Worlds of Sleep

Lodewijk Brunt/Brigitte Steger (eds)

Frank & Timme

Verlag für wissenschaftliche Literatur

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Book cover: Co-sleeping during a week-long festival.
Bayan, Lombok Island, Indonesia.
Photo by Brigitte Steger.

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Brigitte Steger and Lodewijk Brunt

Nota bene:
All names appear in natural order; that is to say that Chinese and Japanese surnames are followed by given names.

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Introduction

Lodewijk Brunt and Brigitte Steger

Sleep has moved centre stage. Hardly a day goes by that sleep does not figure prominently in newspaper and magazine articles, radio and TV programmes, and internet news. It is acceptable to talk of sleep deprivation, co-sleeping, and daytime fatigue; 'power napping' has become a strategic management method for improving people's performance and commitment at work.

In January 2001 we organised a workshop on 'Sleep and the Night in Asia and the West' (Steger and Brunt 2003). At the time we were hard pressed to find any publications on the social and cultural aspects of 'the dark side of life'. In 2007, we organised a follow-up workshop, 'New Directions in the Social and Cultural Study of Sleep' (Vienna, 6 to 9 June 2007), and the picture had changed completely. This sudden attention towards sleep in the humanities and social sciences was triggered by a growing public interest in sleep, which in turn is fed by an extensive academic engagement; scientific sleep research is booming. Sleep labs are being established everywhere and sleep consultants advise not only individuals but also companies. Sleep has become big business.

In an article in a *New York Times* series on sleep (18 November 2007), journalist Jon Moallem remarks that the hallmark of the '1980s power broker' was someone boosting his or her strength and success with a mere few hours of sleep at night. In this day and age, sleep is taken much more seriously. 'Sleep may finally be claiming its place beside diet and exercise as both a critical health issue and a niche for profitable consumer products'. Moallem also estimates that the new American '*sleeponomics*' amounts to a business of over 20 billion US dollars annually. This includes everything from the more than one thousand accredited sleep clinics to innumerable over-the-counter and herbal sleep aides, how-to books and sleep-inducing gadgets and talismans. Moallem went to visit the ZEA sleep sanctuary – a luxury sleep store in Minnesota. He found light-therapy visors, a Zen alarm clock, and a Mumbasa majesty mosquito net in addition to a pair of noise-blocking earplugs going for six hundred dollars a set. Moreover, the store had sixteen varieties of mattresses and thirty different kinds of pillows.

But this is small change compared to the sleeping-pill business. In 2006 nearly fifty million prescriptions were made out – over a fifty percent increase compared to 2001. We are speaking about a four-billion-dollar enterprise that has practically doubled in less than five years. Moallem concludes that the success not only indicates that 'we have an increasingly urgent craving for sleep, but also that many of us have apparently forgotten how to do it altogether' (Moallem 2007).

Pharmacology offers drugs that reputedly enhance performance by keeping people alert and organising their sleep more efficiently. The company Cephalon has a reputation for its Modafinil drug, originally prescribed for the treatment of narcolepsy. The drug is known as a 'wakefulness-promoting agent' and, consequently, is promoted as a stimulant for 'alertness', but also for ADHD. An alarming number of students and truck drivers are taking such drugs (often bought through websites) to enhance their cognitive performance and alertness (Hibbert 2007).

With the explosion in knowledge about the mechanisms and functions of sleep, people – especially in the US, but also elsewhere in the world – are increasingly held responsible for ensuring a good night's sleep and daytime alertness. The American National Sleep Foundation urges us to improve our knowledge and be watchful. On their website they ask questions such as: 'Is insomnia keeping you awake?', 'What do you know about sleep apnea?', 'What do you know about the restless-leg syndrome?', 'Am I getting good sleep?', 'Do I have a sleep disorder?', 'Why is sleep important?', and 'What is the connection between sleep and age?'

In the past, it was common for people to mention discomfort related to sleep or daytime fatigue when consulting their doctor for pain, high blood pressure or depression. However, sleep problems were almost never thought of as an illness, per se. This has changed. The phenomenon of sleep and the environment for sleep has become medicalised. Physicians have strong opinions about 'normal' and/or 'healthy' sleep and they have abundant advice on how to obtain it: at what time people should go to bed, at what time they have to get up, and how long they are supposed to sleep. What kind of beds guarantee people a good and wholesome sleep, what kinds of mattresses, what sorts of pillows (if at all), and what kind of bed clothing? Prescribed are: more jogging, less drinking, going to bed earlier, and avoiding stressful encounters. 'Power napping' and *inemuri* (a Japanese term for napping in trains, during meetings,

concerts and lectures; cf. Steger 2006; 2007) are now being taught in seminars on relaxation, performance enhancement and slow living.

