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Great Sleep As a Form of Hedonic Consumption

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This paper focuses on sleeping as a practice of hedonic consumption. The aim is to work towards a novel theoretical perspective on sleep as a culturally regulated practice of enjoyment and a desirable state-of-being that is culturally scripted and commodified in the market as the pursuit of 'great sleep'.

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“Great Sleep” as a Form of Hedonic Consumption

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ABSTRACT

While hedonic and experiential consumption is an established area of research, the “great sleep” as a new form of hedonic consumption has been largely overlooked in this literature. We will address this gap by, firstly, bringing together existing literature on hedonic and experiential consumption and socio-cultural studies on sleep, and secondly, by developing a practice-based narrative perspective that enables us to conceptualize how “great sleep” is commodified within the field of practices that constitutes consumer culture. In this process, a specific mode of being, sleep-as-consumption, is constructed.

INTRODUCTION

The contemporary consumer culture offers a wide range of cultural and material resources for consumers pursuing for “great sleep”, either as an experience in itself, or as an enabler for better wakeful experiences. One example is sleep tourism, a form of tourism in which sleeping takes place in extraordinary places like in ice hotels or caves (Keinan and Kivetz 2011; Valtonen and Veijola 2011). In an on-line page entitled “The world’s best places to catch some shut-eye” (www.slate.com/id/2220293), one sleep tourist tells about his experiences. He had constructed an igloo with the help of the guide, and after having poked a small air in the roof, he wore a wool hat, climbed to a double sleeping bag – and had the best sleep he had ever had. In his words, it “was the mythical supersleep, deeper than any other, the Atlantis of the unconscious. It was a heavy dose of what scientists call slow-wave sleep”. The sleep tracker provides another example (www.sleeptracker.com). The web-page of this gadget, which looks like a wrist watch, tells us that it “monitors your sleep stages throughout the night and then uses that data to determine the exact moment when you should be awoken helping you feel refreshed and energetic”. At the same page, a customer writes about her user experiences saying that “My first night with it was great – I woke up completely fresh and rested”.

These market-driven narratives about “great sleep” illuminate developments in the contemporary discursive and material landscape of sleeping (Valtonen and Veijola 2011; Williams 2005). Accordingly, sleeping is no longer, or not merely, aligned with laziness and passivity but rather with entertainment, excitement, and experience. It also is aligned with new kinds of physical devices, and symbolic repertoires of knowledge, that allow consumers to control, and perhaps even maximize, their attempts to sleep well, and to wake up rested and energized. We treat these narratives (Moisander and Eriksson 2006) as one way through which “great sleep” is constructed as a culturally acceptable and an attractive experience.

In this paper, our focus is on exploring how “great sleep”, as a culturally regulated practice, is commodified within the field of practices that constitutes consumer culture. Thus, instead of providing a phenomenological account on consumers’ experiences of “great sleep”, we are interested in how the consumption and marketing practices of sleep-related products and services attach particular meanings and values, which are often complex and contradictory, to the notion of “great sleep”, and thereby commodify it (Penaloza 2000,83). We argue that through this commodification (a) “great sleep” is rendered a legitimate object of consumer desire, and thus subsumed under the dynamics and logics of consumer culture, and b) a specific mode of being, sleep-as-consumption, is constructed. This

commodification structures and directs the way consumers enact their sleep, conceive of sleep and of themselves as sleeping consumers, and directs consumer desires toward new kinds of sleep-related fantasies, feelings and fun (Hirschman and Holbrook 1982).

On the level of theory, our aim is to work towards a new perspective on studying the commodification of sleep into an object of hedonic consumption. The practice-based narrative perspective that we here develop, draws upon cultural accounts on sleep (Mauss 1973; Taylor 1993; Valtonen and Veijola 2011; Williams 2005), theories of practice (Reckwitz 2002; Schatzki 2002; Schatzki et al. 2001; Warde 2005), and consumer culture theory discussing how cultural meanings and values are narrated in the marketplace (Penaloza 2000; Moisander and Eriksson 2006; Moisander and Valtonen 2006; Shankar, Elliott, and Goulding 2001). By way of conclusion, we suggest a tentative research agenda for studying sleeping as a form of hedonic consumption from this particular perspective.

