

# The (dis)organized sleeping body

Transgressing boundaries

Tarja Salmela



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**The (dis)organized sleeping body: transgressing boundaries**

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## Abstract

This dissertation investigates the (dis)organized sleeping body in practices of organizing and more widely in Western society. Evolving into a multi-disciplinary research project that draws from organization studies, tourism studies, psychoanalysis and socio-cultural studies on sleep, it introduces the conflicting role of sleep and dreaming and suggests that they hold uncanny force. This force allows a widening of the space of human subjectivity in organizations through a recognition of its unfolding in borderline experiences. Sleep and dreaming break the illusion of a coherent and manageable organization and the type of organizational subjectivity that we are consciously able to think of.

This dissertation introduces a triad consisting of three supplementary and entangling viewpoints on sleep and dreaming in organizations, approached through an intimate and affective auto-ethnographic research process of five years. The triad of three supplementary viewpoints consists of the recognition of: (i) the deep mental processes of the human psyche; (ii) the corporeal state of sleeping as a site of withdrawal and; (iii) the societal, political and economic practices around sleep and dreaming. Via this triad, this dissertation avoids granting ontological priority to either practice-oriented, phenomenological or psychoanalytical rendering of sleep and dreaming, valuing a transgression of boundaries. Because the triad developed in an undeliberated manner, it also works as a manifestation of an affective research process, which is spontaneous, disrupted and disruptive.

This dissertation has several contributions. First, it contributes to organizational studies recognizing the value of psychoanalysis to explore organizations and organizing with its focus on sleep and dreaming. It points to the uncanny force of sleep and dreaming to disrupt organizational fulcrums by providing a path into another reality escaping symbolic constructions and conscious comprehension. This understanding connects this dissertation further to research of the unexplainable, affective, and irrational side of organizations, and the fantasy of organization. Second, this dissertation makes an epistemological-methodological contribution by transgressing the borders of conventional knowledge production through highlighting how the uncanny power of sleep and dreaming can open up new epistemological paths for organizational scholarship. It introduces the potential of auto-ethnography as a powerful method to address repressed forms of organizational subjectivity. Furthermore, it emphasizes how the access to intimate experiences gains depth through a generosity towards the experience of the other, valuing the importance of collaborative auto-ethnography and recognizing its ethico-political potential.

Thirdly, with the help of the border-transgressing triad, this dissertation contributes to existing socio-cultural research on sleep and connects its heritage further to organizational studies, establishing a firmer ground for using its potential to investigate processes of organizing. Finally, the dissertation aims to take practice-based studies of organizations further by questioning any ontologization of practice, enabling a type of access to the study of organizing that embraces difference and plurality. The disser-

tation is divided into two parts. Part I discusses the theoretical and methodological premises, empirical contexts and contributions of this study. Part II includes three articles published in academic publications.

**Keywords:** Organizations, transgression, uncanny, sleep, dreaming, body, auto-ethnography, practice, ethico-politics, vulnerability, psychoanalysis

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Namaste!

Rovaniemi, April 6<sup>th</sup>, 2018

*Tarja Salmela*

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## List of articles

### Article A:

Salmela, T., Valtonen, A., Miettinen, S. (2017) *An Uncanny Night in a Nature Bubble: Designing Embodied Sleeping Experiences*. In Fesenmaier, D. R., Xiang, Z. (eds.) *Design Science in Tourism: Foundations of Destination Management (Tourism on the Verge)* 2017 Edition. Springer International Publishing Switzerland.

### Article B:

Salmela, T., Valtonen, A., Lupton, D. (forthcoming) The Affective Circle of Harassment and Enchantment: Reflections on the ÖURA Ring as an Intimate Research Device. *Qualitative Inquiry*, special issue 'Researching Intimacies and New Media: Methodological Opportunities and Challenges.'

### Article C:

Salmela, T., Valtonen, A., Meriläinen, S. (2018) Accessing uncolonized terrains of organizations: the uncanny force of sleep and dreaming. *Culture and Organization*. Online ahead of print. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14759551.2018.1441297>

**Part I: Tying and opening knots:  
intro-conclusion of dissertation**



## Preface: the messy reality of writing a dissertation

This dissertation is an academic outcome of five adventurous years, written as a story as I have lived it. On my dissertation's defense day, 25 May 2018, I have spent almost ten years at the University of Lapland, first as a young student of organization and management, and after that as a doctoral student and a researcher. These years have formed an unexpected journey – a reminder of the capability of life to surprise you time after time. Recognizing this, in the pages that follow, I have written myself strongly into the text. It yet has been five years of my life that I've been tapping the buttons of different laptops; spent ink on dozens of pages of research and personal diaries; discussed academic research processes with my academic colleagues/friends/supervisors; chatted with those friends of mine who are not taking active part in academic discourses; stopped and started again; became inspired and became tired; became deeply exhausted; said 'screw you!' to academia; was diagnosed with burn out; searched for the 'true' me; found yoga and meditation; moved to another city; came back; re-fell-in-love with research; found ways to express something deeper through reading and writing; became... excited again.

Writing a dissertation has never been a mission to me – to get it ready – until these final months during which I am now working to tie some knots and thus facing a deadline. Instead of an ending, this deadline is a pit stop. This pit stop is a moment I have also been inspirationally waiting for. This work is not an accomplishment of *something*, not even now, as I am taking my final steps. Exploring and wondering sleep and dreaming has been fascinating work – a part of my life. Work that has infused, little by little, to the 'personal'. Work that has proved its relevance in critical evaluations of our society as a whole – and from there, it has opened up insights into what lies deeper within. It is only during the past two years or so that this has begun to clear up to me – and I am eager to see, where all of this deliberation will take me in the future.

Acknowledging this, writing my personal story into the text does not limit to acknowledgements or even this preface. This messy reality of writing a dissertation is a vital part of what I want to say with my research. Stories would fall short without engaging the story of the ones telling them. My story is entangled with what I will share with you about the mysteries of sleep and dreaming in the organizational context and beyond. And this story, as every story, is also more than one woman's. It is collective. In addition to unforgettable co-authoring processes, there have been encounters with people who have had a major effect on my work – both through the courage and faith they have invoked in me, and through inspiration of their work. Together with the communal nature of research, it is me sitting here behind the screen, looking at the view into my neighbor's backyard from my home study window, writing these words. They are words from me to you. Writing an autoethnography requires the writer-narrator to

uncover herself. Yet, a hesitation occurs. What should I tell? That I stand for animal rights? That I am married? That we have two rescue cats as our most beloved family members? That I love to salsa? That I am a vegan? That I live in Lapland? That I have a passion for sports? That I have a band with my partner? That I also write fiction? That I hug trees and love nature? That I compose music as well as write lyrics? Deliberating this, I am confronted by a question: do I have the right to underline my subjectivity in the research process? What is deemed as ‘relevant’? By whom? Am I selfish when talking about *me*? Is it ‘un-scientific’? As I feel myself written into every sentence that appear on the pages of this thesis – they all are part of my story – there is a possibility that I, as a narrator, still stay absent. A fear to express author subjectivity in contrast to ‘objective’ science occurs, even though I would not expect it to. I think these questions that arise tell something more valuable about me as a writer-narrator and as a young organizational scholar than a detached info-package including my age, marital status, hobbies and homestead ever would. These thoughts provide flesh for my hesitations, uncertainties, as well as for my journey to courage and freer self-expression. Again, the personal connects with the communal; these are experiences that probably many young scholars share, worldwide. At the same time, they are experiences expressing my personal anxieties, which do not stop me from writing but might be holding me back. Anxieties of which I have remained unaware, until somebody has reminded me. Luckily, *somebodies* and *someblings* really have reminded me. Now I am more able to remind myself. Thank you.

In the particular story you are reading now, there is freedom to celebrate the personal. While I am being reviewed like in every article and book chapter process that I have gone through during the past five years, I feel confident in expressing myself and the empowering communality behind all this, more fully and freely than perhaps ever before when it comes to academic expression. In fact, for me, this expression comes closer to an entanglement of science, philosophy and art. As such, it seems that all that has happened, all the struggles in my personal life and all the moments of joy and inspiration now have their moment to blossom freely, supported by a deep sense of gratitude. I am truly, truly happy to take you with me on this journey. I also hope you will come back to these pages later on, if there is something that leaves you pondering. The following pages will, I hope, challenge you in some way – I am deliberately trying *not* to simplify things to target a specific audience. Yes, I am acting against one of the most important rules of the ‘academic writing handbook’: ‘know your audience!’. This time, I say *no* and instead hope that as many different types of co-passengers as possible would want to take part in this journey and read these following pages. Moreover, when it comes to challenges... is not a moment when one *does* come back and is able to tie one knot previously left open a great source of inspiration and satisfaction? For the writer, it shows that her work has made some sort of an impact. Thus, her story can go on.

*‘The negation of the world in sleep is equally a way of upholding it,  
and thus sleeping consciousness is not a recess of pure nothingness:  
it is cluttered with the debris of the past and present;  
it plays among it’*

*(Merleau-Ponty, 1970: 48)*



# 1. Introduction: sleep as an uncanny force to elucidate and disrupt organizational fantasy

Arising from my engagement in sleep market analysis in 2013, this dissertation started from a question: *What is happening to sleep?* Investigating sleep-centric innovations one after another, a thought of the sleeping body being colonized by the capitalist force through various economic activities, arose. Reading sociologist Simon Williams's work of sleep, I had recognized sleep and the sleeping body unsettling our conscious rationality as well as the prevailing socio-political and moral order (Williams, 2011: 103-104). It seemed that the sleeping body held silent force, only later in the process allowing itself to be introduced as uncanny (Freud, 1919/2003). Having a capacity to ontologically question the presence of fixed meanings (Beyes & Steyaert, 2013: 1448), uncanny is a crisis of the natural – a moment when something previously so homely turns to unhomely (Masschelein, 2011: 4) or a moment when something so familiar becomes shockingly present in an unfamiliar and strange context (see Royle, 2003: 1). The silent force that the sleeping body seemed to hold, could question many of the problematic logics and values that Western society, and organizations as part of it, embody. Another question rose: *What deeper potential do sleep and dreaming have to elucidate, and later disrupt, organizations and organizing and their fulcrums?*

Thus, I began a journey as an organizational scholar with the topic of sleep and dreaming, allowing a development of a critical standpoint from which to investigate versatile processes of organizing. From the very start, boundaries started to crack. While a focus on sleep and dreaming gave me new perspectives on larger societal questions, being political by nature (Williams, 2005; 2011), it also gave room to understand how '(c)haos, disorder and noise are not in opposition to organization but are its very precondition' (Clegg, Kornbeger & Rhodes, 2005: 154). Sleep and dreaming helped to see the messiness of organizing, questioning its symbolic boundaries (e.g. Chia, 1998; Clegg et al., 2005; Tsoukas & Chia, 2002). Through this, this dissertation evolved into a multi-disciplinary research project that draws from organization studies, tourism studies, psychoanalysis and socio-cultural studies on sleep. In fact, the dissertation began to blur the boundaries of scientific fields and meta-theories altogether (e.g. Tsoukas, 1994; Wozniak, 2010). Furthermore, through its sensitive nature, my research topic of sleep and dreaming made me affectively responsive (Pullen, Rhodes & Thanem, 2017) to those intimate experiences that arose during the process, circling around sleep. These experiences prompted questions and shared discussions with my co-authors, bringing us closer to each other. These were moments of self-fragilization (Ettinger, 2010) through which I exposed my vulnerability to others and encountered that of others with compassion and respect (Ettinger, 2010; Kenny & Fotaki, 2015).

A flow of serendipitous moments led me and my co-authors further into the unexpected world of psychoanalysis. The discovery of psychoanalysis was itself a joyful, highly affective encounter (Pullen et al., 2017), helping me to understand better the conflicting affects arising during the journey with sleep. Together with the discovery of psychoanalysis, my decision for one of the key concepts of this dissertation, *the uncanny*, was far from deliberative. The non-linear process of dialogue-formation with the uncanny is available to the reader through the three published articles that, together with this introductory article, establish an ensemble characterized by temporal development in relation to this concept. When starting to write Article A in 2013, my understanding of the uncanny as a rich and complex psychoanalytical concept was intrinsically confined. Despite the impossibility and inadequacy<sup>1</sup> of a psycho-analytically oriented theorization of the embodied experience when sleeping in a plastic bubble (forming the core of the article A) back in 2013, the later revival of this experience's uncanny elements (which still keep on opening) both as an individual experience and as a vital part of this messy dissertation journey point to the exact relevance of the bubble experience as part of this dissertation. With this personal process – and progress – with the uncanny, I hope I am able to prepare you as a reader for the in-depth discussion of the uncanny, provided in Article C.

What remains important to acknowledge is that while uncanny works as one key concepts of this dissertation, I aim to say many things outside the direct scope of it. By pointing to the importance of transgression in organizational discourse when introducing the disruptive force of sleep and dreaming as sites of unconscious, I have aimed to challenge the fantasy of any 'organization' – whether it has to do with a rational qualitative research process or organizational subjectivity based on coherence and control more generally. As is evident in the journey with the ÖURA ring in Article B, the disruption of bodily norms in academia and that of the privacy of the sleeping body – together with an exploration of the consequences of these disruptions – is possible from various theoretical standpoints, and is not solely dependent on psychoanalytical know-how. This idea connects the three articles forming this dissertation and makes them valuable in their difference. The very same idea is also manifest in the dissertation's title that highlights transgression instead of focusing solely on the uncanny. The emphasis on the different nature of all three articles and also their temporal organization, with the most recent outcome coming last, is also to make visible the time and effort put into this dissertation process to theorize on the transgressive power of sleep from a multidisciplinary standpoint together with the initiatory power of my research topic of sleep itself to take me on a journey *with it*.

Coming back to the discovery of psychoanalysis, this moment put the wheel rolling. It made me confront the patriarchal and sexist legacy persisting in many psychoanalytic studies of organization (Kenny & Fotaki, 2015: 186) and thus hesitate with the formerly joyous encounter. After a series of ethico-political moments (Pullen & Rhodes,

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1 Recognizing the Call for contributions in Springer's Tourism on the Verge Series 'Design Science in Tourism' with our emphasis on the design of sleep-centric tourism services.

2014) when struggling with the conflicting thoughts which made me feel incomplete and insufficient ('Do I lose the basis for my theorization while recognizing this legacy?'), I still carried on. This was possible for me through a compassionate orientation (see Ettinger, 2010) towards myself and others, entangled (Fotaki & Harding, 2013) – further connecting 'research' to the 'personal'. I figured that even though there is going to be a lot of obstacles in my way when keeping with psychoanalysis and not being an 'expert' in it, there is so much potential in its discovery that I must find the courage to hold on to it. A compassion towards my incompleteness as an academic scholar and social scientist rose partly from a psychoanalytic standpoint itself when recognizing my – everybody's – infinite sense of lack (Lacan, 1991). Put into dialogue with feminist ethics, this is an acknowledgement that suggests a compassionate intra-subjectivity together with trans-subjectivity, extending beyond individual experience (Ettinger, 2006a), and giving me strength. This recognition of my incompleteness as something that constructs instead of deconstructs me, kept me on my chosen path. I consider this incompleteness as a crucial part of that vulnerability to which I refer throughout this dissertation.

Valuing this transgressive and incomplete nature of research, I found my anchor in my research topic of sleep and dreaming. I introduce them as disruptive forces that are in constant flickering and challenge an organizational fantasy based on coherence, stability and manageability. Moreover, I describe this flickering role of sleep and dreaming as uncanny (Freud, 1919/2003; Dolar, 1991, Masschelein, 2011; Royle, 2003). What follows is that in the upcoming pages, I will manifest the simultaneous familiarity and unfamiliarity, threat and blessing of sleep and dreaming on two main levels. First, I will uncover the conflicting and flickering role that the sleeping body is granted through different societal logics. More than a site of withdrawal, sleep and the sleeping body as its enabler is conflictually constructed as...

- an enemy** (against logics of constant production);
- a target of envy** (those that have time to sleep are privileged);
- criminal** (in the eyes of the law when being accused for causing traffic accidents);
- refugee** (a sleeping body has a chance to hop off from the demands of the waking world);
- productive worker** (as part of the power nap discourse);
- problem** (a fatigued body at the workplace);
- consumer** (a consuming subject of the sleep market and sleep tourism);
- victim** (in its vulnerability and inability to defend itself);
- a target of exploitation** (both physical and mental);
- a target of possible violence** (also through denial of sleep as a way of torture);
- the abuser itself** (when pretending sleep and taking advantage of others' respect towards it);
- a danger towards others** 'by virtue of our sleeping bodies' (Williams, 2007: 147);
- a manifestation of the jouissance of any organization*** (I will come back to this...).

This comprehension of conflicting logics through which the sleeping body becomes constructed allows me to identify two things: to see sleep as a *target* of a constant process of valuation and revaluation, inseparable from the flux of processes of organizing (Dale & Burrell, 2000; Lindstead, 2000; Valtonen, Meriläinen, Laine & Salmela, 2017); and to consider the sleeping body as a powerful agent, holding the force to threaten and disrupt, while representing the unconscious part of our existence. This takes me to the second level of my investigation: the constant alertness and vigilance, the organizational ideal, becomes contested by our biological necessity to sleep, halt, stop and recover – a built-in prerequisite that has consequences for organizational thinking both on a practical and ideological level (Hancock, 2008; Valtonen et al., 2017; Williams, 2005; 2011).

As such, sleep, as a site of pause, rest, recovery and site of the unconscious, and most importantly as a biological necessity, works as a powerful means of disrupting the most fundamental fulcrums of organizations and organizing. Organizations are based on an ideal of being in constant movement, ready for (quick) change, renewal, growth, acceleration and vigilance, addressing demands for organizational managers (see Kenny & Bell, 2011; Meriläinen, Tienari & Valtonen, 2015; Rhodes & Pullen, 2010). Somewhat paradoxically, the movement and change is being slowed down or stabilized through structures and phases of progressions, for the purpose of being able to plan for the future and get everything to ‘work’. This leads to organizing based on an idea of having *control* and making this, at least on some level, predictable. To organize is to be prepared (for the unknown), to hold on to that ‘something’, making organizations a *jouissance* (Lacan, 1991) for the subject in chaos, providing ‘...a means of ordering, structuring and controlling the chaotic world outside’ (Clegg et al., 2005: 152). In the past, more stable organizations existed in comparison to the ones present in today’s more change-oriented, light and flexible organization structures. Once the heavy structure of organizing is set aside, the ideal of swiftness steps in. One must not stay put. One must not lose a grip on things. One must not stop. One must be alert.

The valuing of constant vigilance is a reproduction of valuing *waking* at the expense of sleeping. As a critique towards capitalism, one could argue that this valuation of the waking is in tight connection with the normative condition of the work/consume-around-the-clock society – a society in which human life is ever more conceived as a life without breaks and pauses – a one defined by a principle of continuous functioning (Crary, 2014: 8). Indeed, it seems that in the neo-capitalist era, the most value is given to the achievement of doing everything ‘harder, better, stronger, faster’ (Bissell & Fuller, 2011: 7) – making the state of being still or unproductive ‘toxic: a failure of self-management, a resistance, a dragging of one’s heels, a chocking sullenness that flies in the face of the infectious pull of the world’ (ibid.). When the 24/7 society catchphrase might appear as a realistic description of the growing possibilities to live our lives to the fullest, whatever time of the day, it is based on a questionable setting. As a widely accepted discourse that has already become a norm in western, capitalist societies, the ‘static redundancy’ that lies beneath the concept ‘disavows its relation to the rhythmic and periodic textures of human life’ (Crary, 2014: 9). As a vital part of these textures is our need to sleep.

Thus, in the following pages, together with practice-theoretical understanding of sleep and dreaming in organizations (Hancock, 2008; Pekkala & Salmela, 2013; Valtonen et al., 2017; Williams, 2005, 2007a, 2007b) as well as literature of the phenomenology of sleep (see e.g. Harrison, 2009; Merleau-Ponty, 1962, 1970), I use psychoanalytic literature (Lacan, 1988; 1991; 2014; Freud, 1919/2003; 1922; 1933; 1975; 1991; Žižek, 1989) together with organization studies recognizing its value to study organizational phenomena and subjectivities (Chodorow, 1989; Fotaki, 2011; Fotaki & Harding, 2013; Fotaki, Long & Schwartz 2012; Gabriel & Carr 2002; Gabriel 1995; 1999a; 1999b; Gabriel & Schwartz, 1999; Desmond, 2013; Driver, 2009a; 2009b; 2013; Kenny, 2009; Kenny & Fotaki, 2015; Vanheule, Lievrouw & Verhaeghe, 2003; Wozniak, 2010) to uncover the transgressive force of sleep and dreaming. This force manifests in the ability of sleep and dreaming to disrupt organizational fantasy when bringing us closer to the Real (Lacan, 1991), escaping symbolic constructions and conscious comprehension, working as exemplars of the uncontrolled and unconscious part of living. This is a radical reminder of the impossibility to hold on to our rational perceptions of reality infinitely as well as to the illusion that we are conscious subjects that are always in control. Thus, sleep and dreaming disrupt an organizationally informed ‘desire’ – ‘to be controlled, defined and predictable’ (Clegg et al., 2005: 153). This disruption and its acknowledgment allows a widening of the space of human subjectivity in organizations (Gabriel, 1995), unfolding in borderline experiences (see also Pollock, 1995).

Thirdly and methodologically, I will bring forth the vulnerability of the researcher’s position becoming manifested through the embodied presence of a researcher *as* a sleeper/dreamer; this is a realization of the researcher lying bare, recumbent, under multiple gazes (Lacan, 1991) in contrast to ‘gazing at’ a research object. This understanding contests some dogmatic assumptions of what it is to be a researcher and an organizational subject, shouting: ‘Our carnal bodies are full of imperfections and vulnerabilities’ (Pullen et al., 2017: 117). Moreover, when sleep and dreaming turn our focus inwards, we come to recognize the value of an auto-ethnographic approach that guides this research in gaining access to intimate experiences (see Alice, 2012; Ceisel & Salvo, 2017; Herrmann, 2016; Lapadat, 2017). These experiences are felt affectively through our bodies (Pullen et al., 2017; Pullen & Rhodes, 2015a; Valtonen et al., 2017; Valtonen, 2012). It is also in these intimate experiences where the unspeakable is able to manifest itself (Lacan, 1991), allowing space for topics that have so far remained hidden. Yet, this dissertation aims to show how the access to intimate and even hidden topics gains more depth through a generosity towards the intimate experience of *others* (Hancock, 2008; Kenny & Fotaki, 2015; Pullen & Rhodes, 2010; 2014; 2015a; Katila & Meriläinen, 2002). In this dissertation, this generosity manifests through a collaborative auto-ethnography (e.g. Allen-Collison & Hockey, 2008; Lapadat, 2017; Valtonen et al., 2017), inviting the recognition of embodied ethics (Pullen & Rhodes, 2014; 2015a) as its very grounding. With the indissoluble relation it invites between thinking and feeling through interaction between subjects (Pullen & Rhodes, 2015a: 161), embodied ethics echoes the nature of this research process and its ethico-political potential (Diprose, 2002; Pullen & Rhodes, 2014).

This dissertation is structured as follows. In the next chapter, I elaborate on the mysteries of sleep and dreaming by sharing some insights into the history of sleep all the way to its status and role in today's Western society through a dialogue with valuable existing socio-cultural research of sleep. After this, I introduce the theoretical discussions that have guided this research and elaborate their processual nature in relation to each other – revealing the beauty of polyphony of theory and the emergence of the concept of the uncanny. Next, I open up the auto-ethnography which flows through the entire research journey and entangles with the theoretical and the personal. Together with this chapter, I will provide the summaries of articles A, B and C, accompanied with a methodological reading of each of them. The three articles represent, each in their own way, manifestations of the disruptions discussed in this introduction. Before concluding my dissertation with deliberation of the footprint of this uncanny research journey, I will let myself run free for a little while.



## 2. Hush, hush, baby... Exploring sleep and dreaming

### 2.1. From history...

Sleep and dreaming have interested humans for centuries. To understand the uncanny role of sleep in organizations and processes of organizing, one must acknowledge the historical processes of valuing and defining (and understanding) sleep. Here the existing research of these processes are insightful. It is important to emphasize that sleep and dreaming are not separate from evolutionary, historical and societal processes and practices – but instead, an inherent part of them. This emphasis reflects the purpose of this study – not to focus on the biology and physiology of sleep<sup>2</sup> but on the ways in which sleep becomes constructed in relation to societal, cultural and economic processes, and the force it carries to deepen our understanding of organizational subjectivity. By sleep, I refer to both the physical state of sleeping and to the world of (nightmarish or sweet, or everything from between) dreams that one enters during moments of unconsciousness. Moreover, as Harrison (2009) notes, a state of dreamless sleep is also important to be recognized: ‘a situation and a state in which a subject cannot be said to be doing anything at all’ (p. 987). As I will elaborate in the next sections, the recognition and (at least, and always partial) understanding of these corporeal states is not possible through a mere practice-philosophical approach<sup>3</sup> through which the sleeping body can be situated within the aforementioned societal, cultural and economic processes. The seemingly empty space of ‘nothingness’ and at the same time pure ‘everythingness’ during dreamless sleep escapes practice-oriented rationalization and realization, yet it does not make it insignificant.

Moreover, sleep is not just strictly a fixed state of unconsciousness; in addition to sleep being a rather active state where brain functions and bodily organs are constantly on the move (bringing forth a complex relation between active and inactive corporeal existence on an ideological level as well), there are also various different levels and intermediate states of sleep between deep sleep and wakefulness. States with only partial consciousness can be identified – like those of drowsiness, daydreaming or hallucination (Williams, 2005: 70). Thus, human subjectivity is constantly floating in a blurry space of physical and mental existence (see Valtonen et al., 2017) both unconscious and conscious, entangled with voluntary actions when preparing to sleep and getting up (or

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2 This would be, for example, to investigate REM- and deep sleep states and the ways our brain waves function within these states. This physiological approach to sleep and dreaming has a great value but it directs attention to different themes and dimensions of sleep than the one forming the focus of this study.

3 I will elaborate on practice philosophy soon in chapter 3, and because of that I won't be making any references here to practice-philosophical research.

deciding not to). This goes together with the process-philosophical notion of sleep as something lived through – unlike death (Williams, 2007b: 144). Sleep is constantly flowing within different states of our existence, holding a wavering character (see also Valtonen et al., 2017).

A major influencer of the processes of valuing sleep is the development of scientific thinking<sup>4</sup>. This development has had a major effect on medical sciences and later on clinical neurology in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries – representing sleep and dreaming as biological, anatomical and rationally comprehensible processes. The construction of categories and development of tools for measuring forms the focal point of medical science's functioning. These developments opened up new possibilities to diagnose and cure 'disorders' – allowing the human also to grasp sleep in a comprehensible way. This has left – little by little – the mystery and animism tightly involved in sleep and dreaming in earlier times, behind. The focus on biology, medics and human anatomy as the primary sources for explanations of sleep stem from a significant change in power positions between man and nature: the age of scientific revolution was the time of man's control over nature (Thorpy, 2001). What tied all of these interests towards sleep and dreaming together was the aim to understand the *cause* of sleep. The question has been: what makes us sleep? What happens in our body when we enter the mysterious world of sleep? What happens in our brain? In our limbs? What do dreams tell us? Are they messages from some higher force – or prophecies of what is to come? <sup>5</sup> The recognition of different theories existing in the history of the cause of sleep remains of great importance to any social scientist interested in sleep and dreaming (be it in an organizational context or any other). Still, perspectives outside the realm of the actual cause of sleep are crucial in order for us to understand the conflicting role of sleep and dreaming, in both history and today. Here, the complementary work of researchers and scientists from versatile backgrounds becomes of importance.

## 2.2. ... 'til today.

Taking part in the journey of sleep from history until today, we become aware of how sleep has been constantly re-evaluated, giving room to certain types of understandings while repressing others, before it is time for them to rise again, and for new understandings to emerge. Following this, the societal, political and affective sleeping body has been in a constant process of change: our relation to sleep, and our understandings thereof, are constantly changing in time. As was described in the earlier chapter, the ad-

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4 The first rational theory for the cause of sleep is traced to ancient Greece and Alcmaeon in the fifth century B.C. According to Alcmaeon, the cause of sleep was the blood filling the brain, while waking up happened because of the blood returned to the rest of the body. For more information about the progresses in 'understanding' sleep, see Thorpy (2001).

5 I highly recommend reading Thorpy's (2001) article for a detailed exploration of the different theories of the cause of sleep throughout history. Thorpy has divided them into four groups: vascular (mechanical, anemic, congestive), chemical (humoral), neural (histological) and behavioral (psychological, biological).



vancements in medical sciences have been tremendous and have had a huge impact on our understanding of the processes of sleep and the symbolization of its disorders (see Hislop & Arber, 2003; Williams, 2002). In addition, the ‘right’ and most ‘beneficial’ ways to sleep are highlighted, so that we are pressured to sleep ‘right’ and be as healthy as possible. Thus, sleep medicine and popular discourses have become closer to one another. Anyone interested in sleep related issues is able to get plenty of information through the internet, sleep clinics, and devices of sleep tracking. Today we are also able to take part in sleep lessons in gyms instead of going to work out our muscles.

This changing and processual nature of sleep is acknowledged by the growing amount of sociological and sociocultural studies on sleep (Baxter & Kroll-Smith 2005; Boden et. al. 2008; Crary, 2014; HSU, 2014; 2017a; 2017b; Hancock, 2008; Kroll-Smith & Vern 2003; Mardon, 1998; Valtonen et al., 2017; Salmela et al., 2017; Valtonen 2014; 2011; Valtonen & Veijola 2011; Taylor 1993; Williams 2005; 2007a; 2007b; 2011; Williams & Crossley 2008; Williams & Bendelow, 1998; Williams, Coveney & Meadows, 2015). These studies focus on sleep through recognizing its socio-cultural significance and as such come to answer to the earlier bypassing of the socio-cultural, political and economic aspects on sleep (Hancock, 2008: 412). They highlight both work-related practices building around sleep, such as workplace napping (Baxter & Kroll-Smith, 2005; Mardon, 1998; Kroll-Smith & Vern, 2003), the construction of the relations between sleep, worktime and work ethics in media texts (Boden et. al., 2008), the politicization (Williams, 2011) and medicalization (Hislop & Arber, 2003; Williams, 2002; Williams, Seale, Boden, Lowe & Steinberg, 2008) of sleep through monitoring and tracking practices (Williams et al., 2015; Salmela, Valtonen & Lupton, forthcoming), and the entanglement of sleep with consumption and economic activities (Williams & Boden, 2004; Presser, 2004; Crary, 2014). Moreover, organizational scholars have little by little acknowledged that the sleeping body ought to be recognized as an inherent part of organizations and organizing, playing ‘...both a cultural and economic resource in the production and reproduction of contemporary organizational relations’ (Hancock, 2008: 412; see also Valtonen et al., 2017; Valtonen 2014; 2011). In our recent study with Valtonen et al. (2017), we contributed to this acknowledgement by directing our attention towards the knowing body by introducing three sensorial flows between different states of existence that the knowing body engages in when participating in organizational practices. Also this dissertation at hand works as a contribution to giving sleep and dreaming a firmer footing in the field of organization studies.

The conflicting role of sleep is evident when we start exploring the role of sleep in a specific site of organizing and organizational practices: the context of work. At certain periods in Western<sup>6</sup> history, the sleeping body has been strongly equated with laziness and unproductivity – a moral equation of sleep with sloth (Williams, 2007: 151). Williams (2007: 151) argues how this equation is now, in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, ‘being

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6 I make a bunch of references to western sleep just to keep my research in certain limits by its length. For sleep and napping cultures around the world and especially in Asia, see Steger & Brunt (2003) and Brunt & Steger (2008), just to begin with.

challenged or reconfigured through a revaluation of the virtues of sleep'. Thus, when in the 80's in business and politics sleep was often sacrificed for work and free time by the powerful elite (see Boden et al., 2008: 546) (making sleep a sort of a necessary evil), sleep today can be considered a new status symbol which should not be compromised in the name of economic success (ibid.). Boden et al. (2008: 546) point out how this revaluation of sleep '...remains broadly congruent with late capitalist imperatives and agendas'; sleep in the context of work has taken the form of power napping, boosting the worker's vigilance, energy, and readiness to face new challenges – taking her work outcome to new heights. Sleep – a way to productivity (Mednick & Ehrman, 2006)!

The changing role and re-valuation of sleep illustrates the political nature of sleep (Williams, 2011). Contesting the equation of sleep and sloth goes all the way from power elites to any workplace and work context, in my case, the academia. Our university's Kide-magazine's special issue 2/2015 dealt with the topic 'Time for work'. In this issue, members of the academia discussed the challenges of balancing work and free time and how academic freedom and the challenging nature of academic work often leads to bargaining sleep for work. Academics work during nighttime after the rest of their family have gone to bed; they go through e-mails during late nights and spend a couple of weeks of their holiday 'learning how to sleep'. Here comes the conflict: simultaneously as the comments reflect a negative stance towards the bargaining of nightly sleep hours for work related issues, they also reproduce an understanding of a productive and committed academic as one who, whenever necessary, sacrifices sleep for getting things done. Personally, as an academic valuing my research- and work-free time and not doing work related tasks late at night, I feel a small stab in my heart even though I am aware that sleep and rest is crucial for any work that demands creativity (and every academic knows how much creativity is involved in this profession or lifestyle!). Thus, the array is utmost confusing, contradictive and complex.

Being political by nature and a topic of debate, sleep is also entangled with legislation and directives. The sleep of truck drivers, for example, is regulated through directives with strict rest times and punishments of breaking these regulations. The reason for regulating sleep is the risk that fatigue poses to safety on the road (see e.g. Baulk & Fletcher, 2012; Darwent et al., 2010; Lemke et al., 2016; see also Williams, 2007). In the profession of doctors, the possibilities of the risk of failure at work due to fatigue and drowsiness have established a growing concern of the regularity of their nightshifts (see Horrocks & Pounder, 2006). This has led to regulations that for example forbid doctors to drive after a long shift of on-call-duty – a regulation, which in itself does not have an effect on patient safety. The development of any coherent and complex-free regulations is tough or even impossible. Both of these examples are of professions that involve heightened responsibility of other people, be it on the road or in the operating room.

My exploration of the conflicting role of sleep in today's Western society would not be comprehensive if the characteristic of a 24/7 culture of contemporary Western lifestyle were not brought into the discussion. Boltanski and Chiapello (2007: 155) have remarked how the constant 'doing', moving and changing as modes of existence enjoy the most prestige in today's economy as opposed to stability. Stability is also often re-

garded as synonymous with inaction. The valuation of the waking is in tight connection with the normative condition of the work/consume-around-the-clock society. This is a society without breaks and pauses – a one defined by a principle of continuous functioning (Crary, 2014: 8)<sup>7</sup>. Following this ideology, sleep – today – seems to be in a crisis when put into dialogue with demands of our working life (see also Boden et al., 2008). The crisis of sleep is reaffirmed and partly born through different media constructions – creating ‘a new moral panic or paranoid culture about sleep’ (Boden et al., 2008: 544). This becomes visible in everyday life through guidebooks and lifestyle articles of how to sleep right and the intimidating statistics of how many of us sleep too little. The effects of too little sleep are highlighted in media headlines: ‘Too little sleep leads to obesity, concentration problems, and even early death!’. Thus, sleeping, or our effort to achieve *perfect sleep*, make us anxious and stressed. Furthermore, in our mission to achieve this perfect sleep, technology steps in. Let me next briefly introduce a sleep-tracking phenomenon, which also works as a means to provide background for article B.