The discovery of REM sleep in 1953 is generally regarded as the beginning of modern sleep research, but prior to the 1990s only a few people and institutions thought it worthwhile to spend time and money on sleep. The situation has changed entirely. Most sleep research is conducted in the US. New findings are most willingly embraced there and the National Science Foundation and many ministries and private companies are involved in sleep research. Europe and Japan follow in their research efforts in the field. The Japanese government has financed six years (1996–2002) of intensive sleep research involving almost one hundred researchers, and more publications – including new academic journals devoted entirely to the issue – have become available (Hayaishi 2004). The vanguard of medical and biological sleep research, however, has always been the military (Takada 1993: 66). With improved night-vision and other technology as well as the possibility to relocate large numbers of troops within a short time, the need for the enhancement of soldiers' and commanders' bodies and minds has made sleep research an imperative for modern militaries (Ben-Ari 2003). Indeed, as Gerhard Kloesch asserted during the Vienna workshop on New Directions in the Social and Cultural Study of Sleep, rather than being motivated by the investigators' interest or by social needs, research on the effects of certain pills and substances is often initiated (and financed) by the pharmaceutical industry. They want to find civil applications for their products in order to increase their profits for their sometimes high investments in military sleep research.

Sleep has also become a subject of direct government control. In January 2006, the Spanish government – similar to the Chinese some twenty years earlier (cf. Li 2003) – reduced the lunch break for government officials. This regulation prohibits officials from taking a siesta, but instead, it is argued, they have more quality time for their children in the evening. Spanish time schedules, of course, have now been synchronised with the rest of Europe. The new South Korean prime minister, Lee Myung-bak, has been known to rise at 4.30 a.m. every morning for many years (Wu and Chang 2008). He was quick to re-schedule cabinet meetings at 8 a.m. (instead of 9) and the ministerial reports to the president at 7.30 a.m., which for many of the lower-ranking officials means that they have to start their day in the office at 5 a.m.; without compensation, of course (Shin 2008). This echoes Mao Zedong's scheduling of meetings; but since he had a 28-hour circadian rhythm rather than a 24-hour

one, his officials had to show up at any time, day or night, whenever Mao felt like getting some work done (Li 2003: 48). Governments do not always reduce the sleep of their workers. The constitution of Mao's China guaranteed 'working people the right to rest' (Li 2003: 48), which translated into a three-hour lunch break including a widespread habit of midday napping. And the state of Minnesota has postponed the start of the school day by one hour, based on research results indicating that school children do not learn efficiently before 9 a.m. (Wolf-Meyer 2007).

Along with the pharmaceutical industry, other branches of the sleep industry are also developing rapidly. Montijn (in this volume) refers to the successful Dutch firm Auping, which not only produces beds, but also mattresses, cupboards, pillows and all kinds of sheets and accessories including bedside lights, night drawers, dress boys, footstools and backdrops. Their beds cost thousands of euros – some models over ten thousand. Some bedding elements are produced by separate industries, such as pillows, bed linens and mattresses. Moreover, just consider the production of alarm clocks, toys and bedside reading.

Japanese 'music therapist' Miyashita Fumio (who passed away a couple of years ago) found yet another way to earn his living with people's sleep. He built a reputation for himself as a composer of 'Healing Music'. Studying oriental philosophy and medical science, he developed a new approach to understanding what happens in the brain during sleep, coming to the conclusion that: 'The comfortable refrain of [lengthy, monotonous] music can relax the "left brain" and unravel the "right brain" and maintain a good balance of the whole brain'. In the late 1990s and early 2000s he organised several '*inemuri* (sleep) concerts' of 'healing music' during which the otherwise restless audience could find one or two hours of restful slumber. He estimated that 60,000 people had experienced 'good sleep' in the seven years of his concert series. In specialised shops there is an embarrassing choice of similar products. Kelly Howell's *Deep Stress Relief* (on two CDs), Jeffrey Thompson's *Delta Sleep System: Fall Asleep – Stay Asleep – Wake Up Rejuvenated* and Tom Kenyan's *Deep Rest* are but a few of the examples.