The contributions of this paper are threefold. First, it extends the current understanding of the distinct ‘states of being’ involved in hedonic and experiential consumption. While previous studies have documented the way hedonic and experiential consumption practices bring about an alternative state of being – conceptualized, for instance, in terms of “flow”, “liminality”, or “losing it” – they have always assumed a waking subject in their investigations (Arnould and Price 1993; Belk and Costa 1998; Goulding, Shankar, Elliott, and Canniford 2009). We add the state of being asleep to these debates. By comparing it with the wakeful states we offer a fuller picture of the states of being associated to hedonic and experiential consumption. By drawing attention to the commodification of this state of being asleep, in turn, we provide one novel example of the way specific modes of being are constructed in the fields of practices that constitute consumer culture. Second, this paper articulates a practice-based narrative perspective on the commodification of sleeping into an object of hedonic and experiential consumption. This perspective provides one alternative to the recent anthropological (Tumbat and Belk 2011) and biosocial (Goulding et al. 2009) streams of research that have elaborated on the complex relationship between hedonic and experiential consumption and consumer and marketplace cultures. Third, this paper highlights the ways in which the practices of contemporary consumer culture shape and structure notions of sleep, rendering it an object of desire. In doing so, our study introduces sleeping, an under-researched yet burgeoning consumption phenomenon, to the research agenda of hedonic and experiential consumption, and suggests future directions for its theoretical and empirical exploration.

The paper starts by reviewing the key conceptual developments made in the research area of hedonic and pleasurable consumption. Then it turns to develop a practice-based narrative perspective on studying the commodification of sleep into an object of hedonic consumption. To conclude, the paper outlines areas for future research. While our exploratory paper is conceptual, it makes references to empirical examples for illustrative purposes.

Earlier research on hedonic and experiential consumption

In their seminal article Holbrook and Hirschman (1982) critiqued the then popular notion of the consumer as a rational and utilitarian decision-maker, and argued for an alternative perspective

that would better capture types of consumption in which experiences, aesthetic enjoyment and emotional responses are central. Since that a distinctive body of theoretical knowledge about this type of consumption has been generated. Consumers scholars have taken different theoretical perspectives – phenomenological (Celsi, Rose, and Leigh 1993), anthropological (Belk and Costa 1998; Tumbat and Belk 2011), and biosocial (Goulding et al. 2009) – and empirically explored this phenomenon in a range of consumption settings from leisure activities (Arnould and Price 1993; Celsi et al. 1993; Joy and Sherry 2003; Tumbat and Belk 2011), festivals and carnivals (Belk and Costa 1998; Kozinets 2002), commercially created thematized spaces (Maclaran and Brown 2005; Kozinets et al. 2004), to the context of passionate consumption (Belk, Ger, and Askegaard 2003), to mention a few.

While these studies differ in their theoretical assumptions and empirical foci, they nevertheless appear to share an idea that the pleasurable and experiential consumption practices bring about a distinctive *state of being* – commonly figured as liminal, euphoric, child-like, magical, fantastic, flow state, or *communitas* – that provides for consumers a temporarily disengage from the demands, rules and roles of the quotidian life. Contemporary consumer culture offers a wide range of virtual or non-virtual “alternative realities”, such as clubs, theme parks, or games, where this disengage is facilitated, and where consumers are invited to throw for strangeness, novelty, and excitement, and to enjoy of their imaginative capacities - occasionally also with the help of substances such as drugs or alcohol. Consumers can thereby transcend the social categories that normally define them and move beyond mundane subjectivities. It is precisely this temporal transcendence of normal mundane life, facilitated by the co-creative consumption and marketing practices, that is thought to produce the re-vitalization of the self thus to be the key source of pleasurable and hedonic consumption. To illustrate, Goulding et al. describe their findings of the clubbing experience in the following way:

We find that the effects of the deafening music, the ingestion of ecstasy, the energetic dancing, and the management and organization of space combine to produce a calculated, highly sought-after shared experience and a temporary suspension of the rules and norms of everyday life. (Goulding et al. 2009)

This existing literature has, nevertheless, focused almost exclusively on exploring the waking life of consumers, making only occasional references to the realm of sleeping. For instance, Belk and Costa (1998) and Arnould and Price (1993) in their seminal articles on consumer fantasies and extraordinary experiences – both taking place in the nature – start their ethnographic research when the research subjects crawl from their tents or tepees and leave them when they retire. What happens in between *that* time is unknown – only notes to the silence of the night or a wet sleeping bag are being made: ‘sleep seeps in with the growing dark; the camp quiets, and the night’s rest is the most beautiful of all’ (House via Belk and Costa 1998, 238-9). Recent studies show, however, that sleeping outdoors, in tents, tepees or igloos, might be an experience in itself (Valtonen and Veijola 2011). As Keinan and Kivetz (2011, 948) point out, sleeping in places such as ice hotels provides an opportunity for contemporary consumers to collect novel, sometimes non-pleasurable, experiences to be added to their experiential CV.