Sleep tracking phenomenon has to do with body optimization, which connects to a growing trend of biometrics, biohacking and self-quantification (Berg, 2017; Fors & Pink, 2017; Fotopoulou & O’Riordan, 2017; Lupton, 2013; 2016a; 2016b; Millington, 2015; Ruckenstein & Schüll, 2017; Schüll, 2016; Smith & Vonthehoff, 2017). These self-quantification practices have become possible by the unforeseen technical development that makes hacking and tracking our bodies possible in ways that might have been considered absurd or even impossible a few decades ago. In short, biohacking is combining technology, nature and the development of a person’s body in an unparalleled way (Arina et al., 2014). Moreover, self-quantification is about monitoring bodily and mental functions with different measurement devices, such as smartphones, and using the data to improve and optimize one’s physical and mental performance. Together these practices form a growing trend or a technology-driven movement that has gained huge popularity especially among people who suffer from an irregular lifestyle and want to improve their wellbeing.

In biohacking and self-quantification sleep is considered an irreplaceable element in ‘updating oneself’, in addition to elements of work, physical exercise, mind and nutrition (Arina et al., 2014: 6). Thus, it doesn’t come as a surprise that biohackers are eager to hack their sleep among other bodily functions. Sleep tracking monitors and measures sleep quality with mobile technological devices, usually in one’s own private bedroom. Sleep tracking has become more accessible to everybody as tracking apps are provided for smartphones instead of specific devices. Basically, the idea of sleep tracking is to gather data about the quality of sleep in order to improve it. Moreover, sleep trackers can be characterized as a helpful tool to *hack* one’s sleep. Sleep hacking is a practice that aims to train the mind and the body to cope with less sleep. In general, sleep tracking can be seen as a reaction to the seeming need ‘...to monitor, manage, modify or optimize our sleep in various ways in line with prevailing mandates or im-

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7 See Hsu (2014) for a great contribution offering critical viewpoints of the importance of sufficiently precise and nuanced ways of using sleep research as a measure of the social acceleration phenomenon.

peratives', which we are now 'encouraged, cajoled or advised' to do (Williams, 2011: 109). This reflects the new role of sleep as 'an "object" of scientific or technoscientific investigation in the sleep laboratory' (ibid.: 152) or, one could say, increasingly *in our own bedrooms* which incrementally start to resemble certain types of sleep laboratories in their own right. These discourses of self-help and biomedicine are connected to logics of self-improvement and self-optimization (see also Williams, 2015). This is all seen as necessary as, according to Dement (2000), we are living in a 'sleep sick society' in which sleep should be taken 'seriously as the foundation of good health' and one should adopt a 'sleep-wise lifestyle' to maintain health and vitality (Dement, 2000: 9-10; 433).

Furthermore, sleep tracking as a phenomenon is a growing trend that is becoming more and more integrated into the waking state through the so called 'activity trackers' and the virtue of living a healthy and active life. Thus, the boundaries between 'waking' and 'sleeping' seem to fade out as the practices involved in both awake and asleep are becoming harnessed to the same logic and objective; to be fit, healthy and productive. This reaffirms the notion that both the sleeping and waking life are intimately bound and inseparably entwined (see Williams, 2011: 98). Moreover, the sleep trackers are a perfect example of the need to *manage* our sleep and to facilitate a 'good' or 'sound' night's sleep (Williams, 2011: 144). They are an example of the positive discourse where sleep is considered 'the passport to *health, happiness and well-being*' (ibid.). Sleep trackers make it possible for sleep to emerge as *less* a medical matter while the responsibility is gently shifted from the professionals to the individual, be it a patient or user, citizen or consumer (Clarke et al., 2003: 173 in Williams 2011: 144). Maybe this shift is what makes people increasingly interested in analyzing and managing their sleep and sleeping habits – it seems more accessible than heading to a sleep clinic or sleep laboratory.

While being an example of optimizing our (sleeping) bodies, sleep tracking is also an illustration of the capitalization of sleep (Crary 2014, Hancock 2008). The sleeping body is a key player/token in the growing 'sleep market' – a market constructed and living through sleep and its economic value. In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, one of the seemingly most mundane and private of acts has become 'something to be cultivated, captured, colonized, worked at or micro-managed in the name of health and happiness, wisdom and well-being, vigilance and virtue, productivity and performance' (Williams, 2011: 146), making it a commodity as such. This is possible only through technological development, which is at the very core of the entire tracking phenomenon. The historical journey from residing to bed due to a lack of sunlight to tracking our sleep with high-technology equipment in our own bedrooms in order to achieve perfect sleep highlights some of the very reasons that sleep is such an intriguing research topic. However, one crucial perspective is missing...

## 2.2. Dreams

Dreams lead us to discover the more in-depth, philosophical and psychoanalytical link between sleep, dreaming and organizing (see especially the work of Gabriel, 1999;

Desmond, 2013). At this point of my dissertation, I will keep this chapter on dreams short. This is because I will be discussing the importance of dreams for the purposes of my research later on together with presenting the theoretical discussions influencing my study, especially the psychoanalytical approach and the concept of the uncanny. At this point, I invite you to take a moment to ponder: what is your last dream memory? What can you recall of your dream from last night or from last week?

By turning the readers' attention to dreams, I am also bringing forth the recognition of Sigmund Freud's influence and role in this research. This is through both his work on dreams and his psychoanalytical notion of the uncanny<sup>8</sup>. Through Freud (1919/2003; 1922; 1933; 1975; 1991) and his deliberations of the causes/meanings/purpose of dreams, we are able to expose the inscribed lack of control that is present in all of us – having consequences on the ways we conceive our (organizational) subjectivity. For Freud, the study of dreams was the 'most trustworthy method of investigating deep mental processes' (Freud, 1922: 7). The unconscious resides in dreams, and thus, when dreaming, we 'think' involuntarily. We do not have control over the things occurring during our sleep, even if we would strive to have and hold on tight to that control. As Jordan Peterson so aptly emphasized in his lecture on Freud's Interpretation of dreams (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VpDPHXIPq1Q>), 'There are things that think in you!'. He grabbed my attention while proceeding to argue that as we cannot have control of 'things' or 'something' locating within us, we cannot take credit for these thoughts either in the same vein as we would be able to do while awake and conscious. Once one comes to think about it, it almost seems that there is a concrete 'thing' living inside us that manifests itself during those moments of unconsciousness. Our unavoidable unconscious part.

This dimension of us, the one out of our control, can be threatening. Simultaneously, our unconscious dimension can be a wonderful companion of our conscious presence. The unconscious leads us to the adventures the conscious does not have the ability, or courage, to partake – or only to recall them in the waking state as a partial experience, leaving it uncertain what actually happened during the nightly/daytime journey in the unknown territories. The unconscious does not surely tell it all... or the conscious is not ready to hear it even if the unconscious would like to tell it all!<sup>9</sup> The unconscious represents thoughts that are pushed away to make it perhaps easier for the conscious to live and fit into society's expectations of how we ought to think and behave. Dreams also make visible our fears and worries; so many times our unconscious moments make us face the deepest fears that we are possibly too afraid to confront during our waking hours, or alternatively we did not have time to work through those fears during

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8 As we highlight in article C, the uncanny links historically up with the famous essay 'Das Unheimliche' by Freud, (1919/2003), marking the beginning of the current fascination with the concept (Jay, 1998).

9 I apologize for using rather provocative and problematically separating conceptions of our modes of existence. This is only to keep the narrative style of the text and make the un-controlled nature of our existence as manifested in the unconscious graspable. I simultaneously recognize that these modes of existence are not strict and 'cut', but entangled (see Valtonen et al., 2017).

daytime. The subconscious works to address this gap – or block the effort of the conscious ‘I’ in its strive to escape.<sup>10</sup>

As an example of research locating in the field of organization studies and using dreams to widen the understanding of, in this case, bodily knowing is our co-authored article from 2017, *The knowing body as a floating body* (Valtonen et al.). In this research, we used a practice-based approach to conceptualize the knowing body as a floating body, proposing three sensorial flows that the knowing body engages in when participating in organizational practices: sensory release, within-corporeality and sensory entanglement in dreams. This research works as an example of the value of using a type of a practice-based approach to dreaming that draws inspiration from process-based accounts of the body in organizational studies. This value is concretized through the blurring of the line between different ‘realities’ of dreaming and that of wakefulness, acknowledging that the sleeper’s body is attached simultaneously to both, and furthermore disrupting the constrained line that divides the two. This turns our attention to sleep and wakefulness as ‘inner’ and fluid processes of the body (Penoyer, 2005), and to the uncertainty of knowing. As is highlighted on page 530 of our article, ‘(d)ue to the entanglement of these different worlds, the knowing body must float between spheres of knowing and unknowing, real and imaginary’, a practice-oriented view on sleep and dreaming that recognizes the problematics inherent in dualism-construction and ‘either-or’ thinking comes rather close to psychoanalytic insights of the real and that of the imaginary, available for deliberation through sleep and dreaming. Let this acknowledgement work as a bridge to the following chapter.

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10 See Kenny & Fotaki, 2014: 8 for Butler’s conception of alterity and an alternative to self-betreatment and self-abjection.



### 3. Practice – body – process – affects – philosophy – art – psychoanalysis

In this chapter, I would like to create a dialogue between different theoretical discussions and viewpoints from which I have approached the topic of sleep throughout these five years. Following the guiding thought of this research and the discussions that took place in the previous chapter, I avoid using the concept of ‘theoretical framework’ as it points to something planned and coherent and as such mistreats the polyphonic voice of theory in this research. I prefer to describe theory in this research as a complex and processual process that is open and obliged to constant change and in which members (taking the role of researchers and philosophers), representing different types of ontological and epistemological standpoints, take part. These members have become my research companions. Thus, more than a theoretical *starting point* for my research, the theoretical dialogue is a *processual outcome*, or even more an *active agent or a research community* during the past five years of exploring the world of sleep. Different theoretical discussions have opened up new perspectives on the phenomena under investigation. Instead of being ‘selected’, the theories seem to have found me, but only once my eyes have been ready to be open to see them. Thus, the role of my research companions vary in different parts of the process. In this chapter, those companions that have had the most powerful impact on this research, and stayed in the dialogue, are introduced. This introduction is then connected to my research topic of sleep as I tie one knot after another to illustrate what these theoretical choices have to do with the final decisions of the three articles forming the other part of my dissertation.

#### 3.1. From practice-philosophy to the experience of the body

*“Even if sleep cannot be represented entirely convincingly as a social practice, it might at least be admitted that the language in which it is discussed, and the cultural constraints on what we may call its motives, meanings and methods – the “discourse of dormancy” if you like – are genuinely sociological concerns and do bring these aspects of an everyday, or perhaps more properly every night, event into the sociological domain.”*

(Taylor, 1993: 464)

This research started in 2013 with a highly practice theoretically oriented approach (Nicolini, 2012: 2). Thus, I became a ‘practitioner’ of the so called practice turn (Schatzki, Knorr-Cetina & Savigny 2001; Reckwitz 2002; Feldman & Orlikowski 2011) – a theoretical positioning having a lot to do with my previous ethnographic research of sleeping practices in a military training camp (Pekkala & Salmela, 2013).

In the research, we used the practice-oriented approach to theorize the sleeping body, leading us to identify different types of context-specific sleeping practices in the camp, which were further tightly connected to wider societal logics (see Pekkala & Salmela, 2013). We also utilized Mauss' (1979) concept of body techniques to allow us to identify these bodily practices and connect them to their sociocultural and historical contexts. Back then, it was evident that we would build our arguments based on this theoretical approach – making also ethnographic work on the subject 'feasible'. Even when adopting a practice-based approach is not about making mere detailed descriptions of people's actions (Nicolini, 2012: 168), as young researchers, we had the possibility to get something concrete out of our ethnographic work in the camp, and to write about our findings. The rather concrete practice theoretical approach later evolved into a more profound ontological engagement with 'practice philosophy' (Orlikowski, 2010), perhaps making the purpose of the actual identification, or at least emphasis, of actual practices subsidiary.

Following a practice-theoretical approach, practices are to be considered as a complex set of doings and sayings, granting no priority to either one of the actions (Schatzki, 1996: 47). Moreover, according to Schatzki (2001: 11) the embodied, materially interwoven practices are centrally organized around shared practical understandings. By engaging with practice on a theoretical and ontological level in the early years of this research process, I combined what Orlikowski (2010) calls a 'practice perspective' and a 'practice philosophy'. Thus, I explored organizational phenomena through a practice theoretical lens, following a distinct practice ontology by giving practices a central role in the constitution of social life (Orlikowski, 2010: 23). What followed was that the everyday activity (with all its materiality) was put to the center of analysis, recognizing its situated and recurrent nature, through which the connection between the 'micro' and 'macro' level became inevitable (p. 25). Moreover, using a practice perspective I shared a theoretically grounded understanding of the recursive interaction among people, activities, artefacts and contexts, considering different kind of phenomena as indeed relational, dynamic and emergent (Orlikowski, 2010: 27). Considering practice as a philosophy removes the ontological separation of humans and materiality, such as technology. This leads to a conclusion that social life is deeply constituted within contingent practices that involve, among others, particular bodies, skills, places and instruments (Mol, 2002). Focusing on practices thus opened up a space for me and others where separations and dichotomies were not needed. The practice-philosophical approach questions the assumptions of a single 'reality' and provides space for an understanding of an extremely complex whole, recognizing that the socio-material configurations mutate over times and places, variably fusing together people, meanings, materialities and practices in the performance of work (Suchman, 2007 in Orlikowski, 2010: 27). This points to the processual nature of practice-oriented approaches – as Nicolini (2012: 3-4) puts it: 'Eventually, the world is an ongoing dynamic nexus of practices where the body and material things play a critical role in all social affairs.' This processual nature of practices in the realm of sleep and dreaming is exemplified in our investigation of a body performing academic



practices between sleeping and waking, biology and culture, and the world of dreams as a floating body (Valtonen et al., 2017).

The practice theoretical approach became even more evident through my engagement with a Vitality from sleep –project (University of Lapland) – a subproject of a New Sleep Order project, both of which were ran by my supervisor Anu Valtonen. That was the time I entered the world of sleep in the context of academic research and I had the most interesting job description; I traveled both in Europe and in Finland to explore the sleep market offerings (see Salmela, 2012a; 2012b) and explored the Internet in depth to gain insight into this market. The sleep tourism phenomenon represented in article A is one part of the sleep market. In sleep tourism, services are designed with a focus on the sleeping experience per se. In my home region in Finnish Lapland, the growing trend of sleeping under the northern lights in glass igloos is a very recent example of sleep tourism. As I will come back to this issue in the following pages, the sleep market is a major business especially in the US with its sleep-related products and services (e.g. Salmela, 2012b; Hancock, 2008; Williams, 2005; 2011; Valtonen & Närvänen, 2016). Its' offerings include almost anything from sleeping pills to a night spent sleeping in a tree or a coffin (see the aforementioned references for some interesting examples). Back in 2013, the sleep market appeared to me as a set of business-oriented practices in which the sleeping body played a key part. While it was fascinating to explore the sleep-centric innovations, the sleeping body yet seemed somewhat colonized by the capitalist force, through these economic activities – a viewpoint which was tightly connected to my personal values and criticality towards the ideal of constant economic growth. A question rose: what is happening to sleep? This question was the very one that led me to my dissertation in the first place. Furthermore, during the past five years the deliberations of the colonized sleeping body have gained flesh around their bones as well as new perspectives.

There is a great relevance of exploring sleep from a practice-theoretical viewpoint. Practice theoretical understanding of sleep helps in conceiving sleep as a considerably wide phenomenon that is tightly part of our society and its practices. Moreover, it helps us consider sleep *itself* as a practice – thus being much more than a sweet night's sleep in our private bedroom, or the moments of anxiousness when we struggle with insomnia or nightmares. In fact, practice theoretical understanding makes the sleeping body *exit* the bedroom, or invites us to explore the room's premises in more detail – the bedroom being the socio-material environment, which works as one type of a symbol of sleep. This understanding is part of a broader way of seeing the world and its social nature as constitutive of different sorts of practices with which the sleeping body is inevitably entangled. These practices are always socially, culturally and historically shaped and mediated (Boden et al., 2008; Williams, 2005; 2011). Thus, the sleeping body is fundamentally part of the larger societal and economic logics and changes, such as that of 'changing modernity' (Boden et al., 2008: 545) and the modern work culture. Like Boden et al. (2008: 547) further note, sleep is entangled with wider, changing attitudes towards work and social or public responsibilities as well as issues regarding competition, power and injustice in all sectors of the society. A focus

on practices also unveils how the sleeping body becomes a site of regulation – a body to be dealt with.

To put it in more material terms, considering sleep a practice makes us face the presence (and absence) of sleep both on the shelves of the local supermarket, in relaxation rooms in public spaces, in tents during a slow hike in Lapland, in trains, airplanes and buses, in conferences, in the streets under strangers' eyes, in kindergartens as well as in the stock market, on our wrists or fingers in the mode of sleep trackers, in the busy streets of Manhattan and in sleep clinics with professionals telling us the rude facts about our sleep. Sleep is being constructed, reconstructed, designed, re-designed, in a constant process and in different contexts. This understanding has led me to investigate sleep in three different contexts that are present in the articles A (tourism), B (self-tracking or biohacking) and C (work and organizations). Moreover, considering sleep a practice enables us to understand the power as well as regulation that is inscribed in the sleeping body. There is a saying: 'When one sleeps, one stays awake'. This saying reflects that there are always power relations relating to our sleep – even if it appears to us as a phenomenological and intimate corporeal 'happening'. Our sleep is determined/shaped by the mutually shared rules and values in society, law, culture, shared practices of the family, and so on. Furthermore, even when sleep would not be considered an actual social practice, the discourses within which sleep is being discussed, hold agency themselves.

When looking back at my own and my colleague's choice of using a practice-theoretical orientation to investigate organizational sleep in the early years of this research process, I feel glad that we made that choice. Today, the practice-theoretical view on sleep is continuously present in this research even though it has now more layers than back in 2013. The affective experiences that unfold in the three articles of this research, circulating around sleep and dreaming in organizational context, perhaps are not even available for exploration without the understanding of the wider societal practices with which the sleeping body is entangled. These practices both guide the sleeping body and make it simultaneously an active agent as a carrier and shaper of practices. **Nonetheless** (I cannot emphasize that word enough here), while sleep is to be considered a practice, sleep is also a manifestation of *the absence of any practice* (Harrison, 2009). This is also one remark and evidence, if you will, of the insufficiency of a sole practice-theoretical orientation to explore sleep and dreaming. So many aspects of sleep and dreaming escape practice theorizing, leading me to establish a dialogue with various theoretical discussions – something that I will now move onto, and discuss in detail in chapter 3.3.

### 3.2. The body

Theorizing sleep is symbiotic with theorizing of the body. Furthermore, theorizing the body is symbiotic with theorizing practices (see e.g. Valtonen et al., 2017; Yakhlef, 2010) as our accustomed way of sleeping lying down is itself a bodily practice – a technique (Mauss, 1973) – in which we as westerners have learned to sleep over the course

of history (Salmela et al., 2017: 76; see also Rantala & Valtonen, 2014). The connection between sleep and a human body has been theorized from a cultural viewpoint by sociologists, organizational scholars and phenomenologists (Mauss 1973; Williams & Bendelow, 1998; Salmela et al., 2017; Valtonen & Veijola, 2011; Valtonen, 2013; Williams & Crossley, 2008). The leaky (Shildrick, 1997; Dale & Latham, 2014), smelly (Riach & Warren, 2015) and snoring body, or alternatively the cute, symbolic body of a sleeping baby sniffling under a warm blanket, is the core, the enabler, of sleep and dreaming, and the carrier of practices of sleep. Moreover, through a focus on the body, the research topic of sleep and dreaming becomes more concrete and, indeed, fleshy. When paying attention to the sleeping-waking body, we can grasp the practices performed by our body more concretely and perhaps be more aware of what the power of sleep and dreaming is in disrupting organizational fantasy. The focus on the body also allows us to pay closer attention to the organizing forces around sleep – for example the aforementioned sleep tracking phenomenon (article B), or the design of tourism services which can enable or constrain the connection between, for example, and as brought forward in article A, the sleeping body and nature. Similarly, the sleeping body as an unconscious body reflects the power of sleep as something *dis*organized because it escapes our rational comprehension through its situatedness in the mysterious dream world. A sleeping body, a sleeping subject, is somewhat beyond our reach – even when it is right there, beside us. Following Merleau-Ponty, our very being is thus embodied, and it is ‘in and through this embodiment (that) we are intertwined with the world, such that there is no separable ‘subject’ and ‘object’ (Dale & Latham, 2014: 167).

As my reference to Merleau-Ponty exemplifies, the focus on the sleeping body invites recognition of the phenomenological research tradition. Already in 2013 in my master’s thesis together with Joni Pekkala, we pointed out that phenomenologists Merleau-Ponty and Leder have an important role in the existing sociocultural research on sleep (Crossley, 2007; Csordas, 1990; Williams & Bendelow, 1998; Williams, 2005; Harrison, 2009; see Pekkala & Salmela, 2013: 32). Indeed, Merleau-Ponty’s (1962) work has proved an invaluable source when theorizing sleep and the sleeping body. When exploring sleep and dreaming, one cannot escape one’s own body as a prime site that is involved in the exploration. This forms an even stronger bridge between sleep, practice and phenomenological orientation. We all sleep and our experiences, memories and reflections of our sleep and dreaming prove as a valuable source of data that stems from our ‘own skin’ and fleshy experiences. It comes as no surprise either that the methodological choices made in this research all gather around autoethnography – a highly intimate corporeal path to reflect on and discuss with the information and stories around sleep and dreaming in a wider societal and organizational context.

Turning our attention to the (sleeping) body is in itself disruptive by nature when contrasted with traditional organizational thinking or dominant organizational discourse. As Hassard, Holliday and Willmott (2000: 2) note, the tendency for analyses of organization is to be disembodied ‘in ways that marginalize the body as a medium of organizing practices’. Moreover, ‘the study of the body has tended to become estranged from the study of work just as analysis of work organization has been abstracted from

the body' (ibid.) – giving room for a caveat among organizational theorists valuing the importance of the body (an ontological turn in organization studies, including an academic interest towards 'studying both embodiment and materiality', see Dale & Latham, 2014: 167). Recognizing the body as a performer of practices and being shaped and guided within these practices, we are able to see the sleeping body and its conceptions as constantly altering products, and agents, of organizing. From the interests of this research, there is no point in abstracting organization from the body but instead it is more valuable to put the body in the very center of it. I consider the separation of the body theoretically from practice – as in order to construct a strict theoretical *or* empirical orientation – irrelevant, un-justified and unnecessary.

When discussing the topic of the body, I am to deliberate on the experience of sleep and dreaming as a powerfully intimate issue (Berlant, 1998; Valtonen & Närvänen, 2016). This intimacy of sleeping underlines and makes evident the actual, fleshly and active participation and corporeal agency of shivering, sweaty, responsive, porous (Riach & Warren, 2015) and communicating bodies. Moreover, sleep is often inter-corporeal (Brunt & Steger, 2008; Hislop & Arber, 2003; Valtonen & Veijola, 2011; Valtonen & Närvänen, 2016; Williams & Crossley, 2008). Today we share our beds with our loved ones – be it our partners, animal family members or children (or bed bugs!) – and throughout history we have shared our beds with strangers as well. Moreover, even if we were not be discussing shared beds, sleeping still holds its intimate nature through its vulnerability, which is manifested in encounters with waking bodies (Salmela, Valtonen, Meriläinen, 2015; see also Pullen & Rhodes, 2014) as much as it is manifested with encounters with other sleeping bodies.

By exploring the (dis)organized sleeping body, I inevitably challenge the deep-rooted tendency of separating the mind and the body – a separation stemming from Cartesian binaries, considering the body as a mere object of knowing and theorization (Dale, 2001) as well as a passive, material repository for the active mind (see Dale, 2001; Styhre, 2004; Yakhlef, 2010; Williams & Bendelow, 1998). Here, my research topic of sleep is a powerful 'smelter' of problematic dualisms. In sleep, the agency of the body and that of the mind intertwines and melts together. In the dream world, we might live our wildest fantasies and worst nightmares and everything in between, moving through space and time as if we were flying. Meanwhile, our body holds tightly onto the connection between these worlds as our physical presence persists in that space and time which others outside our dream world can also be able to experience (see article C; Merleau-Ponty, 1962; Maude et al., 2009: 162). Yet, the body is hardly passive and a shell of the vibrant floating of the mind – it dances with and in the world of dreams – fidgeting, making sounds, twisting and shaking (see Riach & Warren, 2015). When the sleeping body locates in the same space with other bodies, this active corporeality might be considered disturbing – having powerful agency even when the sleeper is not aware of the situation happening outside her dream world. Thus, her body is somewhat acting as its own, even though it is in symbiosis with what cannot be seen.

Challenging the mind-body dualism through emphasizing the body as having agency of its own right, I am aware of the risk of ending up with another (or the very

same) ontological separation, perhaps as dangerous as the privileging of the mind. Nevertheless, I find it important to emphasize the body in order to create space for an understanding of the mutual existence and entanglement of our symbolic constructs – to make way for an understanding of the entanglement of the ‘building parts’ of our existence, manifesting as a breathing, corporeal subject. Additionally, when adopting an understanding of the body as affective (Featherstone, 2010; Pullen et al., 2017) and transgressive (a central notion in article C), the Cartesian binary and black-and-white separation between the body and the mind appears as forcefully violating the very fulcrum of bodily theorizing and appears as utmost old-fashioned.

One way to disrupt this illusionary black-and-whiteness is to focus on the mystery that sleep and dreaming carry, leading to the uncanny potential they hold. Entering the mysterious state of sleep, simultaneously challenging and entangling with the state of wakefulness, makes us experience the world on different levels<sup>11</sup>. This falling-in, falling-out of sleep leads us to discover the *processual* nature of the body – a body as a floating body (Valtonen et al., 2017). Furthermore, the floating body is a *sensuous* body (see e.g. Riach & Warren, 2015). This recognition gives room for the acknowledgement of ‘the corporeal dimensions of embodiment as not only situated on the body but continually moving in and through a permeable body’ (Riach & Warren, 2015: 790 following Ingold, 2011). And like Abram (1996: 46-47) wonderfully notes (thank you Riach & Warren, 2015: 790 for highlighting this): ‘the boundaries of a living body are open and indeterminate: more like membranes than barriers . . . so that it is very difficult to discern, at any moment, precisely where this living body begins and where it ends’. Like sleep escapes and disrupts barriers – making us uncertain in what type of a ‘reality’ the corporeal subject exactly is – we come to face a blurring of corporeal beginning and ending, making the body and corporeality in many ways beyond-reach. This ‘beyond-reachness’ highlights exactly the transgressive power of the (sleeping) body. The floating, continuous and sensuous body slips from our rational understanding, and thus forms a challenge and threat to the kind of organizational thinking that is based on control and rationality.

### **3.3. The uncanny and the value of psychoanalysis for organization studies**

My research topic of sleep and dreaming led me, little by little, to question the possibility of any metatheory that would be granted the main role in guiding my research<sup>12</sup>. Eventually, it was the world of psychoanalysis (Lacan, 1991; 1988; 2014; Freud, 1919/2003; 1922; 1933; 1975; 1991; Žižek, 1989; 2012) and the work of organizational scholars recognizing its value to explore organizational phenomena (Gabriel & Carr 2002; Gabriel

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11 Our body never leaves the world in which it sleeps until dying – and even then the remains of our body stay but change (see Fine & Leighton, 1993; Merleau-Ponty, 1962; Morley, 1999; Penoyer, 2005; Williams & Crossley, 2008).

12 More about this in the chapter 5.



1995; 1999; Desmond, 2013; Driver, 2009a, 2009b, 2010; 2013; Vanheule et al. 2003; Wozniak 2010), that slowly allowed me to peek at depths of my research topic – depths previously unavailable to me. It was then that I and my co-travelers realized that without discovering psychoanalysis, so much would have been left unsaid. It was not that I was searching for a theory to help me, deliberately, with an issue I did not have an ‘answer’ to. No. Instead, through the three-year process with article C, psychoanalysis came to me, and to us. It was also then when small knots seemed to start forming; everything that I had previously done and researched, all three articles forming the other part of this dissertation, issues in my personal life, anxieties of the world situation... seemed to have something deeper in common. It was psychoanalysis that opened my senses to the disruptive potential of my research topic. It allowed me to make notions and statements that went beyond what I would be able to say with what I had read before. It fulfilled some of the lacks... and simultaneously it forced me to face the most fundamental one: ‘Indeed all that remains of who we really are is our being lost in the symbolic order while clinging to fantasies that continuously fail to deliver what we are looking for’ (Driver, 2009a: 355). Moreover, psychoanalysis opened doors to reveal the shock when we lack the support of the lack (Lacan, 2014) – a moment when the uncanny manifests itself. The borderline nature of sleep and dreaming lets us get closer to its realization.

Thus, somewhat confusingly, but simultaneously most naturally, my research project seemed to embody similarities with the non-linear development of the leading concept of the dissertation itself – the *uncanny*. As you will soon find out, this (un)concept seems to have had difficulties settling. Better put, the concept has not really had any problem in itself but its ‘users’, or people wanting to create a dialogue with it, have struggled. Moreover, the critics of the (un)concept seem to have found it destabilizing and disturbing *not* to find coherence in the usage of the concept. At this point, I bless the existence of Jacques Lacan and Sigmund Freud. I bless the reviewer of article C that pointed to the potential of Lacan’s psychoanalytic theory to offer us more insight into the potential that lay within that paper.

The journey of the psychoanalytic concept of the uncanny in my dissertation goes all the way back to 2014’s EGOS conference and the sub-theme *Organizing the Uncanny: Rethinking the Uncomfortably Familiar in Organization Studies* by Kathleen Riach, Simon Kelly and Martin Parker. In particular, the journey starts some moments before the conference. An excerpt from article C (p. 15), provides the background of the emergence of this key concept<sup>13</sup>:

*‘Our process of interpreting and dealing with our experiences evolved through a series of serendipitous moments and incidents (Merton and Barber 2004). One such moment occurred in Sweden during a collaborative analytic session in Treehotel, which is a hotel with all the rooms situated, literally, in a tree. Staying in a room named the Cuckoo’s Nest, all three of us lying comfortably in a double bed, yet feeling a bit awkward being*

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13 I will only open the first gate to access this forceful concept at this stage and encourage you to read article C that deals, throughout, with the uncanny.

*there to discuss a serious academic study, our key concept, the uncanny, emerged. Afterward, we started to familiarize ourselves with this concept that was unknown to us, made preliminary interpretations of our data employing it, presented our first conference paper, received positive feedback, developed a metaphorical lens on which we received critical feedback, returned to the original notion of the uncanny, and gradually started to realize the beauty of it. Perhaps in the beginning its capacity to reveal something threatening was, indeed, too threatening for us.'*

As exemplified in this excerpt, the beauty of the uncanny has unfolded little by little, slowly but powerfully. Moreover, there are some valuable twists along the way as well... As a matter of fact, in 2014, my co-authors and I started the uncanny journey with a fictional character of the Groke – a mysterious, somewhat monstrous lady from the popular TV-series Moomins by Tove Jansson (see also Riach & Kelly, 2015 for an inspiring example of using Bram Stoker's fictional character of Dracula to mobilize their analysis of immortality, age and organization). The Groke, 'the loneliness and darkness itself' (Happonen, 2012: 144), is a female creature, a cold figure shaped like a rock. Where she has once sat down (for an hour, as Moomintroll knows) nothing will ever grow again, making the flowers die and leaves fall from trees. The Groke was desperate for friendship and warmth but seemed unable to make herself heard by the Moomin family. This was until Moomintroll begins to meet the Groke on the beach with a lantern, setting the Groke free from her misery and loneliness.

The Groke's story is a powerful and affective one – a story that I have read already as a small girl, and of which my sister was so scared that a Moomin book cover with the Groke on it had to be covered with a sticker of a bunny. Even though the Groke is not physically present in the final published article, she has been with me and us all along – and she is here now. The Groke has been the person to remind me that there is something more than what lies in the conscious mind. Through her existence, something more than the symbolic reality becomes available to be touched upon. The Groke is a symbol of a fundamental disruption of our unconscious selves. In its familiarity, she is unfamiliar and threatening. She is so threatening that the Moomin family pushes her away by Moominpappa pointing a gun at her. She is a manifestation of *disruption*. Confronting her, as she waits behind the main door silently and makes no noise... there lies an uncanny moment. The uncanny has the capacity to ontologically question the presence of fixed meanings (Beyes & Steyaert, 2013: 1448). Uncanny is a crisis of the natural – a moment when something previously so homely turns into something unhomely (Masschelein, 2011: 4) or a moment when something so familiar becomes shockingly present in an unfamiliar and strange context (see Royle, 2003: 1). Ideologically, uncanny is a realization of the Groke living within us – even when we try to push her away due to her threatening nature. This pushing away leads to us live a fantasy – an 'alienating fundamental fantasy' to imaginarily protect us from '...the hurts, torments and drives that haunt us and propel our desire' (Desmond, 2013: 663). It is here we are able to make a connection between dreams and the uncanny.

During sleep, we enter the world of the unconscious – making our endeavor for rationalization and logical thinking negligible. Both Freud and Jacques Lacan identified the importance of dreams as a path to our unconscious and uncontrollable side. For Freud, we are engaged in dreams in a struggle with our own ‘internal foreign territory’ (Freud, 1933). For one, Lacan states: ‘We have the capacity to agnoszieren in the dream the sleeper’s own person in a pure state’ (Lacan, 1988: 153). This recognition of the incomprehensible (Lacan, 1991) that locates in the unconscious is the guiding tenet of psychoanalysis. For me, a psychoanalytic approach to sleep and dreaming as a powerful disruptor of organizational fantasy has become the basis for the theoretical/political/philosophical deliberation I am providing in this dissertation. Psychoanalysis has to offer organization studies a fundamental disruption of a definitive structure, a coherent organizational reality that forms the basic ground for investigating organizational phenomena. To take this further, for psychoanalysis it is exactly the *failure* of the structure – the limit of any structure – that becomes the object of analysis. As Leupin (2004: xxiv) notes, ‘(w)here the structure falls silent, the unconscious begins’. Thus, psychoanalysis leads us to consider that which *escapes* our consciousness instead of exploring the world within the reach of it.

The entanglement and potential of establishing a dialogue between psychoanalysis and organization studies and management is acknowledged in some valuable pieces of work (e.g. Gabriel, 1999; Gabriel & Carr 2002; Driver, 2009a; 2009b; Vanheule et al., 2003; Wozniak, 2010). Reading these works and understanding the connection between sleep and dreaming and the unconscious state bringing us closer to the incomprehensible, I am a bit astonished: how could I *not* include psychoanalysis in my dissertation concerning sleep and dreaming in an organizational context? Recognizing psychoanalysis’ value, this exploration/investigation would be lacking something crucial.

Through Freud’s inspiration, a psychoanalytic view of the unconscious is dynamic and active (Gabriel & Carr, 2002: 349). This provides again a valuable standpoint for organizational scholars interested in sleep and dreaming to highlight how the sleeping body is an active agent with power to disrupt, in contrast to being passive and withdrawn altogether from the ‘waking’ world. Moreover, still following Freud’s oeuvre and psychoanalytical thought, the unconscious is also more than ‘a messy collection of ideas, desires and impulses beyond analysis and... some kind of paranormal or spiritual repository or entity’ (Gabriel & Carr, 2002: 349). This – in very restricted sense – ‘graspable’ nature of the unconscious as something that we *can* talk about (even when it in itself escapes any definitions if considered as presenting the Real) and which give us important insights of how our (organizational) identities are structured and how they operate in organizational fantasies, makes it possible to take psychoanalysis seriously as a way to understand organizations on a more profound level. If the unconscious is something beyond our consciousness and thus escapes any symbolization, it can yet be *acknowledged* and *admitted*.