It therefore probably comes as no surprise that topics related to sleep and sleep research have been taken up not only by producers of exhibitions, literature and films, but also by representatives of social and cultural studies. In the Residenzgalerie Salzburg, an art exhibition (Oehring 2006) invited people to think about sleep, as did exhibitions in Dresden and London (2007–2008;

Deutsches Hygiene-Museum and Wellcome Trust 2007a, b), jointly organised by the Hygiene-Museum and the Wellcome Trust in London, which combined an explanation of sleep medicine with art. Christopher and Michael Dack directed the film *Sleep* (2003) in which a person joined a sleep-deprivation study – the start of a dramatic plot. In *Sleep* (1996), made for TV by director Frank Chindamo, an innocent nap at work leads to a nightmare and in *La science des rêves* (Science of Sleep; 2006), director Michel Gondry has his main character trying to lead the girl that he is in love with into the world of his dreams. For Austrian TV, Susanne Roussow directed *Rettet den Schlaf!* in June 2006, in which reactions by Viennese on the possibility of public daytime nap facilities were tested. Andy Warhol's artistic experiment from the 1960s, *Sleep* (1963), in which he filmed John Giorno sleeping for hours, suddenly evokes new interest. Literature is equally prolific, dealing with both scientific and social aspects of sleep and sleep deprivation. A few examples are Jonathan Coe's *The House of Sleep* (1997), Annelies Verbeke's *Slaap!* (Sleep!; 2003); Yoshimoto Banana's *Shirakawa Yofune* (Asleep; 2001) and Kathrin Röggla's *Wir schlafen nicht* (We don't sleep; 2004).

After 2000, sleep also became a respectable topic for academic dissertations and other academic work: Antje Richter (2001) investigated notions of sleep in pre-Buddhist Chinese literature; Mareile Flitsch (2004) looked at Chinese sleep culture as well, but concentrated on the heated family bed in Manjuria. Steger (2004) studied the organisation of sleep in everyday Japanese life, past and present; Kaji Megumi (cf. 2008) conducted a survey on the little things Japanese have around their beds, and Diana Addis Tahhan (cf. 2007) is currently finishing her dissertation at the University of New South Wales on co-sleeping in Japan. Smaller studies on sleep have emerged from researchers' main research projects, such as Birgit Griesecke's (2005) article on how Japanese novels experiment with sleep or William LaFleur's (2002) approach to sleep in Japan from the perspective of time use and ethics.

While the studies of sleep carried out in foreign countries have often been provoked by the observation that certain basic assumptions which researchers have related to common everyday (or every-night) occurrences such as sleep are not shared by people in the country under study, sociologists have also investigated sleep at home. Under the supervision of Sara Arber at the University of Surrey, UK, and with financial support by the EU, a group of PhD students is studying how gender and family-life influences the quality of sleep

(Hislop 2004; and currently Susan Venn and Emanuela Bianchera, in this volume, among others).

The history of sleep, whether in life or literature, has also received attention recently. Following from Marcus Noll (1994), who studied notions of sleep in Shakespeare's dramas and Georg Wöhrle (1995) who analysed what Aristotle and his contemporaries thought about hypnos, Gabriele Klug (2007, this volume) investigated German medieval literature. A. Roger Ekirch's (2001; 2005) theory that early modern British people (and beyond) generally had a biphasic sleep rhythm, divided into first and second sleep, has become widely accepted. He convincingly shows that it was common for people to wake up in the middle of the night for all kinds of activities, but at least from the perspective of German literature (Klug, personal communication) it is questionable that 'first' and 'second' sleep in fact expressed a notion of biphasic sleep. As Eluned Summers-Bremner (2008) elaborates in her cultural history of insomnia, people did not seem to have clear models of ideal sleep, and although they sometimes found it difficult to get a peaceful slumber, because they missed their lover or were disturbed by fears or bedbugs, sleep was hardly medicalised and thought of much.