We thus suggest that the existing literature on hedonic and experiential consumption remains inadequate if it keeps neglecting the phenomenon of sleeping. Sleeping is not only an emerging form of hedonic and experiential consumption whose on-going commodifi-

cation remains under-theorized, but also a theoretically intriguing case for developing the existing body of knowledge on the states of being associated to hedonic and experiential consumption. Therefore, we start to bring together the existing studies on hedonic and experiential consumption and the growing body of socio-cultural literature on sleep. This latter body of research, generated in various cultural disciplines such as anthropology, sociology, and history, provides us an important contextual basis for understanding sleeping as a culturally regulated practice. It offers insights into the cultural nature of the state of ‘being asleep’ as well as of the social, symbolic, corporeal and aesthetic standards, norms and criteria guiding the way the sleep is ‘done’ (Taylor 1993).

The human *state of ‘being asleep’* has given ground for a range of cultural myths and beliefs, as anthropological and historical studies well illustrate (Steger and Brunt 2003; Tedlock 1987). In the West, it has commonly been conceived as an irrational and mystified sphere of life associated with the death and darkness. The phenomenological accounts, in turn, let us know how this state, involving distinct states of consciousness and will, provides a cyclical, momentary and partial withdrawal from the self and from the world (Bergson 1958; Merleau-Ponty 1962). During this state the sleeper passes through various stages – ones during which dreams are seen (the so call REM sleep, Aserinsky and Kleitman 1953) and not seen, ‘deep sleep’ representing the most inactive state (Härmä and Sallinen 2004).

The state of dreaming – the focus of many cultural inquiries (Tedlock 1987) – is commonly seen to liberate the mind from the ordinary world, though only partly, and to open up a fantasy world that might be experienced as enjoyable as such (Valtonen 2011). The ‘deep sleep’, thus the state during which dreams are not seen, has received less attention within cultural scholarship, the work of Paul Harrison (2009) representing one exception. For him, this state is a way to offer a critique for contemporary studies focused on studying (merely) the active part of human life. For us, this state – as well as other states involved in sleep – is of interest because they are targets in the commodification of “great sleep”. For instance, there are packaged holidays whose core offering is based upon the appreciation of the world of dreams, and the state of ‘deep sleep’ is, in turn, referred to as *the* state essential for having “supersleep” (www.slate.com/id/2220293).

Moreover, although the past research has provided important insights into how specific states of being are involved, for instance, in daydreaming (Belk, Ger, and Askegaard 2003), contemplating of art (Sherry and Joy 2003), or use of ecstasy (Goulding et al. 2009), we suggest that the recognition of the state of being asleep complements this existing understanding. As we discussed above, ‘being asleep’, like the states identified earlier, represents an altered state of consciousness, a state in which the mind is “switched off”, enabling consumers thus to “lose it”, “it” referring to the mind (Greenfield 2000 via Goulding et al 2009, 767), and falling asleep provides, in a way, one way to throw to the “thrill of the unknown” (Arnould and Price 1993). Thus, in this sense the state of being asleep might enrich existing understanding, and point to the importance of other states such as vulnerability or drowsiness.

‘Doing sleep’ refers to the wide range of the social, symbolic, material, corporeal and aesthetic standards, norms and criteria that are related to human attempts fall asleep, to sleep, and to wake up. In every culture and society there is large repertoire of implicit and explicit rules and ideals that designate when, where, with whom, and how to sleep. For instance, the commonplace sleep pattern of today is to have an eight-hour unbroken nocturnal sleep, lying in a horizontal position in a private bed located in a bedroom. While

it is tempting to consider this prevalent Western sleep practice as 'natural', it is the result of long socio-historical civilization process (Elias 1978). In history, bi-phasic nocturnal sleep patterns have been common (Ekrieh 2003), all sorts of techniques of sleep have been practiced (Mauss [1934] 1973, 80–81), and sleeping has taken place in public places with other people (Elias 1978).