Being aware of the possibility of making a wrong impression, I feel that a psychoanalytical approach to sleep and dreaming goes deeper than a solely practice-oriented,



practice-philosophical or process-oriented approach to sleep and dreaming would be able to go. This again does not mean that a psychoanalytically inspired approach would be 'better'. Yet, this recognition makes it reasonable that the psychoanalytic approach is *present* – joining the dialogue – making organizational analysis more profound. To bring it to a personal level, the relevance of a psychoanalytic approach for this research, and the impact it has had on me, manifests through my passionate immersion with articles and books on psychoanalysis, one after another. I have found a new type of a lust for understanding more about the human psyche and the ways organizational subjects struggle with their own needs and desires, and a fundamental sense of lack (see Driver's extensive work on the subject). Thus, I see this research only as a beginning – and as a doctoral candidate, it is probably a rather good thing. Books and articles dealing with psychoanalysis seem to take my research much further than I could ever have expected. What is even more inspiring, and a bit overwhelming, is that the things I read have a huge impact on my personal life, and the life of people around me, in much more general terms than the research topic at hand.

## 4. Methodology as personal and theoretical

### 4.1. Living auto-ethnography

Together with a focus on sleep and dreaming, the auto-ethnographic research method works as a connecting piece of the entire research process. Here, I place a high emphasis on the recognition that there are versatile types of auto-ethnography that are dependent on the theoretical and philosophical frame that guides the research process as a whole (Moisander & Valtonen, 2006; see also Lapadat 2017: 590-592 for a wonderful declaration of auto-ethnography in its historical moment). Valuing some would unavoidably take away from others, creating a problematic – perhaps unethical – configuration. Moreover, even an attempt to provide any ‘fixed’ descriptions of the research methods used in this research would fight against the underlying logic of this whole research process that disrupts understandings of any fixed entities. Thus, I find it irrelevant to draw strict lines and come up with/fit into existing definitions of what type of an auto-ethnography this affective, emotional, self-narrated way of living the field *is*. Even more so, I do not find tempting (rather I find it involuntary) to compare it to some ‘other’ type of auto-ethnography (for example ‘evocative’ in contrast to ‘analytic’, see Anderson, 2006). I doubt the value to this research of strict definitions and comparisons.

Some wonderful, comprehensive accounts of different forms of auto-ethnography exist in large numbers and thus I will not re-invent the wheel (see e.g. Chang, 2008; Ellis & Bochner, 2000, 2011; Holman, 2016; Lapadat, 2017; Spry, 2001). I encourage readers altogether unfamiliar with auto-ethnography as a research method to pause here and perhaps first familiarize themselves with, for example, a couple of the following, valuable contributions which deal with auto-ethnography in the field of organization and consumer studies before proceeding to the next chapter: Ellis & Bochner, 2000; Gilmore and Kenny, 2015; Harding, 2008; Jago, 2002; Spry, 2016; Valtonen, 2013. These pieces of research allow readers get a grasp on the different ways of using the researcher’s ‘self’ as an invaluable part of research.

Auto-ethnography is a form of ethnography in which the researcher becomes a valuable part of the research process not only through forming a relation with a ‘research object’/phenomenon but also living, experiencing and reflecting the phenomenon *her-self*. Auto-ethnography invites the researcher to bring forth the personal and includes a philosophical and narrative orientation (Ceisel & Salvo, 2017). Thus, the purpose of auto-ethnographic fieldwork is to invite ‘others’ to see the field from the point of view of ‘the self’ instead of ‘seeing it from the point of view of the others’ (Valtonen, 2013: 203; see also Salmela et al., 2017). Auto-ethnography connects the autobiographical

and personal to the cultural and social (Ellis & Bochner, 2000: xix), and ‘rehumanizes the abstract speaking position of the political subject’ (Ceisel & Salvo, 2017: 1). This rehumanization that Ceisel and Salvo suggest connects tightly with the highly affective nature of my auto-ethnographic research process. I feel a companionship with what one might call evocative auto-ethnographers as expressing emotional, personal experiences as part of a larger research phenomenon invites the researcher to become a narrator, a storyteller. I find it rather difficult (or even bizarre) not to let the embodied experience of the researcher in its affective nature become expressed fully if there is nothing that stands in the way of expressing it<sup>14</sup>. This felt companionship with evocative ethnographers does not appear to me as a surprise, acknowledging that since childhood I have been keen to write diaries and novels and explore different types of artistic expression. Lapadat (2017: 589) suggests that auto-ethnographers have been at the forefront of challenging the traditional written form of the research report by drawing on ‘a variety of creative arts genres, including autobiography, fiction, poetry, and performance arts, to share their findings and to make scholarship more accessible’. Establishing concepts describing a particular form of auto-ethnography seems even less meaningful when one finds oneself connecting with pieces of work where authors affectively write themselves in without any highlighted role given to a certain type of auto-ethnography or autobiography (see e.g. Pullen et al., 2017; Katila & Meriläinen, 2002).

Furthermore, the sensitive research topic of sleep and dreaming encourages and forces me to engage with the sensations and affects arising within. As sleep is also an intimate issue, personal experiences (this also goes for communal autoethnography) allows the researcher to get (yet only partial) access to it. Auto-ethnography allows the research-subject to be sensitive to detailed and fine-grained aspects of *life*. As Ceisel & Salvo (2017: 2) wonderfully note: ‘Autoethnography is intimate, and to write autoethnography is to partake in an intimate way of being’. Even though a comparison of my research topic of sleep and dreaming with autoethnographic studies dealing with tragic and challenging topics such as death (see e.g. Herrmann, 2016; Alice, 2012) is irrelevant, the intimate and sensitive nature of these research topics connects them. This intimacy and sensitivity is highlighted for example in article C, where one of us authors shares her worst nightmare. Doing this, the author exposes her sleeping and dreaming body to the reader-public’s gaze, being susceptible to criticism and speculation, and as such vulnerable. At the same time, an auto-ethnographic approach allows the author to grasp this difficult and even painful subject – to process it – by sharing her own intimate experiences with others. This sharing can even be emancipatory. The notion of intimacy and sensitivity of my dissertation’s auto-ethnographic research process is not restricted to this example only. The entire auto-ethnographic experience has been utmost *fleshly* and intimate by nature; I and my co-authors have exposed our own sleeping-waking bodies under the gaze of others through auto-ethnographic fieldwork.

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14 Here I refer to situations in which the aim of the research is to focus on those sides of the research phenomenon that do not come that close to the researcher herself – as *everything* does not have to have an emphasis on the personal.

This is done both practically in situ and retrospectively through writing about those affective moments when our bodies have taken, or have been placed in, a leading role in sleep-related practices inside and outside academia. After this, we have opened up these moments for an audience to read, see and hear about. Putting ourselves ‘out there’ is not a unique practice in academic inquiry, but taking the privatized nature of sleep and the vulnerability of a sleeping body, it can be considered a *disruptive* practice that contests orthodox research-related power relations (where the researcher chooses to investigate a research object and strives for objectivity).

As I hope this becomes visible in this dissertation, exploring sleep and dreaming opens doors to other sensitive issues that make the researcher, as a living and breathing person, bare. This research topic opens up ways to reflect on the researcher’s own insufficiency to fulfill the demands of an ideal organizational subject. This is an ideal based on a deep-rooted fantasy that has traveled far – unquestioned. Thus, the auto-ethnographic journey includes my personal experience of living in and through this entire research process as a researcher-researched, by situating and acknowledging my own embodied presence as inseparable from every step of the process. I find that my mind-body in its flesh is possibly the only true access through which I would be able to deliberate on issues regarding organizational subjectivity on the level I have tried to make visible in the previous pages. Thus, it holds research benefits unavailable to many other methodological choices. Lapadat (2017: 593) notes how ‘(i)n that researchers choose to examine their own experiences and vulnerabilities, (auto-ethnography) opens up inquiry to difficult topics and experiences that have not otherwise been seen from a first-person perspective...’. She continues by stating: ‘In their care to not exploit the experiences of others or make them vulnerable, autoethnographers have turned the spotlight on themselves. In this way, autoethnography has brought into the conversation topics and insights that formerly were hidden.’ (p. 593). I consider this to be the exact situation with the uncanny potential of sleep to/in organizations through turning the spotlight on my own bodily experiences.

To close, I want to emphasize how the active empowerment of my own embodied presence as a path to learn more about sleep and dreaming in an organizational context is further supplemented with the communal force of co-authoring – taking the form of a collaborative auto-ethnography I touched upon earlier (Lapadat, 2017). As stated at the very beginning of these pages, this journey is not that of one woman – it is collective. Sharing each other’s highly affective, embodied experiences of the uncanny role of sleep in organizations and organizing is an invaluable aspect of auto-ethnography present in this research. Thus, this collaborative auto-ethnography manifests the ‘affectively charged ethics’ suggested by Pullen & Rhodes (2014: 784), and furthermore, the vulnerability of us as researchers and as women makes our co-working an example of the corporeal generosity suggested by Rosalyn Diprose (2002). During these years, we have confided utmost sensitive and private things of our lives to each other with the members of our feminist reading circle, including my supervisors. This includes also unfolding of sensitive and highly personal and affective experiences during courses such as Corporeal Ethics, held at the University of Lapland in December 2016, with many

people previously unfamiliar to each other opening up and creating an atmosphere full of trust and generosity (Pullen & Rhodes, 2014), having a *major* influence on my dissertation. Coming back to auto-ethnography, like for Lapadat (2017: 600), also for us, collaborative auto-ethnography has its greatest strength in ‘its focus on relationship building through shared vulnerability, flattening hierarchies, and establishing trust’. I think none of these deliberations would have been accessible on the level presented in this dissertation without our ‘team’. When thinking about all this, it makes me wonder who is granted with the power to decide what auto-ethnographic ‘style’, or any type of qualitative research, is *better* or more convincing than another style?

I will next guide you through a detailed methodological reading of all three articles. I will do this in the best way I can think of – by providing summaries of the articles first, and continuing to discuss each of them with a methodological focus. As I find theory, methodology, the research phenomenon and the ‘personal’ inseparable in this dissertation, I will thus touch upon some aspects of the articles that need attention before concluding my dissertation, regardless of whether they are strictly methodological by nature or not.

## **4.2. An Uncanny Night in a Nature Bubble: Designing Embodied Sleeping Experiences.**

*Salmela, T., Valtonen, A., Miettinen, S.*

### **4.2.1. Summary of article A**

This paper, published as a book chapter in Springer’s series of Design Science in Tourism, is written together with professor of cultural economy Anu Valtonen (University of Lapland) and professor of service design Satu Miettinen (University of Lapland). In the paper, I was entirely responsible for framing and positioning the study within the fields of tourism studies. I was also responsible for conducting the fieldwork, for analyzing the empirical data, writing the analytic narratives and for drawing the conclusions. Anu participated in writing the auto-ethnographic methodology and provided assistance in the chapter on the body and sleep while Satu contributed to the connection of the topic and research phenomenon to the field of service design.

The paper connects the exploration of sleep to the context of tourism by opening up my personal experiences when benchmarking a rather novel trend in tourism industry called glamping back in 2013. I got involved in this fieldwork through conducting a sleep market analysis in a project called *Vitality from sleep – service design as a strategic tool to enhance good sleep and survey its innovation potential* (ran by Anu). In this project, I visited the most bizarre and experimental sites for sleeping as examples of sleep tourism. One of these visits was in a see-through bubble made from a recycled plastic in a regional nature park of Verdon in southeastern France, near a French village called Montagac-Montpezat in the Alpes-de-Haute-Provence department. This rather uncanny night worked as the inspiration for the paper. Spending only one night in this bubble, extremely conflicting emotions and thoughts emerged, longing for a path of

expression. The third author's invitation to submit a manuscript for Springer's series offered that path. An auto-ethnographic study developed as my sleeping body in the bubble provided an intriguing case for advancing current understanding of the creation of bodily experiences in touristic nature-based settings. Moreover, the study opened doors for fascinating insights into the denial of the human subject as actually part of nature when located in a plastic bubble, allowing more ideological deliberations to be brought forth.

In the book chapter, we first provide an overview of glamping as a new form of nature-based tourism and develop a notion of sleep-centric glamping as a particular form of glamping constructed around sleep. After this overview, we open up the theoretical background and existing research literature guiding the research, namely the practice-based understanding of the sleeping body and bodies in nature. After explaining the auto-ethnographic methodology as the basis of this research, the analysis chapter follows. It consists of an introduction of the empirical data constitutive of my personal field notes through excerpts and a short analysis after each one of them. The paper ends with a discussion, bringing forth the contributions of the study: 1) the sleep-centric glamping experience disrupts deeply-rooted assumptions of how to sleep, especially how sleep is considered a private practice, by highlighting the vulnerability of the author's sleeping body that is exposed to nature's gaze in a see-through bubble and simultaneously unveiling the uncanny elements of this experience as the author was physically inside a plastic bubble separating her from nature; 2) the experience highlights the powerful impact of designing tourism experiences in enabling and simultaneously constraining the connection between the tourist body and the nature's body, having consequences for our relation with nature; 3) the experience points to the active role of several nature-based elements that are involved in the design of experiences – such as darkness, lightness and sounds of animals – disrupting an understanding of human as an omnipotent designer of tourism experiences; 4) the study shows how the sleeping body itself takes part in the co-creation of tourism experiences by being a carrier of a set of socio-historical practices and understandings which influence the experience.

Coming back to the bubble experience and writing these words about my journey, dating around five years back, I feel overwhelmed by the emotions and bodily effects it arouses in me. Recalling the moments of confronting the bubble – standing by it, sleeping in it, being scared, overwhelmed, fascinated, shocked, and finally, ready to leave the bubble behind – make me sweat. The bubble is an affective, bodily experience. Re-reading the paper five years after conducting the fieldwork, I am able to discover a mixture of uncanny elements that I was not able to identify back in 2013. It also brings forth the worth of making myself, as a narrator and experiencer of the bubble, vulnerable by sharing the intimate moments of discomfort and anxiousness arising from the fieldwork, with the public. This vulnerability of the research is important for me to bring forth in this dissertation, and thus communicating it through my journey in the bubble is of great relevance.



#### 4.2.2. Methodological reading of article A

The auto-ethnographic process of article A represents a short-term and even shocking engagement with a particular dimension of a wider research phenomenon of sleep and dreaming. It focuses on sleep tourism and more precisely sleep-centric glamping. The physical site of the fieldwork is a plastic, see-through bubble and its immediate surroundings in a regional nature park in France, where I traveled alone in 2013 and spent night in, as part of wider fieldwork related to sleep tourism. Spending one night in the bubble is a typical way of experiencing this type of glamping, as the experience is constructed around sleep instead of the hours spent awake. The auto-ethnographic data of article A thus consists of a first-hand embodied experience of sleeping in the bubble, as I take the role of a tourist who experiences the bubble for the first time. In detail, the auto-ethnographic data consists of (i) photographs, taken by me of the Nature Bubble and its surrounding environment, the regional nature park of Verdon and the site of Montagnac-Montpezat; (ii) field notes written while being in the site and continued imminently when returning home, continued with; (iii) a first-experience narrative and followed by; (iv) a reflexive dialogue in 2015.

As revealed earlier, for me writing in a storytelling mode appears most pleasing and natural. The narratives from 2013 were abundant and waiting to be explicated and explored through a selected approach. The dialogue that follows the narratives represents the first-point analysis of the data, conducted through a practice-based understanding of sleep and the sleeping body (Dale, 2001; Williams & Bendelow, 1998), brought together in the conclusion. My engagement so far with sociocultural research on sleep – especially my co-authored master's thesis on the topic – affected both my visit in the bubble and reflections thereof. Moreover, the second author's significant contribution to the sociocultural research on sleep held a high value in the creation of the interpretive lens, especially when it comes to the first principal of reading the data: the recognition of the particularities of the recumbent sleeping body. It was through discussions with the second author that I was better able to 'organize' the affective experience following the selected theoretical approach. Furthermore, as we had a design oriented focus for the purposes of the book, our exploration of the bubble experience gained new levels with the help of design vocabulary. Here we found the third authors' expertise and contributions in research relating to art and design valuable, yet the analysis and arguments provided in the paper were strongly guided by socio-cultural research on sleep and the body. Furthermore, when we started to write the book chapter to Springer at the end of 2015, many new insights into the research topic had emerged and my theoretical and philosophical orientation towards sleep and dreaming had gained new perspectives. Coming back to my autoethnographic data more than two years after the fieldwork was also an affective experience. Those notions that back then lacked words were now provided with them.

The challenge and potential of an affective experience of sleeping in the bubble by myself mixed during the research process. I knew that I was incapable of sharing my experiences to my two co-authors from those parts that go *beyond* the written narratives – as there is always more than what we are able to deliver through words, be it

spoken or written. My racing heart, sweat on my skin, holding my breath, aches in my stomach, all muscles tensing at the same time in the moment of shock – all mixing with feelings of fear and even slight, hidden panic and also joy and wonder... It was clear that the process was somewhat obliged to be personal. This provided me a lot of freedom. Freedom has always its counterpart; due to the personal experience unable to be shared fully, we could not benefit from a collaborative autoethnography (Lapadat, 2017) and thus of shared reflections of affective experiences from the field. Therefore, I felt I was sometimes lacking words to describe my experiences, as I did not get the chance to deliberate their meaning in depth with someone who would have slept in the bubble too. At the same time, this provided me with the possibility to value my experience as it appeared to me – having another type of intrinsic value. Just like articles B and C, every auto-ethnographic process is unique and has its pros and cons. Here, the pros were most evidently the freedom to express the affective experience, which had a major impact on me, because I was there on my own, and the cons stem from the very loneliness of the experience – and again, they mix.

Today, when reading this particular piece of work, I shiver. I come back to my memories and would like to deliberate more on them through the discovery of psychoanalysis and the uncanny. I experience again, through my memories, the confrontation of the plastic bubble in a pitch-black night with a stranger picking me up from the bus station and driving, what seemed as, an immeasurable time to arrive to the site. I recall the time when feelings of uncertainty, fear, wonder and astonishment mixed. I remember referring to the moment of standing by the side of the plastic bubble as uncanny – a moment where you cannot organize your coordinates, you cannot prepare for a sight and a weird moment like that (in all of its characteristics), so you start to laugh because you do not know how to react. In the book chapter, I explicate the moment I realized that the bubble was indeed see-through once the night lamp was on and I was coming back from the bathroom and saw the bubble ‘screaming’ bare. Now, I find myself thinking: how did I not allow this realization to clarify in my mind once I was inside the bubble with my lamp on? Was it something I could not imagine, or was I not ready for it? These were the moments during which my bodily exposure came to the fore.

I remember when lying down on my back and on my side all alone in my plastic see-through bubble, I felt anxious. My heart beat wild. Even though I was aware that many people had slept in that very same bubble before me and had not been assaulted, I could not forbid feeling vulnerable to somebody entering my bubble. The fact that I would have no possibility to stop a possible intruder was in many ways realistic. I could end up abused if somebody lurking in the forest wanted to harm an unlucky tourist in a bubble and perhaps steal her money. This scenario however arose a different type of anxiety than the one arising from my body being exposed in the see-through bubble. In both cases, I was unarmed. In the latter, I was exposing my body to the eyes of nature and its creatures while not seeing anything of my surroundings. I did not fear that the creatures living in the surrounding forest would come *in*. But acknowledging that they could see me while I could not see them, was the cause of my anxiety. I was holding on to the light of the lamp in my plastic bubble in order to make



me feel secure in the pitch-black environment. At the same time, I was acting exactly against that security which would have arisen from *not* being seen (thus, by not being exposed to the gaze of others) by holding tightly onto the light of my small lamp. I held tight to it so that *I* could see but simultaneously I exposed my body to others. I was somewhat deceiving myself. Sometimes it is easier... At that certain moment, I must have thought: which is the worst of two bad options? To let my light inside my own plastic bubble stay switched on, so that I can remain (happily?) unaware of the frightening stranger? A stranger taking the form of an unknown territory of nature in that park? To enjoy my own bubble? Or... turn off the light and thus merge, at least slightly, with the surrounding nature but to be possibly confronted with something frightening outside my bubble? To possibly see myself being gazed upon... to see, what is gazing at me? Or worse, to get a clue of somebody gazing (somebody moving in the woods, a tree swinging), but not seeing.

Despite the feeling of connection with the nature as the fear calmed down... I was still sleeping in my private plastic bubble. I feel obliged to make a connotation here to the ideology of organizations. Sleeping in a private plastic bubble is probably a form of blatant expression of organizational fantasy. My body was detached from 'nature' by plastic; I was isolated from 'real nature' through what we consider a luxury; I had my Western sleep equipment in my private space in nature – in the form of a nature *park* which makes it more 'safe' for me; I upheld an illusion of eco-friendliness, although I had traveled halfway across Europe to sleep in a bubble made of recycled plastic; my bubble was filled with air from a technical equipment, which reminds that I am not 'out there' in nature but safely in the fantasy of an urban lifestyle; and it was in this bubble that I finally got a sense of protection – a *jouissance* – to fall asleep. Moreover, my bubble would just disappear, deflate, if the manmade inflator did not work anymore – it would be empty, and I had to be careful not to open the zippers of the bubble in a way that would cause the deflation. An illusionary protection would vanish... It makes me think... What is a dream, what is reality? Is my bubble more of a dream than reality? In the shocking awakening in the morning to hearing gunshots nearby (and not being sure if there was a hunt going on), I did not have enough time to re-draw my coordinates. At that particular time, it was a traumatic disruption of a fantasy. Was it then – a brutal, ugly reality? With death and violence? A shocking moment – an uncanny moment – a moment of confusion of what is it that *is* and what is it *that I imagine*? A confrontation with... something that escapes any comprehension. A disruption of fantasy after fantasy after fantasy. A dream after a dream after a dream. Nothing seemed familiar any more. I wanted to run away, to leave the bubble. It was not a place for me. I did not want to step in to the bubble anymore once I got out of it and saw it in sunlight – it would have suffocated me. I wanted to go home. The bubble was messy and plastic. *'The shooting became a reality check of the entanglement of the tourist's and nature's body – it surely shocked them both.'* My body and the nature's body became in an unexpected way... one. Even as the bubble was still there, my plastic bubble had already exploded.

### **4.3. The Affective Circle of Harassment and Enchantment: Reflections on the ÖURA Ring as an Intimate Research Device**

*Salmela, T., Valtonen, A., Lupton, D.*

#### **4.3.1. Summary of article B**

I wrote this paper together with professor of cultural economy Anu Valtonen (University of Lapland) and centenary research professor Deborah Lupton (University of Canberra). It deals with disruption and transgression in the autoethnographic process itself while at the same time introduces a phenomenon which renders the sleeping body a vital part of body optimization practices, disrupting the boundaries between intimate-public-work-related lives. The interest in conducting a focused research of sleep tracking goes back to 2013 when I was doing a market analysis on the growing sleep market and wrote two research essays on the topic. The paper in its final form was an outcome of a bouncy research journey – a response to the joint affective resonances towards the research device. After initiating and developing the paper's grounding idea together with the second author, I worked as the intellectual leader of the study and invited the third author to join us with her expertise and considerable contributions on the topic of biometrics or self-tracking. I had immersed myself with the third author's work during the years working in the aforementioned market analysis of sleep. I was also responsible for most of the fieldwork, the writing of personal narratives and the analysis that follows them. The third author connected our study to the existing and most recent literature of self-tracking, wrote those parts of the paper that are based on this literature and also greatly affected the positioning of our paper. She also came up with the notion of the thing-power that the ring holds. The second author took the main responsibility for developing our theoretical framework with Sara Ahmed's affect theory – a decision made after a great suggestion by the reviewers. After this, we further worked on our theoretical framework together, allowing the creation of a dialogue between the personal narratives with the ÖURA ring. We all contributed to the discussion/conclusion while I and the second author took the responsibility for working it into its final form.

In the paper, we offer an auto-ethnographic study of (not) using a wearable sleep-tracking device, the ÖURA smart ring, as a research device and lay bare a 'failed' research process in which we felt in turn enchanted and harassed by the ring. The paper connects my research phenomenon, sleep and the sleeping body, to methodological issues and challenges. Most importantly, it highlights the potential that these challenges (disruption) carry. Originally, we had planned to use the ring as part of our auto-ethnographic study on the proliferating sleep-monitoring phenomenon. What happened was that the ring's thing-power arouse in us unexpected, intense affective resonances towards it, forming a new focus for our study. Further, a deviation from the plan that was already a second one emerged as I slipped the ring into my finger and allowed it to enter my personal place despite my earlier reluctance to do so. This deviation was a significant manifestation of the enchanting agency of the ring. Recognizing these steps, we unfold our flickering relation with the ring, representing it as 'sticky' through

personal and social tension and saturation of affect which was directed towards and generated by it (Ahmed, 2004: 11). With the help of Sara Ahmed's work, we are able to reflect on our affects and identify different forms of intimacy through our relation with the ring: those related to disrupting the bodily norms of academia, and those disrupting the privacy of the sleeping body. In the paper, we unfold the potential of these disruptions to offer a better understanding of the significant role of the thing-power of research devices in qualitative research processes.

The paper begins with a discussion of the ÖURA ring as an intimate device and goes on to outline our theoretical and methodological approach to understanding the affective dimensions of digital wearable devices like ÖURA. This includes introducing both the selected studies on human-nonhuman encounters as part of social science research; studies recognizing the enrolment of mobile technologies in everyday ethnographic practices and; Sara Ahmed's work on affect, all leading us to emphasize the importance of the body in our theoretical frame. After this, we provide the background of the study by introducing the bouncy journey with the ring. Next, we provide and analyze narrative excerpts from personal auto-ethnographic field notes in the light of our theoretical orientation. We end with a discussion/conclusion by addressing the conflicting affective relation between researchers-in-flesh and a technological device, which gains powerful agency, as well as the implications for qualitative research using new media tools like the ÖURA ring.

#### **4.3.2. Methodological reading of article B**

Article B is methodological by nature, and as such it reflects on the auto-ethnographic process itself. As stated in the summary of the article, it revolves around auto-ethnography conducted with a wearable sleep-tracking device – a smart ring called ÖURA – taking the role of a research device. We were given two rings to use with the help of the second authors' connection to the developers of the ring at the University of Lapland. In fact, the developer himself contacted the second author to suggest a meeting related to the topic of sleep. The rings are rather expensive and we felt thankful and simultaneously pressured to use them for our research purposes – bringing forth a variety of emotions when we 'failed' to commit to our eventual auto-ethnographic study (to use the ring to track our sleep and engage with the *We Are Curious* Personal Health Record platform, where we were going to share our sleep data and discuss it with others to investigate the ring's personal and social affordances).

While the plan to conduct research with the ring changed during the process, the eventual auto-ethnographic material consisted of my personal narratives, which I wrote on my laptop, iPad, and notebook as well as two recorded audio reflections during January 2017 and March 2017. The narratives were written during, or right after, the affective-laden moment with the ring that caused trouble or excitement within me or us, and thus they are immediate reflections of living with the ring. These narratives consist of both (i) the phases when I and the second author received the rings and felt reluctant to start using them; (ii) the moments when we meet to discuss the research and the ring's agency seems to start guiding our process intensely; (iii) the period when

I, despite my earlier reluctance, slip the ring on my finger and, little by little, allow it to approach and eventually enter my personal space at home; (iv) the three days during which I use the ring and; (v) the moments when I stop tracking myself and place the ring into a drawer, out of sight. The writing process of the manuscript proceeded hand in hand with the bounces throughout the journey – when a disruption in our plan emerged, the second author and I called, or wrote each other e-mail, or arranged a meeting and discussed how we will react to this disruption. On all occasions, we decided to listen to what the disruption ‘had to say’. We proceeded with me writing the manuscript further accordingly and sending it to the second author to be further deliberated on. The writing process was a flow. I and the second author, who also is my supervisor, had already established a strong co-writing habit during the past years. Furthermore, with each other we were able to be open and free in our expressions, knowing that one will not make the other feel stupid or strike her down – a wonderful example of collaborative autoethnography (see Lapadat, 2017).

An ethical dilemma arose when communicating our changing research plan to the third author who was geographically far away from us, and who we did not meet face to face during the research process. We had to deliberate carefully what role we were to expect from the third author as the bouncy process emerged ‘in situ’, being open for discussion and mutual sharing between the second author and myself. We did not want to exclude the third author from the decisions made, but simultaneously we acknowledged that it would be easier and also more justified to the third author if we clearly explicate what we had planned to do next, and what we considered that the third author could contribute to the article. Our decisions and communication to the third author worked well, as our theoretical and contextual expertise supplemented each other in ways that made the writing process functional. Yet, we did feel uneasy every now and then, because we were not able to make decisions together as a threesome. This differed from other co-authored papers (especially article C) in which we were able to build a strong dialogue between all authors (but it also demanded a lot more time). The process with the ring was also a good reminder of different types of co-authoring processes I have been involved in, all of them with their own pros and cons. Recognizing this, the research process was a joint contribution of three researchers and one ring to data generation, analysis, and writing, strengthened by the contribution of multidimensional perspectives on the research (Chang et al., 2013), in its particular and valuable form.

As the auto-ethnographic research process entered my private home and personal space, the potential rising from auto-ethnography’s call for intimacy also showed its other side. It did so on the level of exposing my life situation to the public (such as having an argument with my partner, which led me to sleep in our guest room). Also, this entering into the personal made people I mention in my narratives, vulnerable as well; I have not protected the anonymity of my partner in the story when telling about our argument. This makes him an identifiable other (Ellis, 2007) – a situation of which I have no control anymore at the point when the article is published. To solve this ethical challenge, I reacted by asking him for permission to include him and his affili-

ation (husband) into the article. At this moment, I still wonder if I made myself clear enough when asking him this. An inner ethical conflict arises. Another risk rising from auto-ethnography's intimate nature is of becoming a target of criticism as an academic scholar that perhaps cannot be taken seriously. Potentially accused of being 'irrational, particularistic, private, and subjective, rather than reasonable, universal, public, and objective' (Greenhalgh, 2001: 55) one might ask, what relevance does this research have if it does not directly touch upon concrete global social issues and propose pragmatic ways to address them (Lapadat, 2017: 596)?

Even though the main empirical data consists of my personal reflections and writings of (not) using the ring, a crucial part of the data is our joint discussions and even rebellious moments experienced with the second author, as we both did not in the first place start using the ring. The ring 'gave room for bursts of affective responses to themes outside our actual research focus; to laugh at the supposed rational practices of scholarship, and the illusion of a linear research process' (analysis from narrative 1). Thus, the experience and the auto-ethnographic process was communal – a characteristic of the research process that would most assumedly not be possible without the shared journey. The fact that for the second author the ring stayed in its plastic box throughout the research process was an important part of the analysis of the ring's agency. It allowed me to deliberate the causes and logics of the ring approaching my personal space and not hers – even when in contrast with what I would want it to do. It highlighted the ring's harassing agency, making it available for us to deliberate.

The bouncy and unexpected research journey was simultaneously a challenge. With the second author, we struggled with issues related to research ethics as we felt we had in some way let down the developers of the ring, because we did not wear them with enthusiasm and elaborate on our (positive) experiences. We also felt anxious about returning the rings as we were afraid of confronting questions related to our fieldwork. What we would have said? 'Well, we ended up writing a paper of not using your device, or, umm, well, one of us did use it, but quit after three days...'? We tried to return the rings in a most delicate way, feeling relief when the persons in charge were not there at the moment of the return – yet making us feel simultaneously guilty. Thus, the ethical issues related to the 'granting' of the expensive ring to our usage, and 'failing' to meet the expectations (that we most probably created ourselves), was part of the circling bunch of affects involved in the research.

The last challenge I will bring up here is related to the research process: the slipping of the research topic away from sleep towards something that seemed to want to manifest itself. As an activity tracker, the ÖURA ring does much more than merely track our sleep. Thus, the conflicting pressure and simultaneous seducement by the ring to track my calorie consumption and activity level drew my focus away from the moments I was sleeping to the moments I was awake. It seemed that the prioritization of waking 'got me' – even though I was deliberately disrupting this tendency with my dissertation. Instead of getting anxious of this happening, with the help of our discussions with the second author we opened our senses to those things and experiences evolving from the 'unexpected'. Thus, it was an ethical act as such not to hold tightly onto something that



we *wanted* to discuss and bring forward with our research, but instead to let life itself talk to us, and tell us something valuable. I find this change-of-plan(s) an example of a disruption of an illusion of a well-organized research process.

#### **4.4. Accessing uncolonized terrains of organizations: uncanny force of sleep and dreaming**

*Salmela, T., Valtonen, A., Meriläinen, S.*

##### **4.4.1. Summary of article C**

This article works as the grounding article of my dissertation. I wrote this article together with professor of cultural economy Anu Valtonen (University of Lapland) and professor of management Susan Meriläinen (University of Lapland). Each of us contributed equally to the generation of the original idea of the paper and to conducting the empirical fieldwork. As discussed in the earlier chapter considering the story behind the concept of the uncanny, the journey of this article started in 2014 and went on until the end of 2017. After the communal empirical fieldwork, I took the role of the intellectual leader of the study and was in charge of managing the process. This article was in fact the first one in which I learned how to take the responsibility for a co-authored article process. Furthermore, I took the key responsibility for the development of the theoretical and methodological framework and immersed myself in psychoanalytic literature and the concept of the uncanny, tracing back to original writings and seminars of Freud and Lacan as well as lectures and writings of Slavoj Žižek. I also took the key responsibility for the empirical analysis and did most of the writing of the paper. The second and third author provided valuable feedback and comments throughout the process, and contributed invaluable to the positioning of the study and to the development of the main argument of the article.

This article is, most directly and heavily, about the uncanny. It brings the potential of sleep and dreaming to transgress objectively real boundaries in organizational context to an ideological level with the help of the psychoanalytical concept of the uncanny. As a site of this transgression, our research topic of sleep and dreaming helps us to make visible how it is in the very disruption of organizational fantasy (see Desmond, 2013) where the unfolding of organizational subjectivity takes place. Simultaneously, through our examples of sleep and dreaming, we open the door for the discovery of the ideological purpose of any organization: the *jouissance* of its existence. The ideological disruption of organizational fantasy, and the discovery of the *jouissance* it provides to organizational subjects, would not have been possible to deliberate without the engagement of our own subjectivities as three authors of the article. Through our body-minds, we were able to slightly grasp the fleeting uncanny moments when living the field as academics. Moreover, they are these moments (back then lacking words to describe them) that gave birth to the paper in the first place. Following this, the paper is an extended auto-ethnography where ‘living the field’ took place in multiple sites both inside and outside the physical borders of our own academia.

The paper starts with a discussion of the concept of uncanny and its psychoanalytical premises and connects it with our research topic of sleep and dreaming. After this, we unfold our nonlinear research process. In the analysis chapter, we share our auto-ethnographic stories through the interpretive frame informed by a Lacanian and Freudian view of the uncanny, coming together under two themes that reflect the uncanniness of sleep and dreaming in organizations: (i) threatening insecurity and (ii) traumatic dreams, shocking becomings. The paper continues with a dialogue that brings these stories together. We conclude by reflecting on the ways in which sleep and dreaming hold uncanny force that offers serious potential for the study of organizations and for the growing interest in organizational studies on the suppressed, marginalised, and/or excluded aspects of organizational life, unveiling their provision of a natural habitat for organizational subjectivity.