The emergence of this type of medicalisation is at the centre of the dissertations by Sonja Kinzler (2005), Kenton Kroker (2007) and Matthew Wolf-Meyer (2007). While Kinzler concentrates on the process of medicalisation in connection with the emergence of the bourgoisie, Kroker sketches 2,500 years of the history of sleep and provides a detailed account of the development of sleep research in the 1960s and 1970s. As an anthropologist, Wolf-Meyer looks at doctor-patient relations, the role of the US National Sleep Foundation and the discussion on postponing the start of the school day set off by medical research results indicating that children are unable to concentrate before 9 a.m.. Simon Williams at Warwick University is guided by similar research interests. As a very prolific writer he has investigated sleep as part of medical sociology. He has also published the first monograph summarising theoretical approaches to the sociology of sleep (2005; also e.g. 2002, 2007). The recent discourse on daytime 'drowsiness' and napping at the workplace in the US has stirred the academic interest of Steve Kroll-Smith (2001, 2002; Baxter and Kroll-Smith 2005). Birgit Emich (2003) discusses sleep as part of the history of German bureaucracy and social control; and in her master's thesis, Christina Dorn (2003) discusses whether or not sleep is affected by cultural change.

Most of the researchers in the social and cultural sciences have found their way to sleep independently; they often appear unaware of the activities going on in other disciplines and other countries.

Nonetheless, cooperation is also increasing. Workshops, symposia and seminar series have been organised in a number of places and from a variety of disciplines and traditions. During the seventh biannual conference of the European Association of Social Anthropology in September 2002, Burkhard Schnepel organised a panel entitled: 'When Darkness Comes. Towards an Anthropology of the Night' (Schnepel and Ben-Ari 2005), in which he combined his own research on dreams with other papers on night and sleep. At the 2007 conference of the American Anthropology Association in Washington, D.C., medical anthropologist Doug Henry set up a panel on sleep (cf. Henry et al. 2008), most certainly the first on the topic in the history of 106 AAA meetings. In 2004, 2005 and 2006 Arber and Williams organised seminar series with sleep researchers from all over the (Western) world.

Probably the oldest interdisciplinary group discussing issues pertaining to social and cultural aspects of sleep, however, was founded in Japan by anthropologist Yoshida Shūji with the financial and organisational support of the company Lofty, a pillow producer. Since Yoshida's death the group has been led by Africa anthropologist Shigeta Masayoshi at Kyoto University in close cooperation with Kaji Megumi, vice-director of the Research Institute for Sleep and Society (RISS), which is run by Lofty. The group has organised symposia and conducted research on the sleeping place, dreams, night wear as well as the small things that people keep around their beds or futons in order to enable a sound sleep (Yoshida 2001; Suimin bunka kenkyūjo 2005). In April 2008 the group published the first university textbook on 'the culture of sleep' (Takada, Horii and Shigeta 2008). Kaji presented the results of their study on 'knick knacks' for sleep at the New Directions workshop. A remarkable result of their research is that many people keep a mobile phone next to their bed, which gives them the necessary assurance to be able to sleep (Kaji and Shigeta 2007; see also Venn and Arber's contribution in this volume).

In India, the mobile phone perhaps has magical powers too, which puts it in the world of the spirits and gods during sleep. In her poem *ghumantu telifon,* the Hindi poet Anamika gives the mobile phone a voice of its own, expressing thoughts about its life and the life of its owner:

Even when he goes to sleep
he puts me under his pillow.
While listening to the tick-tick-tick
of his watch
in my entrails
I quietly assemble texts
for him.
During the night they come from all around
all night long these silent messages
– dreams and memories –
alight like cat's eyes in the dark.

(Anamika 2005: 32; translated by Lodewijk Brunt)

Lofty in Tokyo has also developed a doll, Yumel, that can be trained to talk to people before they go to sleep; supposedly this enhances their dreams. The Japanese group has always involved sleep researchers from the fields of the natural sciences and medicine, and Japanese researchers in general are more aware of the influence of the social environment on sleep. In Europe and the US, such co-operation is less common. Yet, on 13 September 2006 Steger and Brunt were invited by the president of the World Federation of Sleep Research and Sleep Medicine Societies, David Dinges, and the president of the European Sleep Research Societies, Thomas Pollmächer, to organise a social and cultural symposium at the European Sleep Research Congress in Innsbruck; is this a signal that the sciences have realised the relevance of social and cultural factors for sleep?

New Directions

For our workshop, 'New Directions in the Social and Cultural Study of Sleep' we tried to attract people who had conducted extended case studies. Rather than a homogeneous group following the same methodology and theoretical approach, we were hoping for original approaches, questions and research methods; and we were fortunate that this was the case. Although we still cannot but help observe a 'diecentrism' (Brunt 1996: 70–85) in the social sciences and humanities and have not yet fully developed a 'nocturnal literacy' (Summers-

Bremner 2008: 8), we are gradually acquiring the methodologies and vocabulary necessary to explore new grounds. We have raised not only new intriguing questions, but have been able to find unexpected answers and connections. They point to new directions and meanings of sleep beyond the often one-sided assumptions underlying medical sleep research.

