

Mona Eskola

Exploring Embodied Luxury

Practice-theoretical
autoethnography of
a yoga retreat holiday



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UNIVERSITY OF LAPLAND

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ABSTRACT

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Traditionally, luxury is presented as conspicuous, expensive and extraordinary products and services in branding and marketing literature. Nevertheless, in contemporary society the understanding of luxury has extended towards experiential and unconventional forms. Consumer research and unconventional luxury literature understand luxury as a social construct in which the intangible, fleeting, emotional intensities are meaningful. Correspondingly, in luxury tourism debates an interest towards exploring the intangible nature and variation in tourists' interpretations of luxury has emerged. However, the unconventional forms of luxury in tourism have received limited attention until today. There is an apparent need to continue the luxury research discussions with explorations that make visible embodied forms of knowing and complement the dominant psychological understandings of luxury in tourism.

As a result, this research explores the emergence of embodied knowing of luxury in the situated, ongoing sociomaterial practices of a yoga retreat holiday. To accomplish this task, three research questions are set: 1) In what kind of practices does luxury unfold in a yoga retreat holiday? 2) How does the embodied knowing of luxury emerge when engaging in practices? 3) What does the embodied knowing of luxury empirically mean, and how can it be methodologically studied? In this study, tourism is understood as a practice in which the embodied knowing of luxury is emerging. The epistemological practice-theoretical approach to embodiment originates from organisational studies and more precisely, from the aesthetic, sociomaterial approach to practices which see the formation of knowledge as an active embodied doing as knowing-in-practice. Exploring luxury within the tourist's sociomaterial practices enables to unfold the affecto-rhythmic nature that allows the capacity for luxury to emerge. In this thesis theory, methodology and empirical approach were evolving simultaneously. The selected approach allowed to theoretically and empirically

demonstrate how luxury emerges in a yoga retreat holiday as affecto-rhythmic agencements. Five practice agencements were forming and recognised as follows: Orienting, Reconnecting, Adjusting, Guarding and Releasing practice.

Empirically, the luxury phenomenon is explored within multi-sited, evocative autoethnography over a period of five years in yoga retreat holidays in the premises of a luxury hotel in Thailand. In addition to the author's personal empirical material, the fieldwork material entails photographs, videos, websites, and other material of the hotel and yoga studios provided for tourists. However, the most essential empirical material is carried in the knowing and affectivities of the body of the researcher. The body-reflexivity in the autoethnographic research process enabled to demonstrate the ephemeral, affecto-rhythmic nature of practices that emerges as embodied luxury. The study empirically demonstrates how the aesthetic taste-based judgements of the appropriate affecto-rhythmic nature of practices allow the capacity to engage in the flow of embodied knowing of luxury in tourist practices.

This dissertation contributes to the luxury and tourism research discussions. *In luxury research*, it expands the prevailing debates by showing how the lived, living and acting sensuous body is a knowledgeable actor in tourist practices, rather than understanding the tourist as disembodied and passive. The study highlights the active role of a tourist in the production of luxury experience. *Second*, it contributes to practice-theoretical studies in luxury literature in theorising luxury within the situated, ongoing sociomaterial practices that are entangled with affects and rhythms, and accomplished together with the heterogeneous actors of human, nonhuman and natural actors beyond the mere personalised perceptions. *Third*, it complements the discussions of unconventional luxury by drawing attention to the intangible, inconspicuous, aesthetic and ethical nature of luxury emerging within affecto-rhythmic sociomaterial practices. *In tourism research*, the dissertation complements the existing embodiment discussions and contributes to rejecting dualistic knowledge formation. The thesis continues the discussions of relational sociomaterial practices in tourism and presents the body as 'an agencement of embodied knowing and resonant materiality that is able to affect and be affected'. It illustrates how ethics is done in touristic practice. *From the methodological perspective*, through the study of practices by means of body-reflexivity in autoethnography, the existing psychological understandings in luxury explorations are extended in the dissertation. The embodied and methodological approach complements the dominant rational-cognitive methods and external observations of luxury practices in tourism and luxury research. The researcher's body is seen as inherent in unfolding the embodied luxury with the autoethnographic approach of this thesis.

Keywords: luxury, tourism research, embodied knowing, practice theory, sociomateriality, affect, rhythm, autoethnography

TIIVISTELMÄ

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Tavanomaisesti luksus liitetään huomiota herättäviin, kalliisiin sekä erityislaatuisiin tuotteisiin ja palveluihin. Luksusilmiöstä keskustellaan usein branding- ja markkinointikirjallisuudessa. Silti tämän päivän yhteiskunnassa käsitys luksuksesta on laajentunut kattamaan monenlaisia elämyksiä ja aineettoman luksuksen muotoja. Kuluttajatutkimus ja epätavanomaisen luksuksen kirjallisuus näkevät luksuksen sosiaalisena rakennelmana, jossa myös aineettomat, ohikiitävät, tunnepohjaiset intensiteetit ovat merkityksellisiä. Myös luksusmatkailun keskusteluissa on herännyt kiinnostus tutkia luksuselämyksen aineetonta, aistillista luonnetta sekä sen eri variaatioita matkailijoiden tulkinnoissa. Silti epätavanomaiset luksuksen muodot matkailussa ovat saaneet vain vähän huomiota. On olemassa selkeä tarve tutkimuksille, jotka täydentävät luksustutkimuksissa vallalla olevaa psykologista ymmärrystä luksuksen luonteesta, ja tuovat esiin luksuksen ilmenemismuotoja kehollisen tietämisen näkökulmasta.

Tämä tutkimus keskittyy luksuksen ilmenemiseen kehollisena tietämisenä matkailijan sosiomateriaalisissa käytännöissä. Tätä tavoitetta lähestytään kolmella tutkimuskysymyksellä: 1) Millaisissa käytännöissä luksus ilmenee joogaretriittilomalla? 2) Miten luksuksen kehollinen tietäminen kehkeytyy käytännöissä? 3) Mitä kehollinen tietäminen luksuksesta tarkoittaa empiirisesti, ja miten sitä voi metodologisesti tutkia? Tutkimuksessa matkailu ymmärretään käytäntönä, jossa kehollinen tietäminen on luontainen osa tietämistä. Epistemologisesti tutkimus nojautuu käytänteoreettiseen lähestymistapaan, joka juontaa organisaatiokirjallisuudesta ja täsmällisemmin esteettisestä, sosiomateriaalisesta lähestymisestä käytäntöihin: tieto muotoutuu käytännöissä tietämisenä, aktiivisena kehollisena tekemisenä.

Väitöskirjan teoria, empiria ja metodologia muotoutuivat toisiinsa kietoutuneina. Valittu lähestymistapa paljasti luksuksen kehkeytymisen sosiomateriaalisten käytäntöjen affekto-rytmisinä muotoutumisina, kehollisena luksuksena. Väitöskirjan empiirisessä osassa kehon tietämistä luksuksesta tutkitaan evokatiivisen autoet-

nografian ja keho-refleksiivisyyden (engl. *body-reflexivity*) avulla. Kehollinen luksus ilmenee monipaikkaisena ilmiönä, jota tutkitaan joogaretriittiloman käytännöissä thaimaalaisessa luksushotellissa. Henkilökohtaisten kenttämuistiinpanojen ja aineiston lisäksi empiirinen materiaali sisältää hotellin ja joogastudioiden matkailijoille suunnattua markkinointimateriaalia. Kaikkein oleellisin aineisto luksuksesta tietämiseen löytyi kuitenkin kehon sisältä, kehollisesta, affektiivisesta tietämisestä. Tutkimuksessa tunnistettiin viisi affekto-rytmisten käytäntöjen hetkellistä kehkeymää ja ne nimettiin seuraavasti: Orientoituminen, Uudelleenliittyminen, Mukautuminen, Suojeleminen ja Vapautuminen.

Väitöskirja kontribuoi luksus- ja matkailututkimuksen keskusteluihin. *Luksuskirjallisuudessa* tutkimus laajentaa olemassa olevia keskusteluja osoittamalla, miten eletty ja elävä keho on aktiivinen, aistillinen, tietävä toimija sen sijaan, että matkailijoiden kehot ymmärrettäisiin passiivisina. Tutkimus tuo esiin matkailijan ja kehon aktiivisen roolin luksuselämyksen muotoutumisessa. *Toiseksi*, tutkimus kontribuoi luksuskirjallisuuden käytäntöteoreettisiin tutkimuksiin teorisoimalla luksus ilmiönä, joka kehkeytyy yhdessä heterogeenisten toimijoiden – ihmisten, ei-inhimillisten ja luonnon – hetkellisinä yhteenliittyminä. Lisäksi toisin kuin aiemmissa käytäntöteoreettisissa luksustutkimuksissa tässä tutkimuksessa havainnoidaan luksuksen kehkeytymistä sosiomateriaalisten käytäntöjen sisällä. *Kolmanneksi*, tutkimus täydentää epätavanomaisen luksuksen tutkimuksia tuomalla keskusteluihin sosiomateriaalisten käytäntöjen affekto-rytmistä luonteen, mikä vie huomion luksuksen aineettomaan, keholliseen ja eettiseen vaikutukseen. *Matkailututkimuksessa* väitöskirja täydentää olemassa olevia kehollisuus keskusteluja. Tutkimuksessa keho ymmärretään 'kehollisen tietämisen jatkuvana muotoutumisena ja värähtelevänä materiana, joka omaa kyvyn vaikuttaa ja vaikuttua'. Tutkimus tuo esiin kehollisen tietämisen merkityksen luksuksesta tietämisessä sekä havainnollistaa, miten eettisyys tapahtuu matkailun käytännöissä. Tutkimus jatkaa matkailututkimuksen keskusteluja relationaalisista, yli-yksilöllisistä sosiomateriaalisista käytännöistä. *Metodologisesti*, omaksumalla autoetnografisen keho-refleksiivisen lähestymistavan käytäntöjen tutkimisessa väitöskirja laajentaa olemassa olevia luksustutkimuksia, jotka lähestyvät ilmiötä rationaalisen mielen kautta. Valittu lähestymistapa täydentää vallalla olevia rationaalis-kognitiivisia metodologioita luksuksen tutkimisessa sekä luksusilmiön ulkopuolista havainnointia. Tutkijan keho nähdään väitöskirjassa luontaisena ja olennaisena toimijana osana kehollisen luksuksen tietämisessä. Tutkimustuloksia voidaan hyödyntää laajasti erilaisia vieraanvaraisuusalan luksuselämyksiä muotoillessa sekä myös muilla toimialoilla.

Asiasanat: luksus, matkailututkimus, kehollinen tietäminen, käytäntöteoria, sosiomateriaalisuus, affekti, rytmi, autoetnografia

To my daughter, Anni

Acknowledgements

In this dissertation I have been granted the great privilege of uniting my three passions: a doctoral study of luxury, embodied knowing and my passion for practicing yoga. However, this is not a dissertation on yoga or practices related to yoga retreat holiday only. Rather, this thesis illustrates how luxury and knowing the world is inherently emerging also within our knowledgeable bodies, and not solely in our rational mind. The situated epistemic knowing in practices illustrated in this thesis are transferable and they can be noticed and developed in other (service) contexts. It was only after the beginning of my PhD journey that I realised how yoga retreat holidays taking place in the premises of a luxury hotel afforded appropriate practices to explore the unconventional, embodied emerging of luxury.

The topics of this thesis, luxury and embodied knowing, are challenging to put in words. Similarly, it seems challenging to find words with which to get started. I 'just' have a subtle and at the same time intense sensation which I can locate in the left side of my upper body. My heart is filled with warm silence which I also sense as gratitude and wonder. Thump, thump... I feel the rhythm of my heart. It is different. It encloses shades of thrilling excitement. Although painful to find words, I feel this precious and beautiful moment of silence and stillness – it is something to cherish and dwell within. I let the sensation fill my whole body... and gradually wonderings what has past, is present and what is still to become begin to take their shape. The body is open, affectivities start to flow on paper...

Seven years is a long time. It encloses so much. All the people, happenings, doings and moreover all the arousing sensations affecting my PhD process are entangled in my bodymind. The practices and sensations felt within have made me what I am today and the way my dissertation materialised. My deepest gratitude to all of you who have supported my process. Of all the journeys I have taken from Mumbai to Soul and Shanghai, this has been the most incredible.

I still remember the day I met José-Carlos García Rosell at Helsinki Airport to discuss my research proposal. JC thank you so much for accepting me under your supervision. This acceptance changed my life. Along the years you have been persistent in asking over and over again: 'But what is luxury in your experience?'. I guess I have been as persistent in exploring luxury in a very detailed manner in this dissertation. Thank you for your trust and guidance. Anu Valtonen and Minni Haanpää, I feel privileged and grateful of having had you as my supervisors. Your support has been invaluable. Anu, I have been the most inspired of all your extensive research and our discussions in the premises of the human body and practices. You always patiently

answered my emails and guided my path onwards with your practical tips. With your support the embodiment and embodied knowing is here presented to luxury and tourism literature. Minni, I just loved your wonderings and comments which often emerged in subordinate clauses during our supervisor meetings. Your notions have many times opened the pathway to write down things that matter in the knowing of luxury. So, in our meetings I always had to listen very carefully to points that were coming after the main sentences as you were commenting my material. I thank all of you JC, Anu and Minni, for the recurring Teams meetings which started during the pandemic time. Having the possibility to reflect my writings with you in regular intervals has had a major effect on accomplishing my PhD. JC and Minni, I also wish to express my gratitude for being my co-writers in the Emerald Handbook of Luxury Management of Hospitality and Tourism, and for the paradigmatic illustration of luxury as an embodied experience.

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dissertation process around embodiment in pedagogy, and promise to be there for you. In the last phase of my dissertation process I had the possibility to attend Carol Kiriakos's Academic writing retreat and regular coaching sessions. Carol, there is something magical that happens in your writing groups. Your practical tips, professional guidance and hearty reassurance offered just the needed mode to finalise my dissertation. I thank also the members of my writing group for all the warm encouragements you offered. I wish you all the same. My friends and yoga community, I am truly thankful for our joint, empowering sessions. We do not always need words to communicate. Embodied acting is a much more powerful way to communicate than words. Our common, externally silent and still moments have been the most restoring and balancing and offered me a lot of energy for wellbeing and writing.

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Anni, my dearest Daughter, this dissertation is dedicated to You. I wish I have been able to show that life is full of surprises, and the dreams – like completing this dissertation – do come true. Although accomplishing something which you treasure necessitates persistence, everything is much smoother if you let yourself be

surrounded with people and matters that give space for your natural way of being in this world, and appreciate all the miracles you have to share. I hope that in life you would engage with matters that bring you and your loved ones good energy and balance. Listen carefully and trust your own knowing arising within your body whatever you do in life. Whisper and the universe will hear you my Love.

Vesa, my beloved spouse. Thank you for standing by me. Thank you for all the understanding, love and support you have offered during the course of this process. I feel it is beautiful that we have shared quite a long journey already together, and learned to lean to each other in our own way. At the time when I have been building my dissertation you have been engaging with your passion of building houses in your leisure time. Thank you and your parents Tuula and Heikki for having the possibility to spend time in the very private environment in your Ruovesi summer cottage that also affected in completing this thesis. After all it was in the beginning of my dissertation journey that I started to wonder how the similar affectivities that were arising in the luxury hotel practices aroused in the summer cottage as well as. The summer cottage located on a cape without nearby neighbours makes the place truly private and luxurious as the geographic form enables many intimate practices that allow to engage within the soothing flow. The peaceful morning swims and rhythm of swimming have supported my thesis process as this regular morning practice have many times woken up the ideas hiding in my unconscious after a well slept night.

At this end, I am truly thankful for having had the opportunity to take this journey but also happy that this phase is now over. Empowered of this journey I feel more professionally confident to go on exploring luxury wherever this path will take me. I hope that in the future I will be able to investigate more the affecto-rhythmic nature of practices and serve as a support wherever needed.

In Sipoo on a Sunday afternoon after balancing
well-being class in the nearby wellness centre.

June 9th 2024

Cordially,

Mona Eskola

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1 Introduction

1.1 Entry point – “Soothe my senses”

After ten hours of flying and three hours in a minibus, I am exhausted when arriving at the hotel open-air lobby. I have 16 hours of travelling behind me. Our yoga group is greeted warmly, offered cold towels to refresh and a place to sit down. I prefer to stand. My body feels anxious of all the sitting and the long journey. Meanwhile, waiting for my room key, whiffs of lemongrass float in the air while we are sipping the hotel's signature tea. I am wrapped in the surrounding harmony, beauty and peacefulness. I inhale deeply and sigh; serenity suffuses me. Employees move softly and in a quiet way around us. I do not understand their language; I only notice that they addressed each other in a peaceful manner. There is no need to worry about having “my regular room” – or anything else for that matter. I can just enjoy being within this soothing bubble. The humid warm air caresses my body and simultaneously carries me away to my earlier retreats. I am here again. I am breathing. I am alive.

The vignette above illuminates the arrival to my yearly yoga retreat holiday in the luxury boutique hotel premises. It was January 2018 and my third retreat holiday in the same location. Three years earlier, I was seeking a high-quality well-being retreat holiday in a soothing environment. I dreamed of combining yoga with calming holiday practice, since yoga was part of my life to sustain a healthy body and mind. For several days, I carefully studied various advertisements of holistic well-being holidays on the Internet and social media. Finally, I found a Finnish yoga studio providing a yoga holiday in the premises of a small luxury boutique hotel situated in a secluded village in Thailand. I closely examined the suggested daily program of the yoga studio and the hotel's webpages: “While complete tranquillity comes first and foremost, there are also plenty of invigorating activities to intrigue the mind, awaken the body, and satisfy the soul” (extract from the luxury hotel website). I remember my heart beginning to beat faster and I felt the vibes of excitement going up and down in my body (see Katila, Kuusmin, et al., 2019; Katila, Laine, et al., 2019). This yoga retreat holiday in calming, remote premises seemed to offer the right blend of everything in proving retraction, restoration and holistic revitalisation to balance my agitated bodymind.

The excitement I felt at that time did not let me down. During the years 2016–2020, I found myself at the same yoga holiday (that along time became my yoga retreat holiday) four times, year after year, every January. Along my stays in these small, tranquil luxury hotel surroundings, I began to wonder what it was that actually formed the soothing sensation of luxury in my retreat holiday. I felt luxury was not

only emerging from practicing yoga (I will continue this in the next paragraph). Neither did 'luxury' feel solely to be related to the sun and warmth although my body and mind apparently were craving for them in January during the darkest mid-winter season in Finland. Nor was luxury solely related to the luxury hotel as such, since I was quite accustomed with global luxury services and experiences due to my personal and professional history. I had accommodated in countless five-star and luxury hotels all over the world during my 20 years of work history and leisure journeys. Holidaying in a luxury hotel was, in a way, the basic premise affording trust for everything to function 'properly' and smoothly. I did not want to spend my energy with the possible insecurities related to the hotel's basic functioning or to be gracelessly encountered. In turn, the dominant academic considerations at the time suggested cognitive explanations of knowing luxury based on the functional value, meaning, or multisensory luxury of five external senses (e.g. Atwal & Williams, 2009; Hennigs et al., 2015; Wiedmann et al., 2013; Wiedmann et al., 2009; see Kauppinen-Räsänen, Gummerus, et al., 2019). Nevertheless, I did not feel comfortable, attuned to these abstract concepts of value and meaning. As I was a customer experience developer, the abstract conceptualisations did not unfold the making of luxury; I was curious to know how the soothing ongoing sensation was really forming.

