on your own that makes one want to make it a truly memorable occasion. This is not always easy, and looking back now I am glad to be able to report that it was worth all the effort and time invested in making a choice of a resort (Lerner 1952).

The individual plans the vacation based on endless choices, and bears the responsibility for the planning. Despite the elements that are uncontrollable, a good vacation falls back on the individual:

> Now that the 1952 brochures are all cleaned out, I shall begin accumulating four-color pamphlets with which to plan my 1953 vacation. [...] Picking a vacation spot this way must always be a gamble, unless one has had the chance to do a little preliminary detective work. But even then the success or failure of a holiday can depend on the people who just happen to pick the same week or two to be at that particular resort. Maybe I was just lucky, but I like to think that all the work and time invested in making the final choice helped make this first vacation as memorable as, looking backward, it now seems (Lerner 1952).

Car vacations and family vacations seem connected. An article with the headline "the Father of the Family Vacation" (Baker 1966) tells the story of a man who built a buggy and took his family on vacation in it. As an advertisement for General Motors Cars in 1960 says:

> There's nothing like a new car to give you that "Let's go" feeling. Another day, another exciting trip, another lasting memory - yes, nothing for the money rewards you so much in pure family pleasure as does a new car (National Geographic, Vol 118 no 3. Sept. 1960, p. 6-7).

And indeed, vacation travel "seems to be growing into more of a family activity" (Schwarz 1958):

> The idea of vacation "togetherness," which has an economic motivation as well as an emotional one, has been spreading rapidly. [...] Not too long ago, children were not accepted at oceanfront hotels during the peak month (Schwarz 1958).

Now, many families choose to "pitch their tents in the most glorious scenic settings in the United States and Canada", "discovering the pleasures of camping in the open at vacation time with a minimum of physical trappings. There is no way to have a cheaper or healthier vacation" (Chapin 1959). Now, going into nature is a family adventure, and nature is no longer of existential importance to the human, but rather merely "fun" and "economical":

My wife, our two children and I have taken to vacationing in a modest tent that the family is rapidly outgrowing and the younger members regard the experience as perhaps the high spot of the year. [...] Once we were organized, we found we could spend most of the day at the beach or lolling pleasantly in our own area. The children quickly found friends and had plenty to keep them busy. [...] Newcomers to camping are always a bit surprised at the number of normal, every-day families to be seen vacationing in tents. This in itself is the best possible proof that an economical outdoor vacation is no scatter-brained adventure. In fact, it is a lot of fun (Chapin 1959).

One article takes a sarcastic tome when describing how vacations have turned into a family endeavor:

The single man knows nothing of vacation travel. To him it is merely another trip, one perhaps a little longer than others but representing no significant departure from the ordinary. He throws his suitcase into the back of his automobile or upon a railroad car's luggage rack and settles down to his journey with an easy mind. [...] One has not traveled until one has had the pleasure of being accompanied by a wife and two or three children. The more the merrier. There is nothing in the marriage vows forewarning a man that some day his shoulders will be bent and aching and his arms half-torn from their sockets under the weight of vacation luggage, or that he will be called upon to remain nonchalant when his travel-weary offspring hurl bottles of pabulum to the concrete floors of day coaches. Perhaps, for the future of the race, it is as well that he enters upon marriage innocent of these things (N.N. 1948).

In another article an author is wondering, "why women dislike to travel":

Where are the pioneer women of yesteryear? What happened to the adventurous spirit that sent our foremothers trekking across the plains in covered wagons? Nowadays you have trouble getting a woman to trek across the street in an air conditioned station wagon. Especially if her children are trekking with her. [...] If there were any real hardships involved, I could understand it. But everyone who watches television commercials knows that family can travel in these times with ease and comfort. [...] On the road I continue to accept most of the responsibility. I do the driving and she coordinates the bathroom stops, keeps the baby from grabbing the steering wheel, arbitrates disputes between the older children, keeps the baby from climbing out the window, watches for restaurants and hotels and keeps an eye out for the highway patrol (West 1963).

Here, the sarcasm points to how advertisement depictions of vacation don't always match reality, and that a vacation that is supposed to be fun and relaxing isn't so in reality. Bringing kids or even one's wife on vacation can cause disappointment and make the purpose of vacation unobtainable. A woman in a correspondence column is afraid her husband's mood will ruin her vacation:

Nine years ago I started saving for a trip to Europe. [...] The trouble is my husband. He has never shown any enthusiasm to travel. [...] I get sick when I think of the years I've dreamed of this trip. It would be our first vacation in 28 years. He says if I insist, he'll go, but maybe his attitude would spoil my good time (Landers 1963).

With crowds and family frictions creating potential disappointment on the vacation, the task for the individual becomes to find - and achieve - the purpose of vacation despite these. For some, the primary purpose of vacation becomes *not* doing anything:

I think what I liked best, in the end, was the carefree group atmosphere. It was pleasant to sit around with a crowd of young people, perhaps cracking jokes, perhaps lindying or trying to charleston, perhaps doing nothing at all, which is probably the primary purpose of a vacation (Lerner 1952).

A family father has a similar view, describing his disappointment with the practice of visiting relatives while on vacation:

After all, what makes a vacation is not doing things - not getting up early for breakfast, not competing with the twins or teenagers for first crack at the bathroom, not wiping dishes and helping with the housework, not making conversation when you feel like not talking, not trudging dutifully through a schedule drafted by somebody else. And, perhaps most important of all, not being on parade, constantly vigilant lest a thoughtless act or word should fray, if ever so slightly, a precious relationship. Friction is unavoidable when a brace of idlers, luxuriating in their idleness, is superimposed on a household grinding along at the workaday tempo (Olson 1964).

The purpose of vacation travel is no longer unambiguous, and the ideal becomes to plan one's vacation travel so as to get a good experience. For example, "out-of-season" travel is strongly encouraged by some writers. A good vacation can be obtained by avoiding the crowds:

If the midsummer enthusiasts without such limitations only knew what they were missing by their almost slavish adherence to custom, September and October would soon be recognized as the choice vacation months. Spared the usual free-for-all battles for accommodations, train space or part of the highway, they would be free to enjoy nature at her most glorious best [...] Everything goes on as usual, except for one great difference - the crowds which overrun Cape Ann during the summer are missing. There is a quiet about the place that is most rewarding. Cape Ann residents are friendly, cordial people. In September and October they have time to chat to visitors, and they do (Lawn 1955).

In the fall, and with the pressure of summer's hordes departed, the proprietors of resorts treat guests as honored friends rather than numbers in a ledger [...] the roads are open and the woods are free, and vacation may be spent among the deer and not among vacationers (N.N. 1950b).

Or as a family father writes of a trip overseas to Ireland; "It is a children's paradise with no crowds to spoil the fun. [...] Ireland is filled with countless out-of-the-way, unpretentious vacation spots of absolute quiet and serenity" (Gardner 1962). Or an article about flying on vacation in your own private airplane with the headline "Private Flying: Avoiding Crowds; Shore or Wild Mountains, a Plane Can Carry You to an Offbeat Vacation" (Haitch 1967) in which the reader gets the advice to "stay away from the tourist traps" and fly to places with "not a tourist to be seen" (ibid). A woman describing herself as a "Rebel Against the Planned Vacation" (Shea 1960) believes that "When every moment is filled for a visitor, he or she needs another vacation afterward to rest up" (ibid). She travels to Bermuda for her vacation, attracted by a resort with "no organized activity" and a friends' advice saying "Wait until you see that lovely uncrowded beach. There aren't many left" (ibid). However, travelling out of season also has its pitfalls, and a writer advises that "it is well to be prepared for a few disappointments" (Dempsey 1961), such as out-of-season maintenance work, and less available

service and equipment. But; "the place is exclusively yours. If you take it as you find it, you can have fun. Even if things are not quite what you expected, you will have a lot to talk about when you get home" (ibid).

The vacationing worker at this time has to navigate himself in his vacation while being one of thousands of Americans also going on vacation and while being one out of a family unit going on vacation. As an article points about why everyone wants to go on vacation in July and August; "of course there is no choice for families with school children; they must fit their lives to the pattern of the school year" (Lawn 1955). The many choices offered the traveler are mirrored in advertisements of this period:

> There's so much to do in New Jersey - swim, sail, hike, camp out, golf, stroll the boardwalks. There are so many places to stay - smart hotels, guesthouses, camp grounds. The are so many things to entertain you - amusements, races, summer theatres (*National Geographic*, Vol. 118, no. 2, august, 1960).

> Vacations are for a change - and change is what Wisconsin has most of. Wisconsin has 8,700 lakes, 10,000 miles of trout streams, the picturesque Della and Kettle Moraine. Wisconsin has towering forests, lush green meadows, rugged bluffs and 500 miles of Great Lakes shoreline. For the change you need to make your "time-off" into a real vacation, come to Wisconsin - the land that was made for vacations! (*National Geographic*, Vol. 123, no 5, May 1963).

Surrounded by vacation as a mass phenomenon, the worker is tasked with planning a vacation that is meaningful and good. All options are open, and individual preferences play the leading role in vacation travel rather than an existential human need as in the earlier industrialization period. Going away on vacation is not closely connected to notions of freedom or escape from work-life. Rather, vacation travel is just something it is granted that one does, and it is up to each family to create it however they wish to, navigating crowds and other pitfalls. With all this, vacation travel has become something that is potentially disappointing. In this period, the focus isn't on what the vacation can do to the individual, but rather what the individual can do to the vacation.

The difficult vacation

Vacation descriptions in the decades leading up to the 21st century are characterized by sarcasm or worry. In an article titled *My Summer Vacation*, an author passes on a tale of a man who has decided to "do nothing" while on vacation: "The guilt was overpowering. And then I sensed that I was, indeed, doing something useful simply by doing nothing. I was restoring my sense of guilt to get me through another great year. What would America be without a constant rise in the gross national guilt?" (Baker 1972). To this story, the author concludes; "when the poor fellow finished, we all took up our tools and set off groaning for self-improvement and

left him sitting in the shade of a grape arbor feeling suicidal, whereas the rest of us felt merely miserable" (ibid). Another article notes "there is a wide gap between the pastel myths of the travel brochure and the real thing" (Nordheimer 1970), and cites a single working girl on vacation saying "It was pretty depressing. You save all winter and the best part of the vacation is thinking how it will turn out" (ibid). In another article, a camper says; "you bring all your anxieties with you when you go camping, and everyone else does, too. You worry about getting up on time, and whether your car will start. Then you roar along the highway, trying to make your 300 miles. You see something interesting but you can't stop. So you make 8,000 miles on the trip and everything you see is a blur" (Roberts 1971). Another author notes that a great vacation is simply "unlikely":

> Much of the trouble stems from the widespread belief that vacations should be perfect. We wait all year for those two weeks, planning and dreaming, and we worry about whether they'll live up to our dreams. In fact, it's unlikely (Isaacs 1977).

Another example of a sarcastic distance to vacation travel is an article with the title *Relax? I Can't! I'm on Vacation!* (Bouchier 1997) in which the dictionary's definition of vacation as "a period of rest and freedom" is rejected because "everyone knows that the busiest times of year are just before going away on vacation, just after coming home and the period in between" (Bouchier 1997), and the writer states that "one can only admire the fortitude of citizens who set off with their families on far longer trips, sometimes even beyond the borders of the United States, in search of that elusive period of rest and freedom" (ibid). The pressure begins when the family starts planning the vacation, because they all want to go to different places. Finally, "they agree to go to Hawaii. This way, nobody is happy but nobody loses face" (ibid). The concept of travelling during the vacation is sarcastically questioned:

> It takes about a week for us to start feeling human again, and to begin talking about what a great time we had. Then the credit card bills start to come in. But it was worth it. How can you hope to enjoy a period of rest and freedom if you never go away? (Bouchier 1997).

Another article with the title *Surviving Vacation (It's a Family Battle)* calls the family vacation an “annual contradiction in terms” (Lawson 1991):

> The parents are exhausted and need a break. They would like nothing better than a pampered, romantic week on the beach at Caneel Bay, or a leisurely dining spree in the French countryside. But they are in conflict. They want to spend time with their children, whom they hardly see all year, and for whom the tumult of Disney World is much more appealing than the serenity of Caneel Bay. Indeed, for many two-income households the family vacation represents the ultimate in quality time, the big attempt of the year to create a family experience that everyone will remember and, with some luck, treasure (Lawson 1991).

The family vacation often turns into an emotional balancing act, Lawson writes, "often parents do what the children want, and they feel cheated. But if they do what they want, the children resent it. They can't have it both ways" (Lawson 1991). A clinical psychologist described as a mother of two and a "veteran of family vacations" says, "you think you are going to relax, have fun and come back with renewed vigor and enthusiasm. [...] But you often come home feeling worse than ever" (Lawson 1991). The article's conclusion is that "happiness is finding a vacation that makes both generations if not ecstatic, at least not miserable" (ibid), and says that problems arise because "some parents have a movie-script image of the ideal family vacation and try to live up to it" (ibid). Also with love-relationships, a psychiatrist says that "people have unrealistic expectations about what vacations can accomplish. They think that by going off to some romantic spot, all their problems will disappear. This doesn't happen because they bring their problems and styles of coping along" (Johnson 1983).