#### **4.4.2. Methodological reading of article C**

Article C is based on collaborative auto-ethnography (Allen-Collison & Hockey, 2008; Lapadat, 2009; 2017; Valtonen et al., 2016) taking place between 2012–2017, during which all three of us have been working as academics at our own university in Finnish Lapland. We have been involved in a project focusing on sleep since 2012, and thus the auto-ethnographic data consists of personal reflections on our lives as academics engaged in sleep-related research. Ever since 2012, we have been writing down, recording and sharing our personal experiences of the research topic of sleep and dreaming anywhere our work has taken us. Those auto-ethnographic reflections rising from our academic lives that were to be part of the final article of the uncanny seemed to focus on two research sites: the military (through a pilot study and two primary fieldwork periods at a military winter training camp organized annually by the Finnish National Defence University) and our own work organization – the academia. In the camp, we took part in a wider project on sleep (see also Pekkala & Salmela, 2013), partly collaborating with the Finnish Defense University, in which we explored the sleeping practices of both cadets attending the camp and the regular personnel. Our primary aim was not to reflect our own experiences in the camp but to make observations in the camp – by sleeping in barracks and in the cadets’ tents, spending time and observing in the military cafeteria and in places where the shooting practices took place, as well as to interview regular personnel and the cadets.

Regarding our own organization, the academia, field notes and story-told reflections taking us back to our faculty’s relaxation room, university hallways and our private homes, found their home in article C. Thus, no fieldwork has been conducted to the exact purposes of article C per se. This makes the experiences brought under analysis bare and beyond questions leading their manifestation. They reflect in a most powerful way the embodied uncanny moments when living the field. Back in earlier years, our reflections lacked words and comprehension available to us now through the process of immersing ourselves in literature and research related to psychoanalysis. During these three years when engaged in the article process, we have been able to investigate these affective moments through psychoanalytical concepts that have opened up

unannounced depth in their cause and meaning. In the final paper, it was yet less the importance of the research site and its particularities that was relevant for the uncanny to show its potential, but more the exact moments where this potential unfolded – allowing us to reflect on the manifestation of the uncanny in lived, unplanned, academic life that unavoidably entangles with the personal.

Conducting an ethnographic study on sleep and dreaming holds various challenges – many of them are in fact reflections of those uncanny moments that we bring forth in our findings. Especially during our fieldwork in the military training camp, we asked ourselves repeatedly: where is the line between privacy and research? We felt utmost uneasy photographing someone’s unmade bed, not to mention the uneasiness arising from taking photos of a sleeping body. Here, instead of continuing with data gathering causing ethical problems related to the portrayal of others, auto-ethnography turned our focus *inwards*. We asked: *why* do these feelings occur? What am I exactly feeling at this moment? Are my feelings logical – or do they lack any logic? Our own position in those very moments opened up possibilities to explore sensitive or silenced topics (see e.g. Jago, 2002; Valtonen, 2013). This, I argue, becomes possible only by giving serious value to the affective experiences by the researchers themselves. However, to grant them theoretical value and the possibility for wider reflection also by others (this yet does not mean any type of generalization), the recognition of these experiences is to be conducted ‘in rigorous and analytic fashion as a central, fundamental and integral part of the research process, rather than as a subsidiary, confessional “aside”’ (Allen-Collinson & Hockey, 2008: 6).

To continue, an ethical challenge arose from selection and analysis of the joint narratives. In the beginning of the process, we had more narratives that we could incorporate into the article. Along the way, some narratives had to be taken out, causing uneasiness within each of us as every story is a personal one and valuable – a story making its teller vulnerable (see also Kenny & Fotaki, 2010; Butler, 1993; Pollock, 1995). When being open to this uneasiness, we could not allow these feelings to stop us proceeding with our project. Here, joint conversations in which we discussed the logics of selecting the particular narratives were helpful, and we did not face any big conflicts in those moments when we had to choose. In those situations, the familiarity of us authors to each other was of great help. Furthermore, the recognition that this article would be the grounding article of my dissertation was relevant – thus I had perhaps the last say in the discussions when we hesitated between two options. This was also in connection with my role as the first author and the person in charge of the development of the theoretical framework, immersing myself deeply into the literature, which guided our analysis.

There was another ethical dimension to our joint stories. As the narratives were personal, we faced a question: how to use another person’s story to tell *ours* (see Wall, 2008: 49)? This has to do especially with the stories provided by the second and the third author analyzed first by me. As I was primarily responsible for the analysis through our theoretical/philosophical/psychoanalytical approach and provided my interpretation to my co-authors, I already stepped onto their private territory simultaneously recog-



nizing the fundamental lack that I face when trying to grasp another's inner experience (see e.g. Driver, 2009a; 2009b). Thus, it was different to analyze my own experiences and narratives thereof than those of others. However, we did not start the process of analysis without discussing and deliberating *together* all the narratives that we had gathered to be included in the article. The three of us had already established a firm grounding for the analysis to take place, not to mention all the previous phases of the process in which we had already discussed our personal experiences multiple times. One of the stories however had not been traveling along with us during the entire process and while recognizing its intimate character and that it is not my own story, I know there is no other choice than to accept that something will inevitably be left unsaid. In the end, we had only one option: to be as open and critical with each other as we could, leaving the person unfolding her personal experience also responsible for stating whether or not something in the analysis reflected her experience and to take an active part in the re-working of the analysis. I found that this crucial part of collaborative ethnography worked well in our process and we achieved, as far as it is possible, a dialogical research instead of a monological one (Smith et al., 2008) by valuing our unique experiences instead of aiming for a 'merging' (Allen-Collison & Hockey, 2008: 18).

I will close this chapter by emphasizing that the journey of Article C was an example of an academic paper developing in ways unexpected due to inspired and committed reviewers, who had expertise in the exact field that the paper deals with, in our case psychoanalysis and its praxis. To thank the reviewers we have incorporated them into the article, in the chapter describing our auto-ethnographic process.

*'...Likewise it is clear that [of those which either sleep or wake]  
there is no animal which is always awake or always asleep,  
but that both these affections belong [alternately] to the same animals.  
For if there be an animal not endued with sense-perception,  
it is impossible that this should either sleep or wake;  
since both these are affections of the activity of the primary faculty of sense-perception.  
But it is equally impossible also that either of these two affections should perpetually  
attach itself to the same animal, e.g. that some species of animal should be always  
asleep or always awake, without intermission;  
for all organs which have a natural function must lose power  
when they work beyond the natural time-limit of their working period;  
for instance, the eyes [must lose power] from [too long continued] seeing,  
and must give it up;  
and so it is with the hand and every other member which has a function.'*

*Aristotle, On Sleep and Sleeplessness (1952), chapter 1*

## 5. Me running free

I guess that in every dissertation there are dozens of pages that one has to erase out – pages which just do not fit to the (understandable) strived-for coherence of the years-long work. In this chapter, I would like to let myself run free and elaborate some of the issues I find important but which did not find their ‘perfect spot’ in the previous chapters. This is also a good way to proceed to the conclusion, settling down again after a nice run.

Like the uncanny as a psychoanalytical concept, I’ve found it a struggle not to ‘fit into a box’ with my research. Instead of following one definitive grand Theory as my theoretical framework, from which I investigate organizational discourses and practices as an organizational scholar, I find myself having most fascinating conversations with people who could be seen as belonging to some sort of a ‘group’. These groups could be: social scientists, artists, psychotherapists, new materialists, post-humanists, philosophers, educators, managers, employees, sociologists, de-growth activists, students and organizational scholars. However, making this list seems bizarre. Is it not what these people want to say rather than what these people represent, that counts? It is a great pleasure and inspiration to find the names that have held my attention during the past five years in unexpected articles and books that I read when focusing on ‘another’ topic. Furthermore, it is inspiring to find the same people ‘talking to me’ through book pages, who did not in the first place have anything to do with the exact topic or article I am writing. What is even more inspiring is to sometimes *not* be surprised or confused when meeting them again – a sign of all the pieces coming together before another surprise?

Just like any PhD student, I suppose, I often consider myself lacking the in-depth knowledge of one particular topic. However, I have learned to be compassionate towards myself about this. As deep knowledge of one theory or a group of theorists is of great value, so is the insight of broader pieces coming together. As I like to play with imagination, let us take an example: I want to go through the dusty corners of the room, search for the dust bunnies under the sofa. Thus, I do not want to just focus on the tabletop that shines in its cleanliness, more and more, day-by-day. This does not mean in any way that searching for dust bunnies (and finding lost pieces of cat toys at the same time, which also deserve your attention) is a better way of writing a dissertation than polishing the tabletop! This is yet what my journey came to be. This is why I find that this realization is epistemologically entangled with the unstable, non-linear, confusing and even threatening nature of the guiding concept of this dissertation – the uncanny. In this sense, I could even argue that having any coherence in my dissertation is due to the confusing research process being in line with the fundamental argument arising from it; that nothing is stable, and we are obliged to confront it if we are to live fully. Let me continue just a little further.

When deliberating on the different levels of theory around a year ago, as well the ‘categorization’ of the theories used in my dissertation, I became insecure and puzzled. It seemed that my choices were vague. ‘There is no grand theory!’ I remember myself thinking. Theories were discussing among each other – or preferably, people were discussing the research topic of this research process, sleep and dreaming, people who had different backgrounds, philosophies and worldviews, and people who had debated and argued their views, some even hundreds of years ago and some in more recent debates. For some time, I felt insecure. And I still do on some level. So many times, I went through organizational theory handbooks and collections of articles that could give me an idea of the ‘one exact’ theoretical discussion I am taking part in. I tried to ‘find my place’. I was doing exactly what I had learned from publications honoring the identification of different types of paradigms. As Wozniak (2010: 397) points out: ‘They [publications such as *The Oxford Handbook of Organization Theory*] account for a process in which theorists situate themselves in the field of knowledge they produce.’ My efforts led me to wonder... Am I adrift?

This feeling of ambivalence was familiar to me also from conversations with some colleagues who asked in surprise why I and my co-authors are discussing psychoanalysis ‘as it isn’t your expertise?’. I started to think that yes, what exactly is my expertise? Of anybody’s expertise? Tsoukas and Knudsen (2003: 397) ask in their handbook when proposing a switch from generating theory about particular organizational topics to analyzing the generation of theory itself: ‘What is valid knowledge and how is it to be generated? *To whom exactly should it be made relevant? For what purpose?*’ I respond: Who am I to say what is valid? What would be my motivation to ‘generate’ knowledge to fit to someone’s purpose? What about the value of *wonder*? Of *disruption*? Would it be more of my own plastic bubble in which I would slowly suffocate if I did not allow the inspiration get me when being open to what I read, hear, talk about with others, and learn about? Would I be more convincing as an organizational scholar if I had just stuck with practice theory that formed the core of my master’s thesis with my friend and colleague? I dare to question that. Lacan (1991; 1998; 2014) straight and forward problematizes metalanguage and metatheory altogether. Anything ‘meta’ points to something stable and ‘existing’ in a sense that cannot be considered as any more than a creation of imagination. This is where I get some strength. What I also realize is that there possibly is no way to go back.... Things will become more complicated in the future, for sure. Things will probably also get far more interesting! When reading all this, and by engaging and responding to the thoughts that psychoanalysis sheds light onto, it seems almost impossible to convincingly relate to research that leans on something ‘meta’ and takes it for granted. Realizing this, or having even some thoughts about it, feels a bit scary.

This all is nonetheless far from simple. Even though I would like to disrupt anything that is ‘stable’ or pre-selected, I would only and unavoidably deceive myself. I am part of an organizational fantasy – part of a symbolic reality – and it would be so, so wrong to state otherwise. Moreover, my intention with opening up the history of theoretical choices made is not to take a retrospective gaze to view the process as some sort of a

glorified development. This would be to verify the developed theoretical framework as better, and the first choices as undeveloped, and thus to construct a ‘linear narrative of “historical evolution”’ of Theory in this research (see Wozniak, 2010: 399). As Lacan (2006: 743) has stated, ‘...History unfolds only in going against the rhythm of development’, and it ‘constitutes a different dimension than development’. As I relate to what Lacan states here, I yet feel the need to suggest that the concept of process might enable us to avoid the problematics inherent in two symbolic conceptual creations – history (vs.) development. When choosing to use the word *process*, it becomes possible to focus on the constant movement, change, passing, becoming – an ongoing journey which does not have a determined destination, and which includes conflicts as a prerequisite for the possibility to learn and to change in the first place. Recognizing this, it also becomes important to involve the personal, the ‘I’, even though in it lies the danger of putting ‘oneself on the scale’ (Miller, 2002: 161) and thus possibly leading scientists to ‘identify symbolically with the position of the supposed subject of knowing’ (Wozniak, 2010: 398). If the symbolic identification were not recognized, this might have negative consequences when ‘(losing) sight of the position of enunciation from which it (the subject) communicates statements’ (Wozniak, 2010: 398). I argue that by bringing the personal into the research process through unfolding the history of the research and the theoretical frameworks discussing with each other, regardless of whether one might call it development whatsoever, is exactly the way to be aware of one’s ‘position of enunciation’ – to not lose sight of this position that Wozniak (2010) refers to. This is in contrast to ‘standing outside the flow of history’ (Wozniak, 2010: 400).

Thus, to *deny* being part of any fantasy differs significantly from the recognition that one *is* a part of such fantasies; that one looks at the world through specific glasses. The glasses I wear reflect my symbolic reality (Lacan, 1991) – and also the time and the place in which I am situated. At this point of my academic career, my glasses are a mixture of colors representing critical organization studies, psychoanalysis/psychodynamics, process philosophy, body research, practice-philosophy, consumer studies, tourism studies, and much beyond. When it comes to the frames of my glasses, I select whether to use plastic or glass frames: glass frames last longer and represent something ‘genuine’ and are perhaps more respected than plastic frames. Glass, however, breaks easier... and today, I might have the possibility to use recycled plastic to highlight some values in my life. Thus, my symbolic reality is full of choices. Continuing, the refractive index of the lenses of my glasses is an evolving outcome of all the processual learning taking place minute after minute, week after week, year after year. In 2017, the refractive index of my glasses could be described, if it took the form of a document or a ‘label’ of a kind, as ‘psychodynamic-processual-posthumanist’. The eyeglass prescription is again dependent on the process of life-long learning, and in this prescription, the refractive index of the glasses becomes the determinator of ‘what prescribes’. In some parts of the journey, I have had tropia, or phoria (hidden tropia!), when they eye muscles have not worked in balance. There are specific glasses to help me with this. Furthermore, I can use polarizing lenses, which eliminate the horizontally reflected light, which is the main cause of glare. Sometimes in my symbolic reality, I need distance spectacles

and sometimes reading glasses with which I can see very, very near. Sometimes I might need bifocals, sometimes multifocals, sometimes lenses with particular colors that filter certain colors of light. But there are dimensions in life one cannot grasp with any multi-bi-reading-distance-lenses. They unfold when our eyes are, indeed, robbed... and we surrender to not being able to see.<sup>15</sup>

*There are moments when the lenses are clear.*

*Sometimes your lenses get smudges in them.*

*Sometimes you need your safety glasses.*

*You can even hardcoat your lenses to prevent them from scratches.*

*Sometimes you get fogged... but there's anti-fog coat available!*

*But in the very end, none of this really matters.*

There is always some protection 'against' the things that are beyond the symbolic reality. Protection with which we can fight against the unknown. To protect ourselves. But what if you left the smudge, the dirt, the glare, the slow process of your sight changing... the unavoidable 'fact' that every tool helping you to see clearly, is only of short-term help to get your coordinates back together... get you?

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<sup>15</sup> See also Barad's (2007) account of diffraction as a process whereby a difference is made and made to matter.

## 6. Conclusion: the footprint of this uncanny journey

This dissertation has investigated the (dis)organized sleeping body in practices of organizing and more widely in the Western society. Through engagement with a wider project on sleep, it started with two interrelated questions and senses of wonder: *‘What is happening to sleep?’* and *‘What deeper potential do sleep and dreaming have to elucidate, and later disrupt, organizations and organizing and their fulcrums?’* Through this investigation, this dissertation has introduced the conflicting role of sleep and dreaming, suggesting it holds uncanny force (Freud, 1919/2003; Dolar, 1991, Masschelein, 2011; Royle, 2003). The acknowledged simultaneous familiarity and unfamiliarity – the threat and blessing – of sleep and dreaming contributes to organizational studies and beyond.

### 6.1. Contribution I.

First, through its focus on sleep and dreaming, this dissertation contributes to organizational studies recognizing the value of psychoanalysis to explore organizations and organizing (Chodorow, 1989; Fotaki, 2011; Fotaki & Harding, 2013; Fotaki et al., 2012; Gabriel & Carr 2002; Gabriel 1995; 1999; Gabriel & Schwartz, 1999; Desmond, 2013; Driver, 2009a, 2009b; 2013; Kenny, 2009; Kenny & Fotaki, 2015; Vanheul et al., 2003; Wozniak 2010). It points to the uncanny force of sleep and dreaming to disrupt organizational fantasy when bringing us closer to the Real (Lacan, 1991), escaping symbolic constructions and conscious comprehension. This understanding connects this dissertation to the previous research of the unexplainable, affective, and irrational side of organizations, and the fantasy of organization (e.g., Bell & Taylor, 2011; Chia, 1998; Clegg, Kornbeger & Rhodes, 2005; Gabriel, 1995; 1999b; Kociatkiewicz & Kostera, 2010; O’Doherty et al., 2013; Orr, 2014; Parker, 2015; Riach & Kelly, 2013; Thanem, 2006; 2011; Tsoukas & Chia, 2002). This dissertation joins this group of research by widening the space of human subjectivity in organizations (Gabriel, 1995) through a recognition of human subjectivity unfolding in borderline experiences (see Pollock, 1995), situated beyond or in between boundaries. Sleep and dreaming are manifestations of these borderline experiences, reminding us of the incomprehensible, the irrational, the unreachable, the unspeakable, the unconscious. Thus, they break the illusion of any coherent and manageable organization that we are consciously able to think of. This is not to say that organizations do not exist or that any coherence is of no value. On the contrary, organizations are ‘real’ in our conscious experience, and represent a source of jouissance to subjects. Žižek (2012: 995) remarks: ‘Even if reality is “more real” than fantasy, it still needs fantasy to retain its consistency.’ The fantasy of organization is truly



‘a haven from anxiety, based on an ideal that offers a sense of community, enjoyment and meaning for organizational members’ (Desmond, 2013: 654). What we find hard to understand and are reluctant to confront is that our conscious understanding of our world is not reality *de facto*. Desmond (2013: 662) so aptly puts it when stating that ‘the world of conscious experience is not a straightforward reality, but is already structured by an alienating fundamental fantasy, which provides imaginary closure from the hurts, torments and drives that haunt us and propel our desire. To make life worth living, we unconsciously deceive ourselves, seeing ourselves, not as we are, but as how we think we ought to be’. This self-delusion has consequences, which undoubtedly narrow our conception of life and its meaning. Thus, in this dissertation I argue that

*a recognition of a self-delusion, based on the imaginary closure from repressed parts of our subjectivities manifesting the incomprehensible within, provides a potential for change. This recognition opens up a possibility for a life in which our full potential as organizational subjects is able to flourish. One way to expose, to illustrate, this self-delusion is through turning our focus from the outside to the inside – to the depths of our existence. To these depths, we have a path through sleep and dreaming. A disruption of the fantasy of organization through sleep and dreaming invites us to ask a disturbing question: what is it, in fact, that we are able to call a dream, and a reality?*

Article A has disrupted a fantasy of a coherent organization through an engagement with a plastic bubble. In this article, I entered my plastic bubble ready to sleep like a Westerner: all the symbolic constructions of a longed-for, experimental yet comfortable sleep surrounding me. Yet, disruption after disruption occurred: a fantasy turned into a source of anxiety. Instead of bringing comfort, the bubble made me feel stupid, silly, anxious, alone, isolated, angry. This was nonetheless only after a sense of fascination arose as my sleeping body felt tiny surrounded by the pitch-black nature of which I had no control. The uncanny feeling of something unfamiliar suddenly turning into something familiar – the feeling of being one with the nature even though I felt like a stranger in my bubble – forced me to re-coordinate my existence. In a confusing sense, this re-coordination, yet lack of coherence, gave me pleasure.

In article B, the disruption of a fantasy of organization happened on the level of methodology. In this research, a technological device gained powerful agency during a research process, shaping it and threatening the limits and boundaries of what we consider intimate-public-work-related lives. Thus, the ring manifested the transgression of boundaries between the different realms of life, which we consciously try to keep separate. Personally, this disruption was a powerful one as I have tried somewhat desperately to hold onto this symbolic construction of a boundary between work life and private life. The confrontation with the possibility that this is not the only nor the best option – a slight opening of the gate to let research enter what was previously private – was an affective one. *‘There is something else out there than what I can think of’*. Yet, some borders do remain – and maybe they should – as the ring and my fieldwork stayed outside the comfort of my family’s bed. Thus, the ring invoked the sacred embedded in sleep.

In article C, the disruption of the fantasy of organization happens through the recognition of the borderline nature of sleep and dreaming. It adds a vital aspect of the power

of disruption embodied in sleep through its acknowledgement of *dreams* – something that is not particularly touched upon in the two other articles – taking us closer to the Lacanian rendering of dreams telling us the story of the real (Lacan, 1978). Yet, the uncanny moments unfolded in the article are not all related to dreams per se, but to the very moments of shocking awakenings and uncertainties related to the flickering nature of sleep, merging with the liminal condition of the uncanny. By taking organizations and academic work as its primary focus, the article sheds new light on the insecure, unstable, and vulnerable nature of organizational subjectivity. Moreover, the journey through the article also brings us closer to death, and the association between death and sleep. Death – a final disruptor of fantasy? We approach a state of the unknown, a mystery, both when we surrender to sleep and to death. Thus, in the holy unity of death and sleep lies a strong reminder of our incapability to hold on forever. *One must sleep. One must die.* Nonetheless, as far as we breath and live our conscious reality of life, as far as our heart beats and the blood in our veins flows, sleep has yet ‘a bond to the future, to a possibility of renewal, and hence of freedom’ (Crary 2013, 127).

## 6.2. Contribution II.

This dissertation’s second contribution works on the level of epistemology and methodology. This dissertation has made a significant effort in transgressing the borders of conventional knowledge production by highlighting the uncanny power of sleep and dreaming to open up new epistemological paths for organizational scholarship. It introduces the potential of auto-ethnography as a powerful method to address repressed forms of organizational subjectivity (Gabriel, 1995) or to uncover failed fantasies of self, work and organization (Driver, 2009a; 2009b). This means that instead of focusing on the nature of the symbolic constructions within the fantasy of organization and a coherent research process, it has made possible to disrupt the very fundamentals of it. Building a dialogue with oneself allows the research to discuss intimate, perhaps hidden topics. Through the process, my co-authors and I have touched upon organizational experiences that many times lack words and comprehension. This has been possible only by turning the focus inwards instead of outwards – turning the spotlight on the researcher(s) themselves (Lapadat, 2017: 593). Thus, when sleep and dreaming turn our focus inwards, we come to recognize the value of an auto-ethnographic approach in gaining access to the intimate experiences (see Alice, 2012; Ceisel & Salvo, 2017; Herrmann, 2016; Lapadat, 2017) felt affectively through our bodies (Pullen et al., 2017; Valtonen, 2012; Valtonen et al., 2017). It is in these intimate experiences, circling around sleep and dreaming, that the uncanny manifests itself (Freud, 1919/2003: 247-248).

Intimate and sensitive topics might be unavailable for investigation through observing or interviewing others and when trying to comprehend what lies within others, even if it was through intimate and personal stories (Driver, 2009a; 2009b; Gabriel, 1995; Muhr & Kirkegaard, 2013). As an assumed research object always lacks words and the capability of expressing itself fully (Lacan, 1991), a double knot emerges; we

are unavoidably left lacking both because of the lack of our competence to understand the other fully and through the other's own lack of communicating herself fully. I emphasize this not to say that other types of research are doomed to fail (this is certainly not my intention!), but to acknowledge and value *the capacity of an inward-focus available through intimate auto-ethnography in revealing something that would be left unsaid without the courage to uncover our inner depths*. However, not all of the moments that make this revelation possible have occurred during the physical state of dreaming, telling the story of the real (Lacan, 1978). Rather, *this research around sleep and dreaming has opened my senses to moments of disruption, felt through my body and my co-travelers' bodies, regardless of the way of our existence in the world*. Thus, the contributions of this dissertation go beyond its very focus. The unsettling power of the uncanny has proceeded further, to a conceptual level, causing a disturbing effect (Jay, 1998: 157).

Furthermore, this dissertation emphasizes how this access to intimate experiences gains more depth through a generosity towards the experience of the other (Ettinger, 2010; Hancock, 2008; Katila & Meriläinen, 2002; Kenny & Fotaki, 2015; Pullen & Rhodes, 2010; 2014; 2015a), valuing the importance of a collaborative auto-ethnography (e.g. Allen-Collison & Hockey, 2008; Lapadat, 2017; Valtonen et al., 2017). This approach to ethics is in contrast with '(a)n approach to ethics that privileges planning, predictability, control and measurement' (Pullen & Rhodes, 2015a: 160) that 'seems to forget the value of affectual relations, care, compassion or any other forms of feeling that are experienced pre-reflexively through the body' (ibid., see also Pullen & Rhodes, 2014). The nature of embodied ethics with the indissoluble relation it invites between thinking and feeling through interaction between subjects (Pullen & Rhodes, 2015a: 161) echoes the nature of this research process and its ethico-political potential (Diprose, 2002; Pullen & Rhodes, 2014).

Moreover, this collaborative nature of auto-ethnographic research and the ethico-political potential it holds also includes the agency of non-human beings (Barad, 2003; Dale & Latham, 2014; Parker, 2000) and the recognition of their thing-power (Bennett, 2004). This has been utmost present in article B, pointing to the agency of non-human research device in a researcher-device assemblage (Marres, 2012; Lury & Wakeford, 2012; Pink, 2011; Postill & Pink, 2012; Sumartojo et al., 2016; van Doorn, 2013). In this article, a small ring had the power to disrupt our fantasy of a coherent auto-ethnographic process. Because the ring enchanted and harassed us, we seemed not to have the power to govern the process ourselves. The ring had gained a powerful agency. When we held our breath, it breathed. This went even further when I personally found myself carrying the ring on my finger, being utmost seduced and fascinated by it when I had previously felt reluctant to wear it and let it track anything of my body. Even when recognizing the possibility of misinterpretation<sup>16</sup>, I argue that these moments are reflections of powerful confrontations with the incomprehensible

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16 ... as well as the critique posed towards auto-ethnography and auto-biography as a research method when pointing to the problems arising from its failure to meet validity, reliability and generalizability of research, see Allen-Collinson & Hockey, 2008: 7; Sparkes, 1998: 365; Katila & Meriläinen, 2002: 192-193.

(Lacan, 1991). This traces me back to the first arguments I have provided, encouraging me to argue that:

*the moments when we lack words and comprehension, emerging in a research process as moments of disruption, are manifestations of the irrational parts of our organizational subjectivity that deserve our attention.*

### 6.3. Contribution III

This dissertation's third contribution invites a change in orientation. It points to the conflicting and flickering role that the sleeping body is granted through different societal logics. Following these logics, the sleeping body is conflictingly constructed as both a productive organizational subject, consumer, victim, threat, and a target of envy. This allows a wider comprehension of the active engagement of sleep and dreaming in societal and political practices guided by Western values (Dale & Burrell, 2000; Linstead, 2000; Valtonen et al., 2017). To make this conflict, flux and flicker visible, this dissertation has formed a triad<sup>17</sup> consisting of three supplementary and entangling viewpoints on sleep and dreaming in organizations, approached through an intimate and affective research process lasting for five years. The triad of three supplementary viewpoints consists of the recognition of: (i) the deep mental processes of the human psyche; (ii) the corporeal state of sleeping as a site of withdrawal and; (iii) the societal, political and economic practices around sleep and dreaming. Via the undeliberated triad, this dissertation does its best to avoid granting an ontological priority to either practice, phenomenology or psychoanalytic rendering of sleep and dreaming (see Harrison, 2009). The triad also works as a manifestation of an affective research process as spontaneous, disrupted and disruptive (Knudsen, 2015; Gorton, 2007).

With this triad, this dissertation takes the existing sociological research on sleep (Baxter & Kroll-Smith, 2005; Boden et. al., 2008; Crary, 2014; HSU, 2014; 2017a; 2017b; Hancock, 2008; Kroll-Smith & Vern, 2003; Mardon, 1998; Valtonen, Meriläinen, Laine & Salmela-Leppänen, 2017; Salmela et al., 2017; Valtonen, 2011; 2014; Valtonen & Veijola, 2011; Taylor, 1993; Williams, 2005; 2007a; 2007b; 2011; Williams & Crossley, 2008; Williams & Bendelow, 1998; Williams et al., 2015) further by widening the perspective from which sleep and dreaming is possible to be explored. Doing this, it also connects a socio-cultural approach to sleep and dreaming more strongly to organizational studies (Hancock, 2008; Valtonen et al., 2017; Valtonen, 2014; 2011), establishing ground for using its transgressive potential to investigate practices and processes of organizing.

Furthermore, this dissertation has also made a significant effort to take practice-based studies of organizations and organizing (Gherardi, 2009, 2012; Gherardi et al., 2013; Nicolini, 2012; Nicolini et al., 2003; Orlikowski, 2007; Valtonen et al., 2017; Yakhlef, 2010) further. Through its recognition of the value of all three dimensions of the triad,

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<sup>17</sup> See Appendix A.

it has enabled a type of access to organizational subjectivities that embraces difference and plurality (see also Barad, 2007). Through this, we can choose another path from any ontologization of practice, and proceed on our journey from ‘the absence of practice’ (Harrison, 2009), towards an understanding that in the Real, there is no absence whatsoever (Lacan, 1991). To continue, with this triad, this dissertation contributes to existing work of practice and embodiment on a new level as sleep and dreaming have remained largely unconsidered in this strand of research (Harrison, 2009: 987; for exceptions see Kraftl & Horton, 2008; Leder, 1990; Pekkala & Salmela, 2013; Valtonen et al., 2017; Williams, 2005; 2007a; 2007b; 2011). It recognizes that the large absence of sleep from practice-based accounts is not so much about deliberately leaving sleep out than the symbolic construction of concepts and understandings, which guide the work following this theoretical orientation. Like Harrison (2009: 988) notes, the absence of sleep can be less an “empirical oversight” and more a consequence of certain assumptions, conceptual and moral, about the nature of human being’. This logic works with other societal phenomena as well: biohacking practices introduced in the beginning of this dissertation most probably do not deliberately try to ‘colonize’ the sleeping body. Biohacking culture also plays with its own concepts, worldview and an understanding of the human body. It is yet without disruptions (which this dissertation strives to manifest) that it keeps on spinning, unquestionably. Here lies the ethical dimension of disruption in which our bodies play a major role (Diprose, 2002; Parker, 2003; Pullen and Rhodes, 2014; 2015a,b).

To close, I will take you back to the plastic bubble for a moment to make the contribution of the triad clearer.

*There is a need to pierce any bubble before it gets too big.*

*At some point, the plastic surface of the bubble might rip on its own.*

*Another discourse/ontological premise/theory might also appear and stitch it up.*

*Nevertheless, there is no reason to cover the bubble with black sheet – to try to make it disappear.*

*Instead of disruption, that would be denial – and denial is based on a dangerous type of imaginary fantasy (Lacan, 1991).*

*It would be an illusion in which we would turn our backs on other possibilities than the ones we are ourselves suggesting.*

That is why in this dissertation there is no urge or preference to provide a critique towards practice theory. Instead, it values practice theoretical potential to investigate sleep and dreaming in organizations and organizing, both on an ideological and practical level. Yet, what is utmost important to highlight, is that on its own, it would not be enough. That is why any ontologization of practice – or process – or discourse – or anything that would create an array where something ‘covers’ the other, is fundamentally problematic. I find this realization having larger implications in our world of juxtapositions and creation of bubbles.



## 6.4. Ethico-political moments

This research has raised an inner ethical conflict stemming from the simultaneous valuing of psychoanalysis and the recognition of the troubling patriarchal legacy persisting in many psychoanalytic studies of organizations (Kenny & Fotaki, 2015: 186). It has caused me to wonder whether I am making a dramatic mistake in valuing ‘inherently phallo-centric theoretical approaches’ used to study organizations (Kenny & Fotaki, 2015: 186; see Fotaki, 2011; Kenny, 2009; Fotaki & Harding, 2013). A question arose: am I re-affirming a phallo-centric theorization of subjectivity through my dissertation? Should I have been more engaged with Ettinger, Irigaray, Cixous, Kristeva to construct a feminist reading of organizational subjectivity, and taken part in Ettinger’s strive to develop a post-phallic theorization of subjectivity (Kenny & Fotaki, 2015: 188)? Coming back to one of the most influential characters in the deliberations of the uncanny potential of sleep provided in this dissertation, Freud, I am sure that many critical readers might find it a major problem that this dissertation is connected to Freudian psychoanalysis. For the women’s movement and for the rise of feminism Freud was, indeed, a red flag and a great enemy (Chodorow, 1989: 3). Psychoanalysis was considered patriarchal. What Juliet Mitchell (2000) nevertheless brought into light, as a shock to many feminists, was the potential and relevance of psychoanalysis for feminist thought. For Mitchell, psychoanalysis represented an analysis of patriarchal society instead of a recommendation for it, and argued that as such it ought not to be neglected by feminists (Mitchell, 2000).

For me, the burden of Freud being a symbolic figure of patriarchy does not belie the value of his legacy. The usage of psychoanalytic concepts through Freudian and Lacanian psychoanalysis must be conducted in a deliberated manner, recognizing their obligation to remain lacking. Psychoanalysis’ recognition of the power of the unconscious can prove a great potential for exploring organizations when one is not blind to the problematics inherent in the patriarchal nature of the discipline. I find that it is through a compassionate orientation (see Ettinger, 2010) towards the lacking nature of any orientation to the world, be it psychoanalysis, critical organization studies, auto-ethnography, practice-based philosophy, that keeps us going and makes a change. This compassion recognizes the fundamental lack in each of us (Lacan, 1991), and the disruption of our orientation as ethico-political (Pullen & Rhodes, 2014).

Investigating those parts of our representations in which we *lack* (following Freud’s oeuvre) has a potential to widen the space of human subjectivity in organizations (Gabriel, 1995). This goes all the way to the very core of this dissertation in its imperfection: In this dissertation, I have tried to put a slow wheel rolling through a process of entanglement with the help of sleep and dreaming. During the process, the theoretical has entangled with the methodological, the methodological with the personal, the personal with the societal, the societal with the economic, the economic with the organizational, the organizational with the political. The wheel was then splashed with colors: theoretical insights colored the wheel one after another, the color changed, it became a mesh, a beautiful mesh, but not in a sense that it would be based on coherence

and clarity. It is beautiful in its incoherence, open-endedness, in its nature as it becomes blurrier and blurrier and increasingly more difficult to see where one color started and another ended. In fact, it keeps on going. Thus, the wheel manifests the simultaneous potential and threatening anxiety arising from the transgression of boundaries itself. It leaves me fundamentally lacking as I could be attacked from many sides, shouted at because of my incompetence to 'master' a coherent entity. I respond, whispering: '*Can you now see... there is no way to be able to.*' I could be thrown to the wolves as incomplete. '*A relief, a suffering!*,' I shout. My vulnerability and anxiousness is my final relief, allowing me to face the self-delusion of any coherence of research and phenomena that I aim to investigate.

## 6.5. Further steps

This dissertation has been a journey, which I am about to continue with warm-hearted determination. Being incomplete (and most importantly recognizing it) holds major potential: a compassionate orientation towards acknowledging that some important steps have now been taken, all of them with their own meaning in life, is joyous and peaceful. It entangles with a curiosity to learn more and make a change. Next, I present two further steps towards which the journey could develop.