During the mentioned years 2016–2020, I also attended four other well-being retreat holidays including yoga: one in Thailand, another in Bhutan and two in Finland. Not all of them were in a luxury hotel setting, however, within these quite different tourism settings I was attached to something that I could feel as luxury alike. Considering the practices of all my holidays, it is apparent that there was a centralised focus on the body and the bodily practice of yoga as they were named as yoga (retreat) holidays. Still, my inner body knowing told me that luxury was not only related to yoga practice or external multisensorial luxury (see Mora et al., 2018; Wiedmann et al., 2016).

I was set out into a puzzling agencement of the not-knowing of luxury. Although I did, but not in a conventional, rational, academic sense. If luxury was not merely attached to the yoga practice or the practices of a traditional luxury hotel, what then? Surely, the luxury I knew was not only the set standards of the luxury hotel; hedonism in a sumptuous tourism premises topped with attentive service and formal courtesy phrases or status-driven conspicuous consumption. Rather, the inconspicuous inner body knowing of luxury was persistently pulsating inside my body. I was hooked and searching for words... that my mind did not know, but my body certainly recognised.

This non-rational-cognitive, embodied knowing of luxury became my entry point to this study in which I theoretically and empirically explore and illustrate the process of tracing the knowing of luxury within the situated practices of a yoga retreat holiday in a Thai luxury hotel. In this thesis, I share the forming of puzzling agencements on how the knowing of luxury that I deeply sensed in my inner body, and that could not be named as a particular emotion, also became an academically

recognised paradigm of luxury (Eskola, Haanpää & Garcia-Rosell, 2022); the luxury that emerged as a steady inner flow soothing my body.

After setting the entry point for my research journey, I will now proceed to taking a closer look at luxury. Luxury is a multidimensional phenomenon whose meaning is embedded in the era and surrounding society (Berry, 1994; Cristini & Kauppinen-Räsänen, 2022; Thomsen et al., 2020). Despite the growing interest into luxury research (Gurзки & Woisetschläger, 2016), there is no common agreement on the definition of luxury in the academia (Atwal & Williams, 2009; Wiedmann et al., 2009). Each social community holds and enjoys its own kind of luxury (Mortelmans, 2005). Luxury is relational to the contexts (Berthon et al., 2009). Since the well-cited Veblenian understanding of luxury as conspicuous consumption that belongs to the elite, the academic discussions of luxury in contemporary societies have evolved continuously. Regardless that the etymology of the word 'luxury' from the 14 century relates luxury to the "sensual pleasure" (Online Etymology Dictionary, 2022) in the prevailing debates in luxury literature, the concept of luxury is commonly perceived as an economic concept (Cristini & Kauppinen-Räsänen, 2022; Mortelmans, 2005) and is much discussed as related to luxury consumption. However, it has been emphasised that luxury as a social concept should merit more attention in luxury research (Berthon et al., 2009; Mortelmans, 2005; Roper et al., 2013; Thomsen et al., 2020). The experiential everyday practices of luxury are getting more attention (Banister et al., 2020; Thomsen et al., 2020).

During the past decades, tourism, marketing and consumer research have opened avenues to the role of tourist/consumer and to the emotional, sensuous engagement in experiences (e.g. Arnould & Price, 1993; Edensor, 2000; Holbrook & Hirschman, 1982; Obrador Pons, 2003; Veijola & Jokinen, 1994). Similarly, previous studies in luxury marketing literature recognise the saliency of holistic and multisensory nature of luxury experience (Atwal & Williams, 2009; Hennigs et al., 2012; Kapferer & Bastien, 2009; Wiedmann et al., 2013; Wiedmann et al., 2018). Luxury (brand/service) experience is conceptualised "as sensations, feelings, cognitions, and behavioural responses" (Berthon et al., 2009, p. 48), though the assumption is that luxury is created solely through the product-based stimulation of our five external senses, psychological stimuli or by a managerial approach (e.g. Atwal & Williams, 2009; Kapferer & Bastien, 2009; Wiedmann et al., 2013). Such traditional views on the sensual nature of luxury narrow the understanding of luxury into cognitive-rational perceptions and product-centric views. Still, the saliency of embodiment and the corporeal basis for marketing memorable and aesthetic experiences is highlighted as well (Joy & Sherry, 2003). Luxury (brand) experiences are based on customer involvement, engagement and intensities of all the senses (Atwal & Williams, 2009). In reference to Pine and Gilmore (1999), Atwal and Williams (2009, p. 345) forward how postmodernist thinking escapes rationalism and how "customers are not rational decision-makers" but emotional beings. The

field of (service) marketing has aimed to achieve a deeper understanding of the holistic nature of luxury experience through various perspectives, such as analysing the (multisensory) perceptions of brand/product-related features and their variables (e.g. Hennigs et al., 2012; Wiedmann et al., 2007, 2009; Wiedmann et al., 2018). The affective relationship of brand luxury is recognised as relevant in consumers' enjoyment of luxury experiences (Chandon et al., 2017, 2019; de Kerviler & Rodriguez, 2019). Traditional luxury in the shape of branded luxury products exists next to the evolving understandings of luxury (Chandon et al., 2016).

The discussions of luxury in tourism are strongly affected by the conventional object-focused understanding, thus perceiving "luxury tourist experience[s] as a product" (Iloranta, 2021, p. 39, 2022). Luxury tourism is commonly related to conspicuous consumption, and the social meaning-making of luxury is mostly related to status-driven consumption (e.g. Correia, Reis, et al., 2020). Although the traditional, conspicuous features of luxury still apply to luxury tourism (Iloranta, 2022), in contemporary societies the understandings of luxury have broadened beyond luxury products towards experiential and unconventional forms (Cristini et al., 2017; Thomsen et al., 2020).

The meaning of luxury has thus transformed from "having-to-being and from owning-to-experiencing" (Cristini et al., 2017, p. 101). The recent ongoing debates on unconventional luxury (Thomsen et al., 2020) demonstrate how the formation of luxury is much related to inconspicuous, experiential knowing of the agentic consumer. Knowing luxury does not necessarily demand monetary resources, but is more related to creative knowing, that of noticing the ephemeral feelings and the "physical intensity" taking place in various contexts (Banister et al., 2020; Thomsen et al., 2020, p. 444; Zanette et al., 2022). In turn, some luxury studies with a practice-theoretical approach strive to complement the personalised understandings of luxury when investigating how consumers practice luxury in complex socio-material contexts (Banister et al., 2020; Seo & Buchanan-Oliver, 2019; Zanette et al., 2022). These studies highlight the centrality of practice and study the consumers' performance with luxury and non-luxury materialities that take place in ordinary and extraordinary premises.

The paradigm shift in luxury "from having-to-being and owning-to-experiencing" (Cristini et al., 2017, p. 101) widens the traditional product-centric approach towards consumer centricity and consumer-defined experiential luxury beyond brand luxury. The focus is shifted from material luxury towards immaterial experiences, co-creation, consumer processes, subjective understandings of luxury, as well as a holistic understanding of luxury in consumers' lives and practices (Bauer et al., 2011; Kauppinen-Räsänen, Gummerus, et al., 2019; Seo & Buchanan-Oliver, 2019; Tynan et al., 2010). Along the emergence of consumer-centric approaches to luxury, the experiential, the intrinsic and immaterial nature of luxury has been examined through the personal meanings individuals associate with their luxury

experiences (Hemetsberger et al., 2012). Recent luxury studies highlight subjective, total multisensory immersion and consumption practices in the creation of luxury (Kauppinen-Räsänen et al., 2020; Seo & Buchanan-Oliver, 2019). Experiential luxury studies have focused on examining interactive experiences between the consumer, product/brand, service and social service setting.

The ongoing unconventional luxury discussions in consumer research emphasise the consumer-focused, agentive role of a consumer in the formation of luxury (Holmqvist, 2023; see Thomsen et al., 2020). Creative consumers invent and reinvent luxury through their own mundane practices. They produce, shape and give new meanings to their own personal luxury in various experiences and through diverse ways (Holmqvist et al., 2020; Kreuzer et al., 2020; Rosenbaum et al., 2021; Sudbury-Riley et al., 2020). Consumers interpret the meaning of luxury through the particular purpose the product, experience or activity is offering to them in relation to their own life (e.g. Kauppinen-Räsänen, Gummerus, et al., 2019). However, in the premises of tourism research de Souza Bispo (2016) echoes Thomsen et al. (2020) in suggesting a shift beyond individual interpretations. As tourism is a complex phenomenon taking place with heterogeneous actors, studying tourism as a social practice allows one to unfold the varied knowledge formation taking place in diverse tourism spaces/places (de Souza Bispo, 2016). The intimate, intangible and inconspicuous forms of luxury are gaining attention in luxury research (e.g. Thomsen et al., 2020). Accordingly, luxury literature highlights how luxury is at the same time “*material, social and individual*” (original Italics) (Berthon et al., 2009, p. 47; see Thomsen et al., 2020). Understanding luxury demands embracing “the full dimensionality of the relationships among people, products and brands” (Berthon et al., 2009, p. 47). Luxury is perceived as a process rather than a thing (Berthon et al., 2009; Holmqvist, 2023; Joy et al., 2014; Thomsen et al., 2020). Indeed, some luxury studies with a practice-theoretical approach strive to complement the personalised understandings of luxury in investigating how consumers practice luxury in complex socio-material contexts (Banister et al., 2020; Seo & Buchanan-Oliver, 2019; Zanette et al., 2022). In these studies luxury is understood as co-created and occurring not only between consumers and brands but also in consumers’ everyday practices, thus highlighting the centrality of practice. Thus, the knowing of luxury is forming while consumers are “*practicing* luxury” (original Italics) (Nicolini, 2012, as cited in Banister et al., 2020, p. 464). In these studies, the formation and meaning making of luxury are seen to occur through consumers’ practices in “complex socio-material contexts” and as related to material objects and “embodied activities” (Shove & Pantzar, 2005, as cited in Banister et al., 2020, p. 459).

However, in cultural practice theories an individual is (only) seen as a carrier of practices (Reckwitz, 2002; see Gherardi, 2012; see Nicolini, 2012, 2013). Practices are socio-cultural in their nature, taking place in the situated, historical social site and accomplished together with diversified human, nonhuman, material and natural

actors (Gherardi, 2019; Nicolini, 2012, 2013). The shared knowledge formation, meaning-making and understanding allow (individuals) the capacity to act and organise the social order (Valtonen, 2012). Similarly, tourism is a liquid phenomenon in which the borders of home and away overlap and, therefore, touristic practices cannot be separated from the society that created them (Cohen & Cohen, 2019; de Souza Bispo, 2016). The complex knowledge production of contemporary tourists necessitates complementing approaches to the conventional rational forms of contextual knowing. Thus, for the purpose of this thesis, a mere emphasis on the experiencing, agentive consumer in the forming of luxury practices seems limited. Rather, luxury studies should contribute to the understanding of how knowing emerges within sociomaterial practices – both human and nonhuman – that are relevant in social practice theories challenging dualistic thinking (see Gherardi, 2019; Nicolini, 2012, 2013; see de Souza Bispo, 2016). That is, many luxury studies explicitly highlight the search for individual experiential meaning and decentring from the material. Yet, this is understandable against the ongoing debates of unconventional luxury aiming to move away from the traditional luxury marketing built around the material product or brand features (Atwal & Williams, 2009) as luxury (products) have a long history within branding and marketing studies. Therefore, seeing luxury to emerge within shared sociomaterial practices especially contribute to extension of the existing unconventional and practice-theoretical studies of luxury that today advocate the subjective, psychological and rational-cognitive understandings of luxury.

To summarise, interpreting luxury to emerge within sociomaterial practices guides to explore the luxury phenomenon in engaging within the situated, ongoing tourist practices. The practice-theoretical approach allows one to see practices as non-individualistic; the individual is the carrier of cultural practices. Hence, the practice approach appreciates the human body as an inborn actor in practicing. It enables to see the knowing of luxury as relational to the wider practices of tourist life in contemporary society. Luxury is a sociocultural construct (Berry, 1994), and the nature of luxury evolves along the phenomena of contemporary societies. Individuals interpret luxury in various ways bonded to their own life (Banister et al., 2020; Kauppinen-Räsänen, Gummerus, et al., 2019; Mora et al., 2018; Thomsen et al., 2020) and as entangled within the practices of surrounding society with its sources and effects. Yoga industry provides valuable insights into “the sensory dynamics of luxury market” (Mora et al., 2018, p. 173), in addition to which a yoga retreat holiday entails various sensory practices in which the bodily knowing of luxury may emerge (see Eskola et al., 2022; Mora et al., 2018; see also Valtonen & Veijola, 2011).

In this thesis, I set out to explore the embodied knowing of luxury in engaging within the situated, ongoing sociomaterial practices of a yoga retreat holiday and as interpreted in the embodied practices of a contemporary tourist. This thesis is positioned in the discussions of luxury and tourism research. The multidisciplinary approach enables the explorations of embodied knowing of luxury in tourist practices.

I interpret the luxury phenomenon within sociomaterial practices and explore the embodied knowing of luxury in tourism practice (Figure 1). More specifically, engaging within sociomaterial practices and autoethnographic methodology enables to reflect the nature of practices ‘within’ to unfold the appropriate affecto-rhythmic nature of practices (Katila, Kuusmin, et al., 2019) that allow luxury to emerge in the practices of a contemporary tourist. By this approach, I aim to complement luxury literature, luxury tourism literature and particularly the unconventional and practice-theoretical discussions of luxury as well as the discussions on luxury and embodiment in tourism research in considering fresh ways of understanding the luxury phenomenon by moving beyond external, cognitive-rational sensory perceptions. Further, in tourism research discussions this thesis complements the existing studies in drawing attention to the tourism knowledge production that founds on the aesthetic tradition of practice theories (de Souza Bispo, 2016; Soica, 2016; see d’Hauteserre, 2015). The thesis conceptualises the tourist’s body as knowledgeable (Veijola & Jokinen, 1994) affecto-rhythmic agencement (see Katila, Kuusmin, et al., 2019) beyond the object/subject body and, therefore, continues the discussions on an affective body (see Everingham et al., 2021). It can be argued that when the tourist is engaging within situated, ongoing sociomaterial practices, the knowing of the appropriate affecto-rhythmic nature of practices affects the emergence of embodied luxury.

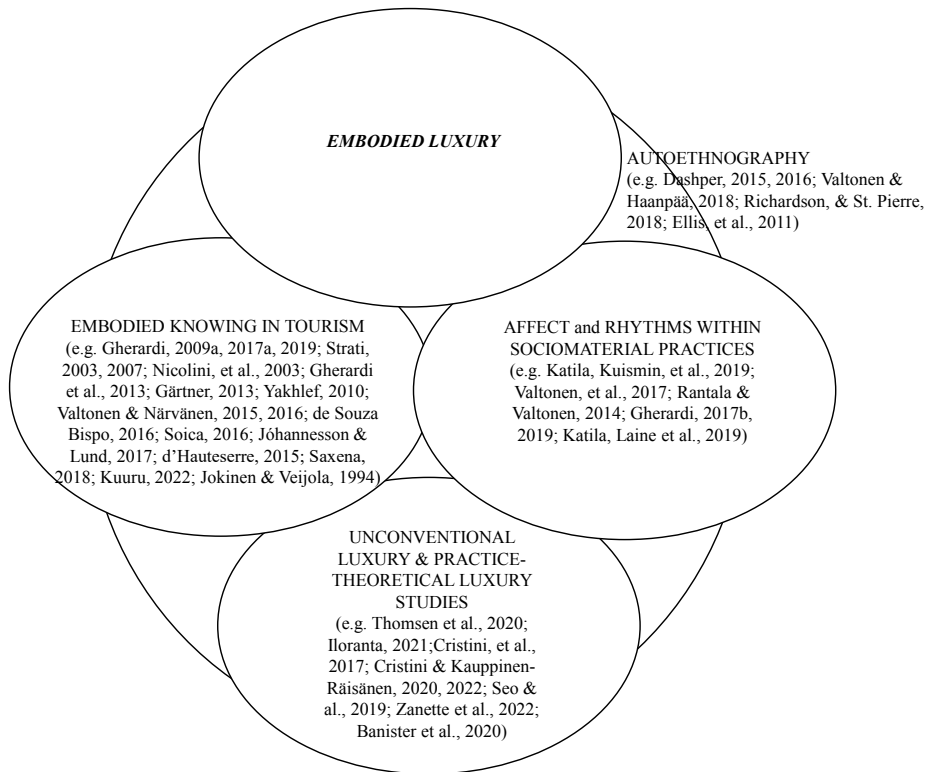


Figure 1. Positioning of the thesis

1.2 Towards embodied approach and research questions

In this study, I set out to theoretically and empirically explore the emergence of the embodied knowing of luxury in the situated, ongoing sociomaterial practices of a yoga retreat holiday. By doing this, the thesis expands the dominant rational-cognitive approaches of luxury literature that study luxury ‘from outside’ the practices and in analysing predetermined elements (see e.g. Berthon et al., 2009; Thomsen et al., 2020; Zanette et al., 2022) to enrich them with the ephemeral knowing emerging within embodied sociomaterial practices. This way, the purpose is not only to fill a gap, but also to cultivate the understanding for academics and practitioners of how embodied knowing complements and entangles with the rational knowing of luxury in tourism practices (see Kuuru, 2022). To be able to unfold the ephemeral knowing emerging in my body, I apply – and develop – a sociomaterial practice-based approach entangled with rhythms and affects to understand the embodied knowing of luxury. Exploring the sociomaterial practices allows to see how the knowing of luxury emerges in intercorporeal and within corporeal tourist practices as the body is engaged with different sensorial flows (see Gherardi, 2017a, 2019; Katila, Kuusmin, et al., 2019; Rantala & Valtonen, 2014; Strati, 2007; Valtonen et al., 2017). The practice-theoretical approach demonstrates how practicing is accomplished together with heterogeneous actors beyond unbounded tourism encounters (see de Souza Bispo, 2016). To meet the purpose of this study, I have engaged in multi-sited, longitudinal autoethnographic fieldwork. Based on my study, I hereby present three research questions.

First, regardless of the shift in luxury “from having-to-being and owning-to-experiencing” (Cristini et al., 2017, p. 101) and the notions of unconventional and practice-theoretical luxury literature to know contemporary consumers’ own mundane luxury practices (Holmqvist, 2023; Thomsen et al., 2020), studies still often aim to understand the luxury phenomenon through subjective cognitive-rational reasoning. However, tourism research evidences that the “sensuous” in tourism is understood as a form of relevant knowing aside the cognitive perceptions in touristic performances (Crouch & Desforges, 2003, p. 6; see d’Hauteserre, 2015; Obrador Pons, 2003). Tourism practices may entail the capacity to unfold a variable to the rational one (see Dewsbury et al., 2002; Thrift, 2008). The sensuous knowing of luxury through the acting body is much neglected in tourism practices (see Eskola et al., 2022). Current experiential studies on luxury tourism have been suggested to be complemented by the characteristics of unconventional luxury highlighting the inconspicuous and experiential forms of consumption (Iloranta, 2022; see Eckhardt et al., 2015). Further, it is noted how in the current studies of luxury tourism, experiences have afforded only a context for the luxury investigations, and therefore it is proposed that future examinations should focus on studying the luxury tourism experience per se (Iloranta, 2022) as the current understandings of luxury tourism

largely lean on traditional luxury characteristics (Correia, Kozak, et al., 2020). Until today, practice-theoretical studies examining touristic embodied practices hardly exist. Still, in luxury literature, the formation and meaning making of luxury is seen as occurring through consumers' practices in complicated socio-material contexts and as related to physical intensities (Thomsen et al., 2020). Some luxury studies recognise the embodied nature of the consumer experiences, where consumers create their personal luxury experiences through their own bodies and bodily movements (Holmqvist et al., 2020; Joy et al., 2014; Zanette et al., 2022). Nevertheless, the body is still often perceived as an aesthetic object, and luxury is understood through external beauty and predefined elements. The knowledgeable body itself is regarded as a rather passive entity and its knowing is disregarded. Until today, luxury research has much neglected the role of a human body in the sensuous knowing of luxury, conceptualising the tourist and body mostly as a static, 'not-knowing' object. Furthermore, luxury research has overlooked the appreciation of the more nuanced sensory, embodied and societal complexity of the experience (Chandon et al., 2019; Thomsen et al., 2020; Zanette et al., 2022). As the diverse meanings of luxury are embedded in tourism experiences (Correia, Reis, et al., 2020), an interest towards exploring diversified forms of luxury tourism and how tourists form their luxury meanings has emerged (Correia, Kozak, et al., 2020).