In many texts, the risk of a disappointing vacation is explicated through a discourse in which the hardships of vacation travel are labeled with psychiatric-sounding diagnoses such as "travel-induced stress" (Albright 1989) and "post-vacation dysphoria" (Hinds 1988). A large number of psychologists, therapists and sociologists are called in. One article begins:

> A vacation is - or should be - a time of relaxation, a time to put aside the daily routine and avoid petty annoyances. In short, a time to escape from stress. But vacation travel is fraught with situations that bring on stress: getting stuck in traffic on the way to the airport, waiting in line to check in, sitting on the runway wondering when the plane will take off, arriving at a hotel only to be told you have no reservation. Or, saving all year for what you hope will be the trip of a lifetime, then worrying whether or not your expectations will be dashed; going off to confront unfamiliar currencies, languages and ways of life and fearing you will suffer homesickness; encountering crowds at tourist sites; fighting lines at box offices. What can you do to cope with travel-induced stress? A check with several medical authorities offers some answers (Albright 1989).

For example, a psychiatrist recommends avoiding "overpacking" because it is stressful to have a lot of luggage, or to bring "knick-knacks" from the home if it causes anxiety to be away from the familiar, and then says that "if you get through the first couple of days, the rest of the vacation usually goes smoothly" (Albright 1989). Another doctor talks of the "pre-travel jitters", the anxiety produced by contemplating a change in environment, and psychiatrists talk of migraine headaches, insomnia, gas, diarrhea, constipation and anxiety attacks as possible outcomes of pre-vacation stress (ibid). Another article describes and gives advice on the "Pre-Vacation Willies" (Isaacs 1977), starting with the statement that "pre-vacation anxiety can turn even the most experienced traveler into an emotional basket case." Again, experts are called in. A sociology professor says "in daily life, you accept the fact that things will go wrong sometimes, but it's different on vacation. Any deviation from your model of what a vacation

should be - we all have different models - and you think all is lost. There aren't supposed to be any slip-ups. If there are, it's almost a judgment or ourselves" (Isaacs 1977). Here it is stated that vacation anxiety - as well as the tendency not to be willing to admit it - is very widespread. Also, nobody is willing to admit that their vacation was a disaster. A psychiatrist says, "In our society, you're expected to do well at everything, and that includes your month in the Hamptons. The same people who won't tell you they're having trouble with their kids - because that might mean they're not successful parents - won't tell you they had a bad vacation" (Isaacs 1977).

Also the time immediately after the vacation can be a mental pitfall. One article calls the phenomenon the "post-vacation blah's" (Dubivsky 1976), and states:

> Millions upon millions of Americans are coming down with the Labor Day blahs and most of them are not sure how to cope with this annual post-vacation state of depression, irritability, anxiety and the rotten feeling of just feeling rotten (Dubivsky 1976).

Here, a psychiatrist warns that "to plan on your joys in life only coming from vacations is not good. You could become a vacation-addict" (Dubivsky 1976). A book with the title *Horror Holiday: Secrets of Vacation Survival*, (Stern and Stern 1981) calls it "vacation withdrawal syndrome." Again with sarcasm, the authors explain why coming home from a vacation feels like "a scene in an Ingmar Bergman movie":

> If you are having a miserable vacation, you begin to wish that you were home. Sugarplum memories of your very own sofa and dinette set start to dance in your head. You miss your wonderful friends and comforting relatives. Even the boss appears in memory as an O.K. sort. So what if you have squandered a fortune trying to enjoy yourself? You will be home soon, and everything will be right again. But the rosy recollections are as erroneous as the travel brochure you doted over before you left home. The faucet still leaks, the weeds have grown, and the telephone is ringing. Soon you will get your vacation's last, unwelcome surprise - the bills. Now you remember just how much you needed to get away from it all. But you are back, and back you'll stay. Conversely, if you are having a wonderful vacation, how in the world could you not be depressed by the thought of reimmersion in a sea of mundane problems? (Stern and Stern 1981).

Another article describes how "with cars battling trucks, vans passing buses, speeders dodging the police, children fighting boredom as well as one another and motorcycles buzzing in between, Americans streamed onto the nation's highways today, determined to make good time on wheels and have a good time on vacation" (Malcolm 1989), and cites a father saying "these kids, they're going to have a good time on this trip whether they like it or not" (ibid). Despite the hardships, families continue to venture out. "Never mind that last year the children almost strangled one another in the back seat of the car [...] This year is a new year, a new opportunity. This time things are going to be different" (Lawson 1991).

And indeed some tales of vacation trips are positive. The genre here is "successful family adventures", for example in an article about a family who decides to travel without a car, to fulfill their decade-long dream of "renting a houseboat on the St. Lawrence River and exploring some of the islands in Lake George":

> We took comfortable seats in the air-conditioned bus and sat back with a couple of books. "Does the earth really revolve around the sun?" asked Lisa, who had Daddy's full attention (Lamont 1980).

Upon returning the author can conclude that their vacation was a success.

> The entire three-week trip has cost less than $1,400 for the four of us. We had freedom of movement yet traveled compactly; we met people we would not have met if we had been confined to a car, and we never had to worry about traffic jams, crowded hotel lobbies or restless children (Lamont 1980).

The article is a tale of a family adventure with troubles to overcome, great experiences, successes, and education of the children. The same is the case for an article about a farm stay where the children "moved gear, climbed into lofts, hauled water, dished out grain, spread straw and shoveled the, uh, remains with an energetic tidiness they had never shown towards their rooms in a distant city" (Malcolm 1980), and an article with the title *the ups and downs of a family bicycling vacation* (Knapschaefer 1966). The successful family adventure is about being "out of the ordinary", it is about attaining authenticity, a good vacation on a budget, avoiding the crowds and about the kids being entertained the whole time. These ideals are mirrored in travel advertisements of the time, for example United Airlines with the headline "a condominium vacation brings you closer to the sea, closer to the mountains, closer to what life in Hawaii should be", stating that "there are many Hawaiis. For families, the finest one may begin in an economical condominium. A private place from which you go out and discover a paradise you can call your own. Have your own private luau. Throw off your inhibitions and go native" (National Geographic, Vol. 154 no 1. July 1978 p. 157). In another article about a family vacation to Florida, the author describes seeing spoonbills fly in to feed:

> For my wife and me and our two daughters, it was a rare and wonderful moment of communion with one of nature's rituals. Dwellers for most of the year in Manhattan, we had come to Florida's Gulf Coast to break the urban pattern of our lives (Sterne 1980).

Again, the family is seeking authenticity, and family quality-time in "remoteness from urban civilization" (ibid). The entire article describes a "we", the family as a whole is having a great vacation:

> What we also took away from Captiva was refreshment, physical and spiritual. Perhaps that is just a fancy way of saying rest and play. But we did find ourselves slowing down, relaxing, letting the days and nights unwind randomly. We made no plans. We drifted in to breakfast after our early morning shell hunts. We whiled away many hours at the pool. We sunned ourselves on the beach. We took long

walks. We lunched out of our own cupboards and refrigerator. We examined the many boats in the marina and played the game of if-you-could-choose (Sterne 1980).

Even when the difficulties of the vacation are overcome, a disillusion with the concept of vacation still lurks:

Three weeks of warmth and ocean, of picnics and sailing until dusk, of sleeping until you've slept enough, of long talks after breakfast. Three weeks of living simply, closer to what's fundamental. And what struck me about our vacation was how good life looked, how sane. [...] Certainly this was an artificial world, but how happy and beautiful everybody seemed to be. [...] I remember that freedom and ease, and the joy of all being together, and then I think of the mess of our intricate and pointless scheduled times. It's then that I look at the bolted door and wonder: Which is the The Reality and which is The Dream? (Swanson 1977).

Between the tales of vacation difficulties where experts are consulted on how to cope with these, and the tales of successful family vacations, some take a middle view. Yes, vacation is difficult, but it is still worthwhile, one just has to look at it in the right light. An author writes:

The end of a vacation is a time to realize that you have not done the things you had planned to do. Packing the bags, loading the car, cleaning the rented house - these familiar chores do not consume enough time or energy to blot out the sense of missed moments, lapsed opportunities, of the curtain coming down long before the play should have ended (Wicker 1972).

He then goes on to tell what he didn't do on his vacation this year, namely tramp across moores and take peaceful morning jogs. But then he reminds the reader that "to sense the moment missed, moreover, and the opportunity lost, is equally to recall scattered delights, those points out of receding time that linger and glow like sunset over Tuckernuck" (ibid). He then in a poetic way describes vacation as an island that is there "when it is not there":

The missed moment has its inevitable match in realized times and events; both are intertwined, like the ropes of a hammock, in the memory that defines the past. An island in sea and time is itself a moment, sometimes to be missed, sometimes to be realized, never to be regretted. It is that way too, with the end of a vacation. Whatever the moments missed or realized, on whatever scale the pleasures and regrets, a vacation is but an island, and to leave it is only to return to mainland. Looking back at a vacation, you realize that it is not too bad a thing to have wasted a day, it is not so great a thing to have achieved a goal. But the meaning of an island, in sea or time, is that it is there even when it is not there (Wicker 1972).

All in all, vacation is now fraught with worry, sarcasm and disillusion. Experts advise the individual to admit if you had a bad vacation, admit you have vacation anxiety, admit to yourself that your vacation will not be perfect, cope with your post-vacation blah's, don't plan your joy in life only coming from vacations, and so on - then you can have a "good" vacation. For the individual, the task becomes to somehow keep the right mind-set in order to avoid mental pitfalls associated with vacation. It seems that a lot of times, the right mind-set is going vacation travelling equipped with a sarcastic distance that help keep expectations lower. Or

with an overall view that vacation is meaningless and we might as well get the best out of it - which sometimes isn't so bad after all.

Letting go of work for a better You

In the 21st century, it is no longer given that vacation is for everyone. Citing statistics of how few Americans take their vacation days and discussing this as negative is now a popular angle for articles and blog posts:

> What's the matter with us? According to the Harris/Expedia survey, 35 percent said they simply had too much to do, while 14 percent were afraid they'd "miss something important" and 10 percent said that using all of their vacation time would make them look bad to their bosses. Twenty-four percent said they loved their jobs so much they didn't want to leave their cubicles, which may be the saddest statistic of all (Flinn 2004).

> According to a research survey firm named Ispos, only 57% of Americans take all their vacation days. Meanwhile, the average US worker only gets 13 days off [...]. So what the hell is wrong with Americans? I have 20 regular vacation days a year and 20 carryover days, yet can't seem to take more than 18 days off a year on average for the past five years (Dogen 2011).

Another article calls it "shrinking vacation syndrome":

> This summer, a number of surveys show that American workers, who already take fewer vacations than people in nearly all industrial nations, have pruned back their leisure days even more. The Conference Board, a private research group, found that at the start of the summer, 60 percent of consumers had no plans to take a vacation over the next six months — the highest percentage recorded by the group in 28 years. [...] "The idea of somebody going away for two weeks is really becoming a thing of the past," said Mike Pina, a spokesman for AAA, which has nearly 50 million members in North America. "It's kind of sad, really, that people can't seem to leave their jobs anymore." (Egan 2006).

Many articles describe people fearing loosing their job if they take a vacation, something respondents connect to the decline of bureaucratic organizations and the present insecurity in work-life:

> There's a large increase in the number of people who worry that they will lose their job," said Ellen Galinsky, the president of the Families and Work Institute [...] Ms. Kapit, who worked in advertising for 20 years before becoming a sales agent for Bellmarc Realty, said that when large companies were more loyal to their employees, the situation was different. "Since any company doesn't care who they lay off and how long they've been there, everyone's walking on eggshells," she said (Rosenbloom 2006).

> It's a workers paradox that the years we most need a real vacation are the years we feel least free to take them. Jobs have been cut all around, resulting in workloads too heavy to unload for even a week. Add to that the unrelaxing possibility that your own job could evaporate while you are gone. "Let them see that you're dispensable and you just might be," a friend confided of her fear of leaving for two weeks while her company was restructured (Belkin 2003).

Other articles relate not wanting to take a vacation with social pressures at work. For example a worker in a start-up company states that "in reality hardly anyone takes time off, and the few

who do are looked down upon" (Reader comment, Alboher 2008). Work encroachment on vacation time also happens for those who do take a vacation. An article begins:

Remember when people referred to a vacation as a getaway? You don't hear that synonym so much today, now that cell phones, pagers and faxes can interrupt our lives most anywhere, anytime (Van Gelder 2001).

Adding up these factors *and* the anxiety and stress related to travel itself, vacation travel might be abandoned:

Assuming that they get a paid vacation - far from a given in the United States - employees may be reluctant to take time off because of towering workloads and fears that their jobs are vulnerable. If they do arrange for time off, there is the stress of getting work done in advance or delegating duties to co-workers. Once a vacation starts, it can be exciting, refreshing and relaxing. But not always: It can also be profoundly destabilizing, with the lack of a predictable routine causing anxiety. And there is the heightened possibility of losing things, whether luggage, hotel reservations, cabin pressure, directions or respect for a travel companion. Then, after time off, employees face a flood of pent-up e-mails and demands - unless they were obsessively responding to them during the vacation, thereby wiping out the restorative value it may have had (Korkki 2011).