First, relating to the ethico-political moments unfolded in the previous chapter, this dissertation would benefit from a strong feminist reading in its orientation to psychoanalysis and the vulnerabilities inscribed in sleep and dreaming. Recognizing this, I will work towards research possibilities to engage with Ettinger's (1993; 2006a; 2006b; 2010) work in more depth by striving to understand how she considers the womb as the site of the uncanny (Kenny & Fotaki, 2015: 190) and exploring how this understanding could discuss with my research topic of sleep and dreaming. This includes reading Kristeva's (1982; 1991) work, as well as other feminist scholars working with psychoanalytic theory, including the work of Butler (1993; 1997; 1999; 2004; 2009) and organizational scholars such as Vachhani (2012) and the wide and utmost valuable work of Kenny and Fotaki. This reading and dialogue building would connect me more firmly to organizational studies considering corporeal ethics (Pullen & Rhodes, 2014; 2015a) and the ethics of difference in organizations (Rhodes & Wray-Bliss, 2013; Rhodes, 2009; Wray-Bliss, 2003). I take the first step equipped with a passion to dig in to psychoanalytic literature and to study it more in an international environment in which psychoanalytically oriented organizational research and networking possibilities exist.

Another future path traces me back to our course on corporeal ethics in December 2016 and a topic that has been perhaps the closest, and also the most painful, to me during my life; the more-than-human. A year ago, I wrote a question in my notebook: *how far can corporeal ethics take us?* Continuing from my dissertation, I have the opportunity to work towards a wider understanding of our relation with the 'other' – that is, the relation between humans and other animals in the organization of versatile bodies. Thus, I will build my path, one step after another, to reflect on how our cor-



poreal encounters with other animals, beside the interactions with our fellow humans, hold transformative potential (see Pullen & Rhodes, 2014; 2015a). It allows me to deliberate on how ethics are inscribed in our ways of encountering, and hiding, 'others'. Thus, I will join a growing number of organizational scholars in the field, recognizing that organizations do not only constitute of human subjects (e.g. Baran, Rogelber & Clausen, 2016; Hsu, 2017b; Labatut, 2016; Markuksela, 2013; Salmela, 2016, 2017a; 2017b; Sayers, 2016; Valtonen, 2017; Sage, Justesen & Dainty, 2016). I will be open and curious towards what the focus of sleep and dreaming will bring to this understanding and recognition and take the work that as already began, further.

## **Part II: Articles**



# An Uncanny Night in a Nature Bubble: Designing Embodied Sleeping Experiences

Tarja Salmela, Anu Valtonen, and Satu Miettinen

*I hear rustle. If that is a squirrel, it must be gigantic.  
Or is it so that I'm just so very little?  
In a matter of fact, lying down here in my Bubble in my  
pyjamas, I have never felt as small and subsidiary as I do  
now.  
I'm an alien and a friend at the same time.  
Me in my plastic Bubble.*

**Abstract** This article is an uncanny journey to the Bubble. It provides an autoethnographic exploration of a novel form of tourism—glamping—and takes the reader into an adventure to a see-through plastic Bubble located in a nature park in France. Moreover, it unfolds a specific form of glamping, namely *sleep-centric glamping*, as part of a wider sleep tourism market in which experiences are sought for by way of sleeping in extraordinary places or spaces. By taking the sleeping body as its focus, the article explores how sleeping in an extraordinary place is bodily experienced. Furthermore, it sheds light to the ways the design of this particular tourist experience is a complex array, including both humans and nature, and which inevitably enables and constrains the connection between the human body and the nature's body. The multidisciplinary approach inherent in the article allows the authors to unfold a meaningful but indeed challenging research topic: sleep.

**Keywords** Body • Glamping • Sleep • Tourism experiences

## 1 Introduction

This piece of quote from the auto-ethnographic narrative of the first author invites us to scrutinize a tourism phenomenon that has to date received scant attention: the experience of the sleeping body in a novel type of tourism called *sleep tourism*.

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While sleep arguably plays a significant role in shaping and conditioning the tourist's experience, existing tourism studies have almost exclusively focused on exploring the experiences of wakeful customers (see however Valtonen and Veijola 2011; Valtonen and Moisander 2012). This is a considerable gap given that sleep tourism—a type of tourism in which experiences are sought for by way of sleeping in extraordinary places or spaces—is a rapidly growing industry (Keinan and Kivetz 2011). Consider, for instance, new kinds of sleeping facilities and services that are currently offered throughout the world: you are able to sleep surrounded by snow and ice in ice hotels or igloos; in a plastic bubble in the nature with the sky and the stars as your roof; attached to a mountain cliff hundred meters from the ground; underwater surrounded by marine animals and coral reefs; or down under in dark, quiet and chilly caves—just to give some examples (see Salmela 2012).

Those few studies that have drawn attention to this phenomenon have provided valuable insights of how sleeping is created as an acceptable, and even desirable, means for seeking entertainment, excitement, and experiences—and for filling the experience resume in a larger experience-economy (Valtonen and Moisander 2012; Valtonen and Veijola 2011; Valtonen, Miettinen and Kuure 2012; Keinan and Kivetz 2011; Pine and Gilmore 1998). Yet, they have not focused on exploring and detailing the *bodily aspects* of such an experience; that is, how sleeping in an extraordinary place is bodily experienced. Rantala and Valtonen (2014) offer an ethnographic account of bodies sleeping in nature, but we turn to explore sleeping bodies in an intriguing context that combines the elements of nature and urban amenities: *glamping*.

This recent trend in tourism industry exemplifies how our quest for experiences becomes entangled with our commoditized ways of living. As a luxurious form of camping, glamping is a descriptive example of the assimilation of our longing for excitement with more mundane practices; it provides a way to experience the nature without compromising comfort (see e.g. Brooker and Joppe 2013). It is also a culmination of western mankind's transformation from an outdoor society towards an indoor society (Hitchings 2011). Furthermore, by introducing a novel concept of *sleep-centric glamping* and providing an autoethnographic analysis of sleeping in a see-through Bubble made of recycled plastic in a nature park, this paper illustrates how the sleeping body becomes an inevitable part of this transformation from outdoors to indoors via an emerging tourism practice. This particular sleep-centric glamping service shapes the way the tourist and the nature (in which the tourist is located and which the tourist is an inevitable part of) connect; constraining and simultaneously enabling their relation. Here the design of the tourism service is of high importance (see Valtonen et al. 2012; Miettinen 2011); making dimensions that seemingly carry low importance strongly relevant in the ways this relationship becomes constructed.

What follows is that with our paper we continue the literature of bodies in nature (Macnaghten and Urry 2000; Rantala and Valtonen 2014) and further the emerging literature of glamping (Brooker and Joppe 2013; Boscoboinik and Bourquard 2011) by introducing sleep-centric glamping as a particular form of glamping and, in wider terms, of nature tourism. In this form of tourism the sleeping body comes to

the centre of attention together with the material and natural premises it is located in and with which it entangles. Moreover, sleep-centric glamping is part of the construction of a creative tourism experience, which engages tourists in creative activities and stimulates them in a creative process in a particular location. Here, the Bubble both becomes an aesthetic spectacle to be watched by the tourists and a creative and aesthetic activity in which the tourist is engaged. Thus, the Bubble becomes a creative space and interface between human and nature; it opens up a learning process and dialogue between them. This creative tourism experience is constructed through all senses. The feeling of the materials, smells, sceneries and sounds construct the landscape of experience (see Miettinen 2007; Rantala, Valtonen and Markuksela 2011).

The sleeping body in the Bubble provides us an intriguing case for advancing current understanding of the creation of bodily experiences in touristic nature-based settings. This is because the sleeping body in the Bubble situates at the dynamic interface of several dimensions: indoors/outdoors, nature/urban, camping/luxury, active/inactive body, alone/social body and small/predominant body—all dimensions being at once cultural and material. We suggest that the simultaneous and dynamic existence of all these hybrid dimensions, that are at once strange and familiar, creates the experience as distinct as it is. To grasp this distinctiveness we suggest the notion of *uncanny* (see e.g. Jay 1998) that helps us to render understandable how such an experience is made possible.

The chapter starts by opening up the phenomenon of glamping and exemplifying the empirical case of our study: the Bubble. Then follows our theoretical frame: a practice-based treatise of the sleeping body and of the body in nature, which is followed by the presentation of auto-ethnographic methodology and empirical materials. Next, we provide an analysis of the first author's sleeping experience in the Nature Bubble, constructed around the first-experience narrative and thus proceeding by following a chronological narration. To close, the article discusses the implications of the study for nature-based tourism, service design and cultural studies of human-nature relations as well as sets out future research agendas.

## 2 Glamping as a New Form of Nature Tourism

'Glamping' (glamorous camping) in its current form is a rather novel trend in tourism industry, representing a type of 'camping' accommodation with high comfort, providing luxury for tourists with an access to preserved areas that are often located in spectacular sites, usually in the nature (see Brooker and Joppe 2013; Boscoboinik and Bourquard 2011). Glamping is also referred to as an 'outdoor hotel experience' (UnionLido 2012), 'glam camping', 'lux camping' or 'luxury camping', and has even become a distinct category of travel. According to Glamping official website, the idea of glamping is to 'bring the world of luxury into nature in the most seamless way possible'. Thus glamping involves a high respect towards the nature. Still, there are also different emphases among glamping sites on

how the nature is ‘valued’; as there are many designations of glamping, it also takes many forms. A tourist can glamp for example in airstreams and trailers, barns and farmhouses, cabins, eco lodges, huts, tents, tepees, treehouses and yurts. This reflects the multidimensionality of glamping that was highly evident also in our larger fieldwork on sleep market. Our empirical example of the Bubble can be categorized to a group of cubes, pods and domes—‘a very unique category in the glamping world’ that ‘accompany a “green” or “eco-friendly” intent in both the way they are built and also how they exist in their various locations, with minimal environmental footprint and visually pleasing aesthetics’ (Glamping official website). Thus sleeping alone in a Nature bubble made of recycled plastic in the middle of a national nature park has a different relation to the surrounding nature than, for example, spending a night in a wooden Moose Meadow Lodge with a magical treehouse, hot tub and a Sky Loft (a glass-enclosed gazebo at the highest point of the property) (Moose Meadow Lodge website).

In wider terms, glamping can be considered as a transition from outdoor to indoor hospitality—a blurring of boundaries between rural and urban spaces (Boscoboinik and Bourquard 2011: 149, 157). This ‘special type of rural tourism’ (ibid., 157) attracts tourists that are unfamiliar with or dislike traditional camping. By being guaranteed a sense of privacy, highly equipped personal space and even food-making options and a personal bathroom, glamping invites tourists to explore outdoors indoors. Thus tourists can enjoy the nature—the beautiful scenery, the starry sky, wild animals—while at the same time having not to worry about the ‘discomforts’ that are usually associated to an outdoor experience, such as insects, wet ground and the biting wind. When camping has traditionally been considered as a way to be close to the nature, allowing an experience where one is at nature’s mercy, glamping offers a way to reach the nature but at the same time the contact with it is highly different than in traditional camping. By providing comfort and minimizing the ‘effects’ of nature, in glamping the tourist is able to easily retire to a hut, igloo or treehouse when it begins to rain or a swarm of mosquitoes comes by. More importantly, the tourist doesn’t have to be equipped to survive in the nature; she can experience the nature with a groomed appearance—not a hair out of place.

As glamping situates to the interface between nature and urban tourism, it is also an illustration of a creative tourism service (see Miettinen 2007). As Richards and Wilson (2006) have described, creativity in tourism can be achieved in different ways: first, as a more *passive* tourism experience where tourists consume creative experience for example by watching spectacles such as travelling art exhibitions or festivals and; second, as a more *active* tourism experience where tourists visit creative spaces that have an arts, architecture and/or design focus. Our empirical example, the Bubble, stands for a creative tourism experience that engages tourists in creative activities and stimulates them in a creative process in a particular location. Here, the Bubble becomes *both* an aesthetic spectacle to be watched by the tourists *and* a creative and aesthetic activity in which the tourist is engaged—fostering interaction between the tourist, the Bubble and the nature. Moreover, the creativity of this tourism service intertwines around sleep.



## 2.1 *Towards Sleep-Centric Glamping*

Brooker and Joppe (2013: 5) point out how tourists' search for comfort, today culminating in glamping, isn't restricted to contemporary era; it can be traced back all the way to 1920s when tourism services became designed to imitate domestic facilities and were offered commercially. As a new form of tourism, glamping represents an outcome of a continuous product innovation that has taken place within decades (ibid.), that of 'a renewed perception of rural space, its symbolic representation, and the crisis of the agrarian sector, together with the need of innovation in the tourist industry' (Boscoboinik and Bourquard 2011: 151–152). Furthermore, *sleeping* in an unusual place is a rather new fashion in glamping (Boscoboinik and Bourquard 2011: 158). While glamping most usually involves sleeping in the nature, this form of glamping is for one *constructed* around sleep, as our empirical fieldwork of sleep market also exemplifies.

To conceptualize this particular form of glamping, we introduce a concept of *sleep-centric glamping*. Here the point is not to experience the nature and the local environment with versatile activities while being awake, but instead to sleep, for example, under the stars or to see the northern lights when lying down in a comfortable bed in a glass igloo. The focus on sleep makes the selection of the type of housing increasingly relevant before the destination (Boscoboinik and Bourquard 2011: 158). Sleep-centric glamping also effects on the temporal dimension of the tourist experience; one night can be enough for a tourist to sleep in an igloo or a plastic bubble with nothing much else to do in the area as other glamping opportunities might include short distance to a near-by village or a near-by beach or different services that are available on the site, such as massages and restaurants. One night was enough to have an unforgettable experience when the first author slept in the Nature Bubble, next to be described in more detail.

## 2.2 *The Bubble*

The Nature Bubble (nowadays called Love Nature) is a four meters wide and three meters high, completely transparent bubble made of recycled plastic, with a panoramic view to the surrounding nature. The Bubble is located in a regional nature park of Verdon in southeastern France, near a French village called Montagac-Montpezat in the Alpes-de-Haute-Provence department. According to Attrap'Rêves (the company behind the Bubbles), the aim is to share magical moments by creating 'a true poetic and sensory bubble experience through the installation of design and ecological tents but without sacrificing the environment' (Attrap'Rêves' website). Attrap'Rêves' is the first network in France that provides nights in Bubbles. The tourists can choose from different concepts of the Bubbles (be it the Suite Chic & Design, Glamour, 1001, Zen or Love Nature bubble) that vary in their privacy and interior design. The Bubbles have a silent blower inside



**Fig. 1** The Nature Bubble. Photograph by the first author

that keeps the space inflated, while constantly recycling the air. The Bubbles also have their own private shower cabins and a private space outside the Bubble where to enjoy morning breakfast when longing for privacy (Fig. 1).

For us, the Bubble presents a theoretically interesting mixture of something that is ‘normal’ and at the same time ‘strange’—it provides the tourist something familiar from home and indoor living (as the Bubble is domestically furnished) and at the same time brings this familiarity to an uncommon environment for such material equipment to locate (a nature park).

Thus the Bubble blurs the boundaries between material practices we have accustomed to carry and the ones that appear foreign to us. This ‘distraction’ forms also the basis for criticism towards the practice of glamping in more general; when being designed as a luxurious or glamorous form of camping, it has become a criticized mode of nature tourism. It is argued that the tourist doesn’t actually sense

or enter the nature in a way that one would when actually camping *in* the nature and ‘at the mercy of it’. Before opening up these notions in wider terms through our empirical illustrations, we will introduce the theoretical premises upon which we base our arguments.

### 3 Theoretical Background: A Practice-Based Understanding of a Sleeping Body

As tourist agency involves sleeping and waking as states of existence (see e.g. Rantala and Valtonen 2014), we identify the tourist as a sleeping-waking, experiencing and sensing body. While we cannot detach sleeping from waking (see e.g. Salmela et al. 2014), some distinctions still have to be made in order to emphasize the theoretically interesting particularities of the sleeping body. Thus, we define ‘sleep’ as a momentarily withdrawal from the social world (Harrison 2009), as a form of corporeal activity that is ‘liminal, unconscious, aspect of bodily being and an “a-social”, “in-active” form of corporeal “activity” (Williams and Bendelow 1998: 172). While the sleeping body is in some level unconscious to the world around her, situated outside the will (Harrison 2009), sleep involves feelings of fear and vulnerability (see e.g. Williams 2007b). In addition, sleep is not to be defined only in narrow terms of mere withdrawal; there are different phases and dimensions of sleep that are theoretically valuable to acknowledge, namely that of preparing to sleep (which indicates the entanglement of sleeping and waking), light sleep, half-sleep, deep sleep, dreaming, sleep-walking, waking and slumber (see e.g. Williams 2005: 70). These different dimensions emphasize the liminality of sleep; it is a state between consciousness and unconsciousness and between volition and involuntary (ibid.). When following a process philosophical thought (e.g. Tsoukas and Chia 2002), sleep is also a something we live *through*—unlike death (Williams 2007b: 144)—emphasizing its wavering character as something that cannot, or isn’t justifiable, to be categorized as something ‘strict’ and one-dimensional. This understanding is in great importance when approaching sleep from a cultural viewpoint.

By taking the sleeping *body* as our focus, we join other scholars by theorizing the connection between sleep and a human body from a cultural viewpoint (Mauss 1932/1973; Williams and Bendelow 1998; Salmela et al. 2014; Valtonen and Veijola 2011; Valtonen 2013; Williams and Crossley 2008). Although research on sleep has a long history, it’s been only rather recently that the sleeping body has gained the status of a respectable topic of socio-cultural analysis (Hancock 2008; Valtonen and Veijola 2011; Valtonen 2013; Williams 2005, 2011; Williams and Crossley 2008; Williams and Bendelow 1998). As attention has for long been paid to the biophysics of the sleeping body instead of its socio-cultural significance (Hancock 2008: 412), the socio-cultural, political and economic aspects on sleep have been effectively bypassed (Hancock 2008: 412). However, the roots of the

recognition of the body trace back to the famous sociologist Marcel Mauss (1932/1973). Although his attention towards the sleeping body was noticeably limited, his notion of ‘body techniques’ has been a great help to sociologists to make sense of embodiment in an empirical analysis (Crossley 2007) and thus of the sleeping body. It is of great help to us as well.

According to Mauss (1932/1973), along with versatile body techniques there are certain ‘techniques of sleep’. What follows is that, for example, the assumption of the practice of ‘going to bed’ as something *natural* is completely misguided, as people along ages have slept with and without material equipment, in different bodily positions, at different times and with different company (Mauss 1932/1973). But for us modern westerners, sleeping in a well-equipped, private bed indoors in a vertical position appears self-evident. Moreover, versatile sleep-related practices, being material by nature, reaffirm our understanding of a ‘correct’ way to sleep; we like to brush our teeth, change our clothing, read a nice book and finally retreat to our comfortable bedding after shutting down the night lamp in our bedroom table. These practices are all part of the highly privatised nature of sleep in contemporary Western society (Williams and Bendelow 1998: 172).

In our treatise practices are considered as a manifestation of the world and its social dimension, being always socially, culturally and historically shaped and mediated (see e.g. Williams 2005, 2011; Salmela et al. 2014). Thus they can be considered as a vital condition for human bodies to exist—and vice versa. What remains utmost important for our study is that these socio-cultural practices do not bypass the sleeping body. The ways we sleep—how, when and where and what we ‘do’ of sleeping—are socially, culturally and historically laden (Crossley 2007: 324). Thus the sleeping body is socially pliable; it is highly entangled with changing socio-cultural and historical practices and logics (see Williams and Crossley 2008: 173).

In this chapter we pay particular attention to a sleeping body’s bodily technique to sleep lying down (see e.g. Rantala and Valtonen 2014). This is a posture in which westerners have learned to sleep over the course of history and which holds specific characteristics that give us theoretical leverage to deliberate on the relation between the sleeping body and, in our empirical case, the nature in which the body locates. Moreover, we direct our focus to the material premises, which encase the recumbent sleeping body while being in the nature—the Bubble. Thus we acknowledge the impact of materiality and design in the formation of relationship between the body and nature as well as the unavoidable relationship between the material world and the fleshly, human body (see e.g. Barad 2003). This means that material constructions, such as the Nature Bubble, shape, limit and direct human (sleeping) experience.

## 4 Bodies in Nature

While there are only few studies in the field of tourism focusing on sleeping (Valtonen and Veijola 2011), and especially sleeping in nature (Rantala and Valtonen 2014), these openings have offered us the possibility to continue shifting the focus from the privileging of the waking in the context of tourism. Furthermore, Rantala and Valtonen's (2014) study has inspired us to take the deliberation of the bodily posture of a sleeping body further. In their study, Rantala and Valtonen (2014: 20) provide an empirical elaboration of a stilled body in nature—thus concentrating on concepts of 'stillness', 'being' and 'withdrawal' in the context of nature-based tourism. Their focus is on the *rhythm* of the tourist and/in the nature, providing a chronological rhythm analysis of touristic sleep practices in the nature through an ethnographic research among nature tourist groups. Thus their empirical data rewards them with a time-bound understanding of the importance and valuableness of sleep and being still as part of a nature tourist experience. With our study, we are able to cherish the notions brought forth in this study and connect them with our autoethnography that has a shorter time span and that pays close attention to the bodily posture of a sleeping tourist when spending a night alone in a foreign place surrounded by nature, in a rather uncannily equipped environment.

Once discussing 'nature' with singular terms—as there would be something distinct from us that we call 'nature'—we are (rather unwillingly) taking part in a larger construction of separation between humans and non-human nature (see Williams 1980). Furthermore, when we explore the relationship between the tourist and the nature, we are indisputably recognizing them as separate entities, even if we would argue that in ontological terms we do consider them as one. We recognize the plastic Bubble as 'non-nature'—a man-made thing that is apart from nature, but being 'placed' in it. When considering nature parks (in which the Bubble locates), we simultaneously acknowledge the *entanglement* of human and nature—a nature park is part of human creation (see Williams 1980). When conserving nature areas from human touch with different regulations, humans are unavoidably part of the nature that they aim to enshrine. Furthermore, we recognize the long-lived tendency of tourism industry and of the modern human in general to consider nature as a place for retreat, a refuge and a solace (Williams 1980: 80). This way of conceiving nature is highly evident also in our empirical example. It's a way that tells as much about us as humans as it does of nature (Williams 1980: 81).

Once recognizing the problematic inherent in the separation of nature and human, the personification and abstraction of nature at the same time enables us to explore particularly clearly the very fundamental interpretations of our own experiences (Williams 1980: 71). Thus, in our paper we are able to say something valuable about a tourist who has accustomed to live in a built environment, indoors, without being in touch, on a daily basis, with plants and animals in the woods or with complete darkness or fierce wind without the opportunity to retreat to comfortable conditions. Furthermore, by conceptualizing 'nature tourism' as such, a profound distinction between 'human' and 'nature' is already inevitably made. But

as our empirical illustrations will indicate, we are challenging ourselves to question these separations that appear to us as self-evident. This allows us to also emphasize the *agency* of nature (see e.g. Starik 1995)—making the relationship between the tourist and the nature actively reciprocal and thus allowing no primacy to the human tourist. Thus the tourist’s confrontation of the ‘surrounding nature’ and the ‘nature within herself’—the agency of our bodily functions that ‘happen’ without our conscious will (see Haila and Lähde 2003: 17)—as well as the nature’s confrontation with the tourist (which particularities remain only our own interpretations) all become dimensions under scrutiny. What follows is that while acknowledging our embodied entanglement with nature, we understand humans to take part in a valuable order of the nature *through* their embodiment—making it possible for the ‘embodied self’ to ‘attune’ to nature (Connolly 2002: 108).

## 5 Auto-Ethnographic Methodology

To approach our research subject, we use auto-ethnographic methodology, providing a close access to our topic. Auto-ethnography has quite recently become a popular form of ethnographic research in many fields (Ellis et al. 2011), including tourism research (Barbieri et al. 2012; Buckley 2012; Noy 2008; Scarles 2010). While there is no one standard form of auto-ethnographic method, generally, the auto-ethnography seeks to connect the personal to the cultural (Ellis and Bochner 2000: 739). Auto-ethnography thus entails a detailed analysis of the researcher’s own experiences qua member of a social group or category. These experiences are analyzed so as to illuminate wider cultural aspects and processes. (Allen-Collinson 2008: 40.) The purpose of the fieldwork—during which the auto-ethnographer is simultaneously the researcher and the researched—is to invite ‘others’ to see the field from the point of view of ‘the self’ instead of ‘seeing it from the point of view of the others’ (Valtonen 2013: 203).

In this study, the first author gained first-hand embodied experience of sleep-centric glamping by way of sleeping in the Bubble. This personal and embodied experience is put into an analytic dialogue with wider, often contradicting, cultural practices and meanings that surround such a sleeping body. Thereby, while she writes about her own bodily experiences, they are located to a certain social and cultural context, and interpreted against it. In so doing, our study follows the general argument of auto-ethnography: by way of studying the most individual and unique, one can gain an understanding of the general (Reed-Danahay 1997: 9).

Auto-ethnography is a particularly suitable method for this study, because it allows us to have access to a phenomenon that has socio-historically been constructed as the most private and intimate: sleep. Furthermore, our focus on the body calls for a method that is sensitive to detailed and fine-grained aspects, such as inner bodily sensations at the moment of encountering strange sounds while trying to sleep, and auto-ethnography allows this. It makes it possible to observe, articulate and document private and intimate sleep-related corporeal experiences. While



observing one's own sleep-related corporeal experiences was, admitting, somewhat challenging in the beginning of the fieldwork (as we as academic scholars are used to observe wakeful and 'more active' experiences), the observation skills developed during the fieldwork. Namely, the night in the Bubble, that is the empirical focus of this study, was preceded by wider fieldwork period during which the first author spent nights in other places designed to provide extraordinary sleep experiences (partly in collaboration with other colleagues of the research team). During years 2012–2013, nights were spent in a hotel room surrounded by snow and ice in Finnish Lapland; an art hotel in a room filled with nude art in Berlin; a 'bird's nest' situated in a tree in Sweden; an indoor caravan in an old factory hall located in Berlin suburb; a glass igloo under the Northern lights in Saariselkä, Finnish Lapland and finally; the Nature Bubble.

In this study we are thus using the first author's autoethnographic data generated by spending a night in autumn 2013 in a see-through Nature Bubble in a glamping site provided by a French family company called *Attrap'Rêves*. The data consists of the following: photographs, taken by the first author, of the Nature Bubble and its surrounding environment, the regional nature park of Verdon and the site of Montagnac-Montpezat; written fieldnotes while being in the site and continued imminently when returning home, continued with; first-experience narrative and followed by; a reflexive dialogue. The data were analysed through a practice-based understanding of sleep and the sleeping body (Dale 2001; Williams and Bendelow 1998), starting already while being on the site and continuing as an ongoing process up to the writing phase, allowing room for a continuous interplay between data and theory (Alvesson and Kärreman 2007). The two other authors participated in the creation of the interpretive lens and also offered reflexive feedback to the autoethnographic narrative. Through this collaborative practice, certain themes emerged from the data. They were recognized when reading the data by leaning on two principals: first, the recognition of the particularities of the recumbent sleeping body and; second, the recognition of the enabling and constraining characteristics of the material bubble. The analysis that follows was constructed around the first-experience narrative and thus proceeding by following a chronological narration.

Now it's time to proceed to our analysis. In the upcoming chapter, we shall unfold the empirical data by focusing on the theoretically meaningful particularities of the sleeping body on the one hand, and the design of the bubble experience on the other. The analysis progresses chronologically, highlighting excerpts from the first author's field notes when sleeping in the Bubble. The analysis is followed by a discussion that integrates the empirical notions more tightly to the theoretical background of the paper.



## 6 Analysis

### 6.1 *The Journey Begins*

I'm running with my 23 kg luggage in the train station to find my way to the bus that has replaced my train to Mountagnac-Montpezant. . .

While the Nature Bubble was an adventurous experience—something to be remembered by the first author perhaps for the rest of her life—it is rather amusing to point out that what she actually did was to travel by airplane, a bus, a metro, a train and a car to experience the nature through plastic. But, fortunately, the adventure entailed a lot more. The experience started with a memorable journey to the nature park of Verdon where the bubble located. The journey had its effects on the whole experience of the Bubble, even though it is not an exact part of sleeping in it, but forming an integral part of the entire service. The journey to the Bubble was interesting in other ways as well; it exemplified quite clearly the difference between glamping and camping. The first author entered the nature park with a car instead of, for instance, trekking—which would stand for the most typical way of moving while camping. In the Bubble experience, the destination was the one that counted. The journey to the site was only a transition, nothing else. Most importantly, it was sleeping in the Bubble that she looked forward to. Acknowledging this, the experience of sleeping in a Bubble, as a whole, was rather immobile when it comes to bodily movement. The first author travelled to the site in a comfortable sitting position in versatile motorized vehicles (see Ingold 2004). This also exemplifies the fact that ‘nature’ was something she travelled *to*, without the use of her feet, instead something she was *in*. This is the modern way of travelling from city centres where the nature is eliminated.

One essential part of the experience, namely *darkness*, was present already when travelling to the site:

It was pitch black once we got to the final route to the Bubble hotel—the drive was approximately an half an hour and it was already around 8 p.m. There were no streetlights in the area nearby because of the stars—they didn't want to ruin the possibility to see them. We chatted and joked all the way through—Miguel (the guide that picked me up from the train station) with his bad English—and he asked me a couple of times if I was scared. I wondered why and he told me about the Bubble and the fact that it's going to be pitch black. At that time, I was more worried about the drive in the dark as our speed was fast and the roads were curvy. . .

The village had relinquished their power to keep the area lit in order to make it possible to see the starry sky. This made the first author delighted and anxious at the same time. It reminded her of the power of nature—of the billowing darkness that devoured the village with its houses and fields—making her and Miguel with their tiny car appear ‘meaningless’ and petite when compared to the hilly scenery that loomed beyond. The scenery seemed so strong and her imagination started to travel. But instead of being scared, she was confused—as she lived in the city she wasn't

accustomed to drive in pitch black; while being in the car seat she felt helpless and endlessly small.

## 6.2 *Confronting the Bubble*

There it was, along a narrow path, uphill, surrounded, a little bit at least, with fences so it brought a nice sense of privacy for me. My first impression was “wow, ok, didn’t see that coming”—even though I had seen the bubble in the pictures. It was a bubble made of recycled plastic—not a big one—but big enough for a small girl like me and for a couple.

Confronting the Bubble was astonishing. There wasn’t any way to prepare for it—the Bubble seemed uncanny—a relevantly large, plastic ‘thing’ standing at the end of a private path uphill that was only reserved for the first author, in an environment where it didn’t seem to belong. It almost appeared a bit amusing; the round shape of the Bubble didn’t make it blend in with the nature—rather the other way around. It stood for an artificial installation—even more so during the next day when the first author saw the Bubble in daylight; then the modern interior design became unclothed for the surrounding gaze of the nature without any artificial lighting. As the Bubble had its own cabin for a shower and toilet, a fence covering privacy on one part of the Bubble and a base, which was covered with grit, it became a ‘site’ instead of a sole ‘bubble’ with limited amenities. This made the Bubble, at the same time, quirky and comprehensible. A modern cottage with an outdoor toilet, perhaps? Although the Bubble didn’t leave a track in the nature—disappearing from it once emptied, like a soap bubble floats in the air—its premises still staid, setting a proof that something has been there, leaving an ‘empty space’ that disrupts the nature’s harmony. The scenic viewpoint had been carefully selected, and space for the Bubble had been made. But still, while being artificial, it felt like a space reserved only the first author to be *safe*—even the guide didn’t enter the Bubble once giving instructions. It was her own Bubble; for only her to be entered; her own retreat which welcomed her to sleep under the starry sky.

## 6.3 *Settling Down to the Bubble*

Once I got back into the Bubble after the shower, I realized while standing outside, that yeah—it is completely see-through. My night lamp was on and you could see my Bubble as a showroom. What did I do once I arrived when I didn’t understand that everybody could see? Oh my. . . I even ate my packed lunch in the Bubble even though it wasn’t allowed. I was just so hungry!

Like Williams Shakespeare in *Hamlet* once wisely said: ‘For some must watch, while some must sleep’. In the Bubble, the first author’s body exposed to the eyes of nature and those of possible wanderers that could find their way to her private area. The desk lamp made the Bubble a stage—a scene of action, or in-action—where the

tourist was obliged to enter. There wasn't a choice to put the light off because otherwise her poor night vision wouldn't allow entering the Bubble without tripping or failing to reach the needed personal belongings after the shower. Even when the author's gaze would get accustomed to darkness, her night vision would still be extremely limited. When entering the Bubble with a light on, she felt subservient to nature and the animals living in the woods. They could see her as she didn't see them. With the lamp on, the only thing for her to see was the content of the Bubble—her gaze was indeed limited. But what she then realized was that her bodily exposure to the nature wasn't as oppressive as one could imagine. . .

The other bubbles were covered with white cloth from the lowest part so the couples could spend their romantic moments in the Bubble and not be feeling “bare” to the outside nature and surroundings. But my Bubble was different—and to be honest, I liked it and didn't have any problem with it after the first confusion. My body was exposed to the outside world—but only with the natural one—the one that doesn't have any curious pairs of eyes to peep at something so private as one's bedroom. Or when I come to think about it, there are several curious pairs of eyes in the nature. . . But if there would be somebody or something that was interested in my Bubble, they wouldn't think about it the same way as people would do in a city hotel with curtains open. The animals going by wouldn't care less about me and my body in the Bubble—they would just be interested about the light and the fact that there's a round, plastic things in their path which they have to go around. As a thought it was relieving—who cares if somebody sees me in my pyjamas? I'm in the middle of a nature park, for god's sake.

Even though a sleeping body is commonly exposed only to the closest ones (see e.g. Brunt and Steger 2008: 23), the transparency of the Bubble turned to be liberating for the first author. In a matter of fact, she started, little by little, to recognize the comic aspects of the situation at hand; she was sleeping in a transparent and rather large plastic bubble with her downy pyjamas in the middle of a nature forest when an electric heater was keeping the Bubble warm and a blower kept it full of air. She wondered that if the Bubble seemed so uncanny for herself, how odd would it seem from the eyes of animals passing by? She recognized the difference between sleeping in such an environment, provided by a specific tourism concept, and sleeping 'bare' in the city. She felt lucky to have this opportunity to 'let go' . . .

#### **6.4 *Sleeping in the Bubble***

So it was time for bed—I was waiting eagerly to get under my sweet, green blanket and put my head into the two inviting pillows. So I did.

The Bubble was materially equipped with high-quality furniture and bedding. A king-sized bed, nightstand and reading lamp reminded the first author of her own bedroom or a hotel room—making the Bubble rather homely. At the same time, while being in the middle of a nature park, the equipment, involving also the first author's massive rollable suitcase, appeared utmost strange. It differed from the one of camping where the basic equipment consists of a tent, sleeping bag, slim

mattress, backpack and a pillow (or a bundle of clothes that replace it). Also the tourist's access to electricity and running water with an own private shower cabin represented luxury. The furnishing in the Bubble invited the tourist to sleep in pyjamas, as while camping we are often used to sleep with a particular set of underwear that keep the body warm or even with daytime clothing. Traditional campers' way of sleeping is partly against the sleep etiquette (Williams 2007a; Williams and Crossley 2008: 6), connected to a reckoning of sleeper's duties (Parsons 1951) according to which one must sleep in a bed or alike, in a private place away from the gaze of the crowd in a proper nightgown (*ibid.*). While feeling silly to put on pyjamas in the middle of the forest to sleep in, the first author fulfilled some of these 'duties', which the traditional camper doesn't necessarily do. But what remained 'unfulfilled' was the privacy, which, despite the Bubble's location, wasn't guaranteed—in the Bubble, the sleeping body was extremely exposed to the surroundings. Still, the tourist wasn't to be *touched at* or *smelled at*; she was insulated from the nature through plastic. When traveling alone, the first author also felt insulated from a human other. . .