In tourism studies, the role of a performing and moving body has been recognised already thirty years ago (Jokinen & Veijola, 1994; Veijola & Valtonen, 2007). Tourism encounters are largely practical and embodied ways of interacting with the surrounding environment through which tourists produce knowledge (Obrador Pons, 2003). Therefore, the recognised embodied and performing human body needs to be considered as an inherently knowledgeable actor in tourist practices (Crouch & Desforges, 2003) affording luxury (Banister et al., 2020), and in interpreting the less rational aspect of sensuous luxury (Atwal & Williams, 2009; Berthon et al., 2009; Zanette et al., 2022). In order to understand the complex nature of tourism, it is proposed that tourism should be (re)theorised as practice (de Souza Bispo, 2016). In tourism research, there is scant attention to the aesthetic tradition of practices, and hence tourism researchers are encouraged to be inspired by the aesthetic orientation of practicing in their investigations (de Souza Bispo, 2016). Thus, in this thesis, having the knowing emerging within the body under examination guides me to approach the luxury phenomenon in exploring the situated, ongoing sociomaterial practices (Gherardi, 2000, 2009, 2019; see Strati, 2007). Interpreting luxury within sociomaterial practices allows me to complement the neglected embodied knowing within diverse embodied practices. First, it enables the exploration of the emerging knowing in the in situ embodied performing of a tourist as a carrier of practices. Exploring sociomaterial practices permits surpassing the solely personalised interpretations of luxury and for seeing how the emergence of luxury in tourism embodied performing is entangled with societal practices.

Secondly and more importantly, interpreting luxury within sociomaterial practices enables the unfolding of varied forms of aesthetic, embodied knowing emerging within the entangled affecto-rhythmic practices (Katila, Kuismin, et al., 2019) while the body is engaged within various sensory states inbetween being awake and sleeping (Valtonen et al., 2017). It shows how embodied practices are accomplished together with heterogeneous actors. Thus, to complement the prevailing disembodied understandings of how luxury emerges in tourism practical encounters and to complement the tourism research embodiment discussions as an inherent form of knowledgeability in practice, the following is my first research question:

1) In what kind of practices does luxury unfold in a yoga retreat holiday?

Second, in tourism and hospitality experiences the inconspicuous sensory pleasure and intrinsic enjoyment has been recognised as especially significant in the creation of luxury (Correia, Kozak, et al., 2020; see Iloranta, 2022; Wiedmann et al., 2018; Yang & Mattila, 2016). It has been noted how “luxury items” “flatter all senses at once” (Kapferer, 1997, p. 253). Occasionally, the multidimensionality of luxury aesthetics has been forwarded to take place through embodied acting (e.g. Berthon et al., 2009; Dion & Arnould, 2011; Joy et al., 2014) and the affective nature of luxury practices has been highlighted as focal, although this has not been elaborated much further (see Chandon et al., 2016, 2019; Zanette et al., 2022). Until today, studies investigating the complex nature of feelings, affects and emotions in luxury experiences are exceptionally scarce, and they represent novel topics in luxury research (see Eskola et al., 2022; Chandon et al., 2017). Commonly luxury aesthetics is discussed as related to visual beauty or solely being shaped through mental perceptions and sensory stimulation of the external senses (Wiedmann et al., 2013; Wiedmann et al., 2018; Yang & Mattila, 2016). Additionally, this notion concerns tourism research, as well. Yet, the common understanding is that the concept of luxury is inherently sensual and aesthetic, as it has been argued that “the role that aesthetic sensibility has played in theorising luxury has been conspicuous in its absence” (Berthon et al., 2009, p. 63; see Chandon et al., 2017; Chandon et al., 2019). In sum, the current approaches seem inadequate for unveiling the called studies on the affective nature of luxury (de Kerviler & Rodriguez, 2019; see Thomsen et al., 2020) in tourist practices.

Unconventional luxury literature encourages researchers to explore the ephemeral, physical intensities and emotional involvement in consumers’ intimate experiences of luxury that, however, afford lasting value (Thomsen et al., 2020). Moreover, many luxury studies emphasise how in luxury experiences it is vital to avoid the overstimulation of the senses and rather create experiences with soothing affectivities (Joy et al., 2014; Wiedmann et al., 2013; Wiedmann et al., 2018) that afford comfort, “the feeling of being soothed, and even being ‘at home’” (Joy et al.,

2014, p. 350). Additionally, this also applies to luxury tourism premises (Wiedmann et al., 2016). Nevertheless, these studies afford little information on how the inconspicuous sensualities and soothing affectivities of luxury are accomplished in practice. Even though the characteristics of branded luxury products have been studied extensively, the nuanced, affective nature and formation of luxury through the elevating sensuous characteristics embedded in practices has largely been overlooked regardless of its recognised importance (Chandon et al., 2016, 2017, 2019). Therefore, this thesis draws attention to the soothing affectivities and the embodied forming of luxury in touristic practice. The rhythmic attuning in natural and sociomaterial practices is noted to entail the potential to move away from mundane stress and pressures, thus enhancing well-being and harmony (Rantala & Valtonen, 2014; see Lefebvre, 2004). In the fast-paced societies and hectic everyday life contemporary consumers are contesting the rhythm of present life and long for a more harmonious being (Cristini & Kauppinen-Räsänen, 2022; see Hemetsberger et al., 2012) and living as attuned to nature (Joy et al., 2012; Rantala & Valtonen, 2014). In tourism research discussion, affective and rhythmic practices affording harmony have received only little attention (Rantala & Valtonen, 2014). Inspired by these notions, this thesis sets out to unfold fresh ideas of the harmonising emergence of luxury in tourism embodied sociomaterial practices, and more specifically, the affective and rhythmic nature of practices, posing the question:

2) How does the embodied knowing of luxury emerge when engaging in practices?

The third and last research question relates to the empirical part of this dissertation. The empirical investigations of unconventional luxury are still sparse (Thomsen et al., 2020), especially in the premises of luxury tourism (Iloranta, 2022). In some empirical findings of unconventional and experiential luxury literature, diverse fleeting sensualities of luxury can be noticed that arise in practices and are entangled with varied social and material actors (e.g. Bauer et al., 2011; Hemetsberger et al., 2012; Kreuzer et al., 2020; Sudbury-Riley et al., 2020). However, these studies do not make notice of the subtle but powerful affecto-rhythmic nature of practices that still affects the body and is present in the verbal illustrations of luxury made by their study participants. Instead, the studies interpret practices “from the outside” (see Gherardi, 2019, p. 96) with interviews, through the perceptions made by the mind, and see the emergence of luxury as related to the processes of consumers selves, empathy or humanity among others (e.g. Kreuzer et al., 2020; Sudbury-Riley et al., 2020). Nevertheless, with a different kind of approach, aim as well as analysis and method, the ephemeral yet powerful affecto-rhythmic entanglements in sociomaterial practices would have become visible and appreciated aside the cognitive perceptions.

How then to know and illustrate the ephemeral embodied affecto-rhythmic reality that is rich but partly hidden in the corporeal body? How to co-generate material

that is messy and escapes conventional research methodologies and codification? From the participants and researcher, it would demand a particular embodied sensibility and appreciation to know, unfold and capture the emerging affectivities. The aesthetic, sensible knowledge arising as affective sensations in the inner body may not be easily known in examining practices by external observations. That is, as people possess and develop different kinds of abilities and capacities to act and observe (Pareyson, 1954, as cited in Strati, 2007; see Gherardi, 2019). Affectivities may be considered abnormal, irrelevant or challenging to put in words or they may be seen as a non-relevant form of knowledge. Sensible knowing is related to appreciation and taste (Gherardi, 2009b). Further, it demands bodily and mental openness to be able to 'access' the embodied data, which also makes the participants vulnerable. Not all people feel comfortable in sharing the emerging affectivities because of their intimate nature. Therefore, through interviews or observations, for instance, it might not be easy to co-generate rich material of the nuanced, ephemeral affectivities. In addition to oral verbalisation, it might also be challenging to illustrate the embodied affectivities of luxury in written format. At least some level of skills needs to be possessed in order to express the affectivities in written format. Regardless of these methodological concerns, the diverse ongoing debates on luxury research seem to share an interest in coveting a more nuanced knowing of the affectivities and physical intensities of luxury (Chandon et al., 2017; Chandon et al., 2016, 2019; Thomsen et al., 2020). Additionally, in particular communities and experiences the aesthetic, embodied forms of knowing are inherent for the successful accomplishment of practices arousing affectivities (Gherardi, 2009, 2019) of luxury, like in the premises of contemporary yoga experiences (Mora et al., 2018; see Eskola et al., 2020), salsa dancing events (Holmqvist et al., 2020), or wine tourism (Taplin, 2015), to name a few. Finding an appropriate methodology to unfold the empirical sociomaterial practices emanating varied forms of embodied knowing of luxury is essential for the purposes of this study. Therefore, the empirical and methodological questions have to be carefully reflected through the third research question:

3) What does the embodied knowing of luxury empirically mean, and how can it be methodologically studied?

This dissertation offers a complementing exploration to the cognitive understandings of luxury in proposing a more holistic knowing that appreciates the embodied affecto-rhythmic nature in sociomaterial practices (e.g. Gherardi, 2017a, 2017b, 2019; Katila, Kuusmin, et al., 2019; Rantala & Valtonen, 2014; Strati, 2007; Valtonen et al., 2017). The coveted attention towards a more nuanced knowing of the affectivities, physical intensities and emotional engagement with luxury (Chandon et al., 2017; Chandon et al., 2016, 2019; Thomsen et al., 2020) echoes with the arguments made in previous luxury literature more than ten years ago,

claiming that consumers are not solely driven by rational decision-making (Atwal & Williams, 2009, p. 345). For practitioners who aim to know of a truly holistic and sensuous luxury offering, this study and, especially, its Chapter 5 elaborate practical illustrations in a multiple embodied manner.

1.3 Embodiment in tourism research

In this chapter, I set out to explore the concept of embodiment; how the body has been theorised in sociological tourism research. Embodiment implies focusing on the sensuous, non-rational-cognitive experience of the performing body in relation with “people, places, subjectivities and knowledges” (Crouch & Desforges, 2003, p. 6; see d’Hauteserre, 2015; see Obrador Pons, 2003). Knowing various tourism spaces within the body is inborn as we are practically engaged in the world through our bodies (Veijola & Jokinen, 1994). Along the years, the fixed and static notions of a body have transformed towards a more relational understanding of the knowing emerging in and through social, material and natural tourism practices (e.g. Rantala, 2010; Rantala & Valtonen, 2014). There are notions of the material, fleshy and even unbounded body being the primary source of knowing the world (d’Hauteserre, 2015; Saxena, 2018; see Everingham et al., 2021).

From passive to sensuously performing body. The concept of embodiment emerged in tourism research discussion in the 1990s as a critique against the tourism experience studies that were dominated by the sense of sight. The tourist gaze (Urry, 1990) and the ocular-centred stream of tourism research received a great deal of criticism as they approached the space or place of tourism through the lenses of visual culture that reduced the touristic body into a representation, an image (Haldrup & Larsen, 2003; Markwick, 2001; Veijola & Jokinen, 1994). The tourist’s body and sensuous, embodied performing were considered neglected in academic theorising even though the embodied knowing of the world is inherent in our everyday interactions and even though it cannot be controlled by the rational mind (Crouch et al., 2001; Crouch & Desforges, 2003; Edensor, 2000a; Obrador Pons, 2003). The seminal work of Veijola and Jokinen (1994), *The Body in Tourism*, demonstrated the agential role of a sensuous tourist body that is inborn in performing through eating, drinking, sun bathing and dancing for instance. Notably, Crouch and Desforges (2003) pointed out how Veijola and Jokinen’s work allows us to understand the multiplicity of the tourist’s sensual experience beyond the external senses. The performing body itself was noticed to innately afford unbounded nuances of senses that enable knowing in relation to human, nonhuman, material and nature environment in tourism. Crouch and Desforges (2003, p. 7) emphasise that “understanding our sensual relations with the world is not simply a case of ‘adding in’ other senses: a sensory geography of taste, touch, smell or sound”. Rather, the body itself is agential and acting. Tourists are not

disembodied or bodily passive and do not only base their knowledge on cognitive processes in various tourism spaces/places. Gazing was noticed to engage sensuous bodies that, through intimate relationships, negotiated appropriate embodied performances in the situated socio-cultural environment. That is, the tourists' bodily performances and sensual experiences beyond the Aristotelian five senses were seen as an empowering approach for understanding the formation of touristic knowing in the tourism environment beyond the disembodied reflexion alone (Crouch & Desforjes, 2003). The subsequent academic discussions demanded a more in-depth interpretation of tourist encounters as well as seeing the tourists through wider cultural lenses, apprehending the sensuous tourist as part of the social and cultural contexts. Tourists are not performing in isolation in a fixed tourism container, but making sense of tourism as humans of contemporary society, culture and life (e.g. Crouch et al., 2001).

From agentic individual towards situated practices. The paradigmatic thinking of Veijola and Jokinen (1994) was followed by several researchers, albeit five years later in the beginning of the 2000s. The performing human body and its relation within the tourism (geographical) environment was investigated by geographers and tourism researchers in particular (e.g. Crouch et al., 2001; Crouch & Desforjes, 2003; Li, 2000; Markwick, 2001; Obrador Pons, 2003; Saldanha, 2002; Wang, 1999). They explored how the visual tourism place under the gaze was filled with social, cultural and sensuous performances in which the body is agentic and moving (e.g. Edensor 2000a, 2001; Haldrup and Larsen 2003). "Each gaze depends upon practices and material relations" (see Matteucci, 2014; see Rakić & Chambers, 2012; Urry & Larsen, 2011, pp. 14-15). The concentration on a very practical level of tourist activities steered the investigations towards a wide range of non-representational practices (Thrift, 1997, as cited in Obrador Pons, 2003) that were discussed through the Heideggerian dwelling, being-in-the-world, knowing in flesh (Merleau-Ponty, 1968, [2016]), and becoming (Grosz, 1999, as cited in Obrador Pons, 2003). It was suggested that the concentration on tourist-embodied practices unfold the complex formation of tourist phenomena beyond the common phenomenological approach; isolated, teleological and omnipotent ideas of the individual (Obrador Pons, 2003). In sum, the investigations of embodied tourist practices were seen as an insightful avenue to rethink the cultural understanding of tourism on the questions of power and politics (Crouch & Desforjes, 2003).

Rejection of dualism. The knowledge of tourism space/place is understood to emerge in and through various performances that take place in assemblages, networks of a variety of human, nonhuman and natural actors (Cohen & Cohen, 2012). In these networks of constant making and remaking, various actors, bodies, sensualities, materialities, emotions and perceptions, discourses and texts, technologies and mediums entangle and form the knowledge together (Cohen & Cohen, 2012; Obrador Pons, 2003; Rickly-Boyd & Metro-Roland, 2010). That

is, the embodiment discussions move attention and support in overcoming the dominant “disembodied and masculinist knowledge” (Johnston, 2001, p. 183), and therewith fracture the dualistic worldview of body/mind, subject/object, structure/agency, nature/culture or home/away (Cohen & Cohen, 2019; Obrador Pons, 2003). Rethinking tourism as an assemblage is seen as an avenue for breaking through binary thinking.

The discussions have been affected by tourism geographers. Still, subsequent tourism debates aimed to shift the focus away from the geographical perspective only towards emphasising a contextual body, a body that is situated but performs also in relation to other persons, subjectivities, materialities and knowledges in wider and more complicated cultural networks and assemblages. Along the years, the sensuous body performing in the tourism environments has been studied especially as related to tourism experience and destination development (e.g. Agapito, 2020; d’Hauteserre, 2015; Jóhannesson & Lund, 2017; Rantala, 2010; Saxena, 2018; Soica, 2016; Wilson et al., 2019). Furthermore, embodiment as related to tourism experience is discussed as related to the perceptions of identity and corporeality (see e.g. Elsrud, 2001; Matteucci, 2014; Quinlan Cutler et al., 2014; Saxena, 2018; Wang, 1999) as well as gender and sexuality (Andriotis, 2010; Small, 2016).

It has been emphasised that the social tourism phenomenon is continuously (re)assembling with the society (de Souza Bispo, 2016). Shilling (2003, p. 62, as cited in Small & Harris, 2012, p. 687), among others, contends that “the body is somehow shaped, constrained and even invented by society” as they investigated the corporeal experience of the body in the context of an airline experience. Small and Harris (2012) add that the body is not only socially constructed but also socially experienced.

Relational sociomaterial bodies. Starting from Edensor (2000a, 2001), it is highlighted that bodies affect and are affected through their diverse sociomaterial interactions in various tourism spaces. Following the ideas of Science and Technological Studies and Actor-Network, the social takes place through interaction between human bodies, but also within objects and diverse materialities (de Souza Bispo, 2016; Latour, 2005; Orlikowski, 2007). Haldrup and Larsen (2006, p. 275) contend that “tourist practices are much more tied up with material objects and physical sensations than traditionally assumed” (see Chronis, 2015). Baerenholdt et al. (2004, p. 31, as cited in Rickly-Boyd & Metro-Roland, 2010, p. 1176) maintain the following: “Tourists need to engage with the materiality of place. Tourists’ consumption of places is a way of networking material, social *and* cultural elements” (original *Italics*) (see Franklin, 2014; see Rantala, 2010). Noticeably, tourism spaces are materially organised to afford meaningful touristic settings assisted by tourism employees (Edensor, 2000, 2001; see d’Hauteserre, 2015; see Rantala, 2010). Further, Saldanha’s (2002) prominent study of dancing bodies at a beach

rave demonstrated how it is through the entangled sociomaterial arrangements that merge in the body and qualify the emerging knowing of the tourism space in a particular manner that enables the body into the flow of rave. Since then, tourism researchers have illustrated how the surrounding nature, weather, darkness, cosmic world and electricity materialise in the knowing of the bodies (e.g. Jóhannesson & Lund, 2017; Rantala, 2010; Rantala & Valtonen, 2014; Rhoden & Kaaristo, 2020; Saldanha, 2002). Accordingly, Rickly-Boyd and Metro-Roland (2010) argue that it is through the mundane, banal material features of the landscape that bodies form the knowing of the tourism space *as* a place in their study on how various elements affect the tourist experience. Matteucci (2014) and Chronis (2015) continue on the same note by suggesting that landscape features, form of the built environment and the quality of the clothing, among others, affect the arising knowing of the moving bodies (see Haldrup & Larsen, 2006). Rantala (2010) states that in analysing (sociomaterial) practices, the attention should be stirred particularly towards their embodied pre-reflexive and reflexive nature in the given tourism environment as they bring out the affecting materiality. The arising knowledge emerged in Rantala's (2010) study through the materiality of a vehicle and the nature of the ground, among others (see Wilson et al., 2019). Rhoden and Kaaristo (2020) echo these views as they discuss how water as a mundane materiality generally in tourism social science research is understood as being nothing more than a background to diverse touristic activities and extraordinary experiences. Still, water affects the knowing of a body as they analyse the relational interaction between the body, boat and water as an assemblage. With the Deleuzian notion of assemblage, they highlight the processual and entangled nature of the bodies interacting with the qualities of water. Water in its nature is liquid and constantly moving. Water also affords a foundational resource in tourism as tourists utilise it in various activities, such as river drafting, swimming, skiing, scuba diving or surfing (Arnould et al., 1998; Merchant, 2011; Ponting & McDonald, 2013; see Woermann & Rokka, 2015). Indeed, citing Obrador Pons (2009), Rickly-Boyd and Metro-Roland (2010, p. 1177) demonstrate how tourism has disregarded the relational agency of mundane (materialities) in focusing on the extraordinary and exotic sides of touristic social life.