The anthropologists, sociologists, historians, scholars of literature and medical sleep researchers have spent time in archives, refugee camps, streets and bedrooms in Japan, the Netherlands, USA, India, Italy, United Kingdom, Thailand, Austria and Germany. They have conducted standardised questionnaires, interviews, participant observation and fastened actigraphs around people's wrists; they have analysed preaching, pictures, epics and questionnaires. This book is a significant product resulting from the workshop. It does not provide a comprehensive overview of the new field of what we might term 'dormatology', but we believe that we have included some exciting chapters, which offer fresh new insights into a rapidly growing field.

The book starts with three chapters (Klug, Cox, Montijn) that deal with sleep in European and North American history or historical literature, respectively. They illustrate thoughts and concerns of earlier generations and provide insight into the assumptions of modern sleep medicine. Today, Americans speak easily of the problems of sleep, of deficits and disorders, of psychological and somatic disturbance, writes Cox, arguing that people in eighteenth-century New England had a much more complex view of sleep. Sleep was considered to be punishment and an ordeal, among other matters – and this is also mentioned by Klug in her contribution on German literature from the Middle Ages.

The next three chapters are closer to the research interests of natural science and medicine, by asking what disturbs people's sleep? They explore Austrian couples (Kloesch and Dittami), British parents and their teenage children (Venn and Arber) as well as Italian women who have caregiving obligations (Bianchera and Arber). They derive from the assumption that there is something resembling an ideal sleep – a good night sleep is an uninterrupted night-time sleep – but they go further: They leave the sleep labs and look at the social environment and the overall logic of the sleepers' social situation. The last chapters have an entirely different approach when investigating how – in different places in the world – people have different ways to switch from their waking day to sleep mode (Brunt, Ben-Ari, Vogler) or out of it (Steger). Routines and material objects around the bed ensure a restful

slumber and deal with the vulnerability of the sleeper – a topic that is also central to Klug's paper – along with the threat sleep poses to the fulfilment of social obligations.

Whereas for some, sleep has been the central concern of their investigation, others have come across sleep as one of the important aspects of people's life when they investigate interior design (Montijn), eighteenth-century religious thought (Cox), childhood and socialisation (Ben-Ari), city life (Brunt) or refugees (Vogler). Vogler, in particular, finds the study of sleep not only fascinating in its own right, but a helpful research tool to investigate the much more sensitive issues of threats and fears among young refugees.

Each chapter in this book tells its own story and can be read separately, but in many instances the different stories speak to each other, emphasising certain arguments made by others or adding a new perspective. Despite the different approaches, there are recurrent issues discussed throughout the book.

Status Differentials

Where one sleeps, under what circumstances, with whom, how long and how well are all matters of degree, determined by gender, age, class, race, income, educational level and other differences in status. Kloesch and Dittami, Venn and Arber, Bianchera and Arber, Klug, Steger, Vogler and Brunt all show that sleep can be very different for men and women – even if they sleep together. We all have heard about men snoring and keeping women awake, but the differences are more complex. Kloesch and his colleagues have found that Austrian women's sleep is more disrupted when they sleep with their partner than alone, whereas for men it is the other way round. At this point they are still left speculating about the reasons. It is interesting that German-language literature of the Middle Ages (Klug in this volume) ascribed alertness during the night and protection to women's roles. The brave knight protects the lady of his heart against giants and dragons during the day, but he in turn is taken care of by the young maiden while he puts his head to rest after long exhausting journeys.

Nowadays, women have to be alert and occasionally get up at night because of their caring roles for children or other members of the family living under the same roof. In Germany the word *Ammenschlaf* is used for the very light sleep of wet nurses or young mothers. Values of masculinity sometimes dictate that men get up early to display the control they have over their bodies, but

Steger shows that in many cases women get up even earlier to help the menfolk to get up on time and support their transition to the performance of social duties.

Age is another quality that changes our status in human societies. Bianchera and Arber, Venn and Arber as well as Ben-Ari point out several phases in the lives of women and/or children that have far-reaching consequences for their sleeping behaviour. Women start out as babies and toddlers and develop into girls, young women, married women, mothers and grandmothers; in the course of these phases, accentuated by *rites de passage* they experience more or less dramatic changes in their sleeping responsibilities and sleeping conduct. From Bianchera and Arber's contribution it is clear that in Italy, where extended families are living under one roof and the public welfare system is not very well developed, these phases are perhaps more pronounced than elsewhere in Western Europe.