The seminal article of Marcel Mauss (1973) "Techniques of the Body" – where he introduced the notion of "techniques of sleep" – offers us a fruitful basis for understanding these 'doings'. It leads us to conceive sleeping as an *embodied skill, habit and technique* bearing imprints of culture, society, and economy. This means that the way we sleep is an outcome of cultural and social education which, through time, becomes habituated and normalized. The embodied practice of sleeping provides one example. It is commonly held that this form of experience and pleasure calls for specific bodily techniques (such as breathing for relaxation), embodied postures of staying still and lying down, and a number of material and sensory affordances (Valtonen and Veijola 2011). The sociability of sleeping provides another example. The widely-spread cultural belief of the privatization of sleeping easily shadows the socio-pleasures of sleeping – sharing pleasures is commonly discussed as an essential part of the experiential and hedonic consumption (Goulding et al. 2009) – and sleeping together, with the closest ones, may provide a significant source of enjoyment.

The culturally shaped skills, habits and techniques of sleep are subject to change. In the recent decade, some sort of change can be identified in the way the sleep is discussed and practiced in Western societies (Williams 2005, 2011). This is reflected, for instance, in the proliferation of sleep-related media talks. Contemporary consumers thus are surrounded by a discourse, in which the sleep, or the lack of it, is commonly casted either as a major crisis of our time, or alternatively as a vital opportunity to revitalize and energize people. The rapidly growing 'sleep aids market' (Williams 2011, 145) and the emerging products and services aiming at offering better sleep illustrate the case.

Moreover, the rapid increase of recent neuro-scientific and physiological research on sleep has expanded contemporary languages and knowledge pertaining to sleep, shaping thereby the way sleep is thought of, conceived and practiced. These discursive and material shifts together with the establishment of physical realities (see Humphreys 2010), such as sleep spas or hotels in trees, play a role in the creation of "great sleep" as a culturally acceptable means of seeking entertainment, excitement, and experiences.

Practice-based narrative approach to commodification of sleep as a form of hedonic consumption

In building our practice-based theoretical perspective on the commodification of sleep into a marketable entity, a practice of hedonic consumption, we draw primarily on the literature on practice theory (Reckwitz 2002; Schatzki 2002; Schatzki, Cetina, and Savigny 2001) and post-structuralist narrative approach to consumer culture theory (Davies 2003a; Davies and Harré 1990; Marion and Nairn 2011; Moisander and Eriksson 2006b; Shankar, Elliott, and Goulding 2001). From this perspective consumption is viewed and conceptualized as something that occurs within and is part of a field of practices (Schatzki et al. 2001) that are socially instituted and brought about in the marketplace through processes and practices of narration (Shankar, Elliott, and Fitchett 2009) and dialogue between marketers and consumers (Peñaloza and Gilly 1999). And it is this field of practices—the total nexus of interconnected consumption practices—that constitutes consumer culture (Moisander and Valtonen 2006).

By the term 'practice' we refer here to the "embodied, materially mediated arrays of human activity" that are centrally organized around a shared practical understanding" (Schatzki et al. 2001: 2). Practice is a "routinized type of behavior which consists of several elements, interconnected to one other: forms of bodily activities, forms of mental activities, 'things' and their use, a background knowledge in the form of understanding, know how, states of emotion and motivational knowledge" (Reckwitz 2002: 249). It thus consists of not only patterns of bodily behavior but also a set of particular routinized ways of understanding, knowing how, and desiring, which are essential elements of the practice in the sense that they constitute the "logic" of the practice through which the practice gets its meaning and purpose in the marketplace.

From this perspective, we conceptualize commodification in terms of the market-mediated processes and practices of narration through which sleep, as an everyday consumer experience and bodily practice, is transformed into a marketable entity with economic value. Economic value is assigned to sleep by endowing it with particular cultural meanings that have symbolic or sign value (Venkatesh and Peñaloza 2006) and by producing particular service-providing offerings that are designed to deliver this value as consumers use these offerings when engaging in their sleeping-related practices. Through these practices of commodification, sleep is thus transformed into a practice of consumption, in the sense that the activity of consumption—the appropriation and appreciation of goods, services, performances, information and ambiance (Warde 2005: 137)—becomes a constitutive element of the practice of sleeping.