Further, knowing through *the material human body* has received surprisingly little notice among tourism researchers (d'Hauterterre, 2015). Tourism researchers have directed their attention to knowing through the material human body through their phenomenological studies of embodied experiences and studying touristic performances and practices (e.g. Rantala & Valtonen, 2014; Soica, 2016; Valtonen & Veijola, 2011). Still, bringing the fleshy human body under investigations is still rather scarce although it could entail a potential to disrupt the prevailing, more traditional examinations of embodied experiences in tourism (Everingham et al., 2021). The affective turn in geography and in tourism research could afford some potential to unwrap the corporeal reality of tourist in perceiving the human body as

a “situated site of [emerging] affect(s)” /affectivities (Everingham et al., 2021, p. 75), as briefly discussed in this chapter.

Already Saldanha (2002, p. 56) took notice of the “embodied experience”, how the bodies listen, connecting not only with their ears but as fleshy human bodies (see Waitt & Duffy, 2010). Rhythm and particular tone of the music allow capacity for a body to move through the kinaesthetic, haptic and emotional affectivity and in interconnection with other bodies. However, Saldanha (2002) also notes that music does not only fill the external tourism space but also the inner space of a body. In addition, Saldanha (2002, p. 51) illustrates how “the electric energy” of the beating bass “makes your intestines twirl” (see Waitt & Duffy, 2010). In referring to Deleuze (1981, as cited in Matteucci, 2014, p. 36), Matteucci further argues that “sensations are felt within the bodily materiality” as related to how his participants described their flamenco feeling. Accordingly, the passions and intense emotions of the embodied practice of flamenco dancing were described as something visceral felt deep inside of a body and resulting in the feeling of nourishment and being alive and grooving. Leaning on Deleuze, gives room for Waitt and Duffy (2010) to question the pre-fixed ideas of a material body as a pre-set social or biological container. The knowing of sounds emerges through the practice of listening that emphasises listening through the fleshy, material, haptic and emotional body, as an affective assemblage of sounds. This means that employing the concept of affective assemblages enables a simultaneous tracing of the social and individual modes as well as capturing the inner body space (Ringrose, 2011, p. 600, as cited in Saxena, 2018, p. 102) containing “affective energies” that found complicated desires, intensities and relational entanglements (Saxena, 2018, p. 102). The body has the capacity to be “an animal, a body of sounds... a social body or a collectivity” (Deleuze, 1970, p. 127, as cited in Waitt and Duffy, 2010, p. 461).

Rantala and Valtonen (2014, p. 28) draw attention to the “inner aspects of the body” and how chronobiology as part of a rhythmanalysis (Lefebvre, 2004) may enable theorisations around sociomaterial practices. Wilson et al. (2019) illustrated “VW campervan tourists’ embodied sonic experiences” in which bodies entangle, fuse with vehicles through sound. They talk of creative body-vehicle assemblages as they conceptualise the immaterial sound as emerging sonic material. This way they break the dualism between the material and immaterial, suggesting that it opens new creative potentialities of Deleuzian becomings that, however, may not always result in being as harmonious as they highlight. The emerging knowing of disharmony can further be related to what d’Hauteserre (2015) calls negative affectivities.

Valtonen and Veijola (2011) introduce the ‘sleeping body’ into tourism research discussions. Their article is paradigmatic in the sense that it opens a new field in the debates on ethical and sustainable development in the tourism industry. It means that it understands how embodied knowing is affected by multiple materialities and immaterialities even while asleep. Touristic bodies are not always awake and alert;

rather tourists spend a long time sleeping and resting while holidaying. Valtonen and Veijola (2011) do not discuss assemblages, but study the sleeping practices of bodies related to material arrangements in terms of resting and recovering from the requirements of contemporary life. They highlight that sleep is not only related to its cultural meanings, but rather it is the body's practical relationship with the whole material, social and natural tourism environment. Therefore, they also adapt a practice approach to study sleep and state that it enables sharing the knowing of the agency of entangled social and nonhuman materialities that inherently affect tourist's performances. That is, tourism spaces entail a range of social, material and aesthetic practices that are ordered by general normative assumptions of the tourism industry (see Edensor, 2000, 2001). This way their study illustrates the diverse ways all senses – and not only sight – can be materially “touched” in a tourism environment (Valtonen & Veijola, 2011, p. 183). Rantala and Valtonen (2014) continue to discuss the affective-material arrangements of embodied sleeping practices. The attention is drawn to the practices of sleeping as related to the rhythmic qualities emerging in tourism space. For instance, the immaterial luminous summer nights materialise in the body's active performing, enjoying the nature activities such as sitting around a camp fire until late at night. On the other hand, the dark winter season encourages the body to a slower performing, sneaking into a thick sleeping bag early in the evening. This way Rantala and Valtonen demonstrate how nonhuman weather and light entail relational agency that affects, orders and materialises in tourist's body and practices.

The body as a site of situated affectivities. As illustrated, tourism researchers have conceptualised the body as an assemblage with diverse relational intensities characterised as affective forces (e.g. d’Hauteserre, 2015). Affect is also characterised, among others, as non-representational emotions that guide embodied practices, although there is no generally accepted definition of affect in tourism research nor in the academia (d’Hauteserre, 2015; Rhoden & Kaaristo, 2020; Saxena, 2018). Affects spread among bodies and in spaces and their flow forms the social worlds through the ones they have affected (Carter, 2019). I will present a more extensive discussion on the concept of affect in Chapter 2.2.2. and concentrate here on the body as a site of situated affectivities (see Everingham et al., 2021).

It is noted how tourist bodies affect and are affected in various tourism spaces through various practices (e.g. Chronis, 2015; Jóhannesson & Lund, 2017; Rantala & Valtonen, 2014; Saldanha, 2002; Waitt & Duffy, 2010). Affectivities guide the diversified practices of the body, enabling the body's capacity to act (e.g. d’Hauteserre, 2015; Rhoden & Kaaristo, 2020; Saxena, 2018). The common understanding is that the emerging non-representational affectivities do not ascribe solely to an individual body, but are formed in sociomaterial intra-actions (d’Hauteserre, 2015). d’Hauteserre (2015, p. 79) also relates here the societal level and discusses how “emotion (an active state) creates “ ‘modifications of the body, whereby the active

power of the social body is increased or diminished, aided or constrained' ” (Spinoza (1997-1678, Definition III, as cited in d’Hauteserre, 2015, p. 79). The “culture tunes our neurons” (Howes, 2005, p. 21, as cited in d’Hauteserre, 2015, p. 81), therefore, the individual characteristics in sensuous acting, together with cultural biological, psychological and other personal actors, are connected to the understandings of the appropriateness of arising affectivities in tourism encounters (d’Hauteserre, 2015; Rantala, 2010). The emerging affective forces move the individual bodies and, in turn, form their own assemblages and social world (d’Hauteserre, 2015). “To have a body is to learn to be affected, meaning ‘effectuated’, moved, put into motion, by other entities, human or nonhuman” (Latour, 2004, p. 205, as cited in d’Hauteserre, 2015, p. 80). The corporeal body is perceived as a foundational “transmitter and receiver of energies” as the body is not bound to the skin (d’Hauteserre, 2015, p. 80; see Everingham et al., 2021). Rather, the body is seen as continually emergent, in the state of becoming of varied intensities of affective forces “... of biology, of environment, of culture and reflexivity and of the aspirational potential which all living things possess... defining (constraining, elaborating) the body’s relations or affects... [that] together constitute the becoming-body...” (Fox, 2002, p. 356, as cited in Saxena, 2018, p. 108).

The above illustrates how in leaning on Deleuze and Guatarri, the tourist bodies have been conceptualised as “bodies without organs ... occupied, populated only by [circulating] intensities (1998, as cited in Rhoden & Kaaristo, 2020, p. 3; see Saxena, 2018). With reference to the relational materiality of a body within a tourism place , Rhoden and Kaaristo (2020) refer to Bennett’s (2004, p. 365, as cited in Rhoden & Kaaristo, 2020, p. 3) claim that places emerge through the flow of “matter-energy” that is accommodated in bodies and thus relating bodies to each other through its alliancing “forces”. Rhoden and Kaaristo (2020) note that these alliancing forces are the foundational feature of bodies without organs, and this approach sets the focus of the investigation on affective assemblages of social bodies, materialities and abstractions, instead of subjectivities. The emerging assemblages and their numerous social and material actors are in a constant process of becoming (Rhoden & Kaaristo, 2020). Still, its non-representational nature has made affect mostly inaccessible to tourism scholars, since in comparison to emotion, affect is not intentional and thus transcends the realm of the signified (d’Hauteserre, 2015). Until now, affect studies in tourism research are still developing (Everingham et al., 2021).

Multiple bodies. Significantly, the ongoing embodiment discussions in tourism and other disciplines have also extended the conventional understanding of a white, male and middle-class body to cover multiple bodies. In today’s tourism research, it is acknowledged that there is not only one type of a touristic body. There are multiple bodies with varying cultural, ethnic and socioeconomic backgrounds, gender identities and other characteristics that are exhibited and acted out in touristic performances in various tourism spaces that Everingham et al. (2021) list in

their study. Nevertheless, we must keep in mind that the listing is not exclusive as the development is ongoing, and could be complemented by travelling bodies (Small & Harris, 2012, 2014); moving bodies (Chronis, 2015) and bodies in pain (Quinlan Cutler et al., 2014), for instance. In accordance with Obrador Pons (2003), this multiplicity of touristic bodies affords a particular space for tourism researchers to investigate the knowing arising in and through the manifold, sensual and any other kind of fabulous bodies. However, Saxena (2018) suggests the sociodemographic consumption profiles of tourists to be rejected and rather focus on the emerging flows of intensities emerging within the body.

Ethics. In gaining understanding of the diversity of bodies, the embodiment discussions have contributed to ethical considerations, such as the nature of a touristic body, what kind of bodies there exists, or how it feels to be an embodied tourist, or rather an embodied human being/becoming thus, understanding tourists as corporeal human beings with a living agentive body (Rantala & Valtonen, 2014; Small & Harris, 2012; Valtonen & Veijola, 2011). Embodiment related to tourism experience is discussed in relation to the perceptions of identity and corporeality (see e.g. Elsrud, 2001; Matteucci, 2014; Quinlan Cutler et al., 2014; Saxena, 2018; Wang, 1999) as well as gender and sexuality (Andriotis, 2010; Small, 2016). Here, bodies are used as a way to express disagreement with the established social structures of tourism or in several manners for self-exploration, self-expression, to support self-esteem. Moreover, the touristic body is not always alert and awake. The body is vulnerable. Touristic bodies might search for stillness, rest, recovery and silence (Rantala & Valtonen, 2014; Valtonen & Veijola, 2011). These kinds of ethical topics are evidently emerging in our contemporary 24/7 societies in which good sleeping is considered as luxury and artificial lights instead of stars are flashing throughout day and night. Everingham et al. (2021) highlight that already accepting the boundless nature and vulnerability of the body through the powerful affectivities affords an ethically orientated approach in studying tourism.

Multidisciplinary methodologies. From the perspective of methodology, over the years the concept of body/embodiment has been discussed in tourism research by several global authors from diverse angles. Many of the sociological tourism research studies are multidisciplinary, inspired by other disciplines in developing novel approaches like anthropology, geography, psychology cultural, feminist/gender and ANT studies. Cohen and Cohen (2019) note that in theory building tourism research is increasingly employing particular and innovative thoughts from other domains, such as ethics and philosophy.

The embodied explorations have mostly been empirically conducted by means of qualitative methods. In investigating the body/embodiment, researchers draw mostly on phenomenology, social constructionist and critical tourism or critical (social) theory. Some researchers apply a practice-theoretical approach to some extent (Rantala, 2010; Rantala & Valtonen, 2014; Valtonen & Veijola, 2011).

Ethnography, narratology, semiotics, grounded theory, hermeneutics, feminist theory and symbolic interaction are applied. Inductive and abductive approaches are adapted. As a research method, observations and participant observations complemented by interviews or surveys are the most frequent combination. Narratives and language afforded by the body have been noticed to be influential in understanding culturally and socially constructed communities (Elsrud, 2001).

There are diverse theories and analysis frameworks applied in the research designs. The theories used included, for example, the (critical/social) theory on embodiment (e.g. Merleau-Ponty), theories of affect, rhythms and choreography, spatial theories of emotion and affect, the theory of meaning, the theory and analysis of tourist desire and motivation, Cohen and Cohen's (2012) theoretical framework of authentication, and social identity theory. In the analysis, many studies adapt content analysis, but also several other reflexive analysis methods were used. For example, Lefebvre's rhythm analysis, critical discourse analysis, semiotic analysis and narrative analysis (in which attention has also been given to not only what was said but to verbal expression as well).

However, beyond identity debates despite acknowledging the relevancy of arising knowledge through the body, few tourism researchers (Carter, 2019; Rantala et al., 2020) employ the knowing of their own body. Further, embodied investigations have mainly been made through the phenomenological paradigm, sourcing from the conscious mind of individuals and relying mostly in discursive methods. More recent investigations have turned to practice-based explorations and to examining affectivity in tourism intra-actions (e.g. Buda et al., 2014; Jóhannesson & Lund, 2017; Rakić & Chambers, 2012; Saxena, 2018; Thorpe & Rinehart, 2010; Tucker & Shelton, 2018a, 2018b). Additionally, there are studies enclosing the material, nonhuman and natural actors as integral to the social for understanding the subtle knowing arising in and through the tourist body (Rantala et al., 2011, 2020; Valtonen et al., 2020).

Today it is well noted that the body and knowing through the body is inherently entangled with the emotional and cognitive knowing in forming the knowledge in tourism experiences (Eskola et al., 2022; Everingham et al., 2021; Pritchard et al., 2007; Rantala & Valtonen, 2014). Indeed, already in the beginning of the 2000s, it was acknowledged in regards of the body's sensual, non-cognitive, pre-reflexive knowing that the forming of tourism experiences is affected by the body's non-representational potentiality of knowing. Additionally, contemporary tourism researchers apply non-representational theory (Thrift, 2008; Vannini, 2015a, 2015b) to unveil the multisensual, non-representational knowing of a performing body in tourism environments (Haanpää et al., 2022; Jensen et al., 2015; Obrador Pons, 2003). Approaching tourist experience through non-representational methodologies makes sense of different kinds of realities than allowed by cognitive methodologies. That is, besides the visual sense, "multiple corporeal and sensual

practices are fundamental to experience, know and feel places” (Obrador Pons, 2003, p. 57; see also e.g. Small & Harris, 2012).

Similarly, Cohen and Cohen (2019, p. 167) contend that the above “trends reflect new directions in the sociological interpretation of tourism, which mirror the contemporary emphasis in the discipline of sociology on plurality, the dissolution of bounded entities and social transformation.” In this study I will lean on the presented notions and continue my discussions towards making sense of the nuanced ways the body is affording knowledge in various tourism practices. By these considerations, I aim to enlarge the understanding of embodied knowing in tourism to be related not only to the extraordinary experiences in tourism, but also to the mundane, embodied sociomaterial practices.

In the next subchapter, I will discuss how the knowing of luxury is seen to emerge in the prevailing practice-theoretical luxury studies.

1.4 Knowing luxury in earlier practice-theoretical luxury studies

In 2019, Seo and Buchanan-Oliver offered luxury literature a new approach to study luxury through practice theory and the consumers’ own meaning-making. The authors indicated how practice theory (Reckwitz, 2002; Warde, 2005) allows responding to the noticed gap to study brand luxury consumption with a sociocultural approach (Roper et al., 2013). Seo and Buchanan-Oliver (2019) contended that the focus should be shifted “from what [brand] luxury value is, towards understanding *how* it is constructed by [contemporary] consumers” (original *Italics*) as meanings of luxury are situated in the era and arise from the surrounding society and culture. Berthon et al. (2009) claimed that social meanings of luxury consumption emerge through functional, symbolic, and personalised experiential dimensions (of value), and they set out to examine experiential practices. Seo and Buchanan-Oliver (2019) saw that consumers’ subjective experiences and everyday practices open an avenue to the social meaning-making of luxury that is salient for researchers and practitioners.

I conducted a brief literature review with the search words “luxury” and “practice theory” or “social practices” in the subject-field of the database of University of Lapland, and continued by making a similar search in Google Scholar. I reviewed the content of the articles, and will now proceed to discussing the articles in which luxury is the main theme and “practice theory” or “social practices” are stated in the keywords. The majority of the articles were published in the Journal of Business Research (e.g. Ahmed et al., 2022; Banister et al., 2020; Fifita et al., 2020; Seo & Buchanan-Oliver, 2019; Zanette et al., 2022) with one exception, an article published in Journal of Business Ethics (Moraes et al., 2017). The studies have been conducted in marketing, consumer research and consumer culture. With a practice-theoretical approach, they strive towards integrating the personal and social levels of

luxury performing beyond the dominant object focused managerial understandings. Furthermore, the recent unconventional luxury literature (Thomsen et al., 2020) examines personal luxury practices, although within these only the study of Banister et al. (2020) entails practice theory as a keyword. The unconventional luxury literature demonstrates how luxury practices may also unfold in the most mundane routine, like activities such as cooking, reading or watching ballet DVDs (Banister et al., 2020), salsa dancing (Holmqvist et al., 2020) or even as social media lurking practices (Leban et al., 2020). Indeed, today there are “multiple possibilities as to how consumers themselves can (re)interpret the meanings of “ ‘luxury’ ” (Seo & Buchanan-Oliver, 2019, p. 414).

Following Seo and Buchanan-Oliver (2019), subsequent practice-theoretical luxury studies have focused on describing the consumers’ personal, experiential everyday interactions with luxury brands and products. For example, clothing practices (Ahmed et al., 2022; Banister et al., 2020; Zanette et al., 2022) and organic food consumption (Fifita et al., 2020) have been researched. In addition to brand-related practices, the study of Banister et al. (2020) also highlights how luxury may arise in the practices of everyday luxury. Accordingly, consumers are seen as co-creators of luxury meanings as they are “*practicing* luxury” (Banister et al. 2020, p. 464). In fact, Seo and Buchanan-Oliver (2019) continue by suggesting that consumers’ lived experiences and creative activities are significant in the construction of luxury as they reveal more intense feelings in many senses that enhance quality of life. However, the intensive aesthetics of the human body and the knowledgibility of the acting body are not much further investigated beyond mentioning them in practice-theoretical luxury studies. Finally, aesthetics is commonly referred to as visual beauty.