Closely connected with age is the 'family cycle'. The young, romantic couple has sleeping arrangements that differ notably from the family with young children and the elderly couple whose children have moved to their own houses. Ben-Ari elaborates the routines small children in middle class families develop at bedtime: story telling, undressing, washing, brushing teeth and tucking under the blanket. The 'key cultural scenario' as well as the exact timing is negotiated between children and carers. And it is interesting to realise the differences in the assumptions that surround the issue. Bedtime is among the things that Austrian children, for example, have only little input in deciding, whereas Japanese children are given much more autonomy on the issue (cf. Steger 2004: 374–400). Contrary to many households in India, where entire families sleep together in a single room, middle class families in Western societies usually arrange for a rigid division of the house in separate bedrooms for parents and children and for boys and girls. The familial hierarchy and power relations in every society determine who has the power to wake the others and how to avoid waking those who want to sleep.

Social class in the broadest sense of the term makes for completely different worlds within societies. In her study of several centuries of bed culture in the Netherlands, Montijn shows how much money people were (and still are) willing to spend on their beds in order to improve their social reputation. She mentions bedding material so expensive that people actually sleep elsewhere so as to avoid spoiling these goods. Only people with big houses and service personnel were able to sufficiently air the beds in order to get rid of bedbugs: a

plague with which innumerable generations of people must have struggled. By means of social housing, authorities including social reformers and hygienists have – often successfully – attempted to influence the lower classes' sleeping habits and bedroom arrangements, but people have been equally persistent in resisting some of the ideas. Social class influences sleep habits in India as well. Poor people often have to sleep on the pavement, cuddled together as a family or on their rickshaw to protect their few belongings.

Morals, Rules and Regulations

Different norms and values attached to sleep lead to different conceptions about the way we have to deal with sleep and sleeping behaviour: the place where to sleep and the circumstances, but of course also the time and schedule. Steger elaborates on Japanese values with regard to early rising and shows how they have been an integral part of organised nationalist movements. A responsible person should show control over his or her desires; an acceptable manner to show this is by sacrificing sleep and especially by getting up early regardless of the length of sleep. Similar notions are also to be found in the contributions by Brunt, Klug and Montijn. Would early rising be a universal demand? It certainly can be found in the teachings of all the religions and quasi-religious ideologies that had their origins in Asia: Sickism, Jainism, Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Judaism, Christianity and Islam. Especially in monasteries, early-morning prayers or meditation are a crucial part of daily routine, and lay people are included in similar routines. The muezzin wakes up the entire neighbourhood – believer or not – before daybreak. The first thing for a yogi to reach *nirvana* is to be frugal in all things, especially sleeping. He must not sleep too much and has to get up early! These examples show that the main reason for demanding early rising is for people to learn self-discipline and devotion as well as integrate their bodies with social obligations.

This is also obvious in institutions such as prisons and hospitals or shelters for the homeless where early rising is an important part of the general regime and an important device to depersonalise the inhabitants and rob them of their individuality. In studies about the homeless there are ample references to early rising (cf. also Rensen 2003). Liebow (1993: 28) points out an important hardship of shelter life for women in Washington, D.C.. They have to get up at 5.30 a.m. and be out of the shelter by 7.00 a.m. 'It was not simply the fact of

having to get up and out, but rather that the women had to do this every day of the week, every day of the year', says Liebow, 'no matter what the weather or how they felt […] The occasional opportunity to stay in bed an extra hour or two was desperately missed, […] not being able to sleep in, ever, especially on a weekend, was seen by many as a major deprivation that unfairly set them apart from the rest of the world'.

But the rest of the world has to adjust their bodies and integrate into society as well. Social status is expressed by the hour one has to wake up. Factory workers start earlier than office employees. In some modern institutions such as small companies that employ creative and artistic staff, rigid schemes are frowned upon. Creative people don't need others to stimulate them to go to sleep or wake up; they are fully capable of deciding for themselves. They are task and deadline oriented, and can thus be allowed some flexibility in how they arrange their work.