It felt like my relevantly small body was not designed for the bed to lay there on its own. The Bubble was somehow full of romance—the dim lights, the sky as a roof, the big bed, two pillows. . . It was clearly made for two people. I put off the lamp after skimming through my Facebook (just to get the grab on something familiar in this new situation) and yes—there they were—the stars, the moon, the airplanes flying by. . .

The design of the Bubble, as well as the first author's experiences of meeting only couples in the site, made sleeping in the Bubble a 'two of a kind'. Not only was she a stranger in the circling forest with her Bubble, she also felt a stranger in a large bed that appeared not to be designed for her lonely body. She found a companion from technology, but only after shutting down the light and seeing the sky with the stars did she make a phone call to her loved one back at home. . .

I just felt a huge urge to share my feelings and the way I felt all the way in my body—the shakes, the goose pumps—I had to tell about them. We talked in the phone how it would be awesome to share the experience—to sleep under the stars together. Even though it was ok and nice to be there on my own and experience something that unique, it was truly something to be shared. The sleeping body of mine longed for another one to be there on my side.

The western habit of sleeping alone or only with a closest companion (see Tahhan 2008) doesn't exclude the fact that sleep is a profoundly *intimate* form of bodily existence (e.g. Valtonen and Veijola 2011). The empty space beside the first author while lying down in a wide bed reminded her of the lack of this intimacy, which need became ever more evident when being in an unfamiliar environment, providing a unique experience to be shared. If the Bubble were designed differently, having a narrow bed that would welcome only her and no others, the experience would probably have been different. Now the amazement turned into longing for that special someone to share the bed with—a bed that provided a 'window' and a foundation to nature's wonders in that peculiar site.

The little humming sound was nice in the Bubble—it brought me comfort as it wasn't totally silent. If it would have been, I think I would have been a bit scared, listening to all the little noises coming outside—a squirrel passing by or a bird flying from the next branch to another. Just listening to the sound of the humming and also being aware of the nature around me was comforting—it was peaceful and my body seemed to go to a sort of a meditative level, even though my stomach hurt because of the different foods compared to Finland that I had eaten during the day.

The humming sound came from a device that kept the Bubble inflated. It brought the first author's sleeping body into the realm of something familiar—perhaps an air conditioning device at home or at the university that belongs to the soundscape of her everyday life (see also Hitchings 2011). Sleeping in the Bubble was indeed a multisensory experience, even though a lot different than the one of camping. While spending a night in the nature *without* a plastic wall between the tourist and nature, one can feel 'the wind and moisture, the freezing cold and warmth of sunshine' or the heat, smell or taste of the campfire (Rantala and Valtonen 2014: 27). The first author didn't experience any of that inside her Bubble. But what she did experience was a blurring of a familiar soundscape with that of unfamiliar, the rustle from the ground level where she slept in her bed as animals were active at night, the changing temperature of the Bubble (despite of the heater), the total darkness surrounding her, the dawning daylight in the early morning while the moon was still up in the sky. . . These are the same kind of sensuous experiences and atmospheres (Bille and Sørensen 2007: 270) that the campers are able to confront, such as natural colours, lightscapes and sounds (Rantala and Valtonen 2014: 27). Many of the sensorial experiences were natural of origin—they existed because the nature was living around, and in, the first author—but the silent blower that kept the Bubble inflated while constantly recycling the air inside stood for a manifestation of the plasticity of the experience. Instead of being natural, the air was produced—forming the condition for the material Bubble experience to exist.

The bed was LARGE—flat, and wide. I hid under my huge blanket.

While being in the bed alone, the first author found comfort from her big blanket. When the lights were on, it allowed her to hide—she didn't feel that bare once being underneath it. It was also less oppressive to put the lamp light off and face the darkness while being under the blanket. Like the sleeping bag provides comfort for the camper (see Rantala and Valtonen 2014), the blanket does it to the glamper. This reminds us from children's stories of a boogiemán underneath the bed that is told not to touch the child if all her limb are under the blanket. But in the Bubble, there wasn't space underneath the bed for the boogiemán to lurk the sleeper—the bed was near the ground, without any legs. This brought comfort to the sleeper—making the bed a 'nest' to provide safety. At the same time, it was a strange experience; the design of the bed allowed the sleeper to confront her surroundings in a particular way as it brought a certain perspective to the world. In western world, we have accustomed to sleep being lift *up* from the ground. This arrangement carries along a certain level of control of the surrounding environment. When being on the ground, on her back or on her side in a recumbent position, the first author

experienced smallness; the world opened up around her in a different vein than she was familiar with. It wasn't the same experience as back then when she was a child, lying in grass with her arms and legs pointing in different directions, but it reminded her of it—even though when the real grass was replaced by a fake one in the Bubble and the 'ground' she laid on was a luxurious bed. Still, the trees around her looked bigger, the bushes wider, and the sounds of the creatures in the night were louder. . .

By being recumbent, the connection to the ground was different than when standing or sitting; the recumbent body approached the ground in its entirety, with shoes off, questioning the overriding condition for the 'intelligent man' to exist (see Ingold 2004; Rantala and Valtonen 2014: 9). The recumbent position gave way to creativity—while taking physically a different perspective to things around there was more space for novel thoughts to emerge. Moreover, the design of the Bubble allowed the gaze of the tourist to be wide-ranging; but instead of being a 'commanding' gaze as such, the human gaze was a 'wondering' one—shedding light to the particularities of the surroundings with no physical barriers, as the Bubble was see-through. The only barrier for the human gaze was the nature's darkness as we, as humans, are limited to see through darkness. The first author was all alone in the Bubble with her own impermanence, but rather than getting anxious about it, it was relieving to 'let go' . . .

If there would have been no pain in my body, I think the feeling of floating into another dimension of world would have been even more present. I felt my body was so little in the middle of the nature—me in my little Bubble, responsive to the things happening around me—it was a refreshing feeling—I felt like I wasn't able to control things anymore. In that moment I could control only the way I was positioned in my comfortable bed. I wanted to stay on my back for quite a long time just to see the stars and the moon and the planes flying by. When I then started to feel tired I turned on my side and got ready to sleep—and that's really when I really started to feel my stomach hurt. Before that I think I was in sort of a mystified state and just enjoyed the spectacular scenery and the peacefulness the nature around me brought to my mind and to my body. I closed my eyes and hoped that the ache would go away. . .

The recumbent position of the first author, together with the see-through premises she was in, made her feel small and powerless—in a good and relieving way. Also her Bubble seemed to be smaller than when first confronting it. By lying down near the ground under her blanket she 'gave away' her imaginary human mastery; if there was something to do her harm that would just have to be accepted. Lying on her back was a bodily position perfect for wondering—turning on her side was a body technique that prepared her for sleeping. By turning her back to one direction, and thus to the nature behind her, was also one phase of 'giving up'; she lost her gaze and accepted that she couldn't see if there would be somebody approaching her Bubble. The ultimate 'giving up' culminated in the phase when the first author closed her eyes. In this phase of sleeping, she became even more vulnerable—entering an unconscious state, and even before that, diminishing her sensorial capacities to observe her surroundings. She wasn't in control either of the surrounding nature or the nature *within* her body; the ache in her stomach had a strong effect

on her experience in the Bubble and reminded her of her corporeality. Yet the nature brought calmness to her bodily being that would, at that stage, make her feel uneasier in a different surrounding.

## 6.5 *Waking up in the Bubble*

In the morning I woke up to a silent alarm in my phone. The music was a “secret forest” that suited so well to the surroundings I was in. It was like from a dream as it was still dark and you could see the moon shining still above you. It wasn’t long until you could hear the rooster shouting nearby. It was really something different. I felt just sooooo good. I would have just wanted to stay and lay down for a long time—even though I usually am a quick person to get up from my bed. The stars were still bright and even though it was dark you knew it was morning as the slightest strings of light were coming from the sky and the clouds were emerging. I felt like a baby—you know, when people say that they sleep like a baby? I felt like my cheeks were “plumped up” and I just wanted to stretch like a cat and lay in my bed for an undefined amount of time. . .

After spending a night in the Bubble, the first author felt more familiar with her surroundings. The confusion had passed and was replaced by marvel; the moment of waking up was calm—the ache in her stomach had vanished and her senses could be ‘freed’ to admire the sky above her. Somehow she felt ‘pure’, and the moment brought memories from a very early age of her life—reminding her of being once a baby sleeping in a crib. The nature within her had changed from stormy to serene. . . Her bodily feelings verified her good night’s sleep and there was no hurry. The nature showed her signs of the dawning day and the clock became meaningless. The nature gently ‘forced’ the tourist to wake up little by little. As the first author woke up while it was still rather dark, she had a heightened perception of nature (Rantala and Valtonen 2014: 26), even though she wasn’t sleeping under the open sky. Knowing that it’s now morning gave her comfort. The mysticism of the night, and the scaring thoughts that were involved in it, became conceivable. Being able to see more clearly the nature around and above her because of subtle daylight made her feel comfortable—maybe because she felt being more aware of what’s going on around her. Waking up was an important part of the sleep journey (see Valtonen et al. 2012) in the Bubble—a one that grabbed the sleeper away from the abyss of confused thoughts and anxiety that were inevitably part of the experience—and allowed the brightness to enter the mind and the body. Waking up in the Bubble was as if a ‘second date’ with the nature—it allowed the tourist to *enjoy* rather than *survive* with her running imagination.

When lying on my back for a good while, I gradually started to arrange my departure from the Bubble in my thoughts. I knew I had to leave from the hotel quite early to catch my train back to Marseille. At the same time I felt delighted to be heading back home but at the same time I felt like the timetable spoiled something about the experience. And then. . . all of the sudden dogs began to bark somewhere nearby and you could hear a man shouting. My body sharpened up and my heart rate went up like a rocket. It wasn’t long until I realized it was a hunt going on and then the guns started to shoot. Oh my god—what a nightmare—in this beautiful place the peaceful atmosphere was “raped” with guns and violence—I thought. It



truly was something you couldn't expect to happen in this kind of a destination. When taken into consideration the fact that I love animals and that I'm a vegan this was outstandingly awkward thing for me.

The first author's moment of calmness turned quickly to one of concern because of the timetable and later to a fierce shock because of the gun noises nearby. It was a breakdown of an experience—something that she would have never expected to happen during her stay in the Bubble. The whole experience appeared even uncannier now than when confronting the Bubble for the first time. In addition, in that very moment the whole experience of the Bubble seemed to change. The Bubble wasn't mystical anymore—it was just a strange accommodation, which also looked different in the daylight. Now, it looked rather meaningless—it didn't have anything to provide for the tourist anymore as she had now totally woken up (in an extremely unpleasant way) and wasn't willing to spend more time in the Bubble. She wanted to stay *outside* the Bubble and her thoughts were already on the journey back home.

Furthermore, during daylight, experiencing the *outside* when being *inside* seemed silly. The Bubble didn't invite the tourist to lie down in the bed during the day—the transparency of the Bubble somewhat 'screamed' for being awake in the daylight—making the interior look rather messy while the suitcase was open and the bed unmade. It didn't invite the first author to write or read in it either. For her, it was a place only for sleeping—experiencing something unforgettable in the night-time, in the darkness. The Bubble seemed to wait for clean up and for the next sleeper to see it as its best—in the night surrounded by darkness. All these experiences were framed by the unpleasant experience of hearing the gunshots nearby. It is likely that the surroundings of the Bubble alone would have tempted the tourist to stay for a longer time, if the shooting wouldn't have taken place. The shooting became a reality check of the entanglement of the tourist's and nature's body—it surely shocked them both.

I just felt like I would have wanted to get back there when I didn't have a hurry, with somebody important to me, to share the experience in peace and without haste. Like the couples in the bubbles did—they were peacefully sleeping when I went to get my breakfast. Once I left and dragged my huge luggage down the hill, one couple was peacefully enjoying their breakfast with no hurry. Maybe time will "heal the wounds" and it would be a new adventure to go and experience the Bubble once again. But right now, I feel like I will take a little time off from the journey to the Bubble. What comes to my mind is that I had a spectacular experience of sleeping in the Bubble, but the other practices attached to the experience—the practicalities, so to say—ruined a bit of it. When I sat down in my taxi I felt good to be going home and to be surrounded by familiar things around me—even though I enjoy experiencing new ones. But what is of certain is that the utmost uncanny experience of sleeping in the Bubble will never fade from my memories.

## 7 Concluding Remarks

In this chapter, we have taken a journey back to the first author's unforgettable experience when spending a night in a see-through Bubble in a nature park in France. The journey is an example of a rather novel trend in tourism industry called *glamping*, representing a luxurious form of camping. Furthermore, it stands for an example of a certain form of glamping, namely *sleep-centric glamping*; a tourist service that is constructed around sleep. This service is, first and foremost, an experience—a one that is *designed* as such, through complex combination of versatile 'designers' that involve also the nature and the sleeping tourist. This creative design has an impact on the ways the tourist and the nature 'meet'—shaping their relation—enabling and constraining their embodied connection. With our body- and design oriented reading of the autoethnographic data we have been able to unfold some of these valuable particularities of the relationship between a tourist and nature.

The relevance of experiences in today's modern economy has been widely recognized in academic literature. Indeed, the vast body of existing studies on experiences have generated a sound body of knowledge of the production and consumption of experiences. Studies have, for instance, shown the significant role of guides (Arnould and Price 1993), social others (Arnould and Price 1993; Kozinets 2002; Tumbat and Belk 2011) and places (Kozinets 2002) in the orchestration of experiences. They also have pointed to the way experiences assume a set of—often contradictory—affects, sensations and emotions and a peculiar dynamics between something that is expected and simultaneously un-expected, or 'the thrill of the unknown'.

Through the concept of *uncanny*, we have been able to continue this valuable work of the aforementioned authors, to introduce a novel way to identify and grasp the way different contradictory dimensions are involved in the creation of experiences. The whole adventure in the Bubble was an uncanny journey. From the first phase of travelling to the Bubble, confronting the Bubble, sleeping in the Bubble, to the next morning of waking up in the Bubble and hearing the gun shootings nearby—it almost appeared as a strange dream. We have illustrated through our empirical analysis how the sleeping body in the Bubble is situated at the interface of indoors/outdoors, nature/city, camping/luxury, active body/inactive body, alone body/social body and small/predominant body. The uncanniness of all these dimensions renders understandable how, and why, the experience was both scaring and fascinating—and memorable.

The Bubble strongly contests our deeply-rooted assumptions of how to sleep, especially how sleep is considered as a private practice (Williams and Crossley 2008; Kratftl and Horton 2008). In a see-through bubble the first author's body became exposed to the nature. Above all, when she fell asleep, that is, when she 'let go' of the surrounding world and entered an unconscious state (see Leder 1990), the nature was still looking. This array made her sleeping body profoundly vulnerable (Williams 2007b) while being disposed to the gaze of her surroundings. This

reaffirms the nature's agency, appearing through a sensorial experience of darkness and the soundscape of the surrounding forest, in the interconnection between the tourist and the nature (see Waitt and Duffy 2010; Bille and Sørensen 2007; Rantala and Valtonen 2014). Furthermore, as the comfortable Bubble provided her the possibility to sleep in such clothing that is usually considered suitable for sleeping indoors, not in the middle of the forest, her bodily unveiling was attested—in her pyjamas and with her luxurious bedding in the Bubble she was at the same time a stranger, a being unsuitable to the environment surrounding her, and a being in a mysterious connection with the nature.

Furthermore, our study points to the complexity of creation of experiences. Firstly, it highlights the importance and powerful impact of the actual *design* of tourist experiences to the ways, in our case, the tourist and the nature 'meet'. It has, simultaneously, the power to *enable* and *constrain* the connection between the tourist body and the nature's body. In our case, designing a plastic see-through Bubble and the service around it had wide impacts on how the tourist came to perceive nature and her involvement in nature—it allowed the tourist to experience the nature in a particular way and, at the same time, built a plastic barrier and denied the possibility for the tourist and the nature to *touch, smell or feel* each other.

Secondly, our study points to the active role of several nature-based elements that are involved in the design of experiences, such as darkness, lightness and sounds of animals. If we weren't to consider the nature as a *primary* designer of the experience, we would be misguided. We acknowledge that our understanding of the Bubble, and the attendant service, is only one part of the way the experiences are created; co-production is a crucial activity during a creative tourism experience. This kind of activity enables the construction of space for simultaneous empowerment (Miettinen 2007). In our case the co-production took place in the interface of nature and the sleeping body, enabled by the Bubble. Understanding the context and the process of co-creation in a creative tourism experience is essential to the development of the service and service design. This understanding also makes it possible to question the anthropocentricity that can be considered to form the basis for tourism industry as a whole.

Thirdly, the sleeping body carries a set of socio-historical practices and understandings—such as human-nature relation and the relation between sleeping and waking—that inevitably shape the creation of the experience. Thereby the body—always unique as well as part of the shared logics with other bodies—itself takes part to the co-creation of experiences. These different co-designers, only together, were able to create an unforgettable night in the Bubble that the first author had a chance to experience.

While we have acknowledged the theoretical relevance of a sleeping body in tourism research as such (see Valtonen and Veijola 2011; Rantala and Valtonen 2014), we have taken the next step by theorizing the complex relation between a sleeping body and nature and connected the sleeping body to a new form of tourism that has yet remained unexplored in the field of nature-based tourism studies. Most importantly, we have paid attention to the embodied configuration where the nature and the sleeping body meet; here the plastic see-through bubble and the nature

encircling the recumbent sleeping tourist with her eyes wide closed became analysed. Here we have also unsettled the dominant bodily positions as part of tourist practices, that of standing up or walking (see Ingold 2004), by introducing a many times forgotten tourist bodily position of *lying down* (see also Rantala and Valtonen 2014). By pointing out the relevance of this bodily position when theorizing tourism agency, we have been able to make way for a reconsideration of power relations between nature and human beings—indicating the ‘smallness’ and ‘bareness’ of the human body beside, or entangled with, nature.

A multi-disciplinary approach used in this paper is highly relevant in exploring sleep, which can be represented as an entanglement of various relations—thus appearing as the ‘most complex of topics’ (Williams and Bendelow 1998: 173). Sleep stands for a critical but indeed challenging topic for researchers interested in the human body (Williams and Crossley 2008: 12). For us, service design literature has offered eye-opening concepts to explore the effects of design processes in the formation of the human body’s relationship with nature, as well as of our prevalent understandings of sleeping, and the potential to question them. By acknowledging the agency of nature, cultural studies on their behalf can offer service design thinking a valuable perspective, which shifts the focus from the relationship between humans to the relationship between nature and a human being and their entanglement. The cultural approach to a sleeping body combined with design literature forms a new kind of understanding of emerging forms of tourism, enriching the existing literature and practice in the field of tourism.

To close, through our paper we have been able to tell something important about the contemporary western human-nature relations—indicating our simultaneous living ‘in a bubble’ and at the same time our openness to new experiences and understandings of our ways of being-in-the-world with others. The sleeping body has given us the possibility to focus on the often forgotten notions and dimensions of a tourist experience—being full of valuable details that might get bypassed while focusing merely on the waking tourist. We conclude by a quote from one of the key inspirators of our paper, Tim Ingold (2004: 199–200, 241):

Human beings live in the world, not on it, and as beings in the world the historical transformations they effect are part and parcel of the world’s transformation of itself.

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## The Affective Circle of Harassment and Enchantment: Reflections on the ÕURA Ring as an Intimate Research Device

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### Abstract

New digital devices monitoring the body are increasingly used as research devices. As highly intimate new media objects, placed next to our skin, they challenge our notions of privacy and contribute to the generation of affects – disrupting considerations of 'successful' research. In this article, we offer an auto-ethnographic study of (not) using a wearable sleep-tracking device, the ÕURA smart ring, as a research device. We discuss the unexpected, intense affects we experienced when attempting to use the ring during a 'failed' research process, feeling enchanted and harassed by it in turn. Reflecting on our affects enables us to identify different forms of intimacy: those related to disrupting the bodily norms of academia, and those disrupting the privacy of the sleeping body. To conclude, we discuss the potential of these disruptions to offer a better understanding of the significant role of the thing-power of research devices in qualitative research process.

**Keywords:** affect, self-tracking, digital media, sleep, intimacy, auto-ethnography

### Introduction

*“There it is, again. The black ring lies on the windowsill of my study. This beautifully designed ‘smart’ object in its white transparent box has been there for a while, unused. It disturbs me. No, this time it’s more. It has started to harass me by its very presence. It seems as if it is suffocating – as if it can’t breathe inside the plastic box where it is supposed to be charged. I turn my gaze away so that I cannot see it. I’m supposed to use the ring for doing an auto-ethnography on sleep tracking – and so is one of my research collaborators. I feel ashamed about keeping the ring there - not least because it is so expensive and we have used our connections to get them to trial for free. I’m privileged to have a chance to test the ring, but still I don’t feel like doing it. Feeling unsettled, I call my collaborator to ask whether she has started to use it. She answers, with a somewhat embarrassed tone of voice:*

*'Well no, not yet. As a matter of fact, it is still sitting on the shelf of my office and I haven't even charged it yet. I'm so pleased to hear I'm not the only one struggling!'*

Over the past decade, many new digital devices and software have been invented and released onto the market to facilitate the monitoring of personal body functions, habits and dispositions. These new media technologies generate specific type of personal data that can often relate to very intimate details of their users' bodies: including such data as their heart rates, physical activity, calories expended, sleep cycles, body temperature, menstrual and fertility cycles, sexual activities and encounters, body weight and moods. A range of small 'smart' devices embedded with digital sensors (often referred to as 'wearables') have been developed. These can be worn on human bodies to monitor and measure their activities and biometrics. Examples of such wearables include smartwatches, wristbands, headbands, devices that can clip on clothing and pendants. The digital sleep-tracking ring that is our focus here, the *ÖURA*, is one such wearable device. The ring, available in various sizes to suit different adult finger sizes, is a sleek, minimalist design available in shiny black, matt black or white. While in place on the finger, its sensors are able to monitor blood volume pulse, body temperature and physical activity level to calculate sleep length and stages. It syncs the data to a smartphone app using Bluetooth technology, where they can be reviewed by the user.

In this article, we discuss – with the help of Sara Ahmed's influential work on affects (2004) – our intimate research relationship with the *ÖURA* ring and the intense affective resonances of this relationship. We had originally planned to use the ring as part of our auto-ethnographic study on the proliferating sleep-monitoring phenomenon. The company that makes the ring generously provided us with two free samples to use as part of our study. We were grateful for this opportunity, and felt obligated to the company to conduct the research as agreed. We were affectively engaged and intrigued by the exciting possibilities of conducting this research and what it might reveal. However, quite unexpectedly, we found that our attempts to start our research were hampered by a set of circling affects that disrupted our initial intentions. Our consideration of these affects in turn raised broader questions for us about the role of such new media devices in qualitative social research methods such as auto-ethnography. They provoked us to engage in reflection about how the very personal feelings that these devices may arouse can be incorporated into the insights of both research findings and methods.

Our attempts to use auto-ethnography to investigate the affordances of the *ÖURA* highlighted the relationship between embodiment, affect and intimacy as they can be experienced in this type of qualitative research. Despite our initial enthusiasm, once we started our project, we experienced an unanticipated reluctance to try it for ourselves, and the associated feelings of shame, guilt, frustration and disappointment that were aroused. These responses were complicated by a set of different feelings when the

first author finally did try wearing the ring. As we explain, this emotional struggle has a lot to do with the intimate status of the ring as a *sleep*-tracking device worn on the body. The intimate nature of the ring generated significant implications for how – or indeed, whether – this kind of device can be successfully used as a research tool. It also related to the conventions inscribed in the academic research process that are often figured and represented as rational, unemotional, linear and successful. We were confronted with the failure of an original research plan, involving a plethora of emotions. We found ourselves oscillating between enchantment at the possibilities of using the ring for our research, and feelings of harassment, as the unused rings reproached us with their presence. All this led us to position the conflicting or ambivalent affects brought about by the ring as the key concern of our study and to ponder the question: what are these affects trying to teach us?

In what follows, we begin with a discussion of the ÖURA ring as an intimate device. We go on to outline our theoretical and methodological approach to understanding the affective dimensions of digital wearable devices like ÖURA. Narrative excerpts from our auto-ethnographic field notes are then provided and analysed for what they reveal about our attempts to incorporate the ring into our research. Our discussion section addresses what we learnt from our study and the implications for qualitative research using new media tools like the ÖURA ring.

### **The ÖURA ring as an intimate device**

According to the developer's website, the ÖURA was invented by a Finnish health technology company founded in 2013. The developers contend that it is vital for people to gain understanding of their sleep patterns using a self-tracking device, because of the importance that sleep plays in their health and productivity. The website makes direct claims about the intimate nature of the ring and the personal data it collects. The placing of the ÖURA on the finger, it is argued, facilitates this intimacy: 'A Ring Makes Your Data More Intimate, and Accurate'. It is claimed that 'Your fingers have easy-to-sense arteries, where the ring gathers precise data from your body's vital signs'. The device is intimate, these words suggest, because it can be placed directly on a part of the human body where its sensors can readily gather accurate biometrics. Images of the hand showing the tracing of arteries are used to support the developer's claims that the ring is more effective than digital wrist-worn trackers. These biometrics include heartbeat data as well as inter-beat intervals (the distance between each heartbeat) and respiratory rate, all of which are algorithmically manipulated to discern what sleep stages users are in and for how long each stage lasts.

The app also calculates a 'Readiness score', which is used to 'guide you in making better lifestyle choices'. The idea is that once people know their score, they can decide

whether or not they are appropriately rested to tackle life demands and challenges. As such, these representations of the use and value of sleep-tracking using ÖURA conform to dominant discourses on digitised self-tracking of biometrics, which emphasise it as a means to achieve self-optimisation, including better health, physical and mental wellbeing and work productivity (Berg, 2017; Fors & Pink, 2017; Fotopoulou & O’Riordan, 2017; Lupton, 2013, 2016a, 2016b; Millington, 2015; Ruckenstein & Schüll, 2017; Schüll, 2016; Smith & Vonthehoff, 2017).

The ÖURA also speaks to a growing focus on the importance of sleep to health and wellbeing and concern that people in the global North are not getting enough good-quality sleep because of factors like stress, too-busy lives and over-use of screen-based digital technologies (Coveney, 2014; Williams, 2007b; Williams, Coveney, & Meadows, 2015). Such terms as ‘sleep hygiene’ and ‘sleep coaching’ are often used to represent sleep habits as medical matters requiring active attention from people to ensure that they achieve sleep that is deemed restorative and health-enhancing. One consequence of this medicalised approach to sleep is the emergence of a plethora of smartphone and smartwatch apps as well as wearables such as smart wristbands and headbands, and disks or strips embedded with sensors that can be placed under a bedsheet or pillow, all specifically designed to monitor users’ sleep patterns and habits (Ong & Gillespie, 2016; Van den Bulck, 2015; Williams et al., 2015). The ÖURA is one of the more recent additions to this group of digitised sleep-tracking technologies. Like the others, it is a participant in contemporary ‘cultures of sleep’ (Ellis, 2016; Hancock & Gillen, 2007).

The ÖURA may therefore be viewed as an intimate new media device in several ways. It is intimate because it is worn on the body and thus becomes part of the envelope of the body, augmenting and decorating it, and monitoring its functions. It is used during periods of sleep, a bodily practice that is itself culturally represented as a highly personal, vulnerable and culturally-charged, taking place in the very private spaces of the bed and bedroom and shared only with sexual partners, young children or companion animals, if anyone (Coveney, 2014; Ellis, 2016; P. Hancock, 2008; Hsu, 2016; Valtonen & Närvänen, 2015, 2016; Williams, 2007a, 2007b). The ÖURA generates and stores intimate information about wearers’ sleep habits: information which can reveal previously unknown dimensions of their sleep patterns and quality that can then be potentially used to make changes in their personal bodily practices. Like other wearable devices that are designed to ‘nudge’ users into ‘good habits’ (Berson, 2015; Berg, 2017; Fors & Pink, 2017; Fotopoulou & O’Riordan, 2017; Lupton, 2016a, 2016b; Millington, 2015; Ruckenstein & Schüll, 2017), the ring is marketed as an overtly pedagogical device. It teaches wearers details about themselves and also trains them to deport their bodies differently as part of their practices of selfhood and identity. These personal and highly individual sleep data can also be used as part of close social relationships when users share the insights offered by the ring with others.

Therefore, both the ring itself, as an embodied object, and the personal data it generates about otherwise private aspects of the user's life, are intimate objects.

Our account to be presented in this paper demonstrates that we were resistant to becoming the 'compliant subjects' (Berlant, 1998: 288) of the intimacy promised by the ŌURA developers. We resisted becoming disciplined and datafied by the device – as many other users of new media devices (for an overview, see Ruckenstein & Schüll, 2017: 11-12) – allowing it to come to life by incorporating it into our own lives and our research practices. This resistance was by no means planned – indeed, it confounded and complicated our initial research plans. Instead, it was generated by our affective responses to the idea of allowing the ring to become an intimate element of our private and public lives. Yet eventually one could not resist trying the ring out; the trial involving the emotions of both enthusiasm and disappointment.

### **The affective dimensions of digital wearable devices**

Digital devices and the data they generate are 'lively': they are entangled with human bodies and everyday lives (Lupton, 2017a). These assemblages exert a kind of 'thing-power', as Bennett (2004: 351) puts it, or 'the curious ability of inanimate things to animate, to act, to product effects dramatic and subtle'. Affective responses are integral to the thing-power of digital devices. Studies of people who use wearable self-tracking devices, for example, have identified that the oftentimes ambivalent emotional responses to the devices and the data they generate as key elements of their motivation to adopt and continue their use or else to discard them (Fotopoulou & O'Riordan, 2017; Pantzar & Ruckenstein, 2017; Smith & Vonthethoff, 2017; Sumar-tojo, Pink, Lupton, & LaBond, 2016).

The recent literature on human-nonhuman encounters as part of social science research has noted that such research is a 'shared accomplishment' between humans and nonhumans (Marres, 2012: 140). In their edited book *Invented Methods: The Happening of the Social* (2012), Lury and Wakeford bring together an array of short reflective accounts by researchers of various specific methods they have used, including conceptual devices such as anecdote, category, experiment and list and material objects such as tape recorder, photo-image and cultural probe. Each sociologist represents their designated devices as active participants in the construction of research. Some openly divulge the emotions they harbour towards their research technologies, as in Les Back's affectionate account of his trusty tape recorder. Other sociologists have recently used such phrases as 'the social life of methods' to identify and emphasise the contingent and emergent nature of methods. This approach explicitly draws attention to the fact that social research methods are both part of the social world they seek to document and also work to constitute that social world (Law & Ruppert,

2013; Law, Ruppert, & Savage, 2011; Savage, 2013); or indeed, are 'performative of the social' (Law et al., 2011, 8).

Thus far, however, few social and cultural researchers have as yet confronted the ways in which wearable smart devices like *ÖURA* operate as research co-participants, shaping what is known. While increasing attention has been paid by ethnographers to the enrolment of mobile technologies, such as smartphones, in everyday ethnographic practices (Postill & Pink, 2012; van Doorn, 2013), they have tended to skate over the issue that the intimate and affective relationship that develops between the device and the ethnographer, which shapes the way the ethnography is conducted as well as the findings. Nor have they taken into account the non-digital elements of the environments in which new media are used (or not used) (Moores, 2012; Pink, 2015). Understanding these aspects are important when making sense of the ways in which new media such as wearable self-tracking devices are incorporated into everyday lives, including the working lives of researchers. These contexts may include affective, spatial and sensory elements (Pink, 2011; Sumartojo et al., 2016).

To examine the intimate relation of our researcher bodies with the *ÖURA* ring as a novel research assemblage, we draw inspiration from Sara Ahmed's (2004) influential work on affect. The recent 'affective turn' involves different strands of research with different ontological and epistemological premises (see e.g. Blackman & Venn, 2010; Clough & Halley, 2007), involving also different – and debated – takes on emotions and affect, and their relation (see e.g. Gorton, 2007). Ahmed avoids making a clear distinction between emotion and affect as this would only reinforce the problematic division between mind and body as well as social and biological; as she points out in her conversation with Sigrid Schmitz (2004: 98-99), the habit of (re)producing strict distinctions detaches us from the messy reality of the world which is more about entanglement as it is a rivalry between distinctive concepts.

Ahmed's emphasis on the relationship between bodies, language and affects as well the relationality of affects are particularly helpful for our study. Her key question 'what do emotions do?' helps us to consider how emotions operate to 'make' and 'shape' the relations between our bodies and the ring. In Ahmed's (2004) way of thinking, affects do not reside 'inside' or 'outside' of the body. Nor are affects properties of subjects or of objects. Instead, affects are to be conceptualized as forces that move between objects and subjects. While the movement, or circulation of affects, is a key focus of Ahmed's theorizing, it also involves a consideration of attachment – of what 'sticks'. For us, the *ÖURA* ring became a sticky object through personal and social tension (Ahmed, 2004: 11). These forces – that both move and stick – are integral to thing-power that Bennett (2004) refers to, animating the liveliness of new media technologies.

Furthermore, Ahmed's idea that emotions are directional is of particular importance to us. As emotions are 'about' something, they involve an orientation towards an



object. This ‘aboutness’ of emotions means they involve a stance on the world, or a way of apprehending the world’ (Ahmed, 2004: 7). In this sense, affect is bound up with human meaning-making, and to understand this meaning-making, the histories of contact between people and objects need to be recognized. Affects cannot be detached from personal and cultural histories, conventions, and habits. As the ÖURA ring is a new media device, our feelings towards it are shaped by (gendered) cultural narratives on technology and by our own spatial locations, age, personal experiences and memories. Other researchers and another device might result in another story. It is thus the process of taking an orientation towards the object that matters in our analysis. Such an affective orientation, or a stance, is an epistemic stance to us as it guides the way we apprehend and know the world (cf. situated knowing e.g. Haraway, 1988).

While Ahmed primarily focuses on examining the circulation of public emotions via cultural texts, in our study, we emphasize the affects circulating in the private and intimate sphere of our (blurred) academic and personal lives. In observing how we responded to different social contexts and activities (e.g. from the home bedroom to university cafeteria), and using our own researcher-bodies as resources for grasping diverse affects, we are able to highlight the lively, messy, troubled, ephemeral and unpredictable nature of live affective processes (Knudsen & Stage, 2015: 2). In doing so, we can ponder the elements of the thing-power of this new research device.

Taking into consideration our empirical focus, the ÖURA ring and its interrelation with our bodies in flesh, we further emphasize the importance of the body and embodiment in our theoretical frame (see also Fotaki, Kenny & Vachhani, 2017; Lupton 2017b; Probyn, 2000; 2010; Pullen & Rhodes, 2015; Pullen, Rhodes & Thanem, 2017). A critical dimension for our analysis here is the recognition that the body is a sleeping and waking assemblage, in which human flesh is configured with nonhuman objects (Ellis, 2016; Valtonen & Närvänen, 2015; Williams, 2005; Valtonen, Meriläinen, Laine & Salmela-Leppänen, 2017). Our research focus thereby resonates with recent calls made in studies of affect. As Knudsen and Stage (2015: 5) argue, ‘research questions about affect become increasingly more answerable if they are concretely linked to specific bodies (for instance, the researcher’s own body) in specific (and empirically approachable) social contexts’. The institutional context of our study, the academic workplace, commonly values the triumph of disembodied reason, and the ability to control emotions is a cornerstone of the formation of the competent academic self (Longhurst, 2000). It is in this context that the ÖURA ring enters: destabilizing, or indeed, troubling this assumption.