Reflecting the practice-theoretical approaches employed in earlier luxury literature, several notions can be depicted. Firstly, practice-theoretical luxury studies seem to examine luxury mostly through consumers’ rational illustrations of their commonsensical activities (Sandberg & Tsoukas, 2015, as cited in Gherardi, 2019; see Nicolini, 2013), where practices are interpreted as personal experiences. However, social practice theories also interpret practicing as being anti-individualistic and taking place in practice (Nicolini et al., 2003; Nicolini, 2013) and not only in the mind. Practices are studied by means of interviews which continue the long heritage of rational-cognitive knowledge formation of luxury in luxury literature. However, one of the core characteristics of practice theories is that they challenge dualistic thinking and recognise the body as inborn in practicing (e.g. Miettinen et al., 2009). The prevailing studies seem to neglect the knowledge emerging within embodied practices that exceeds cognitive visual observations. The emotionally related individual’s interpretations are deemed especially problematic as these move beyond “rational decision-making” in ethical luxury consumption practices (Moraes et al., 2017, p. 527). Possibly, the concern about engaging with embodied

knowing in practice-theoretical luxury studies still circulates around this notion. Therefore, supplementing the cognitive knowledge formation of luxury with the varied knowledge emerging within practices that appreciate the knowing arising in the human body complements the current practice-theoretical interpretations of luxury practice-theories (see Gherardi, 2017a, 2019).

Secondly, many existing studies apply Shove and Pantzar's (2005) practice-theoretical approach in their analysis, although other practice theories are also applied, such as ones by Arsel and Bean (2013), and Magaudda's (2011) circuit of practice framework which examines practice through objects, meanings and activities. None of the studies relates to one individual practice theory only. This way they echo Nicolini's (2013) suggestion to embrace the richness of practice theories. Nonetheless, with these approaches the emergence of luxury is studied through the predefined elements of practice and their relations (see Roper et al., 2013; Seo & Buchanan-Oliver, 2019). However, in theoretical discussions concerning practice, it is highlighted that understanding social life through pre-fixed theories promotes a limited view on reality (Gherardi, 2019; Miettinen et al., 2009; see also Nicolini, 2013). Therefore, in this study I strive to curiously employ an open-ended, unbounded practice approach without predetermined elements to explore how luxury may unfold with an alternative approach and to see unforeseen matters affecting the unfolding of luxury.

Thirdly, an unbounded interpretation of practices allows for seeing how knowing-in-practice takes place beyond time and space (e.g. Gherardi, 2000; Gherardi, 2009; Nicolini et al., 2003). In earlier practice-theoretical luxury studies, 'situated' is interpreted as a study of context and practices are commonly interpreted afterwards by interviews. However, 'situated practices' may also be interpreted as situating within a practice, which allows us to see how knowing-in-practice exceeds the physical and temporal bounds (Gherardi, 2000, 2009, 2019). The practices are affected by both past and present embodied acting and thus affect future embodied practicing beyond the context (Katila, Kuismin, et al., 2019; Valtonen et al., 2017).

Fourthly, most studies see the social and material as related, but not that materials would entail a relational agency in practicing. Still, the common theoretical understanding of practice is that in the unbound practices social and material are entangled (e.g. Gherardi, 2017a; Nicolini, 2009; Schatzki, 2001), and, additionally, also see the human body as sociomaterial (Gherardi, 2017a). The sociomaterial approach of this study sets out to explore how humans, nonhumans and natural actors are part of an agencement within which the sociomaterialities continuously organise and gain shared agency in their temporal connections. Furthermore, recognising the sociomaterial nature of a human body enables the reflection of the materiality of the body and its affect in knowing luxury in practices (Gärtner, 2013; Katila, Kuismin, et al., 2019; Simpson, 2021).

Fifthly, recent studies seem to acknowledge the aesthetically and normatively sustained nature of practicing and taste-making based on aesthetic judgements. Significantly, also some more nuanced embodied notions are captured (Zanette et al., 2022). However, in contrast to the embodied focus of my thesis, these earlier studies are still based on psychological and market-oriented approaches. This thesis strives to complement the discussion with a sociological approach and in appreciating the knowledge arising within the embodied practices as relevant form in aesthetic knowledge formation, not only as an aesthetic side effect.

Further, the ethically sustained nature of luxury practicing is only discussed in one study and related to the product (Moraes et al., 2017). As aesthetics and ethics are often entangled in practices (Gherardi, 2019), this thesis at hand allows us also to see “how ethics is ‘done’ ” in practice through the knowledgeability of the body (Gherardi, 2019, p. 263). However, the more in-depth reflection of ethical practicing remains outside the scope of this thesis.

Finally, in terms of methodology, studies mostly concentrate on describing the subsequent actions of the practitioner commonly by means of interviews. In-depth illustrations of the study participants would afford the “much needed emic perspective” on the ways consumers themselves make sense of luxury consumption through practices (Seo & Buchanan-Oliver, 2019, p. 414). Seo and Buchanan-Oliver (2019) state that there should be a more detailed understanding of consumers’ subjective dreams, biography and activities through which luxury has earlier unravelled and, further, how consumers invent novel meanings of luxury. Investigating practices *within* could enable to reveal the tacit, more nuanced and ephemeral background factors, sensualities and actors that matter in practicing, their effects or their socially sustaining formation (Nicolini, 2013, p. 7; Gherardi, 2009, 2019). With the current approach in investigating practices from the outside, it is challenging to examine practices as ‘order-producing activities’ that are sustained and refined in real-time doing (Gherardi, 2019). Thus, as researcher, I am intrigued to employ autoethnography as a methodology to explore the situated, ongoing sociomaterial practices ‘within’ that allows the reflection of the diversified ephemeral moments arising through the body that affect the emergence of luxury (Valtonen & Haanpää, 2018). As Nicolini (2013) notes, it is challenging to trace practices in retrospect as they are embedded in our everyday activities that remain in the background while still reinforcing our daily life.

To this end, current practice-theoretical studies of luxury seem to contribute to the commonsensical theories of practice that interpret and reflect practices as activities of individuals (Sandberg & Tsoukas, 2015, as cited in Gherardi, 2019, p. 29). I wish to continue the practice-theoretical luxury studies with a domain-specific aesthetic approach and interpret practice as a way of knowing (Gherardi, 2000, 2019). Secondly, although the studies recognise the socio-material nature of practices, luxury studies have not yet made much notice of the more nuanced nature

of embodied practices and their effects (Gherardi, 2017a, 2017c, 2019; see Gärtner, 2013; Simpson, 2021). Thus, I curiously draw attention to the sociomaterial practice entanglements with affects and rhythms (Katila, Laine et al., 2019; Katila, Kuismin, et al., 2019; Valtonen et al., 2017) to complement the prevailing practice-theoretical discussions of luxury with a fresh approach.

1.5 Flow of the study

This dissertation consists of six chapters. The first chapter has positioned the research phenomenon and presented the purpose of the study with research questions. I set out to theoretically and empirically explore the emergence of embodied knowing of luxury within the situated, ongoing sociomaterial practices of a yoga retreat holiday. By this approach, the thesis complements unconventional and practice-theoretical studies of luxury as well as tourism research discussions. In the first chapter, I have discussed how the human body and its role in knowledge formation are perceived in sociological tourism research. Further, I have briefly discussed on luxury phenomenon and presented how the knowing of luxury is perceived in previous practice-theoretical luxury studies.

In Chapter 2, I propose a novel approach for interpreting luxury within embodied sociomaterial practices. I initiate the discussion with the onto-epistemological starting points of his thesis. This is followed by a theoretical exploration of varied forms of inconspicuous, non-rational embodied knowing with the support of multidisciplinary research. The third chapter illustrates the formation of taste-making within epistemic sociomaterial practices of a contemporary yoga practice community. It shows how the attachment to the object of practice exceeds the mere physical yoga practice and demonstrates how taste-making emphasizes diverse forms of embodied knowing in situated acting. In Chapter 4, I introduce the methodology that enabled accessing the studied phenomenon, together with background reflections for studying situated practices through autoethnography. I discuss the ethical concerns and the process within which the embodied material was allowed to transform into written text. I then open the analysis agencement which allowed to unfold the appropriate affecto-rhythmic nature of practices. The fifth chapter empirically illustrates the taste-based aesthetic judgements and aesthetic criteria. It shows how knowing the appropriate affecto-rhythmic nature of practices allows for luxury to emerge. In the sixth and final chapter I draw conclusions based on the findings of the thesis and discuss the research contributions. Finally, I present an evaluation of the study and make suggestions for future studies.

2 Interpreting luxury within sociomaterial practices

In this chapter, I propose an alternative approach for interpreting luxury within embodied sociomaterial practices. I will theoretically explore how the embodied knowing of luxury might emerge within situated, ongoing sociomaterial practices. The discussion is initiated by the theoretical and onto-epistemological starting points of the thesis, leaning on organisational literature and its practice epistemology (e.g. Gherardi, 2000; Nicolini et al., 2003). I am particularly inspired by aesthetic, sensible knowledge (Strati, 2007) and embodied knowing (Gherardi, 2019). In Chapter 2.2, I set out to explore the notion of embodied knowing in more detail, basing my theoretical approach to studying luxury phenomenon within affecto-rhythmic practices (Katila, Kuismin, et al., 2019). I elaborate the concept of embodied knowing and how it emerges within entangled affects and rhythms in practices. The discussion is derived from a multidisciplinary field of studies: tourism research, cultural and human geography, anthropology, philosophy, feminist, organisational and management studies as well as luxury literature. Notably, the very notion of sensuous, embodied, affective practices have been left somewhat unexplored in luxury theorising. Since the sensuous and affectivities are considered to have a central role in luxury literature, they should be placed under more careful investigation (Berthon et al., 2009; Chandon et al., 2017, 2019; Dubois et al., 2001; Thomsen et al., 2020). Finally, interpreting luxury within sociomaterial practices complements the current cognitive-rational understanding with ephemeral embodied emergences of luxury.

2.1 Practice-theoretical onto-epistemological starting points

In this chapter I set out to explicate the onto-epistemological starting points. In this thesis luxury is not solely perceived as rational-cognitive knowledge, but emerging within the practical sensemaking in everyday practices. The selected approach of this thesis moves the ontological question of what luxury is to how luxury is done, noticeably, how the effect of luxury is accomplished within situated, ongoing sociomaterial practices (see Gherardi, 2019). Simultaneously, the approach proposes an interpretative, methodological and active 'frame' to analyse the emerge of luxury in sociomaterial practices (see Gherardi, 2019).

Practice theories are part of social and cultural theories, rooted in structuralism, semiotics, phenomenology and hermeneutics (Reckwitz, 2002). Starting from the

beginning of the 21st century in the “re-turn to practice” (Miettinen et al., 2009), a reborn interest emerged in practice theories for seeking a “nonrational-cognitive view of knowledge” that challenges the dualistic world view (action/structure, subject/object, mind/body, human/nonhuman, culture/nature) (Corradi et al., 2010, p. 267). Instead of individual or managerial understanding, contemporary practice theorists, like Gherardi (2000), Schatzki (2001), Reckwitz (2002) and Nicolini (2013), address more appropriately the activities and materiality of mundane life rather than just addressing the meanings, interpretations and intentions of sayings and actions that result from rational thinking (Schatzki, 2002). The nature of reality in the practice-theoretical approach highlights the Heideggerian “being-in-the-world” dwelling, meaning how the bodily interacting with the world is more relevant in understanding social life than following predetermined theoretical approaches solely grounded in the knowledge emerging in the mind (see Gherardi, 2019; Miettinen et al., 2009). The bodily interaction is entangled with relational materialism that also supports overcoming dualistic thinking (Gherardi, 2019; Miettinen et al., 2009). Practices are sustained in social performing and continue to exist as the same as long as similar knowledgeable acting takes place (Gherardi, 2019; Nicolini, 2013). The everyday interactions are understood to constitute the foundation of social order, institutions and societies (Miettinen et al., 2009).

In recent years, the domain of practice-based studies has experienced rapid growth and today it is thus challenging to map it comprehensively (Gherardi, 2019; Gherardi et al., 2019). However, to study practices three distinctive approaches may be recognised as follows: the commonsensical theories of practice, general theories of practice, and domain-specific theories of practice (Sandberg & Tsoukas, 2015, as cited in Gherardi, 2019, p. 29). Commonsensical theories of practice usually understand and reflect on practices as the activities of individuals, whereas general theories of practice, for instance Schatzki, conceptualise practice extensively. Domain-specific theories of practice, in turn, entail various domain-specific practice theories, such as a structurationist approach to technology (Orlikowski, 2000), strategy as practice (Laine, 2010), and a practice-based approach to knowing and learning (Gherardi, 2000, 2019; Nicolini et al., 2003).

The last domain-specific approach, practice as an epistemology, shifts the focus towards making sense of knowledge (re)production in human performance as it happens, and that way allows one to unveil the things that matter (Nicolini, 2009) with a particular appreciation of the inconspicuous, sensible reality of the phenomena (Gherardi, 2009a; Strati, 2007). More specifically, this dissertation joins the aesthetic tradition of practice theories (Gherardi, 2000, 2009a, 2019; Nicolini et al., 2003; Strati, 2003, 2007, 2008), leaning on the phenomenological roots of practice theory, where practice is approached as an empirical phenomenon. Finally, the selected approach draws from the conversations in the context of organisation and management studies labelled as Practice-Based Studies (henceforth PBS)

(Gherardi, 2000, 2019). PBS are influenced by streams of research listed as follows: feminist philosophies in Science and Technological Studies, Actor-Network Theory, cultural-aesthetic approach, situated learning theory, activity theory, workplace studies and relational epistemologies (Gherardi, 2018 as cited in Gherardi, 2019, p. 385–386).

Over the long history of the study of social practise theory, academics have drawn from various sources, and different interests give rise to diverse approaches, vocabularies and methodologies to study social phenomena (Corradi et al., 2010). The particular choice of vocabulary unfolds the particular epistemology behind the study of practice. Therefore, in this subchapter I present the vocabulary characterising the epistemology of practice applied in this thesis.

Initially, PBS are founded on the notion that practicing is embodied knowing emerging in acting; it is not solely “applying acquired [rational] knowledge” (Gherardi, 2019, p. 25). Knowing and acting are inseparable and the “distinction between knowledge and learning is blurred” in practices (Gherardi, 2019, p. 25; Nicolini et al., 2003). The acting body is central in practicing as it is the body that interacts in common practices within which the knowledge is forming as *knowing-in-practice* (Gherardi, 2000; 2019). Importantly, knowing-in-practice involves embodied, corporeal *attuning* to know the world (Katila, Kuismin, et al., 2019; Willems, 2018; see Gherardi, 2019). Attuning is a process which is more than knowing through our visual or five external senses. Attuning may be regarded as skilful corporeal tuning within the practices to know the things that matter in the practices of a particular community, as a Heideggerian dwelling, “feeling at home” (Gherardi, 2019, p. 131; Willems, 2018). This understanding is referred to as ‘knowing’ in this study and I will explore embodied knowing in a detailed manner in Chapter 2.2.1. The knowledgeability, learning, accumulates in recurrent embodied acting and various social situations in which the inherent bodily acting is seen as more relevant than rationally emerging knowledge (Gherardi, 2019). Practical knowledge emerges in collective embodied practicing and is seen as constantly evolving in the course of practicing. Studying a phenomenon within knowing-in-practice as common knowledgeable doing, enables to shift the dominance of a mind and concentration that centralises solely individual level of acting (Gherardi, 2019). The social site is “not [only] in the mind of the individual but in a social subject, a subject that simultaneously thinks, learns, works, and innovates” through his/her body and together with heterogeneous actors (Nicolini et al., 2003, p. 22).

It is through the in situ embodied doing, in the process of practical activity, that the knowing arises as *ongoing accomplishment* (Gherardi, 2019). To unveil the logics behind the situation and to determine which factors affect “‘knowing how’ and knowing ‘what next’”, there is a need to investigate the practice as it proceeds in bodily action (Gherardi, 2019, p. 31; see Yakhlef, 2010) “from within”, inside the practice (Gherardi, 2009a, p. 117). That is, if we read practices “from the outside”

we are unable to grasp what really matters (Gherardi, 2009a, p. 117). In other words, we are unable to unfold “what makes a practice recognizable to its practitioners”, and why and how practices continue to be socially repeated, sustained and reproduced (Gherardi, 2019, pp. 11, 31). Studying practices ‘from within’ and with an aesthetic practice-based approach enables us to unfold “intellectual, passionate, ethical and aesthetic attachment that ties subjects to objects, technologies, the places of practices and other practitioners” (Gherardi, 2009, p. 538). Further, the accomplishment of practices is related to other practices that allow capacity, order and sustain the situated acting of a particular practice (Gherardi, 2009, 2017a).

Knowing arises “in the flow of experience” as *situated acting* with or without the conscious mind (Gherardi, 2019, p. 385). Situated acting implies firstly, that the surrounding ‘context’ is not pre-existing. Rather, “practices create their own context” (Fox, 1997, as cited in Gherardi, 2019, p. 46) that is actively emerging within real-time common practices (Nicolini et al., 2003). Situated practices enclose past and future practices as well as all diverse sociomaterial actors that facilitate the knowledgeable practicing. Diverse sociomaterialities support remembering how to attune into the accomplishment of practices, to note the possible disruptions and how to negotiate or adjust to them so that practicing proceeds smoothly (Gherardi, 2019). Flow denotes knowing-in-practice as a smooth, sensible flow (Hultin & Mähring, 2017, p. 587, as cited in Gherardi, 2019, p. 154). Knowledgeable accomplishment of practices is understood to be formed together relationally with all actors and things that matter. However, this demands that actors perceive and understand the action and orientation of other actors. The surrounding physical context is not anymore seen as a container of practices, but as “a resource for action” (Gherardi, 2019, p. 21; see Nicolini et al., 2003). That is, as a situation in which the embodied “interaction with others, situated communication, the construction of situations, the relationship with the physical environment and objects” afford resource in accomplishing the practice (Gherardi, 2019, p. 21). The concept of situated practices is focal in that it allows for a more nuanced understanding of how the connecting of various actors within a practice facilitates attuning to the qualified “flow of practices” (Gherardi, 2019; Katila, Kuismin, et al., 2019, p. 10).

Secondly, situated social interactions also move through spatio-temporalities and societal contexts (Gherardi, 2019; Nicolini, 2013). They are affected by past-present-the becoming acting. These are further related to the practitioners’ orientation and attachment with their object of practice. Attachment defines “what makes practices socially sustained by judgements” that are not solely related to their utility, but “to ethics and aesthetics as well” (Gherardi, 2019, pp. 150–151; see Strati, 2007). I will clarify these in further detail later in this subchapter. However, it should be noted here that the *object of practice* is not a pre-set teleological object but an ongoing process (Gherardi, 2019). The object of practice is the project, or thing that practitioners are engaged with. The object of practice is forming along with practicing.