High expectations making vacation travel a difficult endeavor persists in the 21st century:

And if they finally do make their escape? “You picture this great fantasy trip and it’s nothing like you ever imagined in your head [...] Nothing will ever be good because you have an expectation level that’s so high, and that’s the problem.” Ms. Sullivan said today’s employees put a lot of pressure on themselves to have trip-of-a-lifetime vacations. “They have to pack in all these activities,” she said, “and everybody has to be happy and smiling and it has to be perfect weather.” (Rosenbloom 2006).

And while some articles thus describe packing in activities as problematic, other articles cite experts for recommending activities:

“Doing activities that completely absorb us can be good while on vacation,” said Elizabeth W. Dunn, an associate professor of psychology at the University of British Columbia who studies consumption and happiness. She said that research by Christopher Hsee, a professor at the University of Chicago Booth School of Business, found that people who use their time productively are happier than people who are idle [...] Consider taking a cooking class while in Italy instead of simply eating out, or sign up for an in-depth tour of an archaeological site while in Mexico instead of lying by the pool (Higgins 2011).

A psychologist agrees. One has to get out and do something while on vacation:

Make your vacation a true adventure. As shown by the research, an active vacation involving new challenges will be most beneficial. Sure, you can veg out on the beach for hours at a time if that's going to relax you the most. But be sure that you stray outside of the resort, hotel, cruise ship, or wherever you are in that comfort zone of yours and get off the beaten track a bit. It will build some new synapses and give you some of those memorable, bonding, experiences with your fellow vacationers (Whitbourne 2010).

Vacations are now talked about as having the purpose of attaining something. For example volunteering while on vacation ("voluntourism") is now often discussed; "providing a chance

for travelers to give time to causes that benefit destinations on their itineraries" (Glusac 2011).

Vacation is also often about learning something new, acquiring skills not related to one's job.

I've found that when you combine R&R [rest and recreation] with a chance to buff your learning muscles, you're guaranteed to come back with more energy than when you left (N.N. 2000).

Another article describes a vacation at the "biggest loser fat camp", where the purpose of the vacation is to lose weight, and hopefully start some habits one can continue when returning back to normal work-life:

For Teresa and me, a fitness getaway was hardly our idea of a vacation, particularly as our friendship had begun 15 years earlier when we were both living in France, enjoying expensive wines over multicourse dinners. But after sharing concern for our expanding waistlines, I knew exactly what we should do. Although fitness resorts have been around for decades, I had never, until now, been particularly tempted to go to one. But given my recent weight gain, and the fact that I was turning 50, I wanted to jump-start a program that would make 2012 the year I finally got in shape (Conlin 2011).

Regaining physical strength on vacation is now from damage done by non-physical labor rather than from hard physical labor as in the industrialization period:

Pick any interesting city in the world where having a car would be a waste of time and money, and walk, and use public transportation to see the sights, eat local food, walk more, and come back in better shape not only physically but mentally (Reader comment, Parker-Pope 2011).

Rest and relaxation can be completely out of the picture:

I have managed to lose weight each and every time I've been on vacation. How? By going out early in the mornings walking or running, doing stair repeats at the Prado, step-ups on park benches, bringing a set of yoga cards and a travel yoga mat, walking up to the next town or hill 5K away in Italy...etc. No matter where I go, I find something to do that keeps me active. It's a great way to see cities and countryside when you're vacationing or even on a business trip. Keep yourself moving. Got your laptop or iPod? Download some fitness videos to do in the hotel room. Ask at the hotel desk where people go if they want to exercise outside. I recently did and the reception people gave me a running map! Perfect. There's no excuse. Get out there and do it! (Reader comment, Parker-Pope 2011).

Many resorts now emphasize health, exercise, low-calorie diets, and living without modern amenities:

There is an enormous trend of people who have the need to get out and do something different. They're looking for any kind of escape, and if that means, 'beat me up a little bit,' so be it [...] The point is to work your system to the point where you feel purified (Robinovitz 2004).

For these people, this type of vacation helps them to "find themselves":

She has never done anything like this before but feels that starving the body is the best way to feed the soul. "I get funny looks when I tell people I'm off to starve in the desert," she said. "First of all, why starve yourself? And why pay for it? But spiritually, I think this will give me the clarity and path to inner awareness that I'm looking for - and won't find in Cabo San Lucas." (Robinovitz 2004).

After a week in Grand Staircase-Escalante in Utah, where no one could care less about what you wear or what kind of shoes you have, I came home with a keener sense of self and a sharper mind. It was

empowering to have a new set of skills, even if I can't make use of them on the Upper East Side of Manhattan (Robinovitz 2004).

Often mentioned in discussions of these types of resorts is Canyon ranch, which in their advertisements label themselves "all-inclusive, *life-enhancement* health resorts" (my italics), and offer "the all-inclusive vacation of a lifetime" (NYT Style Magazine, Mens fashion issue, Spring 2012, p. 60). As a woman says of her minimalist stay at a meditation resort, "there's no 'I'll have that extra helping of dessert because I'm on vacation' feeling. It's all about being healthy. You come home feeling like a good person, not a bad person" (Robinovtiz 2004). This view - that vacation can not only help you to "find yourself", but that vacation can also bring the best out in you, or simply make you a better person, is often repeated:

Before the end of vacation I became more comfortable in my bikini than I did in clothes. I learned to re-love every curve, muscle, and stretch mark. I became lost in the moment and let go of all the concerns surrounding me. I fell madly in love with my boyfriend all over again, didn't care if I was out all night partying or in bed by 10:30, and re-discovered the real Meghann. It was amazing.[...] Call it a vacation high or whatever, but I don't want this feeling of lust and pure happiness to ever end. This feeling of re-discovery is why vacations are so important. Sometimes we need an escape from reality to remember who we really are and who we want to be (Anderson 2011).

Similarly, the Westin Resorts run an add campaign with the catch phrase "for a better you" (NYT Style Magazine, Travel, Spring 2012, p. 7). For families on vacation, the key word is "reconnecting":

Family travel continues to grow as more and more parents, particularly those working full time, view vacations as a way to 'reunite' the family, more than an occasion for rest and relaxation (Gerszberg 2007).

Our family has an annual two-week summer vacation to Twain Harte, joined by cousins and friends. This is in addition to our annual ski vacation in Tahoe in the winter. Our exotic (out of the country) vacation is during spring break. I take vacations religiously. It's a chance to breathe, read a good book, get my puzzle fix out and get rejuvenated, energized and *reconnected*. (N.N. 2000, my italics).

Karel and I took a much-needed vacation in Maine the summer after our first year of parenting. By that point, we were in desperate need of a relationship defibrillator to zap our hearts back into rhythm, and that week was just what the cardiologist ordered. Getting both of us away from work allowed me to get my wife back. Suddenly, Karel wasn't a mom and a stressed-out employee anymore; she was just a mom and a wife. My beautiful, smiling wife. On that trip, Karel and I relaxed, we caught up on sleep, we frolicked with our son, Noah, we laughed, and we ate lobster rolls - lots and lots of lobster rolls. It was one of the greatest weeks of my life (Traister).

As with the examples of health and exercise resorts - where there is no mention of children in any of the descriptions - "reconnecting" is also something parents need to do with themselves rather than with their families. Here is a mother who is taking a vacation from her job *and* her children:

I was gone. Two thousand miles away. To a couple of luxury resorts in warm, sunny Arizona. All by myself. While I left my husband and kids back home in cold, gray Philadelphia. On their own.[..] Nope, this here law professor took a vacation. For no good reason at all except that I was on spring break, and they weren't, and I really, really needed to get away from it all, soak up some sun, and, as it turns out, eat quite an indulgent number of red velvet cupcakes.[...] my peace of mind returned. So did a little color and glow in my pasty white skin. So did my energy for dachshund walking and breakfast making. Yep, some might say I'm a lousy mom for taking off, enjoying myself in the sunshine (and spa, and cupcake bakery) for five days. But from my perspective? This might be the best mom move I've made in a long time – and the kids agree (Belkin 2011).

The idea of going away to gain sanity and be able to take one's life on again (as a better version of one self) upon return is reminiscent of the industrial purpose of vacation.

In relation to the articles asking questions such as "what the hell is wrong with Americans" (Dogen 2011), people who don't take vacations are judged harshly. In this view "it is the absolute height of arrogance to believe that the world can't get along without me" (reader comment, Belkin 2007), and you are also neglecting your family if you work all the time. Here, again reminiscent of the arguments for vacation in the industrial period, taking a vacation is connected to being "enlightened":

Recently, one of my key employee's had scheduled a vacation after the end date for a project. The project ended up running behind schedule, and when his vacation came up--we desperately needed him to be there. But you know what?--we all stepped up and we were able to finish the work without him. He did call to "check-in" but it really wasn't necessary. No one is irreplaceable. I don't think we'll really learn that lesson until vacation time becomes as important to us, as it is to other (more enlightened) countries (reader comment, Belkin 2007).

These reader comments claim that one is an "idiot" to not go away on vacation:

I used to be one of these people who worked on vacation; bringing my laptop and cell phone. I was an idiot (reader comment, Belkin 2007).

I worked in an advertising agency for 15 years and I always took my full vacation days. ALWAYS. And I never EVER encouraged anybody to pester me on my vacation time unless it was an absolute emergency. And guess what? Nobody held it against me. Just as I don't think that anybody thinks more highly of or gives more raises to those idiots who don't know how to separate their hard earned vacation time from the daily grind (reader comment, Belkin 2007).

Other judgments relate to the notion that you have not lived your life if you don't go on vacation. Again, the idea that one lives while away on vacation more so than in ones work-life is similar to discourses from the industrial period:

I've been in a law firm for 40 years. For awhile, it made me feel good to be in some remote place, and watch the fedex truck pull up with stuff for me. But then it dawned on me that no one was going to say at my funeral, "He was a great guy. He worked on his vacations." So I stopped. I got in touch with the people who went with me on vacations. I learned that the office got along just fine without me. They didn't need me as much as I thought, or had hoped. But my family, they needed me a lot more than I realized. And I really love my vacations now (reader comment Belkin 2007).

In the end, as my brother once said, all you'll have are your memories when you're taking your last breath. Don't let it be that "important" e-mail you forgot to respond to (reader comment, Belkin 2007).

You have not lived life until you go on vacation and when you hear a phone ring (if you're even near a phone), you know that it's not for you! (reader comment, Belkin 2007).

Life is too short to not appreciate every moment of it. I realize that's why I work so hard, to take these vacations (Rosenbloom 2006).

This view is sometimes mirrored in advertisements, for example in the text "we all want to lead the good life ... if only for a while. That's where vacations came from" (Advertisement for the destination Florida, NYT Style Magazine, Travel, Spring 2012, p. 68) or the text "here's to the uplifting of spirits, the re-ordering of priorities, and the unraveling of inhibitions. Live your life. Escape winter at The Cove" (The Cove Atlantis Resort, NYT Travel section, February 19, 2012, p. 9). Another judgment relates to the health-risks of not taking a vacation. Here, the life issue with vacations is taken literally:

People, this has got to stop. We Americans earn only a tiny fraction of the vacation time enjoyed by workers in every other industrialized nation. Many of us don't even use what little we get. And now this insidious technology is making it easier and easier for us to bring our work along on the piddling little vacations we do manage to take. [...] I see this all the time. Last winter I rode a ski lift at Sugar Bowl with a technology salesman who got in three client calls during one ride up the mountain. "It's killer," he told me, covering the mouthpiece of his cell phone while he was on hold. "Nobody knows I'm not in the office." [...] Not to put too fine a point on it, but the net result of all this is that we're committing karoshi -- we're working ourselves to death. Health care studies consistently show that by failing to take time off we're shortening our lives (Flinn 2004).

A psychologist here lists the consequences of chronic stress:

Chronic stress takes its toll in part on our body's ability to resist infection, maintain vital functions, and even ability to avoid injury. When you're stressed out and tired, you are more likely to become ill, your arteries take a beating, and you're more likely to have an accident. Your sleep will suffer, you won't digest your food as well, and even the genetic material in the cells of your body may start to become altered in a bad way. Mentally, not only do you become more irritable, depressed, and anxious, but your memory will become worse and you'll make poorer decisions. You'll also be less fun to be with, causing you to become more isolated, lonely, and depressed (Whitbourne 2010).

The psychologist then goes on to state that "vacations have the potential to break into the stress cycle. We emerge from a successful vacation feeling ready to take on the world again. We gain perspective on our problems, get to relax with our families and friends, and get a break from our usual routines" (Whitbourne 2010). Some workers then face the dilemma that it's wrong if they go on vacation (they are looked down upon or risk losing their jobs) and wrong if they don't go (they neglect their families, risk their health, become less fun to spend time with, and are arrogant idiots). Finally, the discourse usually displays the view that solving these kinds of dilemmas successfully is the responsibility of the worker:

Ms. Friedman acknowledges that, like many work-obsessed people, she is her own worst vacation enemy. As soon as her plane landed in Mexico, she checked her BlackBerry and cellphone for work messages. Upon arriving at her hotel, the first thing she did was locate the business center. Then she spent much of the first two days of her vacation sulking in her room, wishing it were warmer and sunnier [...] “Mostly people work because they want to,” Ms. Galinsky said. “It’s mostly something that we’re doing to ourselves.” (Rosenbloom 2006).