As a result, sleeping becomes a culturally regulated practice that can be perfected with the help of particular products and services that are exchanged in the market. Through commodification, consumers are offered and encouraged to draw upon on particular socially instituted practices and cultural narratives about sleeping. By cultural narratives we refer to socially constructed storylines through which people make sense of their everyday lives and achieve social order (Davies 2003a, b). They are *cultural* in the sense that they emerge and are constructed out of a socio-cultural ensemble of stories, storytelling and reading practices that are embedded in a complex formation of discourse, knowledge and power (Nakagawa 1993; Rappaport 2000).

In the field of practices that constitutes consumer culture, these cultural narratives about great sleep that marketers construct and reproduce thus make available particular ways of making sense of the world and sanction particular behaviors as appropriate, worthwhile, and desirable in particular contexts. In this sense, narratives are constitutive of social reality. As Shankar et al. (2009) argue, "the process of telling stories is an act of creation and construction and not simply an act of remembering or retelling (Shankar et al. 2009)"

To illustrate, the following story of "supersleep" – that we have already quoted in the introduction – is an act of creation and construction of sleep. The story is, thus, not only a way to share the sleeping experiences with other consumers (Keinan and Kivetz 2011), but plays a role in the creation of sleeping as an experience.

A snow cave was a good place to start [the search for supersleep]. In retrospect, it combines several elements likely to lead to deep sleep. A full day of hard exercise. A firm bed (snow). The sense of being buried under several feet of insulation. And most of all, the cold. As Herman Melville wrote in *Moby Dick*, "a sleeping apartment should never be furnished with a fire, which is one of the luxurious discomforts of the rich." To find the best sleep, he said, you must "have nothing but the blanket between you and your snugness and the cold of the outer air.

Then there you lie like the one warm spark in the heart of an arctic crystal.”

Science helps explain what we’re looking for in the search for supersleep. Sleep researchers classify sleep into four different stages, including the well-known REM, or “rapid eye movement,” stage, and three stages of non-REM sleep. During the night, you cycle down through the stages and back up to REM-sleep, which is actually the closest to being awake. Most writers and scientists seem interested in REM sleep, because that’s when Freud-style dreams take place. But a sleep connoisseur seeks something different: the bottom of the cycle, known as “slow-wave,” or N3, sleep. Slow-wave is the deepest and most dreamless of sleeps, a form of sleep that makes neurons shut down. How much slow-wave you actually get varies quite a bit. Hence the search for more of it.

In search of big doses of that slow wave, it’s worth traveling to some places for the sleep alone—“sleep tourism.” With a drowsy fondness I recall Turkey’s Capadocia region, where you can rent a room carved out of stone—a cave really—to pass out in. It can make you start to think this whole house thing may have been a big mistake. There is something about lying in a cave that is hard to replicate in an urban apartment or even the suburbs. The Turkish caves form the ultimate bedroom community: darker than night, deliciously cold, with blankets that are thick and beds that are firm. (They are built, after all, on solid limestone.) No wonder cavemen always looked so vigorous.

Another recommendation for the sleep-tourist is the Japanese *onsen* inn. Imagine a day spent hiking through the Japanese countryside, climbing volcanoes, perhaps communing with the local monkeys. You return, change into Yukata robes, proceed to soak yourself in hot, sulfurous water for an hour or so, then retreat to your tatami room for a lavish meal of duck stew and fish. If, after that, you don’t fall into a deep sleep, you might as well give up.

For most people, the American road trip is all about national parks and roadside kitsch, but it can also be a good opportunity for sleeping, if you take it slow. There is something about the wide-open landscape of the West that can lure you into a calm drowsiness. A brisk hike each day, dull stretches of driving, and quiet, empty roadside motels can add up to some good sleep. (www.slate.com/id/2220293)

This narrative indicates that the state of being asleep is created as knowable, and thereby consumable entity, by way of making references to the lexicon provided by the sleep science (“N3 sleep”) and by the practice of wine tasting (“sleep connoisseur”). The ‘doing of sleep’ is in turn created by way of making references to various embodied activities preceding sleeping, material qualities of the surroundings of sleep (e.g. thick blankets, firm bed), and the sensory and affective qualities of the space of sleep (e.g. quietness, darkness, cold). Thereby the narrative offers cultural elements of “great sleep” as well as guidelines for their appropriate orchestration.