In this dissertation, I empirically follow and report the ongoing ordering - unpredictable forming of an object of practice in which knowledgeable bodies, materialities, discourses, norms, aesthetic knowledge, technologies or any other heterogeneous actors become connected within (Gherardi, 2019). “Ordering processes are the outcome of conscious and unconscious, deliberate and emergent operations, processes and events that do not necessarily align in terms of goals, functions, timing, identities, roles, processes, and power relations” (Guzman, 2013, p. 436–437 as cited in Gherardi, 2016). The world is seen as a flowing “*agencement*” with diverse relationalities (Gherardi, 2016; Nicolini, 2013). The French term ‘*agencement*’ signals emergence and becoming in sociomaterial practicing (Gherardi, 2016). *Agencement* signifies the temporal unfolding, emergence of practices within the process of connecting that allows or disables the capacity for practicing and meaning-making (see Gherardi, 2016). Meaning and practices are intermixed and processes emerge through time and place as “becoming” (Gherardi, 2019, p. 4). This concerns all forms of acting accomplished in heterogeneous sociomaterial interactions. The social process is relational to the materiality, which is open to investigation of practice within a network of connection-in-action and dwelling. This approach is derived from the philosophical works of Schutz, Dewey, Mead, Garfinkel and Giddens (Gherardi, 2009a). Thus, knowing is something social, taking place in the common knowledgeable (re)production of practices, in becoming, and not only as a thinking process between humans, but the agency is shared among humans and nonhumans (Gherardi, 2009a). In the practice-theoretical approach, the Heideggerian “being-in-the-world”, the bodily interaction with the environment, is more relevant in understanding the social life than following predetermined theoretical approaches that are based solely on rational-cognitive knowledge.

Based on the above, in this dissertation knowing is seen as emerging within sociomaterial practices, as connections-in-action, i.e., as an *agencement of sociomaterialities* that receive agency as they are temporally connecting, entangling (Gherardi, 2017a). Notably, separate elements or actors alone do not entail agency. Rather, the interest is in knowing how, through which mechanism the agency emerges within sociomaterial practices as the body becomes connected with varied materialities, technologies, rules, discourses, routines or improvisation (Gherardi, 2016). Sociomateriality implies relational ontology, an ecological model in which agency is continuously forming together with various human, nonhuman and natural actors (Gherardi, 2019). In this dissertation, the interest is not in particular practice elements but is shifted from “what is connected to how it is connected and to the process by which the form appears” (Gherardi & Perrotta, 2013, p. 232; Gherardi, 2019). In conducting an empirical study on practices, as is the case in this thesis, the idea is that the researcher traces the connections from one practice *agencement* to the following, rather than prioritising humans and their practices. The researcher observes the becoming of the object of practice within sociomaterial

practices, and, illustrates how the agencement affords the potential to act and how that gives meaning to the action (Gherardi, 2016). It is a “creative entanglement of knowing and doing” in which the researcher is challenged to illustrate knowing-in-practice “as a ‘doing while inventing the way of doing’ ” (Gherardi, 2016, p. 680). Having the focus on sociomaterial everyday practices, gives room for exploring and understanding the ongoing agencement of luxury practicing in which not only social and material are entangled but also nature and culture entangle in bodily practices. Excluding the hyphen between the words social and material emphasises the entanglement of social and material actors as well as meaning and matter in the web of practices and their relational effects (Gherardi, 2017a, 2017c, 2019; Orlikowski, 2007). Similarly, excluding the hyphen concerns other vocabularies or the formation of words to overcome the dualistic thinking that affects our thinking, such as using inbetween instead of in-between or intra-action (Barad, 2003, as cited in Gherardi, 2019, p. 144) instead of interaction (see Orlikowski, 2007).

The nature and culture co-constitute each other in embodied practising (Gherardi, 2017a). That is, the notion of sociomateriality allows us to grasp the knowing emerging through the materiality of human body in our everyday environments. We always perceive the world through situated embodiment within our incarnate minds; we “rely on sensible [embodied] knowledge in order to bring a practice forward” (Gherardi, 2012, as cited in Gherardi, 2017a). Our corporeal bodies “feel and judge”, sense and act constantly in everyday practices, bringing out the materiality of everyday social life that escapes analytical rationality (Gherardi, 2017a; Strati, 2007, p. 65). This aligns with Merleau-Ponty’s notions: “We are in the world through our body, and [...] we perceive that world within our body” (Merleau-Ponty, [1962] 2016). This is a dialectic relationship, in other words, the body is “sentient and sensible”, it “sees and is seen, hears and is heard, touches and is touched” (Gherardi, 2017a, p. 6; see Strati, 2007). Sensible knowledge is a form of aesthetic judgement that highlights the material culture, how bodies and things are entangled in our everyday embodied practices (Strati, 2007). Diverse things – clothes, food, norms, nature, weather, technologies, even intestines and metabolism among others – affect our everyday aesthetic sentiments and practicing (see Gherardi, 2019; see Simpson, 2021; Strati, 2007). The legitimacy of aesthetic knowing arising in an individual’s body is social as it is negotiated inbetween heterogeneous actors within situated practice.

Following Strati (2007) and Gherardi (2019), in this dissertation the concept of aesthetic is derived from the Greek word *aesthesis* that refers to *all* the senses, not only the visual sense. In his concept of ‘sensible knowledge’, Strati draws on Baumgarten and Vico’s aesthetic philosophy and roots aesthetic, sensible knowledge to the social practice of aesthetic philosophy that qualifies the social experience in the studies of society. That is, Baumgarten’s *scientia cognitionis sensitivae* (original Italics) (1735, 1750–1758, as cited in Strati, 2007, p. 64) and Vico’s *Logica poetica* (1725, as cited

in Strati, 2007, p. 64) see that knowledge in society became to be recognised as a creative and poetic sensibility. Theorised in this manner, individuals are regarded as sensible creatures who communicate sensitive-aesthetic judgement based on their taste-makings that does not follow societal normative rules (Kant, 1790, as cited in Strati, 2007, p. 64). Rather, the emerging embodied knowing-in-practice affords the potentiality for a body to act in an ethical, aesthetic and knowledgeable manner (Gherardi, 2019).

This implies that within the communities of practitioners constant (embodied) negotiations emerge as well as discussions on “what is a good practice, which of them is better or more beautiful, when a practice should be changed and how, or whether it should be discarded” (Gherardi, 2019, p. 31; see Nicolini et al., 2003). Knowing is constantly “reproduced and negotiated” in social interactions meaning, temporal and constantly changing (Nicolini et al., 2003, p. 3). For instance, if we consider the evolution of luxury from luxury products towards experiences and global common goods, we notice how the meanings of luxury have changed and reproduced along the changing and disruptive societies (Cristini & Kauppinen-Räsänen, 2022; Cristini & Kauppinen-Räsänen, 2020; Kauppinen-Räsänen et al., 2019). Additionally, we may notice how the knowing of yoga is today reproduced as a business embracing multisensory and conscious experience that promises harmony and balance with sustainable practices (Mora et al., 2018).

Practice is a form of knowing that the community of practitioners recognises and more importantly, sustains through its “*normative basis*” of being an “*ethical, affective and aesthetic*” activity (Gherardi, 2019, p. 62–63). ‘Sustaining a practice’ means that there emerges ongoing negotiations through the criteria of normative appropriateness of a particular practice, and that the common orientation in this process forms the basis of sustaining a practice (Gherardi, 2009, 2019). In traditional sociology, normativity denotes maintaining a predetermined social order through common rules. However, in practice-based studies norms are understood differently. Here norms emerge in real-time situated practicing and the situations may be interpreted differently by different actors (Gherardi, 2019). However, rules move in both ways in that they are negotiated. That is, situated practices are accomplished as related to diverse public and tacit rules, normative performances (Gherardi, 2019). More specifically, rules and norms of appropriate and inappropriate interacting are interpreted, (re)produced, legitimated, observed, negotiated, adjusted and rejected within the practices of a particular social group (Gherardi, 2019). This means that there is plenty of space for improvised acting that overrules conventional rules and norms (Gherardi, 2019). As rules are subject to negotiations, this means that there emerges deviations, variability, and/or regularities in the ongoing practicing (Gherardi, 2019). From this basis, within various situated practices, actors continuously negotiate the limits of appropriate practicing within which harmony is achieved in common agreement and in the common orientation in practice.

Consequently, the normative appropriateness of “what makes a ‘good’ practice, a ‘nice’ way of practicing” is formed through ethical, affective and aesthetic knowing-in-practice (Gherardi, 2019, p. 148). The emerging knowledge through senses thus affords thus the potentiality for a body to act in an ethical and aesthetic manner. Therewith, in practice-theoretical sensemaking the emphasis is on understanding the embodied knowing that is founded on taste and aesthetic judgements (Strati, 1999, as cited in Gherardi, 2009, p. 540; Gherardi, 2019).

The *aesthetic taste-based judgement* is something that Gherardi (2009b) and Nicolini also (2013) understand as a particular practice character of taste, as it is more than just an observation. It is “a style of action” (Strati 2007, p. 64), a sense of problematizing how things are aesthetically accomplished together (Gherardi, 2009). Aesthetic taste-based judgement is based on the *sociology of attachment* (Gherardi, 2019). Here, attachment is not taking place in the mind of an individual, but in the situated practices inbetween an individual and other heterogeneous actor (human, nonhuman, natural). It is thus seen as a “reflexive result of a corporeal, collective, and orchestrated practice regulated by methods that, in their turn, are endlessly discussed” (Gomart & Hennion, 1999, as cited in Gherardi, 2019, p. 150). Nevertheless, attachment concerns not only these relations, related affectivities or utility, but also applies to the effects of the collective formation of “taste at the moment when the aesthetic judgements supporting the practice formed” (Gherardi, 2019, p. 151). Taste-based activities cannot be reduced merely to an emotional impression, a passive sensation (Gherardi, 2019; Strati, 2007). Rather, taste is seen as a collective acting in taste-making within an ongoing process through which the knowing of how to judge or appraise particular forms of acting in practice emerges (Gherardi, 2009, 2019). This shifts the focus (Gherardi, 2009, p. 540) “from the relationship with the object of practice to the formation of an aesthetic judgement”. To exemplify, as illustrated in this thesis on the bases of my own knowing, practicing yoga and gaining pleasure from visiting soothing yoga studios are forms of attachment and taste that are socially supported by the yoga practitioners. The effects of soothing affectivities form particular criteria of taste accomplished through the refining of practices (see also Mora et al., 2018). These forms are reinforced in the community practices and evolved vocabularies, particularly the “criteria of taste to communicate, share and refine the ways in which such practices are enacted” (Gherardi, 2019, p. 151). By employing this kind of approach, the research focus is on the theoretical and empirical investigations on how practitioners practice their passions in practical encounters, and how this affects the aesthetic taste-based judgement in the formation of the object of practice (Gherardi, 2009). Further, the idea behind noticing how practices are sustained through attachment is related to innovating, guiding the focus on the refinement of practice, in other words, how it is through acting that the way of doing is invented by the practitioners (Pareyson, 1954, as cited in Gherardi, 2019, p. 151).

The concept of sociomateriality also enables discussions on “corporeal ethics”, illuminating ethics based on embodied experience (Diprose, 2002, as cited in Gherardi, 2017a, p. 10; Pullen & Rhodes, 2014). Here, instead of seeing ethics as a number of values instructing ethical conduct, sociomaterial practices embrace ethics as “a pre-reflective embodied interaction arising from openness and generosity towards the other as a form of hospitality in which the other is welcome in her/his difference” (Gherardi, 2017a, p. 10). This kind of thinking opens pathways to examining how ethics is done in tourism sociomaterial encounters, in other words, how the ideas around ‘corporeal ethics’ guide the acting of tourists’ in practical situations and, moreover, how these might be regarded as a form of ethical luxury synchronised and accomplished together with various sociomaterialities (see also Gherardi, 2019). Although I am drawn towards ethical considerations, these are not in the focus of this study, though being notified as entangled with aesthetics. The discussions would have been too broad for the scope of this thesis and should thus be examined in future studies.

Therefore, seeing luxury through the concept of situated activity denotes focusing on a sociological analysis of luxury in tourist practices “as modes of action” (Gherardi, 2019, p. 28). It should be investigated how situated practicing and arising knowledge might entail aesthetic-embodied capacity for luxury to emerge (Gherardi, 2006, as cited in Gherardi, 2019, p. 9; Nicolini, 2013). Thinking in this way, it is not enough to illustrate how a particular performance of individuals occurring in the physical context might be rational-cognitively understood as luxury (see Nicolini, 2013). Rather, it also demands a more nuanced *in situ* exploration of determining how individuals know through their bodies within the agencements of sociomaterial relationships. It necessitates an empirical exploration within the phenomenon to determine what makes particular things matter in sense making, how and by which mechanism the practices are connecting, what sustains the relations, and how the common orientation to accomplish the object of practice is achieved (Gherardi, 2019; see Nicolini, 2013). This allows us to unveil the social rather than the individualistic nature of practices and emphasises the “fine-graded details of their doings and the effects of practicing” (Gherardi, 2019, p. 56). All forms of actors and interacting that matter in the accomplishment of practice are considered while investigating the knowing and sense making of various phenomena through practice epistemology (Gherardi, 2019). Finally, sociomaterial practices arise from the surrounding society, and vice versa, practices alike constitute the social that cannot be separated from the heterogeneous forms of materialities (Gherardi, 2017a).

I now proceed to a theoretical exploration of how the embodied knowing of luxury might emerge in accomplishing the practices. Initially, I start by clarifying the concept of embodied knowing in this thesis.

2.2 Exploring embodiment

In this subchapter I will open my theoretical approach. The formed approach could be called an exploratory puzzle by its usage of resources offered by multidisciplinary research (see Gherardi, 2019). The guiding principle in forming my theoretical approach has been to follow the things that I sensed to matter in exploring my knowing of luxury in the situated sociomaterial practices (see Gherardi, 2019). The theoretical approach, methodology and empirical analysis of practices evolved simultaneously. I was engaging within the practices “as an embodied being and as a knowledgeable body” and attuned my body and senses to “surrender and catch” to be able to theorise my knowing (see Gherardi, 2019, p. 331). I explored the arising sensations within my body, various actors and the effect of practices to truly know how luxury was forming. This “artistic” approach leans on an exploration within everyday practices of a yoga retreat holiday that act on their “own operational rules” (see Gherardi, 2019, p. 330–331). Things that matter guide the forming of my theoretical approach in an explorational manner in which the researcher is allowed to be “as creative as the researcher dares to be” Gherardi, 2019, p. 330–331).

Although the theoretical approach of this study is inspired by multidisciplinary, its foundation lies in organisational studies, embodied knowing on sociomaterial practice theory and literature on practice-based knowing (Gherardi, 2017b, 2019; Gärtner, 2013; Katila, Kuusmin et al., 2019; Strati, 2007; Valtonen et al., 2017). Noticeably, in organisational studies there is already a tradition and a revived attention of searching knowledge with non-representational approaches which aligns the tendency among cultural geographers and affect researchers (Vannini, 2015, as cited in Gherardi, 2019, p. 332). Practice-based studies (PBS) have received criticism for being too descriptive (Gherardi, 2019), yet, non-representational or more-than-representational approaches give room for making the researcher and his/her situated reflexivity visible which, in turn, allows to unfold the creative practices and imaginative abilities of a human (Lorino, Tricard & Clot, 2011, as cited in Gherardi, 2019, p. 332). Simultaneously, PBS wish to demonstrate how the non-presentational text is formed in researcher’s practices. In this way, PBS aim to escape conceptual dualism inbetween representational and non-representational (Gherardi, 2019). Upon returning to the beginning of my research process, it should be noted that I was the most inspired when having discovered Gherardi’s concept of embodied knowing, but gradually, during the progress of my research, I found it challenging to describe my knowing of luxury solely in terms of practice-based illustrations or observing practices ‘from outside’ (see Gherardi, 2019).

Not-knowing how to proceed was a challenging time in my research. It drove me to study embodied knowing with non-representational practices (see e.g. Ingold, 2010), philosophy (Lefebvre, 2004; Massumi, 2002) and non-representational theories (Simpson, 2021; Thrift, 2008). Non-representational theory, or better, non-

representational theories (Simpson, 2021) are a collection of ideas first introduced by geographer Nigel Thrift and today followed by researchers through diverse disciplines such as cultural/human geographers, phenomenologist, post-qualitative-researchers, post-structuralists, pragmatists, feminists, affect researchers (Gherardi, 2019), as well as tourism scholars (d’Hauteserre, 2015; Haanpää et al., 2022; Jensen et al., 2015).

Significantly, non-representational practices seemed to illustrate knowing very much in a similar manner as I knew them within my own body. Their illustrations encouraged me to write and materialise the inconspicuous, intimate practices arising in my biological body, and take my embodied knowing academically seriously. This is for instance demonstrated in providing practical examples of the affect of breathing and metabolism that resonated with my knowing of luxury (see e.g. Colls, 2012; Macnaughton, 2020). Aside, I explored tourism studies that also afforded resources to study embodied practices (e.g. Rantala & Valtonen, 2014). Hence, the multidisciplinary approach of this thesis facilitates a more intimate and nuanced manner of writing the embodied knowing of luxury in tourism practices as I knew it.

Indeed, Gärtner (2013, p. 338) states that “practice-based notions of embodiment provide a promising platform for integrating insights from other views”. Combining various approaches supports the unfolding of the pre-reflexive capacities of a knowing body (Gärtner, 2013). Gherardi (2019, p. 129–130) echoes that embodiment entails “multiplicity of experience of embodied knowing”. Additionally, in my multidisciplinary approach I also form relations with luxury literature (e.g. Bauer et al., 2011; Cristini & Kauppinen-Räsänen, 2022; Hemetsberger et al., 2012; Kauppinen-Räsänen et al., 2019; Kreuzer et al., 2020; Mora et al., 2018; Sudbury-Riley et al., 2020; Zanette et al., 2022), although it is challenging since the knowing emerging in the body is not so much recognized in luxury research yet (see Eskola et al., 2022).

In the next subchapter my explorations of embodied knowing and the body is initiated with a discussion on practice-based studies, gradually joined by multidisciplinary studies. I then continue to a discussion on affects and rhythms in practices in further detail. Sociomaterial practice-based studies see that affects and rhythms entangle within practice and thus subchapters 2.2.1– 2.2.4 are partly overlapping.

2.2.1 Embodied knowing

In sociomaterial practice-based studies the body and embodied knowing are seen as inborn in practices. “All knowing is embodied knowing” and we know the world as our bodies entangle within the sociomaterial practices (Gherardi, 2017a, 2019, p. 99; Katila, Kuusmin, et al., 2019; Valtonen et al., 2017). Practice-based studies assume a relational epistemology within which the body and embodied knowing are continuously emerging as performative accomplishment together with heterogeneous actors (Gherardi, 2017a).