After a week-long hike on the Appalachian Trail (which meant being totally unplugged: no cell, blackberry, email, nada), I realized that nothing really falls apart if I don't get to it after a week. To be honest, it was an epiphany and my life is less stressful now due to realization that my stress was self-created (reader comment, Belkin 2007).

To summarize, in the 21st century, the overall disillusion with the concept of vacation has lessened, rather what is framed as problematic is that not all workers take their vacation, and that some who do end up working while away. In the industrialization period, the problem was that not everyone *got* a vacation - today, the problem is that not everyone *takes* it. The worker's self-relationship as constituted through vacation travel in the 21st century is thus one where he is tasked with getting away (it's the best thing he can do to himself), and then attaining something while on vacation (get out of your comfort zone, buff your learning muscles, you are happier if you are active, and so on) because this will make it a worthwhile and meaningful break. Ideally, he realizes himself through the vacation, by finding himself, reconnecting with himself, and becomes a better version of himself. Mirroring the contemporary diagnosis of work-life, the vacation today is a self-enhancement project that the individual himself is responsible for.

Summary - vacation and the self

The purpose of the genealogy is to map continuities and discontinuities in savoir that express discourses and practices such that vacation travel becomes something an involved subject can talk about and act upon. Here, it is challenging to honor the nuances while also drawing conclusions. Again, I attempt to focus on the savoir that highlights the worker's self-relationship as expressed through discourses of vacation travel. To summarize the findings and how they exemplify the field of possibility for the contemporary knowledge worker's self-relationship, I want to first point to a set of non-discursive elements that help constitute the field of possibility for vacation travel. In his essay *The Dangerous Individual*, when discussing the emergence of legal responsibility, Foucault himself writes that "in the nineteenth century, the development of wage-earning, of industrial techniques, of mechanization, of transportation, of urban structures brought with it two important things [...]" (Foucault 1988b: 146). These elements also mark part of the field of possibility for discourses and practices of vacation travel. Under industrialization, capitalism brought with it the position of the wage earner who

can be granted a vacation, and the urbanization and industrialization with factory work in a polluted city frames the view that the worker has to escape for his vacation, and finally transportation is what makes getting away possible - and what makes other modes of "getting away" possible norms in later periods, for example with the automobile. Throughout the genealogy, the idea that vacation travel is compensation for and rest from work persists, as does the idea that vacation involves getting away, somehow experiencing something "out of the ordinary", the ordinary being work-life as a wage earner. As Foucault writes, the emergence of a phenomenon "always occurs in the interstice" (Foucault 1977: 150); in a "non-place" in the "endlessly repeated play of dominations" (ibid.). For example, "class domination generates the idea of liberty" (ibid), and similarly, one could say that capitalism and the role of the wage earner generates the idea of vacation travel.

In the industrial period of the genealogy, discourse and practice of vacation travel is closely linked to the concept of *nature* as life giving. Vacation travel is an annual escape during the summer, where lucky workers travel to the mountains or the seashore to be in the nature to restore their health - their life in fact - and have a pleasurable and fun time. Both nature and vacation travel is opposed to work and life in the city. A lot of the discourse is occupied with *arguments* for the concept of vacation: Rest from work is human nature, a duty for the enlightened man; vacation travel is framed as something of existential importance for the life and soul of the jaded worker, and it is established that the purpose of the vacation is to gain strength and life enough for another year of work. A part of arguing for the concept of vacation is a discussion of idleness, to which the conclusion is that it is okay (in fact a duty!) to be idle on vacation if one has worked for the rest of the year, while those who are idle all the time should feel very guilty. During this period, vacations are described as a priori wonderful times. For the worker, the vacation is a means to sustain a saner, more *alive* self by being in nature.

In the post-war decades from 1945 to the late 1960s, the worker is immersed in vacation travel crowds as one in millions of Americans heading for a vacation that is now "essential to the American way" and something the family does together. Choices are numerous, and it is up to the worker to plan his vacation to best avoid disappointment from tourist crowds or family tension. The sole purpose of the vacation is no longer given, but up to the planning worker to define and attain. The relationship between vacation travel and the self is one marked by navigating vacation travel as a mass- and family-phenomenon.

In the decades leading up to the 21st century, texts convey an overall disillusion with the concept of vacation travel, that is often portrayed as an impossible endeavor - it is supposed

to be an escape from stress but actually worsens the stress; it is impossible for children and parents to have a great time on the same vacation; you are expected to succeed in your vacation even though you can't control the weather, and so on. Vacation travel has now become so difficult to the individual that it is spoken about in psychiatric terms, and psychologists, psychiatrists, sociologists and therapists hold important subject positions in relation to it. The relationship between vacation travel and the self is one marked by a balance between sarcasm and worry, and a mental effort for the right frame of mind to take on vacation.

Finally, in the 21st century, encroachment of work on vacation is a large discussion topic, both in relation to workers who are afraid of losing their job if they go on vacation, and in relation to those who work while away on vacation. For those who do go on vacation, the focus is on using the vacation to achieve something not achievable in work-life, the ideal is to be *active* while on vacation, be that in learning how to cook, losing weight, getting in shape, finding oneself, challenging oneself, living primitively, finding balance in life, volunteering to help less fortunate people or reconnecting with either oneself or ones family. There is a perception that one can find a better, more authentic version of oneself while on vacation - vacation is now pursued for personal enhancement. Discourses and practices of vacation in the 21st century thus mirror the diagnosis of contemporary work-life as a series of projects, and vacation travel in relation to the self is part of a project for self-realization.

Based on the genealogy, what I choose to emphasize as a central finding in relation to the field of possibility for the contemporary knowledge worker's self-relationship as constituted through his vacation travel, is that today's stays at meditation- or self-enhancement resorts mirror descriptions of vacation trips to the seashore or the mountains during the industrial period, because in both periods, the good vacation means getting away and renewing, recreating, and re-connecting oneself by immersing oneself in something more "real" than work-life. Both periods are also characterized by arguing for the concept of vacation along with a discourse that it is very negative that not everyone can get away. However, in the industrial period, the fault for this is placed on the employer who fails to *grant* everyone a vacation, whereas today it is placed on the worker himself who fails to *take* his vacation. And while the self-actualizing potential of the vacation is depicted as inherent in nature and thus coming from *outside* the worker himself under the industrial period, this is not the case today, where the responsibility of self-realization through vacation travel is the individual worker's, and he obtains this by practicing on himself - the self-actualization has to come from the *inside*. In the periods between the industrial and the 21st century, it is taken for granted that everyone gets a vacation, and the worker's self-relationship as constituted by his vacation is not one

focused on bringing self-actualization or a more alive self with it. Rather, the task for the self in these periods is to navigate the difficulties of going on vacation, whether this is crowds, family conflict, pre-vacation anxiety, exaggerated expectations or post-vacation blah's. In these periods, the responsibility of the worker seems to intensify - in the post-war decades, he is responsible for planning his vacation; in the decades leading up to the 21st century, he is responsible for managing a potentially negative mind-set in relation to vacation travel. All in all, this points to very considerable responsibility being placed on the worker today in relation to his self and his vacation travel.

Interestingly, it is possible to pair the above genealogy of vacation with Boltanski and Chiapello's (2005) history of capitalism as outlined in the introduction of the thesis. Vacation as compensation arose with employment as a capitalist wage earner. It is the factory workers facing the disciplined work and slave-like conditions criticized during the first spirit of capitalism, who are escaping to the mountains and seashores to "renew their lives". In the post-war years, the second spirit of capitalism is mirrored in how vacation has become a democratized mass phenomenon, every worker is granted a vacation and every worker can afford a car. Also the focus on planning at the forefront of the second spirit of capitalism is mirrored in the discourses and practices of vacation in the post-war years. The critique leading up to the third spirit of capitalism is mirrored in the disillusion with the concept of vacation in the decades leading up to the 21st century. An attitude of giving up completely on the concept of vacation is present is Richard Neville's *Play Power: Exploring the International Underground* (1970). What is meant by underground here is the protesters and hippies of the riots of the late 1960s. Here, work as it is carried out is viewed as slavery:

> We are born into a world where work is considered ennobling, unlike the lucky ancient Greeks, for whom a life of leisure was essential for a man of wisdom. It was during his full-time leisure that man could cultivate his mind and seek the truth. Work was considered degrading. It was something done by slaves. As the centuries rolled by, we *all* became slaves, and it was the unemployed who became 'degraded' (Neville 1970: 262).

What unites the underground is "their attitude to work. They won't" (Neville, 1970: 256):

> The Underground has abolished work. There are no Positions Vacant columns in the Underground press. Hippie hands do not do housework. No one takes vacations - do children holiday from play? Instead, Underground people: (i) Transform Work (i.e. Work = Play). (ii) Sow their own wild oats. (iii) Fuck the system. (Neville 1970: 262).

Work is to be done only for the purpose of fun or freedom, not in search of profit or power. "Gone are contracts, time checks, fixed holidays, strikes, division of labor and doing things in triplicate" (Neville 1970: 263). Non-workers in this sense include artists, craftsmen and media

men. These are people who enjoy their work, people whose work for them is play. From the perspective of today it seems clear that the emancipation formulated in a text like Neville's is what has turned into the massive work-encroachment of the 21st century where life as "fun" work is no longer seen as freedom but as demands causing stress and depression. Finally, the third spirit of capitalism shows through in how vacation in the 21st century is blurred with work and has become a project of self-enhancement and self-realization.

The genealogy thus shows how vacation travel as a phenomenon has continuously been linked to modes of capitalism and to the role of the wage earner and thus raises interesting discussions relating to critiques of capitalism, which I will return to. Before this, an analysis of a self-realizing vacation-trip will be the jumping off point for further qualifying the investigation of to what extent vacation travel today can moderate the challenges of self-realization the worker is faced with in his work-life.

Vacation fantasy

Eat Pray Love

In the process of examining to what extent vacation travel today moderates the challenges of self-realization for the knowledge worker, I now turn to the Žižekian 'ideological fantasy'. As an example of the vacation fantasy, I have chosen to conduct an analysis of Elizabeth Gilbert's novel *Eat Pray Love* (2006), a book characterized as part travel memoir, part self-help book (Gilmore 2010). The book is a description of how the author survived her divorce and depression by travelling for a year; to Italy "in the pursuit of pleasure", India "in the pursuit of devotion" and Bali "in the pursuit of balance", and reads as a manifesto that you can get over sorrow, depression and life-crises; find yourself and realize yourself; become happy, balanced, healthy and beautiful, *and* find true love - if you go vacation travelling. Liz obtains this 'impossible wholeness' on her travel, and describes the entire process in detail to her reader, conveying a "true story" that the 'vacation fantasy' is obtainable. The book becomes even more interesting because it, in the author's own words, "went out in the world for some reason and became this big, mega, sensation, international bestseller thing" (Gilbert 2009). The book has sold over 10 million copies, been translated into 30 languages, and premiered in 2010 as a major motion picture with Julia Roberts in the leading role. A newspaper article states, "the book has touched a chord of longing in millions of women, even if they aren't reeling from a divorce and a subsequent disastrous love affair, like Gilbert" (Marshall 2010). Even though the travel described in the novel is not vacation travel as conceptualized in the genealogy because

Liz travels a whole year rather than just a week or two, I have picked this novel because these millions of women - the readers - are likely examples of the modern knowledge worker, who is the object of this thesis. As Gilbert asks at one point in the book, "is this just the fallout of a post-feminist American career girl trying to find balance in an increasingly stressful and alienating urban world?" (Gilbert 2006: 49). In other words, I chose to analyze this book on the premise that it depicts and speaks to discourses and practices recognizable in the lives (and minds) of the modern knowledge worker in relation her (or his) vacation travel. The fact that Liz suffers from clinical depression and is on antidepressants when she decides to leave furthermore exemplifies what theorists argue can be damage caused by demands for self-realization. In relation to the research question, *Eat Pray Love* communicates that the self-realization one can achieve while travelling can cure the depression caused by contemporary work-life and thus suggests that vacation travel can indeed moderate the challenges of self-realization facing the worker in his work-life. The situation that provokes Liz to go travelling is no doubt familiar to many modern people chasing self-realization:

> Wasn't I proud of all we'd accumulated - the prestigious home in the Hudson Valley, the apartment in Manhattan, the eight phone lines, the friends, and the picnics and the parties, the weekends spent roaming the aisles of some box-shaped superstore of our choice, buying ever more appliances on credit? I had actively participated in every moment of the creation of this life - so why did I feel like none of it resembled me? (Gilbert 2006: 11).

This is an example of what I read as the Žižekian lack in the subject - the author is simply missing a sense of herself, there is a lack she wants to fill. Similar examples of the subject lack are to be found in the film version of Liz' story, for example when Gilbert/Roberts is yelling to her friend why she feels she needs to go away:

> You know what I felt when I woke up this morning? Nothing! No passion, no spark, no faith, no heat. Absolutely nothing. I've gotten past the point where I can be calling this a "bad moment". And it terrifies me. Jesus, this is like worse than death to me, the idea that this is the person I am going to be from now on! I am not checking out. I need to change. Do you feel my love for you, my support for you? No! There's like nothing! No pulse! I am going to Italy. I used to have this appetite for food, for my life, and it is just gone. I want to go someplace where I can marvel at something. Language, gelato, spaghetti, something! (Murphy 2010).