## Background of the study

While we, as three co-authors of this article, are all women living in countries in the global North, we entered this research project with different sociocultural backgrounds and life experiences. Both Salmela (later: Tarja) and Valtonen (later: Anu) live in Finland, Northern Europe; work at the same university and; are both involved in a wider research project critically examining sleep cultures in the context of tourism, organization studies and marketing. In turn, Lupton (later: Deborah) lives many thousands of kilometres away in Australia. Of us, only Tarja and Anu had access to the use of an ÖURA ring – provided by the company that developed it.

The idea of researching the ÖURA ring began when Tarja and Anu planned to conduct a collective auto-ethnographic study of our experiences of sleep tracking. The motivation to do such a study with a selected sleep tracking device traces back to 2013. Back then, the phenomenon of sleep tracking seemed to be rapidly expanding. We wanted to try the devices out ourselves in order to create a stance towards this growingly popular practice. Already at this point, we had experienced a highly ambivalent emotional response towards the practice of sleep tracking. For us, it was an interesting but simultaneously confronting phenomenon – something that would require stepping out of our comfort zone if we tested it ourselves. At that stage, it was the well-known Sleep Tracker worn on the wrist that we planned to use as a research device. However, it remained in a shelf in our closets, all wrapped up nicely in its packaging. Back then, the distance between the device and ourselves as ethnographers could be partly explained by the size of the Sleep Tracker device and the imagined discomfort and inconvenience of using it during sleep. Sleep tracking devices had already become sites of our personal, and social, tension (Ahmed, 2004: 10-11).

Several years later, we were willing to give sleep-tracking devices another try. One day, Anu received an e-mail from the developer of the ÖURA, who had come to work at the same university. He knew that Anu was leading a project on sleep, and suggested a meeting over a coffee. A plan to conduct a study on ÖURA emerged. We were given two rings, one for Anu and one for Tarja, and a name of a person who could assist in their use, if necessary. The eventual auto-ethnographic study involved using the ring to track our sleep and engaging with the *We Are Curious* Personal Health Record platform, where we would share our sleep data and discuss with others. We thought that this approach would work well to generate insights into how the device worked in practice and to investigate its personal and social affordances.

Despite her professional interest in self-tracking practices and cultures, Deborah has never herself willingly used a digital self-tracking device to monitor her own body. Before being involved in the ÖURA project, she already harboured reluctance to personally use such a device, either for research or personal purposes, because her previous research had identified significant data privacy and security concerns about collecting

personal data in this way. Thus, while Deborah was not offered the opportunity to try out the ÖURA for free, as were the two of us authors, it is unlikely she would have agreed to do so. In her case, her affective responses were characterised by suspicion of how and why the developers and other third parties such as hackers or health insurance companies might use her personal data.

To identify and acknowledge the affects involved in our experiences of the ÖURA ring, Tarja and Anu kept self-reflexive diaries of their troubled experiences of the idea of allowing the ÖURA ring to touch our skin, share our beds and enter our slumber. In addition, Tarja used ÖURA for three days approximately at the halfway of the research project and kept self-reflexive diary of her experiences, which she shared with the other authors. Deborah was invited by the other authors to respond to their reflections and contribute further analytical insights to the discussion here presented. In doing so, she drew on insights from her previous projects on the sociocultural dimensions of self-tracking.

### **(Trying to) build a relationship with ÖURA**

*‘Yes, yes! A good time to meet Anu – we have scheduled a meeting by a cup of coffee to discuss our ÖURA project. It feels like a weight has been lifted from my shoulders, as I now know that she isn’t using the ring either. For the past few days, the ring hasn’t really been staring at me with an evil look – it has – quite surprisingly – even aroused new interest. Perhaps it’s because the pressure is now off to use it? After a moment of hesitation, I leave the ring in my study and head to the cafeteria. We start discussing of work, with a highly emotional vibe. Suddenly we find ourselves giggling and giggling on the couch. We laugh about the situation with ÖURA: an unsuccessful research process! “This is what research is really about – it just doesn’t always work, the plan, does it???” The poor ring in our office rooms – we feel sad about it, really! We suddenly feel thoroughly excited about talking about the ring. We find inspiration to work on a paper about not using it – so inspired that we notice ourselves roaring with laughter and it makes us feel excitingly rebellious! The ring seems to be there – even when it isn’t. As if the ring in our rooms enables us to think more creatively. We want to write about this process – about this damn little black ring!’ (Narrative 1)*

This excerpt from Tarja’s field journal reflects the way in which our responses to ÖURA dramatically evolved. At this point in the research process, both of the rings stayed on the shelves of our offices and the pressure to start to use them for auto-ethnographic purposes had diminished in its affective force. Once this pressure had relaxed, this allowed us to be creative and to cherish the irrational and non-linear nature of doing

research – something that we ourselves had so far left unspoken in the final outcomes of our academic writings. It gave room for bursts of affective responses to themes outside our actual research focus; to laugh at the supposed rational practices of scholarship, and the illusion of a linear research process. The ring stimulated the possibility to be ‘us’ as researchers – as women in academia – proud of our backgrounds and hesitation about self-tracking. Our reluctance to go along with the originally planned fieldwork with the ÖURA ring made the contingent nature of academic research overtly visible. The fieldwork started to encircle around this technologized black ring in ways we couldn’t control.

One reason for our reluctance is that we knew that the ÖURA ring would bring *work* to our beds: the data gathering would enter one of our most private spaces. It would be fieldwork we would be conducting when in the deepest mode of bodily relaxation, and possibly sharing our beds with partners, other family members or pets. Much to our surprise, the ring incited us to feel simultaneously uninterested and utterly interested; both excited and withdrawn. This was unexpected, as for us it almost seemed that the research project would just languish because of our ambivalent emotional relationship with the ring: just like the ring itself would remain inert if it were not put into use. But still, in our conversations, the ring seemed mysteriously as if it were still alive on our bookshelf. The affective resonances it emanated were realized in our reflections.

While ÖURA’s self-tracking power was closed off and it couldn’t reach its full potential, it somewhat hauntingly asked for our attention. There came a moment when we noticed almost feeling sorry for the ring to be in its box all alone in the office, while we chatted about it in the cafeteria. Simultaneously, the ring pushed us away while demanding attention: the ring was inert unless it was entangled in flesh with its living user and dependent on the human to make it lively, to give it the rhythm of our hearts to feel, our pulse to catch, almost as it needed our blood to suck, our flesh to eat. Then, an unexpected event happened.

*‘It came out of nowhere. Yes, I took the ring with me from the uni. Now the ring is in my home, on the bench in the corridor. There it is, staring at me again. I can almost imagine a twisted smile of pleasure in its plastic face. I was about to use it. Why? Can’t really tell. But no – I didn’t do it. There it lies, unused. I’m so going to take it back to the uni. I don’t like the pressure it places on me. Whoa, the ring has really exercised a lot in my backpack.’ (Narrative 2)*

The ring followed Tarja into her home even when it was earlier decided that it was all right not to use it for the purposes of the research. The whole event seemed strange and unexplainable: why did she take the ring with her when going home? Why did the ring still ‘haunt’ her? Perhaps it was a moment of hesitancy towards her own beliefs

of the problems of self-tracking? Maybe it was just curiosity? The ring was closer to Tarja's body when it was carried in her backpack – but covered in many layers, sharing the space with other stuff in the backpack, and thus struggling to reach its user. The ring had entered her home but only the corridor, which didn't have an intimate symbolic meaning to Tarja. The place was more neutral – the ring was far away from the bedroom. But at the same time, the corridor was a place for Tarja that reminded her when coming from work and opening the front door that now all the duties relating to work and the pressure of measuring anything have ended, and she can relax. And when she then saw the ring sitting on the bench on the corridor, it seemed like an intruder – a stranger in her home – something which had to be sent away. But even though she did take the ring away, the process continued, as demonstrated in the following excerpt ...

*'I'm writing another article at my office. As part of the background research work, I read about a deadly disease called Fatal Familial Insomnia, where a person dies due to their inability to sleep. I start to worry about the short amount of sleep I have been having lately. I realize that, in fact, I do have just the right device waiting for me to measure my sleep... The ÖURA looks at me again from the shell. It looks demanding. I shiver. Maybe... now's the time? Could I give it a go? I walk to the ring and take it out of its box. It's big – too big for my middle finger, but suitable for the first finger and the thumb, although a bit loose. I put the ring into my first finger. It touches my skin. Now, the ring has got what it wished for. And, in ways I can't explain, so have I.'* (Narrative 3)

The emotional turmoil she felt about her sleep led to her trying out the ring – to experience its touch on her skin – and to give it a chance. It was a moment where the ring made its first physical contact with her flesh. But the place in which the physical and affective entanglement took place was not a private one: it was the workplace, a somewhat neutral place, and as such, it was reassuring for the author to try the ring out there. The deliberations about death and lack of sleep that were part of her other research made her hesitate again about her own attitudes towards self-tracking. For a moment, self-tracking, in the form of an expensive and small digital device that waited to prove its worth, seemed like a good opportunity. And it was this affective moment, an ambivalent but powerful combination of fear of stress, even death, and of enthusiasm about the self-tracking device that was already to hand, that made Tarja disrupt and ruin the 'second' plan of research, causing further emotions of shame and guilt. The rollercoaster ride continues as Tarja deliberates on her first physical contact with ÖURA:

*'I put the Bluetooth on in my phone. I start the ÖURA app that I have downloaded before when we first got the rings for testing. Nothing happens. My hand is*

*dry - maybe it's because of that? I search Bluetooth devices with my phone, doing it again... Nothing. The ŌURA app now asks me to put the ring in my finger. I do it, again. It searches... trying to connect. No. 'Put the ring in the charger and try again later'. Ok. Feeling a bit frustrated, I'm still so interested in trying out the ring that I put the ring in the charger and get a bit eager for it to download. I carry on with working on my other article. Or try to concentrate on it...' (After a while) 'I'm frustrated! No, I'm pissed off! It's connected but still there's no activity level there to show me. Aargh! My attention comes back to the ring, again and again, stopping my work and my flow. I feel I don't get anything done today at work! This is what I hate about apps and tracking!!!' (Narrative 4)*

Already this intense affective moment is the first reminder for her of the reasons she has been reluctant about self-tracking with digital devices. It was exactly this reminder that made her so angry, frustrated and disappointed – she knew this was going to happen! She remembers the discussions with Anu about not having the energy or will to take care of the ring: to remember to charge it, to connect it with our phones, to make sure that our phones are charged and the Bluetooth connection is working. This experience correlates with Anu's frustration while trying to download the ŌURA app from the internet to her smartphone. The same text appeared on the screen: 'your phone does not...' Also the very idea that she should go and visit the University's IT helpers (all men) and seek their assistance made her feel angry. She could easily imagine the situation when a middle-aged woman enters their room and asks technological advice: the men's little smile, patronizing tone of voice, and the inevitable words, 'Well, it *should* work.' Both Tarja and Anu have experienced this event so many times in the past.

But there was, indeed, little chance to resist technology in that situation. It seemed that the small ring had its own ecosystem behind its sophisticated good looks: it was in symbiosis with our flesh as well as with another technological object – the smartphone. Even though the ring was a stand-alone device, which means that it gathered information of our bodies without being attached to another device, it still was useful only insofar as the information it gathered from the body became visualized. If there was no synchronization between the ring and the other parts of its ecosystem, the ring kept the information to itself. (And what does it do with that? *Hopefully nothing!*) According to the ŌURA website, the ring can store data for up to three weeks without reconnecting to the app on a phone, provided the ring is kept charged. Once the phone is in range again (and its Bluetooth enabled), the ring will upload the data to the phone automatically.

But even if the ring knew what to do with that data without us seeing the data in visualized form, there isn't a long way to go for the ring: the ring becomes inert again when the power is expended, and one has forgotten to take care of it. So it never has an agency of its own and the opposite is true: the human doesn't have any access to

her bodily 'recordings' without this kind of technological object (in a sense that we are discussing self-tracking numbers and data). This makes the relationship between the ring and its user reciprocal and intimate. But what separates us from the ring, for one thing, is the ability of the ring to recover – to rise from the dead when it is recharged. It doesn't forget anything (if its memory isn't emptied). When out of energy and power, the ring is in a somewhat comatose state where it (inanimately) slumbers. It is a state where one doesn't lose one's lively data, but protects them behind the cold, inanimate shell. After a while, Tarja's patience paid off...

*I did it. Success! It tracks! It really says something about me and my activity level! And what...? It doesn't require that my phone is with me all the time? Yes, yes! I'm not dependent on my phone! It is only the ring that must be in my finger for me to get some statistics! Oh, it's good to use it as much as I can, as it gets to know me better that way. Ok, I think I'll manage. I feel so excited! At the same time, I feel so guilty! I shouldn't be wearing it, should I? This is not what we planned with Anu! Did I ruin our plan? Should I even reveal I have used it? But I'm so excited about the ring... I think I should do some exercise now to get it going, to calculate my activity – not so much my sleep that I'm now interested in – but how many steps, how many calories do I exactly burn? Ohhh – this is exciting!' (Narrative 5)*

Together with the happy feeling of success of making the ÖURA work, the feelings of shame and guilt were aroused. The moment was full of simultaneous excitement and anxiety – an excitement largely unexplainable and partly truly understandable: for Tarja, it was a huge achievement to make the ring work. This affective response also tells about the expectations and emotional charge towards the ring. It was something that was talked about for so many months: and now, Tarja saw it in practice – it was her that the device was now tracking and learning to know. The story continues as she takes the ring with her to her home, now on her finger, not in the backpack with other stuff and even entering the bed in the guestroom – making the technological device important and reflecting a huge step in the affective relationship with the ring:

*First night with the ring is now behind me. It stayed on well! After waking up I instantly turn on my phone and the app, the Bluetooth, and start waiting for it to sync. Usually I don't carry my phone with me in the bedroom or anywhere near my bed, but now I make an exception. Of course, I have to see how I slept! As a matter of fact, I slept in the guestroom alone last night – I had an argument with my husband and even though I'm a bit upset about it, I feel a kind of freedom to concentrate on the data I'm now about to discover. I feel so selfish in doing that. It's not me, really, to track anything – or carry my phone with me and be interested in numbers telling me about my body. I feel almost like a stranger to myself. There*



*they are... The stats! I slept WELL! Oh man, that's a nice amount of deep sleep, isn't it? And REM? I remember something about dreaming last night – yes, this is when it happened! Hey, it says about my readiness level for today... I'm all good to be active today!' (Narrative 6)*

The ring suddenly 'hopped' to Tarja's bed after her months of reluctance towards it. This process is an example of the lively and often unexpected nature of the research process and our intimate relationships with research devices. All of a sudden, the device became a source of inspiration for her – she even noticed saying good things about self-tracking to her friends and family members: that maybe she had been too black-and-white in the past in her attitudes. But in this excerpt, it remains important to notice that the ring never entered the master bedroom that she usually shares with her partner and two cats. Moreover, she didn't wear the ring in the most private places in her home – in the kitchen, the sauna, the shower, either. It was the living room and the guestroom, and the places outside her home, that she carried the ring with her for three days (and two nights). But the whole arrangement with the ring and the separate beds made her feel selfish and again, guilty. At the same time, she couldn't hide the enthusiasm – and that's what made her feel even guiltier and a stranger in her own home – and body, leading to frustration:

*'In the evening, I start to get frustrated with the ring and the way it nags me to still take some steps even though I'm tired. The ring starts to feel useless. I don't want it to track me anymore. I want to live my Sunday my way – not the "ring way". My husband and I have also solved our argument, and I'm able to sleep in our bedroom again. I don't want to take the ring with me. The ring is in its packaging where I put it a couple of hours ago. I know, that I won't be taking it from there again. These three days were interesting, but after the first excitement, I was confronted by the very reasons I hate tracking.'* (Narrative 7)

## **Discussion and conclusion**

In this article, we have sought to uncover the affective dimensions of an auto-ethnographic research process as spontaneous, disrupted and disruptive when affected by, and constructed upon, an intimate relationship between a novel research device and a group of researchers. As we have shown, the ŌURA ring, as it entered into a research assemblage with us, generated many powerful affects. Our reflections have raised a conflicting affective relation of researchers-in-flesh to a technological device gaining a powerful agency during a research process, shaping it and threatening the limits and boundaries of what we consider as intimate-public-work-related lives.



We have attempted to identify and analyse the complexities and liveliness of thing-power of the ÖURA ring as it lived with us in our working and domestic spaces. Our lively experiences with this new media technology draw attention to the non-linear and highly affective nature of a research process. Our analysis identified what Ahmed (2004) calls the ‘stickiness’ of (in our case, research) objects (p. 20, 45, 74, 89-100). This stickiness provides valuable insights into how a relationship between researchers and a research device becomes developed, contributing to the understanding of human-nonhuman encounters in research processes and their affective dimension. More broadly, our own experiences with (not) using the ring engendered some important insights into why and how other people might take up or resist the affordances of a digital sleep-tracking device like ÖURA. As such, our original research intentions were at least partly achieved, despite the disruption to our initial plans.

We propose that the affective force of the ring operates through the logics of both enchantment and harassment. Noticing this contradictory nature of our affective experience, and taking it as a key concern, enables us to trace how a set of affects are on the move when the relation between our bodies and the ring is examined. Thus, instead of taking some ‘master feeling’ as the starting point of the study, such as hate, fear, or happiness, as many feminist and cultural researchers on emotions and affects tend to do (e.g. Ahmed, 2004), we allowed different affects surrounding the ÖURA ring to emerge, and pondered how our research process was directed by these affects. Our empirical research strategy also enabled us to show the workings of relational ontology (Wetherell, 2015): demonstrating how affects surrounding the ÖURA ring changed and moved when situated in a different temporal, social, cultural and material contexts.

Acting both as an intimate self-tracking and research device, the ÖURA became a sticky object through personal and social tension and saturation of affect which was directed towards and generated by it (Ahmed, 2004: 11). This saturation of affects within/around the ring unfolded a circulation of conflicting emotions within us – doubt, guilt, fear, shame, dismay, disappointment and hesitation as well as joy, relief, excitement, enthusiasm and pride – piling and piling until the process seemed to come to an end. When the first author finally slipped the ring on her finger despite her earlier reluctance to do so, she became emotionally *attached* to the device after being ‘awayed’ (Ahmed, 2004) by it for a good time. Moments of ‘towardness’ impelled her to be almost obsessed with the ring and what it told her (to do). There were also times when she felt intensely awayed from the ring again – resulting in her deciding to put it away in a drawer, hidden from sight. The relinquishment of wearing the ring can be considered as a ‘loosening’ of the affective tie between the ring and the first author, giving birth to a circulation of ‘awayness.’ But what still reminds us of the stickiness of the ring is the very fact that we are writing about it now.

As our analysis found, despite being ‘sticky’ at times, objects, affects and bodies are also dynamic assemblages. In our research process, the ÖURA ring’s affective flow

manifested in ways where it was first not used, then used, and then discarded. Furthermore, even when not used, the ring wasn't lost or put away, *it was there all the time*. The ring enchanted and harassed us, enchanted again, and then harassed again. Its thing-power eventually inspired us to write this article. It circled around our conversations and moments of writing. We suggest that with this circling and flowing (non)presence of the ÖURA evoked/inhabited affective potentialities that began to threaten us: a new media device gained a powerful agency.

Our theoretical and empirical approach provides one possible way to identify these feelings, helping in particular to highlight the importance of personal and cultural contexts for understanding how 'smart' devices for self-tracking like ÖURA are incorporated (or not) into people's mundane routines. In our case, the research contexts included our access to free samples of ÖURA and our subsequent need to fulfil our obligation to the company's expectations, our knowledge and interest in the phenomenon of self-tracking, bodily monitoring and sleep scripts and their development and orientation to the (non)division of work and free time. Other contexts in which we sought to bring the ring into our auto-ethnographic research included our physical locations, our interactions with the material object of the ring and our interactions with other people. As we found, our feelings about the ring changed, in some cases rapidly, when the social, cultural and material contexts changed.

Sharing our auto-ethnographic experiences in this article, is for us, a profound act of intimacy. We have recounted some revealing and highly personal elements of our lives, and have challenged the ideal of the successful academic researcher as disembodied and rational. Our empirical account presents emotions considered as 'unruly' (Ahmed, 2004: 3) *or* less-appreciated in academic discourse (such as shame and guilt) *or* simply not appropriate for normative academic discourse (e.g. Katila & Meriläinen, 2002). We thereby offer an alternative approach to the academic research process, as these types of feelings are frequently erased from accounts included in the final versions of research articles, even those attempting to provide broad self-reflexive accounts (Fraser & Puwar, 2008; Law & Urry, 2004, Gilmore and Kenny, 2014). The emotions arising during our research process can be considered to 'frustrate the formation of the competent self' (Ahmed, 2004: 3) – in our case, the ideal of a competent academic. Nevertheless, as we outline above, taking seriously these intimate emotions and voicing them publicly is a generative act, as it configures novel questions and facilitates the critical research endeavour.

Our study also illustrates the complex and fuzzy nature of ethical issues involved in research process employing new media devices. We fully agree with the Markham and Buchanan (2012) who highlight that ethical considerations should be responsive to diverse contexts and adaptable to continually changing technologies. Our focus on affects and embodiment leads us to suggest that perhaps the emerging stream on 'corporeal ethics' (see e.g. Pullen & Rhodes, 2015) might provide a fruitful stance for fur-

thering the debate on ethics related to studies on new media technologies. Then, the affective moments (as the ones we experienced during our process) can be considered, and indeed are, also ethical moments.

To conclude, what emerged from our research process with ÒURA was a creation of a communal place/time/opportunity to reflect on the circling of affective practices around self-tracking devices as well as what should count as a successful academic research project. While our auto-ethnography of the ring was experienced at first as a 'failure' of our initial research plan, by reflecting on the affective and intimate dimensions of this 'failure', we have achieved other important insights into both the lived experience of engaging with a sleep-tracking device and its possibilities as a research tool. The 'circle of failure' evolved into new opportunities, instigated by the thing-power of the researcher-device assemblage.

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## Accessing uncolonized terrains of organizations: the uncanny force of sleep and dreaming

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### Abstract

This paper joins the debate on the ambiguous, complex, and shadowy realities of organizational life. It suggests that the psychoanalytical concept of *uncanny* provides an apt lens for making sense of the uncolonized terrains within organizations that escape rationalization, but that still give rise to organizational subjectivity. We propose that sleep and dreaming afford an uncolonized terrain that allows us to reveal blind spots of organizational subjectivity. Our auto-ethnographic stories, produced in the authors' academic organization and outside the physical borders of academia, are grouped under two themes – *threatening insecurity* and *traumatic dreams, shocking becomings* – demonstrating how the uncanniness of dreams and sleeping is experienced in organizations. Put together, they manifest repressed forms of organizational subjectivity, reflecting its true vulnerable nature arising from insecurity, uncertainty and instability.

**Keywords:** Uncanny, sleep, dreaming, auto-ethnography, organization, psychoanalysis

### Introduction

This paper joins the debate on the ambiguous, complex, and shadowy realities of organizational life (e.g., Bell and Taylor 2011; Gabriel 1995; Kociatkiewicz and Kostera 2010; O'Doherty, De Cock, Rehn, and Ashcraft 2013; Orr 2014; Parker 2015; Riach and Kelly 2013; Thanem 2006, 2011). This line of research has suggested that within every organization there are uncolonized terrains which are not, and cannot be, managed, and in these terrains lies the natural habitat of subjectivity — instead of conformity or rebellion to control practices, as it is often thought (Gabriel 1995).

We propose that sleep and dreaming afford an unmanaged terrain that allows us to think of organizational subjectivity in a novel fashion. While prior studies have



used 'fantasy' as a lens to understand repressed, yet important, forms of subjectivity (Gabriel 1995), we suggest that the psychoanalytical notion of *uncanny* works as a fruitful lens for revealing the blind spots of organizational subjectivity as well as the contested nature of organizing (Freud 1919/2003; Kelley 2004; Royle 2003). Uncanny, representing 'a crisis of the natural' (Royle 2003, 1), forcefully reminds us of our own (true) nature, human nature, and, further, disrupts our constructions of symbolic reality by flashing *that something* that escapes our understanding – 'something' that Jacques Lacan called the Real. This disruption, followed by crisis, leads the organizational subject to face 'reality' in its irrationality and obscurity – or radical familiarity in its threatening strangeness (Masschelein 2011, 8).

While the uncanny has proved to be a popular concept in various disciplines, such as art history, film studies, architecture theory, postcolonial studies, sociology, anthropology, and the study of religion (Masschelein 2011, 6), there has been a limited number of theoretical openings of the uncanny in the field of organization studies (cf. Beyes and Steyaert 2013; Muhr 2011; Rehn and Lindahl 2008). In our analysis, the potential of the uncanny lies in its usefulness in theorizing organizational subjectivity as it unfolds in borderline experiences. This notion helps us to identify flickering moments, situated beyond or in between boundaries that leave the organizational member feeling uncertain, without coordinates, and oftentimes, without words. It is in these exact moments – moments where negation no longer functions and 'certainty' loses its grip – when the uncanny occurs. Importantly, uncanny moments represent disruptions of organizational fantasy. Thus, instead of exploring the subjectivity via shared and storied fantasies (Gabriel 1995; Muhr and Kirkegaard 2013), we exemplify how organizational subjectivity unfolds in the very *disruption of organizational fantasy* (see also Desmond 2013). This disruption is strikingly present in our research topic of sleep and dreaming – representing borderline experiences that in many ways escape rationalist theorizing. These experiences come into being through uneasy moments that are simultaneously *heimlich* and *unheimlich*, or homely and utmost strange. Furthermore, by being a shifting concept in itself (see Beyes and Steyaert 2013, 1447), the uncanny helps us to break the illusion of harmonious and whole organizational subjectivity and instead offers a view of subjectivity which is never stable or fixed, nor certain or unproblematic, but rather always in the state of becoming (Royle 2003, 5). It thereby invites us to unsettle the very dichotomist *either-or* language in which we are accustomed to think (Tsoukas and Chia 2002), and instead to think in terms of *and-and* (Masschelein 2011, 8).

To empirically explore the uncolonized terrains of organization (partly) reachable to us through sleep and dreaming, causing uncanny moments in our daily/nightly organizational life, we have immersed ourselves in extended auto-ethnography – a journey lasting for multiple years while working as academics and taking place in multiple sites both inside and outside the physical borders of our own academia. In this



paper, the selected fieldwork stories deal with two research sites, namely, our own academic workplace (with fieldwork continuing as we are living the field) and a military winter training camp (two fieldwork periods during 2012–2014).

In the following, we will first discuss the concept of uncanny and its psychoanalytical premises and connect it with our research topic of sleep and dreaming. This is followed by a discussion on our nonlinear research process – including reflection on researchers' vulnerability. In the analysis section, we unfold our auto-ethnographic stories through the interpretive frame informed by a Lacanian and Freudian view of the uncanny, coming together under two themes that reflect the uncanniness of sleep and dreaming in organizations. The first theme, *threatening insecurity*, highlights our affective moments of uncertainty that are strongly influenced by the power of the gaze, manifesting the uncanny. The second theme, *traumatic dreams, shocking becomings*, reflects the borderline nature of sleep and dreaming, leading us to confront uncanny experiences that escape rationalization. The paper continues with a dialogue that brings these stories together, addressing repressed forms of organizational subjectivity. To conclude, we reflect on the ways in which the uncanny may contribute to the growing interest in organizational studies on the suppressed, marginalised, and/or excluded aspects of organizational life, unveiling their provision of a natural habitat for organizational subjectivity (see Gabriel 1995).

## The uncanny

To gain an understanding of the uncanny potential of sleep and dreaming in organizational contexts, we have approached the uncanny on three theoretical levels. First, to uncover the psychoanalytical elements of the uncanny essential to the arguments provided in this paper, we have immersed ourselves in the writings of Sigmund Freud, especially his essay 'The Uncanny' (1919) together with the work of Jacques Lacan, especially his late seminar 'Four Fundamental Concepts of Psychoanalysis' (1991) and, more extensively, his invaluable work regarding the Real – Imaginary – Symbolic triad. Furthermore, the piece 'I Shall Be With You on Your Wedding Night: Lacan and the Uncanny' by Mladen Dolar (1991) has been a key source for us in gaining further access to Lacanian deliberations of the uncanny and the way in which his work adds to the notions gained from Freud.

Second, to create an understanding of the uncanny in more contemporary society, we have accompanied this theoretical offering laden with historical value and a strong psychoanalytic emphasis with more recent theoretical openings and deliberations of the uncanny. Here, the works of Anneleen Masschelein (2011; 2003), Nicholas Royle (2003) and Martin Jay (1998) have proved their importance. Last, we have bridged the uncanny to our own scientific field of organization studies with the help of John

Desmond (2013) and his writings on organization and dreams. The work of Yannis Gabriel (especially his paper from 1995) has also brought to life an invaluable partner of conversation in our renderings of the uncanny. Together this material provided us the possibility to approach sleep and dreaming holding uncanny force both outside and within the constructed boundaries of rationalized organizations.

Instead of providing a detailed overview of the aforementioned valuable literature, we give a short introduction to the uncanny for those unfamiliar with the concept, while acknowledging the limits of the space in use. Historically, the uncanny links up with the famous essay ‘Das Unheimliche’ by Freud, (1919), marking the beginning of the current fascination with the concept (Jay 1998)<sup>1</sup>. It is from this essay that the Freudian definition of the uncanny<sup>2</sup> originates, representing a feeling of unease that arises when (i) something familiar suddenly becomes strange, alienated, and unfamiliar (Masschelein 2011, 4), (ii) something familiar unexpectedly arises in a strange and unfamiliar context, or (iii) something strange and unfamiliar unexpectedly arises in a familiar context (Royle 2003, 1). There is a fundamental relation between *unheimlich* and its antonym *heimlich* that forms the feeling of ‘strange doubling’ (Masschelein 2011, 8) – an uncanny effect. This doubling gives birth to an ambivalence that is profound by nature – making ‘strange’ become ‘uncanny’ — both lexically and through experience. As Masschelein (2011, 8) puts it, the uncanny is an illustration of the transformation from exclusive binary logics towards ‘open-ended deconstructive “neither/nor” or, more affirmatively, (towards) the plurality of “and/and”’. Thus, the uncanny is closely related to Lacanian rendering of the Real where oppositions simply do not exist. What one finds in the Real is a constant overflowing of ‘both-and’ and ‘either-or’ and uncountable others<sup>3</sup>. The uncanny is a concept which ‘at the same time signifies its opposite’ (Masschelein 2011, 14). However, instead of being built on oppositions, the uncanny represents the grey zone, or a mixture of different colors. To grasp and express these pivotal elements of the uncanny in French, Lacan invented his own term for the concept – that is, *extimité*.

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1. The actual conceptualisation of the uncanny took place in the 1970s and 1980s (Masschelein 2011), and it was at this point that the readings of Freud’s essay from new perspectives emerged, including the ground-breaking work of, for instance, Derrida, Todorov, and Cixous (ibid.). The uncanny gained conceptual space only when departing from the strictly psychoanalytic premises where it, mostly because of its linkage to Freud, was located before its more wide-ranging usage since the end of the 20th century (Masschelein, 2011 Beyes and Steyart 2013, 1448). Through its expansion, the uncanny could be considered less as an individual emotion that the subject ‘owns’ than as an emotion that is inevitably linked to others or to the world (see Royle 2003, 2).
  2. Linguistically the concept of uncanny has its roots in the German word *unheimlich* (weird, creepy, eerie, incredible), and is fundamentally related to its antonym *heimlich* (secret, surreptitious, intimate, homely).
  3. We want to thank Corey Anton for a helpful YouTube lecture of ‘Real, Symbolic, Imaginary (Lacan & Communication Theory)’: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9taihEzQBRA>. The clip helped us to read Lacan’s seminars further and deepen our understanding of Lacanian real.

When denoting feelings of uncertainty, mystery, and weirdness, something that cannot be rationally and consciously thought of (Masschelein 2003), the uncanny refers to a crisis of the natural. Consequently, one faces a challenge having to do with one's own nature, human nature, and the nature of reality and the world (Royle 2003, 1). Our constant striving for rationalization (in order to make us not lose our minds) powerfully locks away the possibilities of animistic thoughts stemming from our scientific worldview where certainty is constantly sought after. This process is strongly connected to the manifestation of the uncanny (see Freud 1919, 247-248), as this rationalization is to be contested. We are thus intriguingly led to the uncanny force covered by our research topic of sleep and dreaming, as it is the unconscious that triggers the uncanny effect.

For Freud, the study of dreams was the 'most trustworthy method of investigating deep mental processes' (Freud 1922, 7) as it is in dreams where the unconscious lies. Freud took this possibility to get closer to this 'hidden' realm of our existence through investigating sleep seriously – this is well exemplified in his major contribution to psychoanalysis – the *Interpretation of dreams*. For Freud, it is in dreams that we engage in a struggle with our own 'internal foreign territory' (Freud 1933), many times creating anxiety, as well as twisted pleasure. In the Seminar Book I, Lacan exemplifies the aforementioned clearly by stating, 'We have the capacity to agnoszieren in the dream the sleeper's own person in a pure state' (Lacan 1988, 153). Especially traumatic dreams appear as an important part of understanding these deep mental processes. As Desmond (2013, 663) well notes, traumatic dreams interrupt the illusion of harmonious and whole subjectivity – possibly serving an ethical purpose as such. In consciousness, we create an 'alienating fundamental fantasy' to imaginarily protect us from '...the hurts, torments and drives that haunt us and propel our desire' (ibid.). In an organizational context, this fantasy takes the form of an organization, representing 'havens from anxiety' (Desmond 2013, 661) to its members, offering a sense of community, enjoyment, and meaning (ibid.). It's a constructed fantasy of life, or a collective delusion for Freud, or in Lacanian sense, a 'dreamy state of the imaginary' (Woźniak, 2010, 401), created in order to '...make life worth living' (Desmond, 2013, 662). Creating this fantasy, '...we unconsciously deceive ourselves, seeing ourselves, not as we are, but as how we think we ought to be' (Desmond, 2013, 662). In (traumatic) dreams we are forced to loosen our grip on these havens; in our sleep, we are prone to confront something that would cause (perhaps unbearable) anxiety. Dreams can get us, and in fact they *bring* us forcefully, closer to the Real – a persisting 'something' there that pre-dates any categories and distinctions that the symbolic 'reality' introduces – an 'impossible' which escapes any symbolization and conceptualization (Lacan, 1982, 1978). As such it poses a threat to an organizational subject living in the symbolically constructed world where some things are considered 'inreal'. For Žižek, horrific dreams are something 'more terrifying than so-called external real-

ity itself' (Žižek 1989, 45) – they represent the Real of our desire, which we escape by waking up (ibid.). In addition, for Lacan, the real is something that 'has to be sought *beyond* the dream – in what the dream has enveloped, hidden from us, behind the lack of representation of which there is only one representative' (Lacan 1998, 60, italics added by the authors).