Embodied knowing emphasises diversified forms of non-individual and non-dualistic knowing that emerges in and through the body in practices (Gherardi, 2009a; Gherardi et al., 2013; Katila, Kuismin, et al., 2019; Nicolini et al., 2003; Valtonen et al., 2017). Embodied knowing unfolds how the body acts in intimate relationship with the sensory faculties. Sensory faculties refer to all kinds of sensible, embodied knowledge involving “what is ‘got’ emotionally, the affectivity connected with what is perceived, taste-based judgment, the style of action” (Strati, 2007, p. 64). Each sensation is affective; it is a dialectical relation within a practice and works in close relations with the emotions (Strati, 2007; see Gherardi, 2019). The illustrations of embodied knowing have shown how knowing unfolds within varied sociomaterial practices as pre-reflexive, pre-discursive, pre-social and inconspicuous forms of knowing beyond mere rational-cognitive or intentional forming (e.g. Gärtner, 2013; Gherardi, 2000; Gherardi, 2009a; Miettinen et al., 2009; Reckwitz, 2002; Simpson, 2021; Strati, 2007; Thrift, 2008; see Yakhlef, 2010). In other words, embodied, aesthetic knowledge is forming in sociomaterial practices within which the collective knowing becomes personal (Gherardi, 2019). In interacting with various spaces and actors “people use their bodies to relate to the practice” that further affects the knowledgeability of a body (Gherardi, 2019, p. 57). Thus, we rely on embodied knowing in accomplishing the practises (Gherardi, 2017a).

The ongoing turn to affect has set questions concerning what may be considered as a body and how embodied knowing is forming in sociomaterial practices (Gherardi, 2017b, 2017c; Gherardi et al., 2019). In practice-based studies it has been illustrated how affect theory essentially contributes to understanding the relationships inbetween the body, embodiment and embodied knowing (Gherardi et al., 2019; Katila, Kuismin, et al., 2019). Therewith, the body has been defined “as a site of sensible-aesthetic knowing and resonant materiality that is able to affect and be affected by multiple human and nonhuman bodies coming together” in practices (Katila, Kuismin, et al., 2019, p. 9). It is shown how the body is entangled within affecto-rhythmic practices (Katila, Kuismin, et al., 2019). Further, the body is conceptualised as a “processual construct” which allows to think the body as fluid, porous and liquid suggesting that bodies are unbounded, thus in a constant state of becoming (Valtonen et al., 2017, p. 521). This enables to notice not only how the inter-corporeal practices affect in practicing but also the effect of “within-corporeality” (Valtonen et al., 2017, p. 530; see Massumi, 2002). The knowledgeable body is seen to engage in situated sociomaterial practices with various forms of bodily existences and sensorial states (Valtonen et al., 2017).

Inspired and aligning the recent understandings of the body in sociomaterial practice-based studies, in this dissertation the body is understood as ‘an agencement of embodied knowing and resonant materiality that is able to affect and be affected by heterogeneous actors coming together in tourist practices’ (see Katila, Kuismin, et al., 2019; Valtonen et al., 2017). Importantly, this thesis sees that embodied

practicing is affected by the body's "constant need to keep itself in harmony" and orientation to sustain the harmony in the body (Yakhlef, 2010, p. 421).

I hereby continue to open the above definition of a relational body and explain embodied knowing more closely. The concept of *agencement* highlights the unforeseen entanglements of a body within situated, ongoing sociomaterial practices and sees that the body is in constant state of becoming (Gherardi, 2017a, 2018; Katila, Kuismin, et al., 2019, p. 9; Valtonen et al., 2017, p. 530; see Kuuru, 2022). The body as a *resonant materiality* unfolds the entangling relationship inbetween the body, affects and rhythms in practices (Gherardi, 2019; Katila, Kuismin, et al., 2019; Valtonen et al., 2017). It emphasises the affecto-rhythmic attuning of a body and knowing within sociomaterial practices inbetween corporeal bodies and within corporeal body and as accomplished together with heterogenous sociomaterial actors (Katila, Kuismin, et al., 2019; Valtonen et al., 2017). Hence, "bodies are therefore the effects" (Gherardi et al., 2019, p. 310) of entangling affecto-rhythmic sociomaterial practices (see Katila, Kuismin, et al., 2019).

I will elaborate the concept of affect and rhythms more closely in chapters 2.2.2–2.2.4 though, at this point, it is necessary to briefly open the nature of affects and rhythms entangled within situated practices applied in this thesis. Embodied knowing within sociomaterial practices inherently involves knowing through diverse rhythms and affects (Katila, Kuismin, et al., 2019). Within a practice there exists several rhythms that affect practitioners and their practices (Valtonen et al., 2017). For instance, while tourists are overnighing in a hotel, their stay is paced by check-in time, evening/morning sauna/spa time, breakfast serving and check-out time. The hotel practices follow clock time, linear rhythms that tourists are expected to follow (see Lefebvre, 2004). In many tourism practices there exists dominating rhythmic sequencing in which tourists need to synchronise their own sociomaterial practices (see Katila, Kuismin, et al., 2019). In addition, there exists cyclical rhythms that affect practices. Cyclical rhythms such as the circadian rhythm originate from cosmos (Lefebvre, 2004). The shifting hours of light and darkness affect our biological body that shifts inbetween being awake and sleeping. Likewise, tides are affected by the movement of moon and earth. Similarly, the body recognises rhythms not only through the rational-cognitive mind, but also unconsciously, as an embodied, pre-reflexive act through diverse "sensorial cues" (Katila, Kuismin, et al., 2019, p. 5). Studying practices in reflecting the entangling cyclical and linear rhythms is essential, since these are in ongoing interaction, mutually affected and affecting within practices (Lefebvre, 2004). Rhythmic practices entail a capacity to affect those engaged within (Gherardi, 2017b; Katila, Kuismin, et al., 2019).

In this thesis affect is understood through its effect emerging in practices (Gherardi, 2019; Katila, Kuismin, et al., 2019). The Deleuzian tradition sees *affect* through its effect to increase or decrease the bodily capacity to act and attune (Katila, Kuismin, et al., 2019; Massumi, 2002). Affect is sensed as bodily arousal and transformation

in bodily state before we actually perceive it as emotion (Massumi, 2002; Thrift, 2008). In the introductory chapter, I recollected how the vibes of excitement and corporeal arousals went up and down in my body. Affect, the moving sensation, embodied force set my body in motion (see Katila, Kuismin, et al., 2019). Affects circulate in sociomaterial practices and in various tourism spaces/places.

Therewith, aiming to comprehensively understand knowing emerging in the tourist's inventive practices, this thesis sees *embodied knowing* as entanglement of affectivities, emotions and feelings of a lived and living body (see Gherardi, 2019). The "living body is sensing itself in the world and sensing the world in itself" (Gherardi, 2019, p. 128). Embodied knowing concerns not only inter-corporeal practices, but "intimate, personal and corporeal" knowing (Strati, 2007, p. 62; Yakhlef, 2010) and knowing emerging "*within* the body" (original Italics) as well (Valtonen et al., 2017, p. 521; see Katila, Kuismin, et al., 2019).

Knowing often takes place while knowledgeable touristic bodies are engaging within tourism practices in different sensory states (Valtonen et al., 2017). Touristic bodies are not always alert and awake but engage in tourism practices also when being half-awake, half-asleep and sleeping bodies (Valtonen & Haanpää, 2018; see Valtonen & Veijola, 2011). It is rather common that travelling entails early mornings, late nights or night time flying to the (long-haul) destination. The internal circadian body rhythm clashes with the rhythms of the travel schedules and this arrhythmia, asynchronisation (Katila, Kuismin, et al., 2019; see Lefebvre, 2004) affects tourist practices. For a jet-lagged body it might take several days to recover from flying over time zones and to become temporally synchronised with the local linear time and tourism practices. This means that tourists engage in practices not necessarily when being fully awake but often in a half-awake state (see Valtonen et al., 2017). For instance, at the pool area of hotels, it is common to see many (jet-lagged or tired) touristic bodies lying on sunbeds. One could say that the bodies are 'doing nothing'. Still, when for a while carefully scrutinising the acting of these bodies, we may see how touristic knowing of being-in-the-world unfolds as bodies are simultaneously engaging in different realities when moving back and forth inbetween various sensorial states of being (fully) awake, half-asleep and (deeply) asleep (Valtonen et al., 2017, p. 520). The tourists' bodies are acting and knowledgeable although the knowing emerges as they are engaging in different "existential and corporeal realities" (Valtonen et al., 2017, p. 522). Many of us probably also know the embodied feeling after spending many hours on a sunbed while floating inbetween various sensory states, how we might not be able to distinguish between what is 'real' and what is not. The different existential and corporeal reality of the intimate world of dreams might even afford longer effects in the tourist's practices in wakefulness as the aroused affectivities of dreams remain in the body (Valtonen et al., 2017). It is possible to be simultaneously physically present with the eyes open, but still, at the same time, being sensorially released from the surrounding sociomaterial environment;

knowing of the world may take place when being partially engaged (Valtonen et al., 2017). Thus, touristic knowing takes place not only in engaging within the practices in different sensory states, but also as sensory release and affective entanglement in the world of dreams that affect tourist practices (Valtonen et al., 2017).

Bodies might temporally be engaged with dreams, but dreams also tend to dwell in our body-memory for a longer time, in a similar manner like any other practices we encounter in our life (Valtonen & Haanpää, 2018). Our past situated practices remain in our bodies and affect other situated practices –current and future practices (Gherardi, 2019; Valtonen & Haanpää, 2018). The tropical, humid warmth that caresses our bodies in Thailand, for instance, stays in our body-memory and may lead us to book a yearly visit in the same premises. The “embodiment of temperatures is perhaps one of the most enduring and interceptive sensuous dimensions in tourism” which indeed affects our practices (Jensen et al., 2015, pp. 74, 64). Mora et al. (2018) also note how the multisensory experience of luxury is essentially founded on the expected spatial thermal environment.

The discussion above demonstrates how the bodies are not the same at all times and knowing-in-practices emerges as multi-sited. When engaging a different mode of knowing, the dominant view of how tourist know only while being engaged in the waking state is thus challenged. Bodies may simultaneously be engaging in different “existential realities”, sensory states and body-memories that affect their knowing (Valtonen et al., 2017, p. 531) which is common in tourist practices. Still, embodied knowing is uncertain in its nature and its emergence is beyond control (Valtonen et al., 2017). At the same, appreciating embodied knowing emerging as the body engages within different realities, brings forth the vulnerability and sensitivity of a human body that would demand further investigations (Valtonen et al., 2017).

Hence, in addition to inter-corporeality, the emerging knowing ‘within corporeality’ (Katila, Kuusmin, et al., 2019; Valtonen et al., 2017) may be regarded as an inherent form of tourists’ embodied knowing that enriches the affecto-rhythmic explorations of luxury in tourism practices. In fact, within the premises of luxury literature Kapferer & Valette-Florence (2016a) suggest that dreams may offer an alternative path to the knowing of luxury and encourage to research the relationship inbetween dreams and luxury. They highlight the affect of dreams in knowing luxury, and claim that luxury is not necessarily expensive. Rather, it is more of the imagination and “sense of spirituality” that are attached to the knowing of luxury as “incredible experiences” (Kapferer & Valette-Florence, 2016a, p. 121).

Heterogeneous actors signify in this thesis diverse human and nonhuman bodies, sociomaterialities, the organic and non-organic that are engaging in practices. Following the vocabulary of non-representational theories (Simpson, 2021; Thrift, 2008) (henceforth NRTs), and for the sake of simplicity, I choose here to use the term ‘actor’. A number of materialities affect embodied knowing in practicing (Gherardi, 2019; Katila, Kuusmin, et al., 2019; Reckwitz, 2012). Accordingly, materialities may

range all the way from humans, nonhumans, human-made, technical and natural materiality. ‘Things’ like various objects, sensations, affectivities, emotions, ideas, rules, norms, nature, social networks, crowds, discourses, and even intestines may be understood as relevant actors in practices (see e.g. Simpson, 2021). Actors and their orderings cannot be predicted beforehand as they are only unveiled in the process of real-time interacting and knowing taking place within agencements (Gherardi, 2019). NRTs describe beautifully the aim of attending the “onflow” of mundane life, “on how life takes shape and gains expression in shared experiences, everyday routines, fleeting encounters, embodied movements, precognitive triggers, practical skills, affective intensities, enduring urges, unexceptional interactions and sensuous dispositions ... which escape from the established academic habit of striving to uncover meanings and values that apparently await our discovery, interpretation, judgment and ultimate representation” (Lorimer, 2005, p. 84, as cited in Simpson, p. xiv; see also Gherardi 2019).

Hence, various materialities do “not play a merely background role” but rather “participate actively in the stories, carry history, embody social relationships, distribute power, and provide points of resistance” (Nicolini et al., 2003, p. 22). Practices co-evolve with heterogeneous actors (Simpson, 2021, p. xix; Thrift, 2008). For instance, tourism studies exemplify how embodied knowing emerges within smooth practices that evolve along the ongoing situated practicing with water and other multiple materialities within body-water-boat agencement (Rhoden & Kaaristo, 2020). Water, as any other heterogeneous actors, is part of eclectic networks, agencements and their affect depends on the nature of practices. Further, in this thesis the biological body and many other actors such as nature are seen to materialise through the arising affectivities (Gherardi, 2019; Katila, Kuismin, et al., 2019; Reckwitz, 2012). This approach allows for exploring the ‘within corporeality’, biological body as an inherent actor in practices that entails force to order the practices. As I have demonstrated earlier, the effect of the circadian rhythm on knowing (Katila, Kuismin, et al., 2019; Valtonen et al., 2017) as well as the effect of digestion (e.g. Nichter, 2008) or neural activity or hormones (Gärtner, 2013; Massumi, 2002) they all affect our process of knowing.

Incidentally, Gärtner’s (2013) study offers a detailed illustration of the ‘within corporeal’ knowing that he calls ‘physiological embodiment’. This thesis sees that the concept of ‘within-corporeal body’ (Katila, Kuismin, et al., 2019; Valtonen et al., 2017) or ‘inner body’ enclose Gärtner’s nuanced understandings presented here. The ‘physiological embodiment’ suggests mental, rational knowing to be entangled with the physiological, biological body and its neural system (Gärtner, 2013). The nervous system is understood to affect sociomaterial practices. The (neuro)biological body affords knowing through two domains: initially the body is understood as a biochemical systems and second, affected by the neural system within a body (Gärtner, 2013). The first one ‘*the biochemical systems*’ draws attention to the knowing

emerging through the biochemical processes within the body, thus drawing attention to these affect practices. Here physical reactions such as heart rate, hormone levels, blood pressure or immune system are related to stress level, “bodily well-being and resilience” (Gärtner, 2013, p. 340). The second domain ‘*the body’s neural systems*’, in turn, draws attention to how knowing is affected by neural activity. For the purposes of this thesis, this domain allows for seeing how knowing emerges through various kinds of practices that affect neural activity such as “decision-making... preferences... gut feelings, intuition, reciprocity [harmony, peace], trust”, to name a few (Gärtner, 2013, p. 341). However, Gärtner (2013) argues that the limitation of physiological embodiment is that it mixes different explanatory categories.

Another researcher, Massumi (2002), also takes notice of neural knowing within the body and autonomy of affect. He observes how there is a “neuronal network in the gut” which pertains to the “*enteric nervous system*” (original Italics), and which functioning has conscious effects (Massumi, 2002, p. 265). The enteric nervous system transmits information to the brain, that arises as proprioceptive knowing in the body and affects our mood through hormonal release (Massumi, 2002; see Nichter, 2008). According to Massumi (2002, p. 266) the “enteric nervous system provides one of the physiological bases for the autonomy of affect” and illustrates one form of embodied knowing. To exemplify, making decisions is sometimes challenging if we are hungry, thus relating Massumi’s notions to Gärner’s statements discussed above.

NRTs continue in saying that conscious perceptions afford only a limited view on the perceptive capacities of a body (Simpson, 2021). This notion arises from Thrift’s captivation of neuroscience and its testimonials of the “half-second delay between a body’s action and the ability to account for that action showed that there was a whole lot going on in our bodies that we might not immediately be aware of or consciously in charge of” (Thrift 1996, as cited in Simpson, 2021; see Massumi). The “rolling mass of nerve volleys prepare the body for action in such a way that intentions or decisions are made before the conscious self is even aware of them” (Thrift, 2008, p. 7). Aligning, Thrift (2008, p. 4) proposes to value the pre-cognitive as more than a mere supplement to the cognitive.

Furthermore, Massumi’s and Gärtner’s (2013) illustrations may be related to Colls’s (2012) notions of how the neural basis of inner body forces [affects] in fact constitute us as subjects. Colls (2012, p. 439) echoes Massumi in claiming that these forces “operate at a range of scales and intensities”. Affects pass through and inhabit bodies (metabolism, circulation, ovulation, ejaculation); they are intangible and unknowable and yet, they are sometimes felt by the body and travel between bodies (fear, hope, love, wonder, hate, confidence). Further affective forces are related to a wider level of practices as affects “are produced by and active in the constitution of wider social, economic and political processes and structures” (Colls, 2012, p. 439).

Physiological embodiment may also be illustrated for instance through the yoga practice. That is, as yoga has been noted to affect the “autonomic nervous system [that] functions over all visceral systems of the body” (Udupa & Sathyaprabha 2018, p. 67). Yoga practice has also been related to a “decrease in cortisol levels” as well as to “increase neurotrophic factors, and changes in neurotransmitters, such as increases in serotonin” (Domingues, 2018, p. 249). This way, practicing yoga has been noticed to be a “perfect antidote for the stress” that lowers the physiological effects of stress and balances the body towards homeostasis and that way enhances health (Udupa & Sathyaprabha, 2018, p. 67; see Kuuru, 2022). In fact, Mora et al. (2018, p. 190) note how in contemporary societies the “yogic body-centric practices” afford “new meanings of luxury, health, well-being [and aspirational class values]” (see also Speier, 2020; Eskola et al., 2022). Still, neural activities and physical arousals are not solely able to adequately clarify embodied experiences like sense making or emotional states (Gärtner, 2013). Importantly, ‘yogic body-centric practices’ do not emerge only through the “medical benefits of asana” in yoga practice but also in yoga studios’ various practices (Mora et al., 2018, p. 196). The multisensory interactions emanate “healing” and enhance “health and wellbeing both physically & mentally” and spiritually (Mora et al., 2018, p. 180).

The body is attached to harmony, in other words, practices that balance the body, mind and energy levels (see Mora et al., 2018; Yakhlef, 2010). In addition to yoga practice (Mora et al., 2018) harmonising practices are noted to emerge when tourists’ have the possibility to for instance live in the rhythm of nature (Rantala & Valtonen, 2014). However, in the everyday practices of contemporary humans it is common that our circadian, “biological rhythms of sleep, hunger and thirst, excretion [metabolism] and so on are more and more conditioned by the social environment” (Lefebvre, 2004, viii). These notions make the growing popularity of yoga and well-being holidays understandable (Speier, 2020), and tourists’ search for practices that afford harmony in the bodymind (Mora et al., 2018). Focusing on exploring the nature of practices allows for seeing how it is the effect of affects and rhythms that order aesthetic judgements within sociomaterial practices (Katila, Kuismin, et al., 2019). Natural pace and soothing resonance in touristic practices (Rantala & Valtonen, 2014) orientate towards the ‘appropriate’ affective attunement that allows for luxury to emerge. Hence, in this study it is particularly important to illustrate how aesthetic judgements are made, and how the soothing flow of practices is emerging. The thesis complements the noticed lack of theoretical and empirical explorations of the entangled relationship inbetween affects and rhythms within the flow of sociomaterial practices. In the earlier affecto-rhythmic study, the focus was on sensing the ‘upbeat feeling’ emerging within the agencement of various actors, bodies and materialities (Katila, Kuismin, et al., 2019, p. 10).