The practice-based narrative perspective that we develop here continues and complements the existing theorizations of hedonic and experiential consumption in a number of ways. Namely, while the phenomenological accounts – treating the subjective meanings as

determinant of experiences – have dominated this area of research, the recent studies have put more emphasis on understanding how the marketplace culture, and the various practices, rules and tensions it involves, frames and shapes the production and consumption of experiences. For instance, the bio-social perspective on pleasure developed in the context of clubbing by Goulding and her colleagues (2009), situates the use of drugs to the contemporary dynamics of marketplace. They thus analyze a marketplace culture that is legally sanctioned while supporting a range of illegal practices. Through the construct of contained illegality they offer new insights of the functioning and management of pleasure and the operation of marketplace cultures (ibid. 769). They conclude that through the marketplace processes and practices of ‘contained illegality’ the morally contentious pleasures are rendered more controllable – and economically valuable for club owners.

In a similar fashion, a recent anthropologically informed study of mountaineering conducted by Tumbat and Belk (2011) grounds its analysis of extraordinary experiences to the dynamics of marketplace culture. Their argue that the structure-antistructure dichotomy – originally offered by Victor Turner – that has become a widely accepted model for understanding extraordinary experiences in consumer research, is problematic due to its romantic and essentialist claims. Their analysis brings to the fore how commercialism and competition for uniqueness within individual performance ideology create numerous tensions that invert this standard dichotomy (Tumbat and Belk 2011, 43).

As we conceptualize commodification in terms of the market-mediated processes and practices of narration, through which the social reality is created, we are able to offer a better understanding of how the tensions, rules, moralities, and values – identified by the prior literature – are constructed and distributed through the marketplace by narratives within and as part of the field of practices that constitute consumer culture. By way of analyzing the commodification of an emerging, and under-researched, consumption and marketing phenomenon, sleeping, we are able to show how it is rendered legitimate object of consumer aspiration and desire, and thus subsumed under the dynamics and logics of consumer and marketplace culture (Humphreys 2010). Our approach also points to the way the practices and process of commodification construct not only a consumable and marketable entity, sleeping in our case, but a specific mode of being, sleep-as-consumption, that shapes the way consumers relate to, value, and conceive of, this part of human existence.

Concluding thoughts for building the research agenda

In this paper, we have begun to argue that the inclusion of sleeping into the research agenda of hedonic and experiential consumption has the potential to complement and extend the existing knowledge generated in this area of research. We thus promote an enlarged view that avoids the focusing on the sphere of the (active) waking life only when enjoyable and experiential aspects are theorized and empirically investigated. To develop this broadened agenda we have tried to bring together existing literature on hedonic and experiential consumption and socio-cultural studies on sleep. We also have worked toward a practice-based narrative perspective that enables us to conceptualize how “great sleep” is commodified within the field of practices that constitutes consumer culture. To conclude we point to the issues, or themes, that we find vital in studying the way “great sleep” is constructed as an attractive and sought-after experience.

(1) To expand on the points made in this paper, an empirical investigation of the production and consumption of “great sleep” in the emerging sleep market seems necessary. There is, thus, a need to collect a wide corpus of on-line and off-line narratives distributed by

the new services and products such as sleep spas, nap bars, and extraordinary hotels. This would help us to better understand how the commodification of sleeping occurs through a complex universe of competing meanings and practices, and resulting perhaps in various notions of what "great sleep" is all about.

(2) Focusing on analyzing the commodification of the state of 'being asleep' in these narratives, that is, how this state is represented and 'known', and thus created as a specific mode of being. Methodologically, such an analysis may employ the wide range of analytical tools and principles developed by cultural consumer scholars (Moisander and Valtonen 2006). Namely, while the phenomenological state of being asleep itself is not (necessarily) empirically accessible for a cultural scholar, the cultural aspects that surround this state, and thus assign meanings to it, can be analyzed by the existing narrative and discursive methods. The same concerns, obviously, the doings of sleep.

(3) Focusing on analyzing the commodification of 'doing sleep' in these narratives by way of identifying the range of social, material, sensory, embodied, and emotional elements that are offered as central in the pursuit of "great sleep". How these elements are weaved together in the implicit or explicit guidelines inscribed in the narratives? What kinds of fantasies and imagery are aligned with "great sleep"?

(4) Situating the analysis of "great sleep" to the contemporary marketplace dynamics in which socio-historically constructed sleep-related myths, beliefs and patterns meet and compete with the ongoing discursive and material shifts brought about by recent technoscience of sleeping.

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