What she currently has to identify with is "worse than death" to her. In relation to the research question of this thesis, it seems that Liz' self-realization project in her everyday work-life has failed in that she can't recognize herself in it. A Lacanian reading would perhaps argue that she is approaching the contingency of herself and social relations as meaninglessness in her life. She needs to "find herself", find an identity she can live with (even if it means identifying with spaghetti), and she plans to do this by travelling away. After her heartfelt speech, the friend who has been listening offers a question that is interesting for any ideological fantasy: "What if

it doesn't work?" The Žižekian answer would be that of course it won't work, and that is the whole point. The subject will be able to constitute itself as a subject of an unfulfilled desire instead of as a subject of lack. Liz however leaves her friend's question unanswered in the movie, and as we all know at the end of the story, it *does* work - Liz does get her zest for life back, she does find herself. (To this, the Žižekian analyst would point out that if it hadn't worked for Liz, there would of course have been no story, no idealized narrative for the reader to attach his or her own desires to).

In order to better concretize the vacation fantasy in *Eat Pray Love*, I will focus on Glynos' three key aspects of the logic of fantasy as described earlier, namely the narrative featuring an ideal and an obstacle to realizing it, a transgressive aspect, and finally the guarantee of a safe identity protecting the subject from the radical contingency of social relations. The narrative aspect is inherent in the tale of Liz, the ideal being to "find herself" again, to become happy, fulfilled, to find meaning with her life again, the obstacle being her horrible past which has left her in a state of depression. The tale begins, Liz moves to Rome, learns to speak Italian, and eats gelato, pizza and pasta, and an idealized vacation story begins to unfold:

> The weather is warm and lazy. By this, my fourth day in Rome, my shadow has still not darkened the doorway of a church or a museum, nor have I even looked at a guidebook. But I have been walking endlessly and aimlessly, and I did finally find a tiny little place that a bus driver informed me sells The Best Gelato in Rome. I tried a combination of the honey and the hazelnut. I came back later that same day for the grapefruit and the melon. Then, after dinner that same night, I walked all the way back over there one last time, just to sample a cup of the cinnamon-ginger (Gilbert 2006: 37).

The happiness comes along with the freedom of vacation travelling:

> These weeks of spontaneous travel are such a glorious twirl of time, some of the losest days of my life, running to the train station and buying tickets left and right, finally beginning to flex my freedom for real because it has finally sunk in that *I can go wherever I want*. One night in a town somewhere on the Mediterranean, in a hotel room by the ocean, the sound of my own laughter actually wakes me up in the middle of my deep sleep (Gilbert 2006: 97).

The message the Italy part gives is that simple vacation pleasures bring about those highly sought after "experiences of a lifetime":

> I found that all I really wanted was to eat beautiful food and speak as much beautiful Italian as possible. That was it. The amount of pleasure this eating and speaking brought to me was inestimable, and yet so simple. I passed a few hours once in the middle of October that might look like nothing much to the outside observer, but which I will always count amongst the happiest of my life (Gilbert 2006: 63)

These hours that she will always count as the happiest of her life - the reader learns - are hours she spent shopping fresh food at a market, preparing it and eating it for lunch on the wooden floor of her apartment. During this, "happiness inhabited my every molecule" (Gilbert 2006:

64). As the narrative progresses, there are threats and obstacles to Liz' happiness: "Depression and Loneliness track me down after about ten days in Italy" (Gilbert 2006: 46), she tells, and "they frisk me. They empty my pockets of any joy I had been carrying there. Depression even confiscated my identity; but he always does that" (ibid: 47). Interesting here, how Gilbert's description of depression as the hindering of actualizing herself mirrors Jensen's (2009) earlier mentioned description of depression as the pathology of the project society. Liz overcomes this challenge by writing in her private notebook, where she "talks to herself" as a part of the effort to find out who "me" is:

> Even through the worst of suffering, that calm, compassionate, affectionate and infinitely wise voice (who is maybe me, or maybe not exactly me) is always available for a conversation on paper at any time of day or night (Gilbert 2006: 53).

It is characteristic of Liz' story that what needs to be transgressed as well as the safe identity are both within Liz herself. The Italian part of the book ends by spelling out that one can become more whole and more fully identified with oneself by travelling and indulging in simple pleasures (and by letting go of the guilt and gaining weight):

> I came to Italy pinched and thin. I did not know yet what I deserved. I still maybe don't fully know what I deserve. But I do know that I have collected myself of late - through the enjoyment of harmless pleasures - into somebody more intact. The easiest, most fundamentally human way to say it is that I have put on weight. I exist more now than I did four months ago. I will leave Italy noticeably bigger than when I arrived here (Gilbert 2006: 116).

In India Liz lives in an Ashram where she meditates, prays, does yoga, eats vegetarian and is able to let go of all her pain and sorrow and forgive herself for everything, including leaving her husband. In India, the transgressive aspect of the vacation fantasy is at the forefront:

> They want you to come here strong because Ashram life is rigorous. Not just physically, with days that begin at 3:00 AM and end at 9:00 PM, but also psychologically. You're going to be spending hours and hours a day in silent meditation and contemplation, with little relief or distraction from the apparatus of your own mind. You will be living in close quarters with strangers, in rural India. There are bugs and snakes and rodents. The weather can be extreme - sometimes torrents of rain for weeks on end, sometimes 100 degrees in the shade before breakfast. Things can get deeply real around here, very fast (Gilbert 2006: 128).

There are many descriptions of the hardships of Ashram life: "The next morning's meditation was a disaster [...] The whole next day, in fact, I'm so hateful and angry that I fear for the life of anyone who crosses my path [...] I'm so ashamed of my rage that I go and hide in (yet another!) bathroom and cry" (ibid: 148), "The next morning in meditation, all my caustic old hateful thoughts come up again" (ibid: 156), "The biggest obstacle in my Ashram experience is not meditation, actually. That's difficult, of course, but not murderous. There's something even harder for me here. The murderous thing is what we do every morning after meditation and

before breakfast" (ibid: 161), "So I went to the chant the next morning, all full of resolve, and [it] kicked me down a twenty-foot flight of cement stairs - or anyway, that's how I felt. The following day it was even worse" (ibid: 164). The transgressive climax is an evening when Liz resolves the guilt and anger associated with her divorce. A fellow Ashram resident shows her up to the roof of the ashram and gives her a note with sentences such as "With all your heart, forgive him, FORGIVE YOURSELF, and let him go" (ibid: 185), and "When the past has passed from you at last, let go. Then climb down and begin the rest of your life. With great joy" (ibid). She then starts to meditate, and:

> Much later I opened my eyes, and I knew it was over. Not just my marriage and not just my divorce, but all the unfinished bleak hollow sadness of it ... it was over. I could feel I was free (Gilbert 2006: 187).

The reward is the safe identity of complete happiness, of having found one's own version of 'God', to once again have a sense of meaning in life:

> It was pure, this love that I was feeling, it was godly. I looked around the darkened valley and I could see nothing that was not God. I felt so deeply, terribly happy. I thought to myself, "Whatever this feeling is - this is what I have been praying for. And this is also what I have been praying *to*." (Gilbert 2006: 203).

Finally in Bali, Liz makes friends with an old medicine man who teaches her Balinese meditation and a medicine woman who serves her healthy lunch and cures her urinal tract infection with just herbs. Liz completes her year of travelling by falling in love with the Brazilian expatriate Felipe (whom, if we read her next book, *Committed* (Gilbert, 2010), we learn that she is now married to). After the hard work on the self in the Ashram, The story of Bali is again the story of the ideal vacation:

> I am so free here in Bali, it's almost ridiculous. [...] In the evenings I spin my bicycle high up into the hills and across the acres of rice terraces north of Ubud, with views so splendid and green. I can see the pink clouds reflected in the standing water of the rice paddies [...] The unnecessary and superfluous volume of pure beauty around here is not to be believed. I can pick papayas and bananas right off the trees outside my bedroom window [...] I don't mind anything these days. I can't imagine or remember discontent (Gilbert 2006: 234f).

Not being able to imagine or remember discontent is completely transgressing the fundamental lack. Some descriptions are as taken out of a personal traveling brochure or guidebook, but the difference here is, that even though it sounds too good to be true, *Liz* - whom we know was previously on anti-depressants - is telling us the story. The book seems to suggest that if she can fulfill the fantasy, so can we:

> He picked me up at my house in his jeep and we drove an hour to this hidden little beach in Pedangbai where hardly any tourists ever go. This place that he took me to, it was as good an imitation of paradise as anything I'd ever seen, with blue water and white sand and the shade of palm trees. We talked all day, interrupting our talking only to swim and nap and read, sometimes reading aloud to each other.

These Balinese women in a shack behind the beach grilled us freshly caught fish, and we bought cold beers and chilled fruit (Gilbert 2006: 283).

The vacation fantasy is spelled out for the reader:

[...] I've circled the world, settled my divorce, survived my final separation from David, erased all mood-altering medications from my system, learned to speak a new language, sat upon God's palm for a few unforgettable moments in India, studied at the feet of an Indonesian medicine man [...] I am happy and healthy and balanced. And, yes, I cannot help but notice that I am sailing to this pretty little tropical island with my Brazilian lover [...] I think about the woman I have become lately, about the life that I am now living, and about how much I always wanted to be this person and live this life, liberated from the farce of pretending to be anyone other than myself. I think of everything I endured before getting here and wonder if it was me - I mean, this happy and balanced me, who is now dozing on the deck of this small Indonesian fishing boat - who pulled the other, younger, more confused and more struggling me forward during all those hard years (Gilbert 2006: 329).

In short, this is a description of how self-realization feels for Liz. The draw in Gilbert's book is exemplified in that 'Eat Pray Love tours', where one can walk Liz' footsteps and perhaps find what she found, are now widespread. A newspaper article claims that the number of visitors in Bali more than doubled in the four years after the book came out, and that fans of the book "yearned for some of Gilbert's hard-won equilibrium", a desire that is "fueling the travel industry's newest niche: spiritual tourism" (Marshall 2010). To talk of a desire for equilibrium fueling the travel industry is the vacation fantasy of the readers in a nutshell. For example, "Spirit Quest Tours" offers a tour with the headline "change your thoughts, change your life, visit Bali" and state:

You read Eat, Pray, Love. And you loved it. And you wanted to change your life, too. But who can take a year off to travel? How about a week to experience some of the marvelous changes author Elizabeth Gilbert enthralled us with in her memoir? (http://www.spiritquesttours.com/eatpraylove5/)

The owner of Spirit Quest Tours is cited: "going on these trips is a way to reclaim themselves, to bring back meaning into their lives. Denise just wanted to remember why she loved her job" (Marshall 2010). The idea that a vacation can bring back meaning into one's life - can give one the self-realization one perhaps in unable to attain through work - is exactly the vacation fantasy at work. Judging by website references such as "the trip to Bali was life-altering", "I have been forever changed by Bali", "there were so many things that I learned about myself, and I will continue to keep my Bali way of thinking. From Ubud Bodyworks to the farewell dinner on the beach, I came away with a new family and a new me" (http://www.spiritquesttours.com/eatpraylove5/), vacation travel can indeed moderate challenges of self-realization in the work-life by providing self-realization while travelling. However the Žižekian cynicism would probably note that nobody asked these women - or Liz for that matter - how they felt two months later, when everyday life caught up with them again.

The moral obligation to be happy

If vacation travelling can give one a sense of an actualized self, isn't this then a good thing, even if the sense of an actualized self is sustained by an ideological fantasy? In this paragraph I will analyze how the super-ego injunction to enjoy - which I will argue is strongly communicated throughout *Eat Pray Love* - can be the onset of a more critical reading of the novel. Gilbert's book comes with an invitation to enjoy (through an injunction to eat, pray and love):

> Why must everything always have a practical application? I'd been such a diligent soldier for years - working, producing, never missing a deadline, taking care of my loved ones, my gums and my credit record, voting etc. Is this lifetime supposed to be only about duty? In this dark period of loss, did I need any justification for learning Italian other than that it was the only thing I could imagine bringing me any pleasure right now? (Gilbert 2006: 23).

I argue that the invitation to enjoy becomes an injunction to enjoy when the idea that being happy and healthy (from enjoying) is a better version of you:

> In my real life, I have been known to eat organic goat's milk yoghurt sprinkled with wheat germ for breakfast. My real-life days are long gone. Still, when I look at myself in the mirror of the best pizzaria in Naples, I see a bright-eyed, clear-skinned, happy and healthy face. I haven't seen a face like that on me for a long time (Gilbert 2006: 81).

Furthermore, this injunction is tied into a message that happiness is a personal responsibility of the subject, and the vacation fantasy - that one can achieve self-realization and happiness through vacation travel - is once again spelled out:

> I keep remembering one of my Guru's teachings about happiness. [...] Happiness is the consequence of personal effort. You fight for it, strive for it, insist upon it, and sometimes even travel around the world looking for it. You have to participate relentlessly in the manifestations of your own blessings. And once you have achieved a state of happiness, you must never become lax about maintaining it, you must make a mighty effort to keep swimming upwards into that happiness forever, to stay afloat on top if it. If you don't, you will leak away your innate contentment (Gilbert 2006: 260).