To the degree that medical doctors express their feeling that people should go to sleep at fixed hours in order to be able to get up early after a sufficient period of sleep (preferably: eight hours), they might be considered as *moral entrepreneurs* – agencies who try to develop the morals and reasoning that guide and justify our behaviour. Bedtime rituals and the sleeping environment, that is, sleep hygiene, are based on scientific grounds and are also very much 'embedded' within sleep educators' belief systems.

Co-sleeping

Morals and rules concerning the question of who you are allowed to sleep with are quite elaborate as well. In the Netherlands, boys and girls may sleep in one room as long as they are completely 'innocent' of gender differences; but parents normally start keeping them apart very early and preferably even provide babies with a room of their own. There is greater tolerance towards girls or women sleeping together than towards boys or men. But for people who are used to sleeping in their own bedroom from early childhood onwards, it can be rather difficult to sleep with any strangers around – men or women – unless of course the context would be sexual. Yet in Dutch hospitals, for instance, patients share bedrooms with members of both sexes. Would that be because sick people are not supposed to have an identity that is sexual?

In the US not only sleep research, but also popularising of the related knowledge is probably the most advanced. One of the teachings concerns bedtime; children, as Ben-Ari elaborates, are supposed to become independent by sleeping in their own room from an early age onwards. If possible, the sleeping room, and especially the bed, should not be used for and (thereby) be connected with daytime activities in order to facilitate a sound, uninterrupted sleep. It is thus most striking that even today, universities build dormitories with shared rooms for their undergraduates, regardless of the financial situation of the students (or their parents). The ideology behind this policy of having students share a bedroom, often with a complete stranger, after they had spent all their life sleeping alone, has yet to be properly analysed. However, as one of Steger's students at the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia (2004/05) found out, apart from exam stress and demands to socialise at night, the difficulty in adjusting to another person's presence and the divergence of sleep rhythms are the main disturbances of sleep. As another student discovered, these difficulties were experienced by students from a 'Western' background but not by those of South Asian origin who participated in her study.

In India co-sleeping is perfectly normal, except perhaps in some special circles. Formerly the institution of *purdah* – the rigid separation between men and women – divided the world into a strictly supervised private, female, part and the public, male, part. There are always persons moving more or less freely through the 'forbidden' space – provided they are emasculated and impotent. Examples are eunuchs, lower-class servants or young children – in short, typical *non-persons* who are vital for the smooth functioning of the special world but who are not capable of damaging the protected individuals.

Although at first glance, co-sleeping habits in other societies would indicate a casualness of 'who sleeps by whom' (Caudill and Plath 1974), upon closer investigation this is not the case. Even in the narrow and instable hut of the Karenni refugees, a room division is in place, if sometimes only symbolically with a piece of cloth (cf. Vogler, this volume). Similar rules exist in India (Shweder et al. 2003). The loss of virginity, incest and rape for women or the fear of (symbolic) castration for men, respectively, is a motive for this, which we find already in German medieval literature. On the other hand, pre-teenage children and same-sex siblings find protection and peace of mind in the presence of others they can trust, especially the mother or grandmother. The Japanese expression *kaya no soto*, being outside the mosquito net, refers to

people who are outside of the community and therefore do not know what is going on, while everybody else (under the mosquito net) does.

Getting into Sleep Mode

Children and adults often have their special bedtime rituals or what Ben-Ari calls 'key cultural scenarios'; drinking a glass of wine, for instance, or reading, watching TV or listening to some music. Some people cannot go to sleep unless they have said their prayers, whilst others have to take a bath. These routines give them peace of mind and gradually put them into sleep mode.

The way people sleep is also extremely varied and little is known about it. Generally speaking there are only a few other people around when somebody is asleep. Even in crowded places sleeping tends to be considered as a private activity. In India one might be able to see people in every conceivable state while sleeping, but many sleepers in the public domain have symbolic ways to ensure at least the appearance of privacy. Sleepers take their shoes off and by putting a newspaper, shawl or towel over one's head, or turning one's back towards the crowd they demonstrate that they are 'away' for a while. In middle-class homes around the world, on the other hand, women who wear make-up remove it before going to sleep – or rather, change from their daytime make-up into their night-time make-up.

In some countries there are beds for sleeping, in other countries people sleep on some kind of mattress, right on the floor. There are different preferences – some for 'hard beds' and some for 'soft beds' – usually motivated by medical reasons. It is not exceptional to hear somebody say that it is 'bad for her back' to sleep in a soft bed, just as easily as one can hear somebody argue for the opposite point of view.