In this paper, the uncanny represents an unconcept (Masschelein 2011; Beyes and Steyaert 2013, 1448; see also Royle 2003) that holds the power of critical evaluation of the rationalized nature of organizations and organizing. The concept has the capacity to ontologically question the presence of fixed meanings (Beyes and Steyaert 2013, 1448), thus causing a disturbing effect when its unsettling power proceeds to the conceptual level (see Jay 1998, 157). Thus, what we have once known as being 'something' or holding certain elements that make it what it 'is', becomes re-evaluated. This poses a challenge (also for us as academics) in exploring organizational phenomena, as the whole organizational 'fantasy' (Desmond 2013; Gabriel 1995) is ontologically disrupted, causing a traumatic effect when something which has for so long seemed homely and natural becomes threatening in its familiarity and simultaneous unfamiliarity. It is exactly the flickering nature of the uncanny that poses a threat (followed by a great opportunity) to conceptual reasoning in academic research and beyond – something to be unfolded in the next section by us as researchers living (with) the uncanny.

### **The auto-ethnographic research process: sleep and dreaming in organizations**

The psychoanalytic heritage of the uncanny has a great deal to provide to us as organizational scholars exploring sleep and dreaming in organizational contexts. During our journey, we have identified ourselves with Freud, who was warned against stepping into the uncanny territory due to its potential to damage the credibility of the psychoanalytic discipline<sup>4</sup>, regardless of the fact that the uncanny lies at the very heart of it (see Dolar 1991, 6). Our research of sleep and dreaming in the organizational context has prompted warnings, too. They have been both explicit and implicit by nature – dressed in laughter, skepticism and underestimation – and even taken the form of direct hostility. We consider these warnings as a defensive mechanism: when discussing sleep and dreaming in the organizational context the premises of rational, masculine, and alert organizations are being shaken and contested. In the organizational context, sleep and dreaming represent in many ways the repressed and silenced part of organizations, maybe (ironically) partly owing to their traditional positioning in psychoanalysis and medical studies.

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4. We thank one of our reviewers for providing us this information.

As for the uncanny psychoanalysis is ‘the home for the unhomely’, one that it returned to (see Jay 1998; Masschelein 2011; Beyes and Steyaert 2013), organizations have for long been a rather strictly ‘forbidden zone’ for sleep (cf. the nowadays popular workplace napping boosting work efficiency, see Baxter and Kroll-Smith 2005). Thus, it seems there never was a home for sleep to return to, even though sleep and dreaming have been part of organizations all the time. The illusionist ‘unhomeliness’ of sleep in organizations forms the starting point for our analysis which is an outcome of personal and affective stories (Essen and Värlander 2012), collected during numerous years of working as academics at our own university in Finnish Lapland. All three of us have been involved in a project focusing on sleep from 2012 – a project that has taken us to utterly strange and unfamiliar places to sleep and to conduct fieldwork. This journey has brought life to the stories that are based on our personal experiences of the research topic, written in the shelter of our homes and offices, as well as in public spaces in the field outside our familiar and safe environments.

In this paper, the selected stories revolve around two research sites, namely our own academic workplace (with continuing ‘fieldwork’ taking place, as we are living the field) and a military winter training camp (two fieldwork periods during 2012–2014), where we explored the sleeping practices of both cadets attending the camp and the regular personnel as part of a wider project on sleep (see also Pekkala and Salmela 2013). In the camp, we slept in barracks, and some of us even slept in the cadets’ tents with the outside temperature ranging between minus 15 and minus 30 degrees Celsius, prompting affective and confusing experiences that back then were difficult to unfold in the depth we are now able to reach. These research settings offer an intriguing basis for our deliberations of the uncanny moments encountered by ourselves in our daily and nightly life as ‘sleep researchers’ – a designation by which we have come to be known, also outside academia. In this role we are accustomed to facing both curious and degrading responses to our research topic. According to our experience, organizational researchers are generally expected to conduct highly managerial research, and our work on sleep and dreaming greatly departs from this expectation. While doing fieldwork in the military winter training camp as female academics with no military background, we had to ‘earn’ our position in the field – a task greatly helped by the research permission granted by the main headquarters of the Finnish Defence Forces.

Our personal stories from the field lived and breathed some of them for years, as if waiting to be re-discovered through our growing conceptual repertoire. For all this time, we trusted that there was going to be a time when these stories would get their moment in the spotlight. Gabriel (1995, 480) points out the ‘(t)he value of stories as material to open windows into both organizational culture and individual experiences which are inaccessible by more conventional research means.’ We have recognized this value in our effort to put into words the highly affective experiences stemming from

uncanny moments that have gone ‘under our skin’. Back then, during those moments, we didn’t even know of the existence of the uncanny. This still doesn’t remove the uncanny from our experiences; it was there – all the time – as if lurking behind the scene. It was constantly there when we encountered challenges in doing our fieldwork in the training camp with the cadets. It was also there when our heart raced in the relaxation room at our university. Moreover, as sleeping is considered to be a private and intimate practice, we had to confront one question again and again: Where is the line between privacy and research? In the field, making ethnographic observations on sleeping bodies has caused extremely uneasy feelings: photographing somebody’s unmade bed, not to mention taking photos of a sleeping body, has signalled that there is something troublesome, albeit interesting to us, in the situation. All of these experiences have now been properly incorporated into this paper.

Our process of interpreting and dealing with our experiences evolved through a series of serendipitous moments and incidents (Merton and Barber 2004). One such moment occurred in Sweden during a collaborative analytic session in Treehotel, which is a hotel with all the rooms situated, literally, in a tree. Staying in a room named the Cuckoo’s Nest, all three of us lying comfortably in a double bed, yet feeling a bit awkward being there to discuss a serious academic study, our key concept, the uncanny, emerged. Afterward, we started to familiarize ourselves with this concept that was unknown to us, made preliminary interpretations of our data employing it, presented our first conference paper, received positive feedback, developed a metaphorical lens on which we received critical feedback, returned to the original notion of the uncanny, and gradually started to realize the beauty of it. Perhaps in the beginning its capacity to reveal something threatening was, indeed, too threatening for us. By sharing with each other our stories as three authors, friends, and organizational members, we became fellow travellers (Gabriel 1995, 481) in our fantasies. These fantasies took the form of dreams and uncanny moments of traumatic awakenings, as well as insecurity and helplessness. We did not suppress or downplay these fantasies but instead valued them and gave them space (see also Gabriel 1995). Sharing the fantasies with each other and with a wider audience through this paper is an act built on strong trust and a feeling of mutual empowerment.

Finally, during the process we have been guided to literature sources we would most assumedly never have come across without familiarizing ourselves with the world of psychoanalysis. Here, the reviewers’ role has been significant. Their professional and generous feedback has helped us to see what had remained unseen behind the texts. In a sense, the reviewers became co-collaborators during the research process – an example of transgressing an unspoken academic boundary between the role of the authors and that of the reviewers.

By taking part in deliberations on the psychoanalytic understanding of the uncanny, we are challenging the long-lived rational nature of organizations and organization



studies, as well as the means of *doing* organizational research, by turning our attention to something that we are not able to consciously experience or observe and that in many ways remains unreachable by our consciousness. This type of research, in its liminality, is not so much a difficult mission as it is an opportunity for organization scholars to discreetly touch the unknown and to face the ensuing challenges.

## Confronting the uncanny

### *Threatening insecurity*

*I'm walking from the university restaurant to my office after a nice lunch. I'm passing through a hallway as my attention focuses on one of the sofas aside. A girl is hanging loose on the sofa, lying on her back, a cap covering part of her face, as she apparently wants to prevent the light shining into her eyes as she sleeps. Yes, sleeps. In the middle of the day, in a public place under everyone's eyes, in a recumbent position. For me, her body expresses resistance to some degree; she is an exception in the mainstream, a freak in the academic setting for many. I see somebody whispering to a friend and amusedly pointing towards the girl. There's something ghoulish about strangers staring at the sleeping body. It's like she was in a showcase of some kind. I turn my gaze away quickly – I don't want to stare. And what if she saw me staring?*

This story from one of the authors' diary begins the unfolding of our confrontations with the uncanny. In the described situation, confronting a sleeping female student in a public space arouses a sense of uncanniness primarily because the norm of an active, alert, and waking body is openly challenged. The body that is staying still, doing nothing, or being withdrawn (Harrison 2008) causes uneasiness because it is in contrast with today's organisational atmosphere valuing activity, mobility, agility, and full life. It is thus situated differently in relation to the prevalent hectic rhythm of the world (Rantala and Valtonen 2014). In particular, a still body is commonly associated with passivity, which is linked to unproductivity and laziness, all of which are unappreciated in view of the prevalent economic and societal mindset. In the words of Michel Callon and John Law: 'From managerialism through to "third way" of feminism, these all tell us that passivity is bad, that one should seek out active subject and agent positions' (2003, 5, cited in Harrison 2008, 424). Arguably, considering the sleeping body as a passive one is a misleading thought, since a great deal happens during sleep — biologically, corporeally, socially, emotionally, and experientially.

Furthermore, encountering a sleeping, seemingly passive body lying 'bravely' on the sofa in the midday sun arouses feelings of *envy* in the author. The sleeper embodies another organizational reality – a fantasy if you will – and something closer to



the ideological purpose of the organization, and the enjoyment thereof. The sleeper seems calm and trustful – she has no reason to fear being hurt or abused. The organizational array around her brings her comfort. In that existential state, the way the person enjoys the organization seems to go beyond what the author’s waking body can achieve. She wishes to join the sleeper – to lie down and take part in the emancipative experience she longs for.

But this is only one part of the experience. There is also something threatening embedded in the encounter. The thought ‘*What if she saw me staring?*’ emerges, causing intellectual insecurity and making the author wonder whether the sleeper is truly asleep or awake. The author wants to gaze at the sleeper but is simultaneously aware that she can herself be gazed upon (Lacan 1991; see also Carlsson 2012). Indeed, one could simply regard ‘gaze’ as the eye of the spectator focusing on an object. But there’s something much more; the reciprocity between ‘two gazes’ transforms the safe spectatorial position into a vulnerable one (Carlsson 2012) and the spectator becomes gazed or stared at as well (consider Lacan’s example in *Seminar XI* of Hans Holbein’s painting *The Ambassadors* (1533) with the staring skull, example provided also by Carlsson 2012). In his Seminar Series, Lacan eloquently used the example of a window: “*I can see myself under the gaze of someone whose eyes I do not see, not even discern. All that is necessary is for something to signify to me that there may be others there. This window, if it gets a bit dark, and if I have reasons for thinking that there is someone behind it, is straight-away a gaze*” (Lacan 1988, 215). This exemplifies what Lacan called ‘the pre-existence of a gaze’ and his apropos statement: ‘*(...) I see only from one point, but in my existence I am looked at from all sides*’ (Lacan 1991, 72, italics added by the authors). But what if the one gazed upon were no longer unconscious nor awake, but dead...?

*It is the final day of our fieldwork in the winter training camp and we have promised to write an entry in the camp blog with some photos included. We ask the person in charge of the blog to give us some photos of sleeping cadets – knowing that the National Defence University has a large repertoire of photographs taken for communicative purposes that we could also use. He looks surprised and says, “We don’t have any... but I’ll take some, or find something.” Some hours later he sends us some. We gather around to take a look at them and our attention turns to one particular photo. Everything stopped for a moment. There we are, just staring at the photo in silence. It is a photo of a soldier lying in the snow, in a prone position. But, instead of sleeping... he looks like he is dead. A feeling of unexplainable uncertainty and anxiety makes our bodies shiver.*

At the time of the event, we probably did not know what caused the collective feeling of puzzlement. Later on, we have deliberated on the situation and come to the conclusion that it rose from an uncertainty of whether the soldier actually *was* dead.

But what is so puzzling about a dead soldier? The important role of death, and our fear of it, in the formation of uncanny experiences is also explicitly described by Freud (see e.g. Freud 1919, 241). Death, dead bodies, return of the dead, as well as spirits and ghosts are topics that rouse 'primitive fear' and are 'ready to come to the surface on any provocation' (ibid., 242). Moreover, as said in Psalm 13:3, '*Consider and answer me, O LORD my God; Enlighten my eyes, or I will sleep the sleep of death,*' sleep has been related to death from antiquity, as it became gradually used 'as an image to soften the grim reality of death' (Le Bon 2002, 223; see also Williams, 2005: 95-96).

In cultural terms, an apparently still body lying down in a horizontal position, eyes closed, is in Western thought understood to reside in another world just like a dead body. Such a body also clearly violates the norms of the ideal body, that is, an alert, erect, and awake body with eyes wide open (Ingold 2004) and causes uneasy feelings. Thereby, it has the power to intimidate and threaten us, and it is often kept away from the public eye. The sleeping body seems to be an unpopular choice for photographs in the military, and in many other contexts as well. Even though death is inherently present in the military, it is typically negated and silenced, just like in other organizational settings (Bell, Tienari, and Hanson 2014). The possible death captured in the photo reminded us of the finiteness of life, an issue that is avoided rather than openly faced in society. But what happens when we face death in the unconscious...?

#### *Traumatic dreams, shocking becomings*

*It is a nice sunny morning and I am walking in the woods, when I suddenly recognize my grandfather and cousin walking towards me. I am about to greet them, but suddenly realize that they are not supposed to be here. They have both been dead for a long time. When they come closer I see an evil look in their eyes. They are attacking me. I have to fight for my life. I manage to kill both. I behave like a savage. I tear the eyes off my grandfather and stab my cousin with a knife tens of times to make sure that he is dead. At this moment I realize that I have been in the same situation before. I know exactly what will happen next. I recognize all the places that I pass and all the faces that I see on the way. The only thing that is changing is the way in which I kill the people that block my way. The cruelty increases each time. There is no other way to get ahead, it is either me or them. Almost from the beginning I am aware that I am in a middle of a nightmare. But it does not help. I'm terrified and try to get out of the nightmare, but in vain. Almost without exception, I wake up during the same part of the nightmare. I am standing on top of a high building and start falling down. I wake up before reaching the ground. I am sweaty, but extremely happy. Being awake feels so easy in comparison to my scary and violent dream world.*

Dreaming, many times considered as a topic out of the scope of organizational life, is an inherent part of our lives as academics. Studies on dreams in organizations have so far focused on those related to the workplace (Authors; Gabriel 1995). Our example does not exhibit such a relation but it is relevant in terms of organizational analysis, as the sleeper will not be dreamless during a conference journey or while napping between different tasks at work. More importantly, the dream described above is relevant for exploring the uncanny. Traumatic dreams are repeatedly seen by one of the authors – and presumably by many others working in academia or elsewhere. Most people feel inhibited discussing their dreams in the workplace (Gabriel 1995, 495), and this is likely to be even truer if the dreams are traumatic. The author's dream is inevitably traumatic. It is a dream of violence, fear, and death in the form of killing and possibly committing a suicide. It forcefully enters the author's unconscious world time and again – she can foresee almost all of the scenes in the right order but is still unable to escape this horrific world of fantasy.

In terms of psychoanalysis, it is in dreams that a person suffering from traumatic neurosis keeps coming back to the event that caused the trauma in the first place – making the dreamer live the traumatic event repeatedly, awaking to reality 'in another fright' (Freud 1922, 7). In traumatic neurosis the thing, event, or scene that caused the trauma is 'compulsively and unconsciously repeated in nightmares, insomnia or obsessive...reflection' (Critchley 1999, 192). What happens is that a subject may live one's waking life without consciously memorizing the event, one may even try *not* to memorize or think about it (Freud 1922, 7), but in the unconscious state of sleep and dreams one cannot escape the perhaps incomprehensible reality. This is the type of reality that feels unsafe when contrasted to our symbolic reality, perhaps making the act of going to sleep feel threatening. In the dream presented above nothing has actually happened in the waking world that the author would return to in her dream world again and again. Further, one cannot explain why the author repeatedly returns to the dream and why her deceased grandfather and cousin coexist in it. There is no rational reason for this. Thus, the author is helpless trying to explain and rationalize the event and has to face the violent events night after night.

But instead of a traumatic dream, what if the shock is caused by *waking up* from the dream and facing another type of dream... the dreamy state of imaginary (Lacan 1991)?

*I arrive at the university around 7 a.m. I've slept badly for the whole week as my writing processes have kept me awake during the earliest hours of the morning – I haven't found a way to fall asleep again once I wake up and I'm starting to feel anxiety. At this moment I'm extremely tired and decide to use the faculty's relaxation room for a quick nap. Before I enter the room I hang the "Don't disturb" sign on the door handle and take a quick look around to make sure that no-one*

*sees me. I set my phone alarm and take my shoes off before jumping into the bed. I lie under a warm blanket, soft and thick pillows under my head. It is almost like home, and yet I feel extremely uneasy. The students in the hallway are wide awake and make a lot of noise, and here I am, a university staff member, trying to fall asleep. The homelike furnishing brings some comfort, I start to count sheep and, to my surprise, I fall asleep after a while. The next thing I notice is the alarm making a subtle sound. I open my eyes... My heart starts racing. I feel my pulse. Faster, faster. My eyes feel like they are about to pop out! It's almost like my veins are going to explode! **Where the heck am I???** For a moment I don't have the slightest clue! Am I still at work???* For Christ's sake!!! Quickly I stand up, fix my hair, put my shoes on, and slap my cheeks a few times. I feel hurried – so damn hurried! I intuitively focus on the corridor; is it silent back there? I press my ear against the door. When there is a silence, I open the door. Quickly, I take off the “Don't disturb” sign, take a look around, and sneak into my office by taking a couple of running steps. After the incident, I can't rationally tell why I left the room in such a hurry – I didn't have any meetings to attend nor a schedule for the rest of the day. Besides, I was sleeping in a place reserved for that very purpose, and the whole room was designed and equipped by my colleague and myself.

This narrated awakening is reminiscent of the traumatic becoming lying at the core of the uncanny experience<sup>5</sup>. It unfolded exactly at the moment when the author left the borderless dream world (at the ring of the alarm) and shockingly entered the world she conceived as ‘reality’. It was the traumatic and dynamic process of resetting the author's co-ordinates once again in the symbolic reality of the organization that gave birth to the uncanny in this situation. The shocking reality, the imaginary dream that had become reality for her, into which she awoke was like a sudden slap in the face or a hard rock breaking the serene surface of the water – a highly affective experience causing fear and a powerful bodily reaction. Yet, the fear didn't arise from waking up in an unfamiliar place, because the relaxation room was indeed familiar to her; the room had been deliberately designed by the authors themselves! But there was something strongly adopted in the situation, a sharp contrast between two ‘different’ realities that caused the panic and anxiety once the author had recovered from the first shock of not knowing where she was. The idea of organizational efficiency and the accepted bodily positions therein, as well as the author's conception of the existential states associated with the academic world, remained strong. Ironically, all this took place despite her own active role as a critical ‘sleep researcher’.

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5. Linking to our former deliberations of Freud (1919) about something repressed, forgotten or downsized coming to light.

Moreover, the room that signified something familiar and even homely to the author suddenly revealed itself as threatening and utterly strange upon awakening (Masschelein 2011). As the material arrangements of the room resembled those of the Western domestic bedroom: a bed, a soft mattress and pillow, and sheets (Crook 2008), her experience of being ‘out of control’ after waking up deepened. She lost her coordinates. While being at work, such a material setting suddenly appeared to be totally out of place. The bed, in particular, is an artefact whose presence at work would seem troublesome. According to our experiences from the field, even a sofa may create uneasy feelings at the office (associated with laziness, even sex). That said, having a bed in the workplace may double the effect. As the bed is typically reserved for sleep and sex (Crook 2008), at work it is culturally more legitimate to lie there awake – just thinking, reading, and contemplating in private. But as the author was actually asleep, albeit for only a short period and in her casual work clothes, the presence of the bed, the location of her body beneath the blanket, and her head comfortably on a soft pillow were enough to create an uncanny moment. These physical elements related to sleep and dreaming are familiar to her only from private settings – her own bed at home and or a bed in a private hotel room where everyone else is supposed to sleep as well. Outside academia, the novel ‘power nap’ facilities in workplace premises hardly resemble the sleeping arrangements we are accustomed to in our homes; domestic associations are clearly avoided.<sup>6</sup> Yet, this hardly does away the experience of traumatic becoming.

Finally, the uncanny moment upon awakening held important temporal aspects; while the author’s sleeping body wasn’t ‘lost’ while sleeping, it was still vulnerable and powerless in a sense that it couldn’t influence the world in which her body was located while sleeping. When waking up, the author had a shocking realization that the academic world surrounding her had *moved on* – she felt, in an extremely affective way, having fallen behind. This created an urge, a panic if you will, to hurry out of the room. During sleep, her physical body had ‘stopped’ and she had an unexplainable need to catch up (an illusion).

## Discussion

In our analysis, we have entered uncolonized terrains of organizations, those that escape control and rationalization, but nevertheless give rise to organizational subjectivity. These terrains relate to the dimensions of life commonly found troublesome in organizations, such as sex and death (Ekirch 2001; Harrison 2008; Williams 2007),

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6. Think of the sleeping pod of Metronaps, for instance, that leans on a rather futuristic design, <http://www.metronaps.com/>.

and representing taboos (see Bell, Tienari, and Hanson 2014; Brewis, Tyler, and Mills 2014; Burrell 1984; Hancock, Sullivan, and Tyler 2015; Riach and Kelly 2013). These ‘taboos’ embody intimacy, vulnerability, and unproductivity – another set and level of taboos in the organizational context (Baxter and Kroll-Smith 2005; Hancock 2008; Hancock, Williams and Tyler 2009). Despite their contested nature, these organizational terrains cannot be ignored. However, they have escaped the process of rationalization, which is why organizational scholars and practitioners find it difficult to understand them.

We have proposed that the uncanny, as a psychoanalytical concept, allows us to describe the way in which vulnerable organizational subjectivity unfolds in borderline experiences situated beyond or in between boundaries. The uncanny, as a liminal condition, flickering between different dimensions and destabilizing something that one believes she can know for sure, is ultimately a borderline experience. The borderline experiences that we identified in our analysis are grouped under two themes: *Threatening insecurity* and *Traumatic dreams, shocking becomings*. Together these themes, and the empirical stories that represent them, render visible the uneasy, flickering experiences that are commonly repressed in organizations. Their acknowledgment allows us to shed new light to the insecure, unstable, and vulnerable nature of organizational subjectivity.

### *Threatening insecurity*

The insecurity that disrupts the fantasy of a whole, harmonic organization becomes evident in our stories on many levels. One of these levels is connected to the uncanny through the topic of the gaze, reflecting the vulnerability of the assumed ‘gazer’ becoming the one gazed upon – or the way in which the gazer is left in uncertainty of the corporeal state of the ‘object’ of her gaze. Both the story of the girl sleeping on the sofa in the university hallway in the middle of the day and the seemingly dead soldier lying in the snow in a photograph bring us to the core of the uncanny. Considering the reciprocity between ‘two gazes’, while watching the sleeper the author risks confronting an uncanny gaze as the (assumedly) sleeping girl or the (assumedly) dead soldier might open her/his eyes and stare back at the viewer – indeed, ‘(t)hey have eyes that they might not see’ (Lacan, 1991: 109) (‘This makes the assumedly vulnerable sleeping body *forceful* and capable of creating an uncanny moment, as the gaze from an awakened sleeper is a demanding one – representing the evil eye, perhaps – arising from fright, anxiety, and abashment: *who is being watched by whom?*’)

Furthermore, opening one’s eyes is a mark of ‘presence’, of being right there at that very moment, and to capture a gaze when the sleeper ought to be unconscious – asleep on the hallway sofa or perhaps even dead – is something intolerable (and relates this notion to that of Frankenstein and the moment when the monster opens its eyes, arousing an uncanny moment, see Dolar 1991). To organize and to deal with this



insecurity, we tend to use internal or social statements concerning the ‘expected state’ of the assumed sleeper (in our case, the woman sleeping on the sofa and the immobile soldier lying in the snow), for instance by thinking, ‘yes, she sleeps’ or ‘yes, he is alive.’ This reflects the common Western tendency to prefer clear-cut either–or existential states to in-between states – a person is either asleep or awake, alive or dead.

Our story from the military camp leads us further to consider insecurity arising from the flickering relation between sleep and death. The soldier in the photograph lying in the snow reminded us of the possibility of staring at a dead body, which is a frightening and indecent thought. According to Jonathan Crary (2013), the reason for human cultures to associate sleep with death, today and in history<sup>7</sup>, is that sleep and death both demonstrate the continuity of the world in our absence. Still, the sleeper’s absence from the world is only temporary, containing ‘a bond to the future, to a possibility of renewal, and hence of freedom’ (Crary 2013, 127). This is exemplified in Mahatma Gandhi’s famous quote, ‘Each night, when I go to sleep, I die. And the next morning, when I wake up, I am reborn.’ What departs sleep from death are the processes of ‘living’ taking place within the sleeping body, namely, ‘(t)he vital thread of life and consciousness (that) still vibrates in even the physical brain of a man during sleep, producing dreams, some that delight him and others that harass and perplex him’ (de Purucker 1974, section 12, Part 1). This ‘vibrating consciousness’ within us makes it possible for sleep to be reversible, as opposed to the irreversibility of death (Dement with Vaughan 1999/2000, 7). In sleep, there is something to return to regardless of our (un)willingness to return.

When going to sleep, one cannot be sure whether one will eventually wake up. Dying in sleep is not uncommon, and some people in fact prefer passing away peacefully while sleeping. And of course, we do not know what will happen to us when we die – it is something we have to deal with no matter how much anxiousness it might cause. To confront this uncertainty, we often turn to religions and doctrines that give us the answers that we long for and help us cope with the strangeness of death that is almost unbearable for many.

### *Traumatic dreams, shocking becomings*

Organizations tend to hold on tight to the idea of rational events taking place as processes – an idea that avoids trauma. Trauma, or a shock, would unavoidably disturb the flow of events that enable us to ‘make sense of’ them. In the world of dreams, traumatic events break through patterns. They also make it possible for us to encounter the shocking reality of not being able to ‘grasp’ or comprehend something – posing a threat to organizational logic. In our stories, dreams play a key role. Although

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7. You might also want to familiarize yourself with Greek mythology according to which Sleep (Hypnos) and Death (Thanatos) were twin brothers (see Purucker 1974 section 12, Part 1).



psychoanalysts have been interested in sleep and dreams from torturous nightmares through sexual fantasies all the way to insomnia – providing explanations of what our dreams are about – they cannot escape the fact that dreams can never be fully recounted, as we cannot pinpoint what we actually dreamt about once we wake up (see Lacan 1991). Thus, the author's experience of a reappearing traumatic dream is only a dream upon waking (*ibid.*), and the memory of the dream always stays beyond rational deliberation as to whether something actually happened or not – leaving us insecure and uncertain.

While acknowledging the limits of our 'access' to our dreams retrospectively, in psychoanalysis sleep and dreaming represent two key tenets that enable us to witness the unconscious (for Freud, dreams were no less than the royal road to it, see Varela 2014). As stated in a discussion with Dalai-Lama and Joyce McDougall (Varela 2014, 56-57), 'The unconscious, he [Freud] says, is timeless, and it is while we are sleeping and dreaming that the unconscious finds its most direct expression—a vast everything-and-nothingness, which we can reach only with difficulty in our waking lives.' In her traumatic dream, our author (was) moved through space and time without boundaries – the only thing hinting at control was her memory of experiencing the dream before. Furthermore, there is no way for the author to organize the dream – to organize reality. On the contrary, the dream seems to have created its own reality – involving death and causing anxiety when waking up – making her feel like a killer who should be put to prison.

One wonders whether the author has forgotten or repressed something, unknowingly, or perhaps conjured something up (Freud in 'Psychologie des Unbewußten, Studienausgabe' 1975, 242) – a thought to be left outside the pages of this article. Since there were so many things that could not be explained by the author, the experience of the dream was threateningly real for her. It was a moment of disorganization and total lack of control – intensified by the intimidating power she embodied while killing her close relatives. The event was outside the realm of her life as an academic, and simultaneously an indispensable part of her. Following Lacan, the anxiety aroused by the dream was not so much about the loss of control but more the lack of the support of the lack (Lacan 2014) – the shocking moment of gaining... too much (Dolar 1991, 13). The dream did not make the author a killer, but instead made her question the illusion of rationality and organization that frames her life. Perhaps the final fall from the top of a high building symbolically represents emancipation from that confinement.

In our other story highlighting the traumatic awakening in the relaxation room, we argue that it was the shocking presence of the physical body of the author in the workplace contrasted with the dream world without boundaries where the uncanny manifested itself. She experienced the moments of subtly 'stepping' into the world of the unconscious by falling in and out of sleep (see e.g. Maude et al. 2009, 162)

inappropriate in the workplace even though the room had been designed for the sole purpose of relaxation.

Although the world of sleep and dreaming is a world of the unconscious, and falling asleep means entering a state without rational (illusionist) boundaries, the sleeping body of the author was nevertheless ‘involved’ in *something* – it was not evanescent, nor lost, nor *absent*, but more *distant* (Merleau-Ponty 1962). This correlates with what Merleau-Ponty (1962, 164) describes as an existential step that presupposes sleep – ‘the awareness of being situated in a world, and the bodily condition that accompanies it’ (Maude et al. 2009, 162). This is also what makes the sleeping and dreaming author an embodied agent of the state of sleep – not ‘lost’ or mystified, but located in a space and time. With her physical presence in the relaxation room, she was aware of her situatedness in the world and thus firmly attached to it – a state bearing a faint resemblance to organizing. But when she was momentarily ‘freed’ from the illusion of the rationalized world and its expectations, her becoming became traumatic, regardless of her vague awareness of being part of this world. For a moment, she entered a dream world that set her free and fantastically powerless – only to return to a world where she is expected to be powerful again, whether she wanted it or not.

In sum, the moments of insecurity and uncertainty intensely present in our stories reflect the traumatic processes of becoming in relation to sleep and dreaming – the embodied, affective flickering between ‘two different realities’ – a passage between real and fantasy, generating the sense of the uncanny. As borderline experiences these moments represent the uncolonized terrains of organizations that escape rationalization – both because it is impossible to reach the world of dreams that *does not* escape the organizational context, and because sleep and dreaming exert an uncanny force when disrupting the illusion, fantasy, of a harmonic, rational organization. We argue that these experiences pertaining to sleep and dreaming are expressions of repressed organizational subjectivity, reflecting its true, vulnerable nature arising from insecurity, uncertainty, and instability – subjectivity that acknowledges the ‘impossible’, yet remaining unable to ‘grasp’ it, and which does not close its eyes from... the Other. This vulnerability is not to be suppressed. Instead, it should be cherished to enable us to form a more comprehensive understanding of the nature of organizations – and us as its members.

## Conclusion

Our study joins the debate on the unexplainable, affective, and irrational side of organizations (e.g., Bell and Taylor 2011; Gabriel 1995; Kociatkiewicz and Kostera 2010; O’Doherty, De Cock, Rehn, and Ashcraft 2013; Orr 2014; Parker 2015; Riach and Kelly 2013; Thanem 2006, 2011). This research suggests that within every organiza-

tion there are uncolonized terrains which are not, and cannot be, managed, and in these terrains lies the natural habitat of subjectivity (Gabriel 1995). We suggest that the potential of the psychoanalytical concept of the uncanny lies in its usefulness in theorizing organizational subjectivity as it unfolds in borderline experiences, situated beyond or in between boundaries. As a site of transgression of objectively real boundaries, our research topic of sleep and dreaming helps us to make visible how it is in the very *disruption* of organizational fantasy (see Desmond 2013) where the unfolding of organizational subjectivity takes place: ‘We have the capacity to agnoszieren in the dream the sleeper’s own person in a pure state’ (Lacan, 1988: 153). Simultaneously, through our examples of sleep and dreaming, we are slightly opening the door for the discovery of the ideological purpose of any organization: the jouissance of its existence, if only as another dream. Thus, we argue, sleep and dreaming hold uncanny force, offering a serious potential to the study of organizations.

Recognizing this, our study contributes to existing organization studies recognizing the value of psychoanalysis to explore organizations and organizing (e.g. Gabriel & Carr 2002; Gabriel 1999; Vanheule et al. 2003; Wozniak 2010) through its acknowledgment and close deliberation of the uncanny force of sleep and dreaming in organizations. Furthermore, our study continues the work of organizational scholars (e.g. Gabriel 1995; Muhr and Kirkegaard 2013) who have used ‘fantasy’ to address repressed forms of organizational subjectivity and provided us with valuable insights of how alternative or illusionary subjectivities are fashioned at work. With our usage of the uncanny and research focus on sleep and dreaming, we are able to empirically explore organizational experiences that fundamentally lack words and comprehension. This is in slight contrast to fantasies shared by members of organizations through storytelling. Our methodological choice, auto-ethnography, lets us to get a slight grasp of the fleeting uncanny moments experienced through our bodies. They yet leave us with the feeling of uncertainty and insecurity. Something inescapably remains unsaid. We are left vulnerable. We are left lacking.

Moreover, with its capacity to cross the borders of conventional knowledge production, the uncanny holds the power of opening up new epistemological paths for organizational scholarship. As a un-concept it has the capacity to question the presence of fixed meanings and binary logics (Beyes and Steyaert 2013, 1448) and suggest a transformation towards ‘open-ended deconstructive “neither/nor” or, more affirmatively, (towards) the plurality of “and/and” (Masschelein 2011, 8). When its unsettling power proceeds to the conceptual level, it causes a disturbing effect (see Jay 1998, 157). This poses a challenge for us as academics in exploring organizational phenomena, as the whole organizational ‘fantasy’ (Desmond 2013; Gabriel 1995) is ontologically disrupted, causing a traumatic effect when something which has for so long seemed homely and natural becomes threatening in its familiarity and simultaneous unfamiliarity. It is exactly the flickering nature of the uncanny that poses a threat

(followed by a great opportunity) to conceptual reasoning in organizational research and beyond. Moreover, these moments unfold organizations' true purpose as a source of jouissance for organizational subjects – to be part of one – as it is what we crave for, even if organizations were to be considered... only another dream.

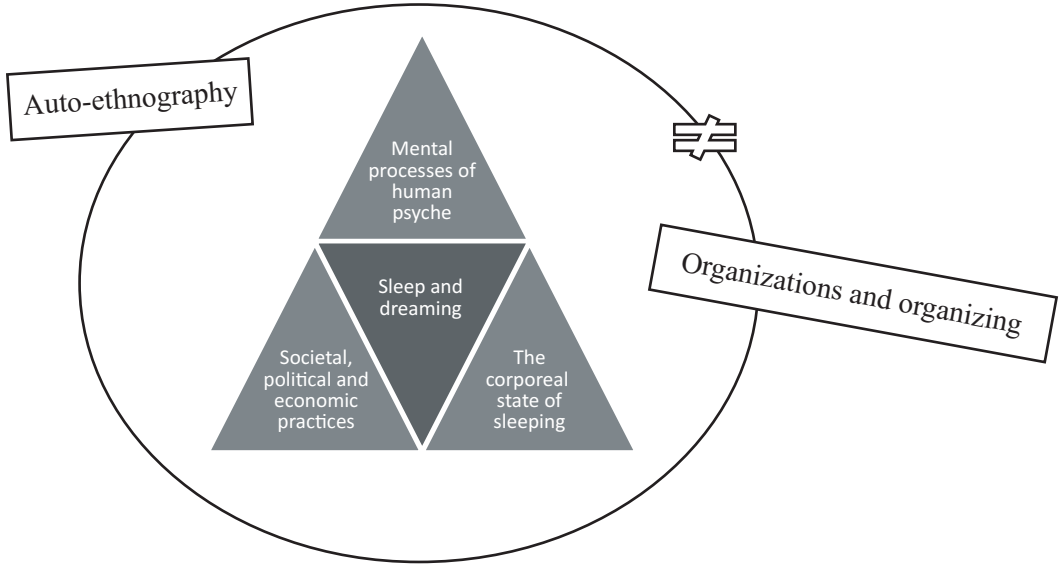
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# Appendixes



Appendix A: The triad of an embodied socio-cultural approach to sleep and dreaming in organizations.



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