The injunction is further articulated in that the personal responsibility to be happy is communicated as a moral obligation. The individual is personally responsible for the vacation being a success; one must return happier, more relaxed and a better person:

> The search for contentment is, therefore, not merely a self-preserving and self-benefitting act, but also a generous gift to the world. Clearing out all your misery *gets you out of the way*. You cease being an obstacle, not only to yourself but to anyone else. Only then are you free to serve and enjoy people (Gilbert 2006: 260f).

Interestingly, Dean uses the example of vacation when discussing the super-ego injunction to enjoy. She writes that when enjoyment - through the super-ego's injunction - becomes a duty, the subject seeks to escape from it:

> We might think here of the way the pressure to enjoy ourselves while on vacation can be exhausting. By the time we return home, we are relieved to be back at work so we are no longer compelled to have fun (Dean 2006: 32).

As the above quotations from Gilbert's book exemplify, there can be enormous pressure on the individual who travels. In Gilbert's book, the injunction to enjoy and a moral obligation to be happy even comes with a message to let go of any guilt associated with enjoying, yet from a Žižekian viewpoint this is another impossible endeavor, because guilt is an inevitable consequence of the super-ego injunction: "We are guilty both when we fail to live up to the super-ego's injunction and when we follow it" (Dean 2006: 41). If we indulge we inevitably feel guilt, if we don't "enjoy" at all, we fail to live up to the demands for self-realization, are obstacles for others, or as the discourses from the 21st century claim, we are arrogant idiots bound to get sick from our stress. This view undeniably gives the prospects of vacation travel moderating the challenges of self-realization a bleaker perspective.

A way of escaping our own *jouissance* can be by placing it onto someone else, who then enjoys for us, as when parents manage to enjoy their vacation through the excitement of their children (which to me explains why any adult would go to Disneyland for their vacation). Perhaps one of the draws of *Eat Pray Love* is that is offers its reader enjoyment through Liz, who is so good at enjoying, thus relieving the reader of the difficulty of facing up to a vacation of trying to find true happiness through eating gelato and living in an Ashram. Žižek describes this externalized enjoyment with an example of how canned laughter as "the Other - embodied by the television set - is relieving us even of our duty to laugh - is laughing instead of us. So even if, tired from a hard day's stupid work, all evening we did nothing but gaze drowsily into the television screen, we can say afterwards that objectively, through the medium of the other, we had a really good time" (Žižek 2008: 33). Similarly, reading Gilbert's book or going to Bali for one week tracing her footsteps, the reader can learn everything Liz learned on her one-year journey, without investing the time and heavy self-investigation which Liz did. This also ties into Žižek's notion of 'decaf reality', exemplified by coffee without caffeine, "cream without fat, beer without alcohol, politics as the art of expert administration as politics without politics, and so on" (Žižek 2004), to which Žižek asks, "is this not the attitude of today's hedonistic Last Man? Everything is permitted, you can enjoy everything, BUT deprived of its substance which makes it dangerous" (Žižek 2004). In the same way, Gilbert's book can be an expression of "decaf vacation travel" in the sense that it offers the reader a self-realizing vacation through Liz, but without the potentially harmful aspect of the vacation, namely the disappointment that

it didn't live up to one's expectations, that it didn't provide the sense of an actualized, happy self.

Nonetheless, through the super-ego injunction to enjoy "we are expected to have a good time, to have it all, to be happy, fit, and fulfilled" (Dean 2006: 41). Going to a "life enhancement resort" speaks exactly to this. Alenka Zupančic (2008: 5) writes about a "contemporary ideological rhetoric of happiness" - she even calls it a "bio-morality" - resting on "the axiom that a happy person is a good person and an unhappy person a bad person". There is moral value in being happy today, and "negativity, lack, dissatisfaction, unhappiness, are perceived more and more as moral faults - worse, as a corruption at the level of our very being" (ibid). As Cederström and Grassman (2010: 123) note, "facing up to the constant demand of self-realization and the pursuit of happiness is [...] more complicated and indeed more counterintuitive than the self-help industry would admit," and they elaborate:

> Whereas previous generations enjoyed little choice with regard to their future occupation, often socially compelled to walk in the footsteps of their parents, we now experience an unprecedented opportunity to realize our own dreams. And it is precisely this assumption that we find in the ideology of well-being: since we now enjoy the freedom of choice (even the choice to be happy) we have a moral obligation to face up to these demands (Cederstrøm and Grassman 2010: 121).

What here is labeled "the ideology of well-being" ties intimately into the demand for self-realization. So long as going away for vacation is marked by an "ideology of well-being" and an "ideological rhetoric of happiness", and the moral obligation to be happy ties into the demand for authentic self-realization, these views suggest that vacation travel doesn't necessarily moderate the challenges of self-realization but instead potentially intensifies them.

To summarize, analyzing vacation travel as an ideological fantasy offers a view of how vacations have the potential to "grip people ideologically", and how the fantasy is promoted through discourse and practice, more specifically how it is promoted through advertisements and large scale media consumption. Žižek's framework of the fundamental lack in the subject and the constant hunt for the unobtainable *jouissance* offers an explanation of why we keep on pursuing vacations, and how vacation is where we direct our desire of becoming fulfilled and whole. Finally, the idea that we are trapped in a super-ego injunction to enjoy which however renders us guilty whether we follow it or not, offers a critical view of the relationship between vacation and self-realization and supports the understanding that the demand for self-realization - whether it is pursued through work or through vacation travel - can cause stress to the psyche of the individual. The analysis thus supports Honneth when he writes:

> Increasingly prevalent is also the tendency of expending a great deal of mental energy on so-called leisure activities, which, however, are no longer experienced as bringing recuperation or release from

the working day's demands, but are instead seen to comprise the experimental attempt to define the dimensions of one's own self (Honneth, 2004: 471).

Self-realization in support of high capitalism

Checking into an Ashram, having one's palm read by an Indonesian medicine man or staying at a life enhancement resort with meditation classes falls under what Žižek calls "Western Buddhism", which he describes as follows:

> Instead of trying to cope with the accelerating rhythm of technological progress and social change, one should rather renounce the very endeavor to retain control over what goes on, rejecting it as the expression of the modern logic of domination - one should, instead, "let oneself go," drift along, while retaining an inner distance and indifference towards the mad dance of this accelerated process, a distance based on the insight that all the social and technological upheaval is ultimately just an unsubstantial proliferation of semblances which do not really concern the innermost kernel of our being" (Žižek 2001a: 13).

This is what Cederstrøm and Grassman (2010: 125), call "inward happiness" about which they write that, from a Lacanian viewpoint, inward happiness is the classic example of a protective fantasy that glosses over all the troubles of experiencing the lacking Other (ibid). According to Žižek, "Western Buddhism" is "establishing itself as the hegemonic ideology of global capitalism":

> Although "Western Buddhism" presents itself as a remedy against the stressful tension of the capitalist dynamics, allowing us to uncouple and retain inner peace and *Gelassenheit,* it actually functions as its perfect ideological supplement" (Žižek 2001a: 12).

The same can be said about the emancipation offered by options of self-fulfillment and how this paradoxically ends up propagating feelings of meaninglessness and depression:

> The claims to individual self-realization, which have rapidly multiplied in the Western societies of thirty or forty years ago, have become so much a feature of the institutionalized expectations inherent in social reproduction that the particular goals of such claims are lost and they are transmuted into a support of the system's legitimacy. The result of this paradoxical reversal, where the processes which once promised an increase of qualitative freedom are henceforth altered into an ideology of de-institutionalization, is the emergence in individuals of a number of symptoms of inner emptiness, of feeling oneself to be superfluous, and of absence of purpose (Honneth, 2004: 463).

Cederstrøm and Grassman (2010: 108) also argue that the ideology of happiness - the idea that we should all be happy all the time and that it is within our power to be happy - "has the ulterior aim of glossing over the inequality and other depressing aspects of late-modern capitalism". The vacation fantasy can be seen as related to concepts such as Western Buddhism and the ideology of happiness, in that it hinders critique of the self-realization demand inherent in the work-environment of today:

Individual fantasies here are understood to downplay the significance of poor pay and conditions, insecurity and exploitation, including the broader sociocultural and politico-economic conditions which make these possible (Glynos 2008a: 10).

This suggests that the quest for self-realization as practiced through vacation travel actually functions to support the contemporary capitalist way of work it is supposed to be a break from.

Conclusion

The research question of the thesis was as follows:

What is the historical field of possibility for the contemporary knowledge worker's self-relationship as constituted through his vacation travel, and to what extent does vacation travel today moderate the challenges of self-realization this worker is faced with in his work-life?

The historical field of possibility for the worker's self-relationship as constituted in discourses and practices of vacation travel was investigated using the analytic strategy of Foucauldian genealogy. This showed that today's quest for self-realization is also characteristic of the worker's self-relationship as constituted by his vacation, and that the worker's role as a wage earner in a capitalist society has continuously contributed to the field of possibility. Furthermore, the idea of vacation as something pursued in the purpose of self-realization is mirrored in discourses of vacation travel in the industrial period, where vacation as an escape to nature is viewed as sustaining the existence of the worker. However while vacation travel is viewed as potentially self-actualizing in both the industrial period and today, there is the big difference that in the industrial period, both making sure one had a vacation and achieving self-actualization while on vacation was not a responsibility of the worker, whereas these demands are now made on the worker himself, who is responsible for making sure he gets his vacation and actualizing himself through it.

Secondly, the question as to what extent vacation travel today moderates the challenges of self-realization for the contemporary knowledge worker was further addressed by employing a psychoanalytically inspired analysis, viewing vacation travel through the Žižekian lens of 'ideological fantasy'. This part of the thesis took its departure in an analysis of the novel *Eat Pray Love*, which is a tale of successful self-realization through vacation travel. The psychoanalytic view opens a critical potential by suggesting that the super-ego injunction to enjoy plays into moral obligations of realizing oneself and being happy on vacation, thus proposing that vacation travel potentially intensifies the stress of self-realization the worker is

faced with in his work-life instead of moderating it. The analysis moreover suggested that the vacation fantasy possibly functions to support the contemporary capitalist way of work the vacation is supposed to be a break from, by silencing possible critiques of the sources of the demand for self-realization. The Žižekian framework thus offers an explanation for the stress the subject experiences in the constant search for the perfect vacation (as well as in the constant search for self-realization), and for why people continue to pursue vacations despite hundreds of tales of disappointment. A further effect of the psychoanalytic analysis of vacation travel suggests that the quest for self-realization functions as an internalized command that ties the individual ever more tightly to the contemporary, mentally stressful, capitalist ways of work:

> The command to enjoy is nothing but an advanced, much more nuanced – and much more difficult to resist – form of power. It is more effective than the traditional model not because it is less constraining or less binding but because its violent exclusionary aspect is masked by its fantasmatic vow to enhance enjoyment, by its productive, enabling facade: it does not oppose and prohibit but openly attempts to embrace and appropriate the subject of enjoyment. Not only is this novel articulation of power and enjoyment hard to recognize and to thematize; it is even harder to de-legitimize in practice, to dis-invest consumption acts and dis-identify with consumerism. However, without such a dis-investment and the cultivation of alternative (ethical) administrations of *jouissance*, no real change can be effected (Stavrakakis 2010: 78).

Here, the quest for self-realization can be viewed as a subtle command that speaks through the subject's own search for happiness. The finding from the genealogy, of the worker's responsibility, both for making sure of taking a vacation and for realizing himself on that vacation through (hard) work on the self, is interesting in relation to this, because again, the worker has internalized the wishes of the employer, instead practicing them on himself by acting through what he believes to be a search for what he wants.

Put together, the perspectives of Foucault and Žižek offer a deeply critical view of the concept of vacation travel, as well as potentially de-familiarizing and de-ontologizing the concept of vacation travel to the point where it can be discussed and looked at from angles that are normally not visible, and show that something we take for granted (going away for vacation) is actually based to a large extent on contingency and is politically rooted, and therefore potentially open for change. In short, this analysis points to forms of oppression inherent in capitalism today in relation to vacation travel.

A question of agency

There are, however, weaknesses in the analytic strategy and concluding views of this thesis. I want to here present a few alternative views. Firstly, both Foucault and Žižek can be criticized

for the lack of agency they ascribe the individual. In relation to Žižek, the ontology prescribing that the subject always acts in an effort to cover up an existential (invisible) lack can become tautological. Even to the worker who finds himself happy at his yoga class in the life enhancement resort, the Žižekian viewpoint would say "you may think you are happy but you are not!", neglecting the personal, subjective experience. Looking at vacation travel as an ideological fantasy answers a question of why people can't relax on vacation. Gilbert answers this herself in her book when she states that "a major obstacle in my pursuit of pleasure was my engrained sense of puritan guilt" (Gilbert, 2006: 62). Validating Gilbert's own way of framing part of her experience would in this case mean matching the explanation posited in the often-cited *Working at Play: A history of vacations in the United States* (Aron 1999) in which the view is that being unable to relax is due to the work ethic installed by the Puritans of the 1800s.