Security

Sleepers temporarily renounce their consciousness off the world. This means that the sleeper is vulnerable to a variety of threats and also that sleep potentially endangers social order. 'Sleep could be counted as a threat to the rational order, to the spiritual and civic as well, a threat to the economy, a threat to communication between the divine and mortal creation', writes Cox. One of

the greatest fears was to die during sleep (see also Klug's chapter), and religious people had to prepare themselves for this eventuality every night. Even in the 1970s, boys in a catholic-school dormitory in Northern Italy were told to lie beautifully straight on their backs and cross their arms over their chests so that they would hold the opposite shoulder, and say their prayer and would thus be prepared for death during their sleep (Stefano, personal communication). Of course, the boys felt (at least in hindsight) that this sleeping position was mostly imposed to prevent them from masturbating.

Sexuality is frequently connected with sleep. Often women seem to be more frightened of this than men. Their sexual integrity is at stake and they stand up against an intruder who is likely to be physically stronger. If consensual, however, women feel that they sleep better if they have sex in the evening, even if this is only subjective, as Kloesch and Dittami found out. Moreover, as Klug's contribution shows, the fear of castration in sleep, whether actually or symbolically, is a recurrent topic for men. One solution to ward off the threat is co-sleeping with trustworthy persons, another is to retreat to a safe bedroom (cf. also Steger 2004: 359–361).

Some people find it impossible to sleep unless doors are closed. In Dutch there is a saying about the 'safety of the bedroom'. But not everyone can afford proper and stable housing. Refugees often have to live in rather permeable housing, not only because of their poverty, but also because welfare organisations sometimes do not approve of certain materials. Safety can also be threatened by the forces of war and natural disasters. Not only earthquakes and heavy storms and fire, but also attacks by animals, varying from the bedbugs already mentioned to mosquitoes, snakes and wild boars. And if one does not have housing at all, things are much worse still. Recently some people sleeping on the pavement in Mumbai were run over by a well-known Bollywood film star in the middle of the night. The explanation given to the press was that the man had been manoeuvring his car and had overlooked the group of sleepers.

In terms of vulnerability at night, not only bedrooms are locked at night, but also compounds, neighbourhoods and – in the past – even complete cities. In the Indian city of Ahmedabad, the *pol* – a group of houses belonging to the same family group, occupational group or caste – can be closed off from the outside world by gates. The same principle can be seen in the ancient inner cities of Varanasi, Surat and Jaipur. And of course in many other parts of the world. The original *getto* of Venice, however, was meant to prevent the inhabitants from roaming the streets of the city at night.

Sometimes attacks on the safety of sleep have a supernatural character. Vogler talks about the *nats* in Burma who have to be appeased. The devil and vampires are well-known examples in the West. In some circles people tried to protect themselves from these dangers by having a religious object (a cross) at hand or by surrounding themselves with garlic – supposedly effective at warding off wandering bloodsuckers.

The night is sometimes a time of horror when people who try to relax are attacked by all kinds of emotions they had suppressed during the day: loneliness, *angst*, sorrow and pain. The questions of vulnerability and safety are summarised by Klug in her historical analysis of sleep in German medieval literature: 'Today, many people can hardly imagine the various threats our medieval ancestors were exposed to in the dormant part of their lives, comfortably settled as they are in centrally heated bedrooms and safe apartments with the doors locked at night. While sleeping, they thought themselves to be surrounded by quite a number of dangers, real as well as imagined ones, some of which are still able to frighten us today while others seem quite remote from what we fear.' The common notion, if any, underlying all the sleep-related fears may be the idea of a dangerous loss of control and the inability to defend oneself in sleep.

Rituals

Such threats can be kept at bay by routines or rituals that constitute the transformation from social life to sleep. This transformation from one state to the other is marked, no matter how privately or secretively this might take place.

Kaji's contribution to the Vienna workshop considers some of these rituals. 'During the day I look after the children and have work to do', says one female informant in the research sample, 'and I have no time to relax and read books, so I just want a little peaceful time to read a book before I go to sleep'. 'So as to study as much as I can before sleeping', explains another person, why he goes to sleep with a study book. In the majority of responses, according to Kaji, the main idea in reading a book was not to understand its contents, but to provide 'a change of mood'. The same goes for listening to music and taking all kinds of objects along. A man cannot sleep without a certain jug half filled with water; a woman has to have her special towel around her neck or some small blanket.