In relation to Foucauldian analysis it can similarly become a tautological argument that whatever the individual does it is a sign of internalized power structures. As Giddens (1991) says of Foucault's view on the body and disciplinary power:

> He cannot analyse the relation between the body and agency since to all intents and purposes he equates the two. But this idea will not do [...] Bodily discipline is intrinsic to the competent social agent [...] Regularised control of the body is a fundamental means whereby a biography of self-identity is maintained (Giddens 1991: 57).

Andersen's claim that Foucault operates with a "subjectless phenomenology" can also be considered a point of criticism, also for the Žižekian perspective, in that the subject's own account of what he does and says is neglected in favor of questions about how power outside the individual operates on the individual, or about a personal phantasmagoria it is the role of the analyst to look behind.

As indicated above, Giddens' classic *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age* (1991) presents a different view of the subject in contemporary society and would therefore present a different analysis of the role of vacation travel for the autonomous knowledge worker in relation to his quest for self-realization. Parallel to the diagnosis of contemporary work-life outlined in the introduction of this thesis, Giddens writes that "personal meaninglessness - the feeling that life has nothing worthwhile to offer - becomes a fundamental psychic problem in circumstances of late modernity" (Giddens 1991: 9). Contrary to a Foucauldian or Žižekian perspective, Giddens ascribes the subject a large amount of agency in creating a meaningful life for himself in these circumstances. With Giddens, it is a "reflexive project of the self" that "generates programmes of actualization and mastery" (Giddens 1991: 9):

New mechanisms of self-identity [are] shaped by - yet also shape - the institutions of modernity. The self is not a passive entity, determined by external influences" (Giddens 1991: 2).

For Giddens, "self-identity is not a distinctive trait, or even a collection of traits, possessed by the individual. It is *the self as reflexively understood by the person in terms of her or his biography* (Giddens 1991: 53):

What to do? How to act? Who to be? These are focal questions for everyone living in circumstances of late modernity - and ones which, on some level or another, all of us answer, either discursively or through day-to-day social behavior (Giddens 1991: 70).

From this perspective, vacation travel would be a part of an individual's biographic reflexive project, a means to create a meaningful sense of self. This view would ascribe more agency to the individual and thus more solutions on an individual level than the perspectives of Foucault and Žižek open up for. For example, it would be possible to practice spiritualism and critique the stress imposed by capitalism at the same time.

And in relation to the question of criticism, also the bleak perspective that ideological fantasies and 'western buddhism' hinders criticism and glosses over repression and inequality can be looked at from a different angle. In her book *Critical Analysis of Organizations* (2002), Casey claims that "new Age explorations" such as Eastern and pagan religions, mysticism, divination, magic, tarot cards, soul seeking, naturopathy, spirituality, meditation, homeopathy, and so on, are "alternative meaning-making and counter-scientifically rational practices [that] are being practiced within production organizations and working life" (Casey, 2002: 146), and interestingly, she views these New Age practices in the work place as a "revolt from within" (ibid.: 145) and claims that the new iteration of counter-scientific practices and spiritualism may be indicative of a subject appealing against the rational organization order of things, and the limits of a rational system (ibid.: 148):

Obstacles to the ubiquitous requirement to expand production and consumption now appear not only from external environmental sources and traditionally unionized work places, but from within the highly trained and organizationally identified professional middle-class employees. Scarcely articulated, non-economic disaffection generates criticism and demands in counterpoint to the acute productivism of hyper-capitalism (Casey, 2002: 148).

This view can be carried over to current practices of vacation. The worker escaping the stress of capitalist life by turning off all electronic devises, abandoning consumerism and checking in to a "life-enhancement resort", or by camping in Yosemite with his family, can be seen as similar criticism-generating disaffection with the life the vacation is an "escape" from. As the example of *Eat Pray Love* shows, New Age explorations are also being practiced on vacations, and have given rise to a term such as "spiritual tourism".

Looking ahead: Towards the end of vacation travel?

With reference to Zygmunt Bauman, Willig distinguishes between small critiques and big critiques (Willig, 2007). The small critiques are alive and kicking today, as dissatisfaction with the resort service, the tourist crowds, that people in America don't take enough vacation, that all the technology makes it hard to really get away, and even that the demand of self-realization leads to stress and depression. The big critique of the systems of society as a whole, however, is often lacking, at least in a form where an actual alternative *outside* the existing system is proposed. New Age practices as a critique could be accused of exactly this, and so could a critique of the concept of vacation travel without a critique of the capitalism it is an inherent part of. The investigations of this thesis suggest that the troubles of self-realization as well as the troubles of vacation are linked to the (neo-liberalist) ways capitalism is characterized today. While vacation travel or new age practices might present itself as a (temporary) way of alleviating the struggles and dilemmas of the current version of capitalism, it perhaps fails to question its roots and risks worsening the dilemmas by hiding possible *big* critiques of capitalism. What the genealogy seems to suggest is then that wanting to abandon the concept of vacation won't relieve the subject of any oppression as long as he doesn't subsequently abandon capitalism as the primary mode of production. I want here to cite Danish artist Bjørn Nørgaard explaining what vacation means to him:

> Vacation is something that has been introduced with the industrial society because what people do is so unbearable that they have to take some time off from it once in a while. But because I don't live a life I can't bear, I don't have a need for that type of vacation. I can understand that people who sit in the same spot day in and day out need to get away to see something different every now and then, but the ideal would be to organize society so vacation wasn't necessary. But I know that is utopian. (Larsen, 2010).

Why is this utopian? Žižek has a suggestion:

> Today, nobody seriously considers possible alternatives to capitalism any longer, whereas popular imagination is persecuted by the visions of the forthcoming 'breakdown of nature', of the stoppage of all life on earth - it seems easier to imagine the 'end of the world' than a far more modest change in the mode of production, as if liberal capitalism is the 'real' that will somehow survive even under conditions of a global ecological catastrophe (Žižek, 1994: 1).

Rethinking vacation as we know it today means rethinking our current mode of production, and this seems impossible. Foucault however reminds us that it doesn't have to be this way:

> Politics and the economy are not things that exist, or errors, or illusions, or ideologies. They are things that do not exist and yet which are inscribed in reality and fall under a regime of truth dividing the true and the false (Foucault, 2008: 20).

Works cited

Alboher, Marci (2008). "Does Unlimited Vacation Equal No Vacation?" Article in the Column "Shifting careers; smart thinking at work." The New York Times, July 31. Comments accessed May 18th 2012: http://shiftingcareers.blogs.nytimes.com/2008/07/31/does-unlimited-vacation-equal-no-vacation/

Albright, John Brannon (1989). "Practical Traveler; Take It Easy! You're Going on Vacation." *The New York Times,* January 15, 1989.

Andersen, Niels Åkerstrøm (2003). *Discursive analytical strategies: Understanding Foucault, Koselleck, Lacalu, Luhmann.* The Policy Press, Bristol.

Anderson, Meghann (2011). "What my vacation taught me about my body". Blog post on *Meals and Miles*, http://mealsandmiles.com/2011/10/18/what-my-vacation-taught-me-about-my-body/ Accessed May 29th, 2012.

Anttila, Anu-Hanna (2007). *An Equal Holiday Time.* Presentation. Work, Employment & Society (WES) Conference Papers, BSA. Stream K. Organisational Restructuring and its Implications for Work. Published in WES Internet pages: <http://www.abdn.ac.uk/wes2007/detailed_programme.php>

Aron, Cindy S. (1999). *Working at Play: A history of Vacations in the United States.* Oxford University Press, New York.

Arthur, Michael B. and Denise M. Rosseau (1996): *The boundaryless career – a new employment principle for a new organizational era.* Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Baker, Russel (1966). "Observer: The Father of the Family Vacation" *The New York Times*, June 28, 1966.

Baker, Russel (1972). "Observer: My Summer Vacation." *The New York Times*, August 3, 1972.

Belkin, Lisa (2003). "Life's work; These Days, a Relaxing Vacation Takes Work." *The New York Times,* July 20, 2003.

Belkin, Lisa (2007). "Life's work; Hello, Vacation: It's the Boss." *The New York Times*, November 15, 2007. Reader comments, accessed May 18th, 2012: http://community.nytimes.com/comments/www.nytimes.com/2007/11/15/fashion/15Work.html

Belkin, Lisa (2011). "Mom Takes a Vacation." In the column "Motherlode. Adventures in parenting." *The New York Times*, March 23, 2011.

Boltanski, Luc and Eve Chiapello (2005). *The New Spirit of Capitalism.* Verso, London.

Bouchier, David (1999). "Out of order: Relax? I Can't! I'm on Vacation!" *The New York Times*, July 13, 1997

Bouchier, David (1999). "Out of order: The Island: Don't Vacation Without It." *The New York Times*, January 31, 1999.

Carew, Dorothy (1949). "Off-season travel: Tourist on Late or Early Vacation Has Hotels and Highways to Himself". *The New York Times*, October 2, 1949.

Casey, Catherine (2002). *Critical Analysis of Organizations; Theory, Practice, Revitalization.* Sage Publications, London.

Cederström, Carl and Rickard Grassman (2010). "The Unbearable Weight of Happiness" In Cederström and Hoedemaekers (eds): *Lacan and Organizations*, pp. 101-132. MayFlyBooks, London.

Chapin, Emerson (1959). "Satisfactions of an out-of-doors vacation." *The New York Times,* May 3, 1959,

Conlin, Jennifer (2011). "My Week at the Biggest Loser Fat Camp." The New York Times, December 29, 2011.

De Crevecoeur, J. Hector St. John (1926 [1782]). *Letters From an American Farmer*. Publisher not stated.
Dean, Jodi (2006). *Žižek's Politics.* Routledge, New York.
Dempsey, David (1961). "Some Hazards of Vacation Bargain Hunting." The New York Times, October 15, 1961.
Dogen, Sam (2011). "Feeling Guilty And Afraid Of Taking Vacation? " Blog posting on *Financial Samurai*, http://www.financialsamurai.com/2011/11/09/feeling-guilty-and-afraid-of-taking-vacation/, accessed May 18, 2012.
Doughty, Andrew (2007). *Oahu Revealed: The Ultimate Guide to Honolulu, Waikiki and Beyond; 2nd Edition.* Wizard Publications, Lihu'e.
Dowd, Alice M. (1891). *Vacation Verses.* Charles Wells Moulton, Buffalo.
Dubivsky, Barbara (1976). "Labor Day: The Battle Against The Post-Vacation Blahs." *The New York Times,* September 05, 1976
Egan, Timothy (2006). "The Rise of Shrinking-Vacation Syndrome." *The New York Times*, August 20, 2006
F.F. (1887). *By the Way. An Idler's Diary. Quotations Familiar and Unfamiliar, Interleaved for Original Sketches, Verses and Photographs.* Cornell & Shelton Company, Birmingham, Conn.
Fastrup, Niels (2008). "I projektsamfundet er frihed en pligt." *DJØF-bladet*, vol. 32, no. 14, pp. 26-30.
Fleming, Peter (2010). "You Are Where You Are Not: Lacan and Ideology in Contemporary Workplaces" In Cederström and Hoedemaekers (eds): *Lacan and Organizations*, pp. 169-186. MayFlyBooks, London.
Flinn, John (2004). "Americans need more vacation - and so do our laptops" In *San Francisco Chronicle,* August 1st, 2004.
Foucault, Michel (1972). *The archaeology of knowledge.* Pantheon Books, New York.
Foucault, Michel (1977). "Nietzche, Genealogy, History." In D.F. Bouchard (ed.): *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews,* pp. 139-164. Cornell University Press, Ithaca.
Foucault, Michel (1988a). *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason.* Vintage Books, Random House, New York.
Foucault, Michel (1988b). "The Dangerous Individual." In *Michel Foucault: Politics, Philosophy, Culture: Interviews and Other Writings, 1977-1984.* Routledge, New York.
Foucault, Michel (1988c). *The History of Sexuality, Vol. 3: The Care of the Self.* Vintage Books, Random House, New York.
Foucault, Michel (1990a). *The History of Sexuality, Vol. 1: An Introduction.* Vintage Books, Random House, New York.
Foucault, Michel (1990b). *The History of Sexuality, Vol. 2: The Use of Pleasure.* Vintage Books, Random House, New York.
Foucault, Michel (1995). *Discipline & Punish: The Birth of the Prison.* Vintage Books, Random House, New York.
Foucault, Michel (1997). "What is Enlightenment?" In *The Politics of Truth,* pp. 101-134. Semiotext(e), New York.
Foucault, Michel (1998). *Aesthetics, Method, And Epistemology: Essential Works of Foucault, 1954-1984.* The New Press, New York.
Foucault (2003). *Psychiatric Power: Lectures at Collège de France, 1973-1974.* Picador, New York
Foucault, Michel (2008). *The Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures at Collège de France, 1978-1979.* Picador, New York.

Friedlander, Paul J.C. (1949). "Outlook Bright for Vacationers: Resort Industry Is Ready With Variety of Holidays at Prices That Reflect the Trend to Better Values in Facilities and Service". *The New York Times*, June 5, 1949.
Gardner, Ralph D. (1962). "A low-cost Vacation in Ireland for the Family." *The New York Times*, April 29, 1962.
Gerszberg, Caren Osten (2007). "Family Travel, Summer Spots; The Family Vacation, Reinvented." The New York Times, May 13, 2007.
Giddens, Anthony (1991). *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age.* Polity Press, Cambridge.
Gilbert, Elizabeth. (2006). *Eat, Pray, Love: One woman's search for everything across Italy, India and Indonesia.* Penguin Books, London.
Gilbert, Elizabeth (2009). "Elizabeth Gilbert on nurturing creativity". TED-talk, filmed February 2009, posted February 2009.
http://www.ted.com/talks/elizabeth_gilbert_on_genius.html
Accessed March 30th, 2012.
Gilbert, Elizabteh (2010). *Committed: A skeptic makes peace with marriage*. Penguin books, London.
Gilmore, Leigh (2010). "American Neoconfessional: Memoir, self-help, and redemption on Oprah's couch." *Biography* 33(4) pp. 657-679.
Glusac, Elaine (2011). "A Bit of a Working Vacation." The New York Times, February 11, 2011.
Glynos, Jason (2008a). *Ideological Fantasy at Work: Toward a Psychoanalytic Contribution to Critical Political Economy*. Paper Presented at the 58th PSA Annual Conference Swansea, 1-3 April 2008.
Glynos, Jason (2008b). "Transgressive Enjoyment as a Freedom Fetter". *Political Studies*, 56, pp. 679-704.
Glynos, Jason (2010): "Lacan at Work". In Cederström and Hoedemaekers (eds): *Lacan and Organizations*, pp. 13-58. MayFlyBooks, London.
Gros, Frédéric (2001). "Course Context." In Frédéric Gros (ed.).: *Michel Foucault: The Hermeneutics of the Subject. Lectures at the College de France, 1981-1982.* Picador, New York.
Haitch, Richard (1967). "Private Flying: Avoiding Crowds." *The New York Times,* June 11, 1967.
Hendricks, Howard (1903). *Guide to the Catskill Mountains for Vacationist and Tourist.* The New York American System of Information Bureaus, New York.
Higgins, Michelle (2011). "Planning the Perfect Vacation." *The New York Times*, July 20, 2011
Hinds, Michael deCourcy (1988). "Vacation's Over, but the Mind Still Wanders." The New York Times,
Honneth, Axel (2004). "Organized Self-Realization; Some Paradoxes of Individualization." *European Journal of Social Theory* 7(4): 463–478.
Isaacs, Florence (1977). "The Pre-Vacation Willies: New Hope For the Fearful." *The New York Times*, May 01, 1977.
Jensen, Anders Fogh (2009). *Projektsamfundet*. Århus Universitetsforlag, Århus N.
Johnson, Sharon (1983). "Relationships; Couples' Vacation Problems." *The New York Times*, December 12, 1983
Kerr, Walter (1962). *The Decline of Pleasure*. Simon and Schuster, New York.
Knapschaefer, Dale (1966). "The ups and downs of a family bicycling vacation." *The New York Times,* May 22, 1966.
Korkki, Phyllis (2011). "The working vacation", *San Francisco Chronicle*, August 21, 2011.
Lamont, Barbara (1980). "How a City Family, Without a Car, Takes a Houseboat and; Camping Vacation." *The New York Times*, August 24, 1980.

Landers, Ann (1963). "Ann Landers Answers Your Problems." *Schenectady Gazette*, February 23, 1963
Larsen, Kirstine Dalsgaard (2010). "Idealet er et samfund uden ferie". *Kristeligt Dagblad*, 31. juli 2010.
Lawn, Victor H. (1955). "Cape Ann Autumn: The Season Makes for a Spectacularly Beautiful and Uncrowded Vacation." *The New York Times*, October 2, 1955.
Lawson, Carol (1991). "Surviving Vacation (It's a Family Battle)." *The New York Times*, August 1, 1991
Lerner, Constance (1952). "Vacation for a Working Girl; Advance Planning Pays Off on First Holiday On Her Own". *The New York Times,* September 21, 1952.
Longwell, C. Arthur (1902). *Vacation Impressions.* Publisher not stated.
Løfgren, Orvar (1999). *On Holiday: A history of vacationing.* University of California Press, Berkeley.
Malcolm, Andrew H. (1989). "The not-so-open road as vacation time starts." *The New York Times,* July 4, 1986.
Marshall, Barbara (2010). "A local woman's 'Eat Pray Love' journey of discovery'. *The Palm Beach Post*, August 11, 2010.
McCormick, Anne O'Hare (1952). "Abroad; Afterthoughts on an August Vacation." *The New York Times,* September 10, 1952.
Moore, E. Orlo (1906). *One Vacation*. Christian Publishing Company, St. Louis.
Murphy, Ryan (2010). *Eat Pray Love.* Columbia Pictures. Movie.
N.N. (1859). "Where to go A-summering; Where One can Travel much in Little Time." *The New York Times,* July 2, 1859.
N.N. (1864). "How to Spend the Summer Vacation." *The New York Times,* July 29, 1864.
N.N. (1868). "The Summer Vacation of the Schools." *The New York Times,* July 25, 1868.
N.N. (1869). "The Summer Vacation for City Folks - The Duty of Relaxation." *The New York Times,* July 24, 1869.
N.N. (1870a). "Vacation of the Industrial Schools." *The New York Times,* July 17, 1870.
N.N. (1870b). "Rest for the Toilers; Vacation Terms in the City of New-York." *The New York Times,* July 25, 1870.
N. N. (1871a). "A Summer Vacation; Life at Narragansett and Newport." *The New York Times,* August 30, 1871.
N.N. (1871). "A Holiday Vacation." *The New York Times,* September 4, 1871.
N.N. (1873a). "By the Sea. Where to Spend Vacation." *The New York Times,* June 18, 1873.
N.N. (1873b). "Vacation." *California Farmer and Journal of Useful Sciences,* Volume 11, Number 2, 25 September 1873.
N.N. (1875a). "A Short Vacation; On Foot to the Delaware Water." *The New York Times,* June 13, 1875.
N.N. (1875b). "The Summer Vacation". Editorial, *The New York Times,* July 6, 1875.
N.N (1948). "Topics of The Times; Bag and Baggage." *The New York Times*, August 21, 1948.
N.N. (1950a). "Motorists Urged to Switch Routes; New Jersey Suggests Alternate Roads for Summer Trips to Vacation Areas." The New York Times, June 18, 1950.
N.N. (1950b). "Topics of the Times; The Fall Vacation." *The New York Times,* September 21, 1950
N.N. (1955). "Clean House Adds to Joys of Vacation." *The New York Times*, May 10, 1955.
N.N. (1963). "90 Million to Go on Road For Vacation This Year." *The New York Times*, April 14, 1963.
N.N. (2000). "A good break; In the harried world of work, what do you do to get a decent vacation?" *San Francisco Examiner*, July 2, 2000, page J-1

Neville, Richard (1970). *Play Power: Exploring the International Underground.* Random House, New York.
Nordheimer, Jon (1970). "Vacation and the Single Girl: Tireless Pursuit of a Dream." *The New York Times,* July 29, 1970.
Olson, Ted (1964). "Host vs. Guest in the Game of Vacation Visits." *The New York Times,* May 17, 1964,
Parker-Pope, Tara (2011). "Where to Lose Weight on Vacation." *The New York Times*, April 25, 2011. Blog. http://well.blogs.nytimes.com/2011/04/25/where-to-lose-weight-on-vacation/ Accessed May 10th, 2012. Reader comments, accessed May 18th, 2012: http://well.blogs.nytimes.com/2011/04/25/where-to-lose-weight-on-vacation/#postComment
Petersen, Anders (2011). "Authentic self-realization and depression." *International Sociology*, Vol. 26(1): 5–24.
Pierce, Bert (1949). "Motoring Holidays; Forecasts Show 24,000,000 Cars on U. S. Highways This Vacation Season." *The New York Times,* May 8, 1949.
Roberts, Steven V. (1971). "America Takes to the Road at Vacation Time." *The New York Times,* July 27, 1971.
Robinovitz, Karen (2004). "Journeys; No Talking. No Fun. It's Called A Vacation." *The New York Times*, January 16, 2004.
Rose, Nikolas (1999). *Powers of Freedom; Reframing Political Thought.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
Rosenbloom, Stephanie (2006). "Please Don't Make Me Go on Vacation." *The New York Times*, August 10, 2006.
Schumpeter, Joseph A. (1962). "Chapter VII: The Process of Creative Destruction." In *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*. Harper Torchbooks, New York.
Schwartz, Martin (1958). "Travel en Famille"; Vacation Travel Seems to Be Growing Into More of a Family Activity". *The New York Times*, November 16, 1958,
Sennett, Richard (2006). *The Culture of the New Capitalism*. Yale University Press, New Haven.
Shapiro, Michael J. (1992). *Reading the Postmodern Polity: Political Theory as Textual Practice.* University of Minnesota Press, Oxford.
Shapiro, Michael J. (2012). "Chapter 3: Language and Power: The spaces of critical interpretation" in: *Discourse, Culture and Violence.* Forthcoming.
Shea, Catherine (1960). "Rebel Against the Planned Vacation Finds Peace in the Bahamas." *The New York Times,* February 7, 1960.
Stanley, Alessandra (2012). "I Loved Everything About It, but It Didn't Love Me Back." *The New York Times,* May 13, 2012.
Stavrakakis, Yannis (2010). "Symbolic Authority, Fantasmatic Enjoyment and the Spirits of Capitalism: Genealogies of Mutual Engagement" In Cederström and Hoedemaekers (eds): *Lacan and Organizations*, pp. 59-100. MayFlyBooks, London.
Stern, Jane and Michael Stern (1981). *Horror Holiday: Secrets of Vacation Survival.* E.P. Dutton, Boston.
Sterne, Michael (1980). "Close to Nature on Florida's Sanibel and Captiva; A Family Vacation Close to Nature." *The New York Times,* December 14, 1980.
Stienstra, Tom; and Ann Marie Brown (2009). *Yosemite & Mammoth Lakes Camping and Hiking*. Avalon Travel, Berkeley.
Swanson, Barbara (1977). "Speaking Personally; Now That Vacation Is Over." The New York Times, September 4, 1977.
Taylor, Charles (1991). *The Ethics of Authenticity*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA.

Traister, Aaron (no publishing date recorded). "Vacations from Hell". Blog-posting on *RedBook*. http://www.redbookmag.com/love-sex/advice/funny-vacation, Accessed March 12, 2012.
Van Gelder, Lawrence (2001). "On The Job; How I Undid My Summer Vacation". *The New York Times,* June 24, 2001.
Villadsen, Kaspar (2006). "Genealogi som metode - fornuftens tilblivelseshistorier." In Ole Bjerg og Kaspar Villadsen (eds.): *Sociologiske metoder - fra teori til analyse i kvantitative og kvalitative studier*, pp. 87-150. Samfundslitteratur, Frederiksberg C.
West, Dick (1963). "The Lighter Side: Writer Doesn't Understand Why Women Dislike To Travel". *Star News,* Wilmington N.C., July 22, 1963, p. 2.
Whitbourne, Susan Krauss (2010). "The Importance of vacations to our physical and mental health". *Psychology Today*, online website/blog, http://www.psychologytoday.com/blog/fulfillment-any-age/201006/the-importance-vacations-our-physical-and-mental-health?page=2, viewed March 14, 2012.
Whitman, Walt (1904). *Leaves of Grass*. Small, Maynard & Company, Boston. Originally published 1855.
Wicker, Tom (1972). "End of a Vacation." *The New York Times,* September 10, 1972.
Willig, Rasmus. (2007). *Til forsvar for kritikken*. Hans Reitzels Forlag, Copenhagen.
Willig, Rasmus (2009) "Self-Realization Options: Contemporary Marching Order in the Pursuit of Recognition." *Acta Sociologica,* 52(4): 350-364.
World Tourism Organization (2011). *UNWTO Tourism Highlights; 2011 Edition*. http://www.unwto.org/facts/menu.html accessed May 29, 2012.
Žižek, Slavoj (1991). *Looking Awry: An Introduction to Jacques Lacan through Popular Culture.* MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
Žižek, Slavoj (ed.).(1994). *Mapping Ideology.* Verso, London
Žižek, Slavoj (1997). *The Plague of Fantasies*. Verso, London
Žižek, Slavoj (1999). *The Ticklish Subject: The Absent Centre of Political Ontology*. Verso, London.
Žižek, Slavoj (2001a). *Enjoy Your Symptom! Jacques Lacan in Hollywood and Out.* Routledge, London.
Žižek, Slavoj (2001b). *On Belief*. Routledge, New York.
Žižek, Slavoj (2004). "A Cup of Decaf Reality." *Lacan.com*. http://www.lacan.com/Žižekdecaf.htm. Accessed June 2, 2012.
Žižek, Slavoj (2006). *The Parallax View*. MIT Press, London.
Žižek, Slavoj (2008). *The Sublime Object of Ideology.* Verso, London.
Žižek, Slavoj (2012). *The Revolt of the Salaried Bourgeoisie: The New Proletariat* London Review of Books, 26 January 2012. Found on http://www.lrb.co.uk/v34/n02/slavoj-Žižek/the-revolt-of-the-salaried-bourgeoisie/print
Zupančič, Alenka (2008) *The odd one in: on comedy.* MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.