However, not all bodies carry a similar capacity for knowledgeable acting (Strati, 2007). It is a complex relationship that relates to the different capacities of

a human body. Bodies are not the same; they possess different potential for acting, moving, sensing and practicing (Strati, 2007; see Saldanha, 2002). The particular appreciation of material environment, distinction and taste, order the formation of embodied knowing (see Gherardi, 2019). That is, the touristic bodies have to know how to engage in these diversified entangled sociomaterial interactions which necessitate some level of familiarity with sounds and emotional engagement (Rantala & Valtonen, 2014; Waitt & Duffy, 2010). Capacities to know may also be learned (at least to some extent) over time, like learning the skill of how to taste wine, practice salsa dancing (Holmqvist et al., 2020) or yoga, or, as demonstrated by Zanette et al. (2022), knowing how to re-arrange dressing practices with ugly luxury wear. Though, it is also a question about how willing the touristic bodies are to let their bodies be affected by the practices. Yet, sustaining capacities to know and act necessitates constant engaging in practices as they are continuously (re)negotiated and refined within epistemic communities of practitioners (Gherardi, 2009b).

At this point, I will proceed to opening the etymology of the word aesthetic as seen in practice-based studies and exploring its relation within luxury literature. This is important as this thesis extends the dominant understanding of the concept of aesthetics in luxury literature into relating aesthetics to embodied knowing and not only to visual perceptions. After all, aesthetics is one of the core features of luxury (Kapferer & Bastien, 2009). It is common in Western cultures as well as in luxury literature to associate aesthetics with external beauty judged by cognitive perceptions. This understanding is rooted in the Aristotelian view of the five external senses. However, Strati (2007) in demonstrating the relation between all the senses and sensible knowledge, draws on Baumgarten's and Vico's aesthetic philosophy as discussed in Chapter 2.1. Strati notes how the concept of sensible knowledge originates from the Greek word *aesthesis* that, according to Reckwitz (2012, p. 250), is also linked to the "routine ways in which things are [both] bodily and mentally sensed and perceived and to the pleasant or unpleasant ways in which these sensations and perceptions affect the respective bodies and minds".

In some experiential and unconventional luxury studies, the consumer narratives may be found to align with notions corresponding with the above understanding of aesthetics, how the sensations of luxury are also arisen through the knowing body (e.g. Hemetsberger et al., 2012; Holmqvist et al., 2020; Zanette et al., 2022). However, these notions are not much further elaborated in those studies. I will open the concept of aesthetics more closely in chapters 2.2.2–2.2.4 in which I discuss embodied knowing as related to the concepts of affect and rhythms. However, divergently from the dominant Aristotelian understanding of aesthetics in luxury literature, Berthon et al. (2009, p. 51) align the Baumgartenian and Kantian origins of aesthetics that, in turn, correspond with the approach presented by Strati's (2007). Berthon et al. (2009) discuss "aesthetic judgments" and relate the evaluation of luxury to "taste" and "aesthetic intelligence" (Berthon et al., 2009, p. 51; see

Zanette et al., 2022). Furthermore, they notify how the “social becomes embodied within members of a certain group” through “bodily knowledge” (though as related to acquiring status through possessing and consuming luxury products) (Berthon et al., 2009, p. 56; see Zanette et al., 2022). Referring to Heidegger, Berthon et al. (2009, p. 51) suggest that luxury is a “process” in which the “aesthetic refinement” and expertise of the one experiencing becomes principal (see Zanette et al., 2022). Accordingly, I draw attention to the fine connecting line in the understanding of aesthetic knowledge inbetween practice-based studies and luxury literature. Signifying, aesthetics is understood beyond the cognitive perceptions and external beauty and the knowing is recognized as arising through the body as “aesthetic intelligence” (Berthon et al., 2009, p. 51). Still, although some practice-theoretical luxury studies see that “practice theories focus on understanding consumers through embodied senses” (Zanette et al., 2022, p. 785) and aesthetics (Ahmed et al., 2022; Seo & Buchanan-Oliver, 2019; Zanette et al., 2022), surprisingly few studies have taken account of the embodied knowing in practices. Hence, aesthetic forms of practicing are still much seen as cognitive perceptions. As expressed by Zanette et al. (2022, p. 791): “new aesthetic meanings” are much created as mental perceptions of brands, products and fashion consumption (see Ahmed et al., 2022; Joy et al., 2012).

Hence, the above discussions reveal the challenges in exploring embodied knowing with practice-theoretical luxury studies. With the exception of some studies (Eskola et al., 2022), in luxury literature knowledge is constructed on a rational-cognitive world view that does not yet recognise the knowledgeable body as an inherent actor and thus disregards inborn embodied knowing in practices. However, as stated before, not being recognised does not imply that the knowing body would be absent in luxury studies. Finally, with a different kind of reading and analysis, the embodied knowing that organises luxury practices would be unveiled; they have not just yet been noticed in luxury studies.

As the discussions in this subchapter have suggested, contemporary studies contributing to the embodied knowing of practices afford multifold wordings and understandings (Gärtner, 2013; Gherardi, 2009b, 2017, 2019; Gherardi et al., 2013; Katila, Kuismin, et al., 2019; Nicolini et al., 2003; Simpson, 2021; Strati, 2007; Valtonen et al., 2017; Yakhlef, 2010). Currently, it can be observed that academics use the words aesthetic, sensible, corporeal, embodied and affect(ivity) in a variety of ways in their notions of knowing afforded by the human body. The vocabulary has evolved in synchrony with ongoing discussions on how knowledge is forming, depending on the perspective, empirical material and with widening understandings of what a human body constitutes of. However, regardless of the diversity in wording, it is highlighted that all forms of knowledge that emerge through practical knowing – including sensible, embodied knowledge – is a “form of competent reasoning and doing” (Corradi et al. 2010, p. 267; Gherardi, 2019; Strati, 2007). In this dissertation I choose to use the notion of ‘embodied

knowing; seeing that it entails all forms of aesthetic practicing, though also referred to as 'affective knowing' or simply 'knowing'. These terms enclose diverse forms of sensualities and affectivities emerging within practices. The body or 'inner body' in this thesis denote the corporeal body as explicated in this chapter.

In the following chapters 2.2.2–2.2.4, I will explore the nature of affects and rhythms. I will investigate how these may facilitate attuning to the appropriate flow of practices and thus enabling the capacity for luxury to emerge (see Katila, Kuismin, et al., 2019). I allow the exploration process to be open for multidisciplinary discoveries to enable demonstrating the particular harmonising effect of luxury as I know it.

2.2.2 Affect

There is no sensory activity that would be indifferent as “every sensation is affective” (Strati, 2007, p. 64). Recognising the emerging ephemeral affectivities is important in diverse sociomaterial practices; as in practices “all agency unfolds with a certain degree of affect and almost all social practices affect their participants in various degrees” (Gherardi, 2017b, 2017c; see Reckwitz, 2012; Strati, 2007).

Notably, there is no established definition of affect (e.g. Ahmed, 2004; Gherardi, 2017a, 2019; Simpson, 2021; Thrift, 2008), although affect is commonly related to feelings, emotions, aesthetics and sensations that act through different senses and arouse bodily arousals (e.g. d’Hauteserre, 2015; Reckwitz, 2012; Strati, 2007). Along my research process, I turned to affect as a bodily arousal (Gherardi, 2017b; Katila, Kuismin, et al., 2019; Massumi, 2002), since the term appropriately illustrates the embodied knowing of luxury that I sensed deep inside my corporeal body. To specify, in this thesis affect is understood as a broad concept that entails also access to emotions and feelings (Gherardi, 2019; Reckwitz, 2012; Strati, 2007). I observe that all embodied sensations are entangled together in knowing and thus separating them from each other seems challenging, although, in this thesis, the focus is more on affect as bodily arousal. I will explicate the selected approach briefly. Even if the focality of affectivities is recognised in luxury literature (Chandon et al., 2017; Chandon et al., 2016, 2019; de Kerviler & Rodriguez, 2019), reflecting the emerging affectivities through luxury literature is challenging as its knowledge builds on a psychological world view which does not yet recognise affectivities, bodily arousals and how they (dis)able capacities in acting. Affects and affective practices are difficult to express discursively; they exist in practise but are challenging to be explained (d’Hauteserre, 2015).

Affect research has expanded fast and into diverse directions (Gherardi, 2017b). It draws on findings from a wide range of fields, including sociology, geography, anthropology, gender and management studies which expand the knowing of human experience beyond the limitations of language and text (d’Hauteserre, 2015). Today the knowing arising through affect(ivities) is becoming increasingly highlighted

also in sociological tourism research (e.g. Cohen & Cohen, 2019; Everingham et al., 2021). Affect is seen as a complementary way of knowing through the body to the dominant psychological approach (e.g Buda et al., 2014; Carter, 2019; Chronis, 2015; d’Hauteserre, 2015; see also Jensen et al., 2015; Jóhannesson & Lund, 2017; Saxena, 2018; Tucker & Shelton, 2018; Waitt & Duffy, 2010). In practice-based studies, affect is aligning a shift towards post-epistemology which emphasises embodied knowing and sociomateriality (Gherardi, 2017a) that allow unfolding the non-representational affects (Thrift, 2008; Simpson, 2021; Gherardi, 2019). In this thesis, I reflect affects through multidisciplinary studies to illuminate the emerging affectivities of luxury within practices the way I know them.

This thesis follows the Spinozian-Deleuzian understanding which considers affect “as a-subjective and anti-representationalist, operating across the boundary between the organic and the nonorganic”, meaning across sociomaterialities (Gherardi, 2017a, p. 209). This approach is carried on in the works of Massumi (2002), yet rarely referred to by tourism researchers. However, like mentioned above, in this thesis affect is seen to be entangled with our internal and individual feelings and emotions (Gherardi, 2019). In the following, I relate my discussions of affect to some of its common characteristics that are shared within extensive affect studies (Gherardi, 2017b).

Firstly, affect is a complex, multi-sided movement; *bodily capacity to affect and be affected* meaning that affect moves as a two-way acting within situated ongoing practices (e.g. Gherardi, 2017b; Massumi, 2002). The movement of the touristic bodies is affected by place and the place is affected by the moving bodies (Saldanha, 2002). This exemplifies the multi-sided nature of affect. Affect moves, flows across sociomaterialities in a complex, unforeseen manner (Gherardi, 2019). Touristic bodies are thus affected by unbounded tourism practices and bodies (re)produce practices.

As Massumi’s (2002, p. 1) reflects: What does a body do “to earn that name, two things stand out. It moves. It feels. In fact, it does both at the same time. It moves as it feels and it feels itself moving”. This notion is founded on the Spinozian understanding of defining the body through its relations to movement and stillness (Gherardi, 2019). The notion allows to unfold body’s capacities to affect and be affected, and the diversified intensities the body entails capacity to feel (Gherardi, 2019). Affect affords a variation of felt bodily intensities (Gherardi, 2019; see Reckwitz, 2012). Affect is a bodily and mentally ordinary, routine-like way of sensing, reflecting and acting in various practices (see Reckwitz, 2012). More importantly, the relational definition of movement enables us to discover that feelings and emotions do not solely belong to an individual body, but the knowing emerging through an individual body is formed in relation to the knowing and movement within situated practices (Gherardi, 2019). Regarding the relation of affect to the materiality of a body, it is noted that affect is also embedded in the physical responses of a body to

feelings and therewith pertaining to biology as earlier discussed in Chapter 2.2.1 (e.g. Probyn, 2005, as cited Gherardi, 2017b, p. 349).

Secondly, affect is an inconspicuous “*flow of entangled forces*” situated in practices whose process is beyond orders as it is materialised through autonomic response (Gherardi, 2017b, p. 348). Just as I am wondering in this thesis about the reasons for attending the same yoga retreat holiday every year, I can conclude that the choice was the result of the flow of entangled forces that I was not able to make sense of in the beginning. Indeed, d’Hauteserre’s (2015) 20 years’ examination of affect as part of destination attractivity notes that the non-representational practices inherently affect tourists’ practices. This, however, is to some extent related to the desire arising in the body (d’Hauteserre, 2015; see Yakhlef, 2010). Affect, a relational force, flows in social spaces, bodies, materialities and practices shaping our knowing of the social world and the spaces that touristic bodies move through (see also Carter, 2019). Emotions, affect and other sensory elements illustrate different modes of bodily feelings which unite in the body and order the knowing in touristic experiences (d’Hauteserre, 2015). Affect as a non-representational emotion cannot be manipulated to invite or pass (d’Hauteserre, 2015). Significantly, its manifestations are unseen as affect is beyond conscious communication and ordering of external stimulus (Reckwitz, 2012). Still, affect circulates through various bodies, material things and technologies in tourism place as an “affective energy” floating in the air (see d’Hauteserre, 2015; Lobo, 2014, p. 101; Reckwitz, 2012). It affords our knowing of the social world and orders the touristic bodies to move to/within tourism places. This affective energy generates touristic feelings and desires which, in turn, transform into experiences supporting the aims of the experience economy to arouse intensive experiences through the senses (d’Hauteserre, 2015). It is the nuanced sensual emergence and radiance of affect that makes the “qualitative difference to the experience of a place or space” (d’Hauteserre, 2015, p. 82). Furthermore, destinations differ through their affective fields afforded for instance by particular lightscapes (Jóhannesson & Lund, 2017).

Even though affects are manifold, complex, partial and cannot be ordered (e.g. d’Hauteserre, 2015; Jóhannesson & Lund, 2017), they cannot be disregarded as their quality foresees the return visits (d’Hauteserre, 2015). All bodies afford affective energies, although much unconsciously, and they are challenging to be rationally explained as affective knowing arouses beyond the external senses, in the visceral body (e.g. d’Hauteserre, 2015; see Gherardi, 2017b; Tucker & Shelton, 2018). d’Hauteserre (2015) echoes feminist theorisations on affect and thus criticises the dominant rational knowledge production in tourism research. Organisational aesthetics is stated to have substantial contribution to the understanding of the manifold human practices that surpasses cognitive approaches (de Souza Bispo, 2016) such as how weather affects the tourist’s practices and arouses affectivities (Rantala et al., 2011). Finally, there is a need for a more nuanced, complementary

investigation on touristic practices where affect is seen “as an important force” to understand the construction of tourism encounters and social spaces/places (d’Hauteserre, 2015, p. 79).

In affect discussions similar to post-epistemological reflections, the focus is shifted from individuals towards assemblages/agencements. Within agencements there emerges an ongoing entangling “flow of affects”, bodies affect and are affected in their intra-actions with other bodies, materialities and things that matter (Saxena, 2018, p. 101; see Katila, Kuismin, et al., 2019). Understanding affect to emerge within agencement is considered to bring a more nuanced interpretation of knowing in practices across several senses. Indeed, “why should bodies end at the skin?” (Deleuze, 1991, p. 178, as cited in Saxena, 2018, p. 102). As discussed earlier in Chapter 2.2.1, the ongoing forces within our corporeal body that are aroused through physiological embodiment (Gärtner, 2013), as well as our body’s autonomic nervous system or hormonal releases (Massumi, 2002; see Nichter, 2008), entail a powerful capacity to affect in practices, although being much beyond our control. Imaginative touristic bodies (re)invent the things that matter for them in touristic situated practices “through mutually negotiating the use of space” with other social, material and natural actors (Saxena, 2018, p. 108). This is much beyond control of the “system of place production” (Saxena, 2018, p. 101; Edensor, 2001). Rather, the taste of particular tourism practice arise as the tourist makes aesthetic judgements in various tourism encounters (see Saxena, 2018). The production of the appropriate tourism practice is related to epistemic practices of the tourist’s own community, culture, and affected by tourists’ needs and dreams (see Rantala, 2010).

These above notions demonstrate that affect(ivities) evolve and process simultaneously (Gherardi, 2017b; Valtonen & Haanpää, 2018) within sociomaterial practices and as entangled with the practices of heterogeneous actors. In these agencements matters of concern or ideas vary all the way from mundane objects to technologies and various forms of energies (see Jóhannesson & Lund, 2017). At the same time, the example clarifies the relationality of various affects, disclosing things that matter; that enable, constrain or somehow order the bodily capacity to act. That is, it is affect that carries the capacities to act within situated ongoing sociomaterial practices (see Katila, Kuismin, et al., 2019) rather than entailing an agency which would belong to the individual body (Anderson, 2016).

Therefore, *thirdly*, affect is “an assemblage [agencement] of potentials” that is beyond orders (Gherardi, 2017b, p. 348). The becoming of agencement enhances or lessens the individual’s capacity to act and engage with the other practices (Gherardi, 2017b). Affective capacities denote “what a body may be able to do in any given situation, in addition to what is currently is doing and has done” (Anderson, 2016, p. 10). This, in turn, exemplifies how the capacities evolve spatio-temporally, thus aligning histories and memories to here and now in an unanticipated manner (Valtonen & Haanpää, 2018). The movement of affect is multi-sided in spatial

and temporal terms (Gherardi, 2017b). The bodily capacity to be affected and touched by social, material or natural tourism actors, is highlighted (Carter, 2019). The common understanding and affectivities of collective bodies afford affective quality to the social relationships (Ahmed, 2004; Carter, 2019). Bodies thus pursue sensuous encounters with other bodies: “tourists seek to be touched, to be moved, to be affected” (Carter, 2019). These social encounters give places their particular nature (Thrift, 2004) that may emerge as belonging, familiarity, disgust, or other specific emotions.

Affect also sticks, “sustains the connection between ideas, values, and objects...” in tourism places (Ahmed, 2010, p. 29 as cited in Carter 2019, p. 201). Objects, materialities are affective by their nature. That is, affect adheres in materialities and affords things through relating tourist to various materialities and to tourism place. On the other hand, tourists relate to materialities and places that touch or move them (Carter, 2019). Recognising the affective force of sociomaterialities enables to understand how tourists engage, attach and make aesthetic judgement of the appropriate nature of practices within sociomaterial practices of tourism as active actors together with other tourists, locals, employees and diverse materialities (see Carter, 2019; Chronis, 2015; d’Hauteserre, 2015; Little, 2013; Rantala, 2010; Rantala & Valtonen, 2014; Ruggerone, 2017). Finally, it is important to note that all social actors are accountable for affectivities and vibes produced in tourism practice (d’Hauteserre, 2015; Edensor, 2000a).

Through appropriate affective encounters, bodies connect to each other and an ephemeral feeling of unity may emerge among strangers within diverse practices (d’Hauteserre, 2015). The importance of communal experience enabled by the affective assemblage of sound is underlined (Waitt & Duffy, 2010, p. 461). However, activities taking place in various tourism sites arouse very different affectivities. To exemplify, the soothing affectivities of nature holidays (Rantala & Valtonen, 2014) afford quite different affectivities than the arousals emerging in the dancing bodies at a rave in Goa (Saldanha, 2002). These sites encourage imagination, but with different kinds of affective arousals (d’Hauteserre, 2015). The nature holiday affords potential to engage within the rhythm of nature and its nuanced affectivities through luminosity, darkness, sounds, stillness and activities (Rantala & Valtonen, 2014; see also d’Hauteserre, 2015) in which the stillness of the social and material environment induces calmness. The repetitive, cyclical rhythm of nature, appropriate routines and carried memories reassure a tourist and allow potential for the state of soothingness and harmony to unfold (Rantala & Valtonen, 2014). On the other hand, Goa’s bombarding sensory experience of collectively moving bodies and intense music materialises in the knowing of fleshy, corporeal bodies. Diverse affective relations may emerge inbetween the body and imaginative tourism sociomaterial space. It is also noted that bodies moving together form an unconscious but powerful social activity, “an imagined community” which creates capacities to connect with each

other through shared kinaesthetic-affectivities (Anderson, 2006, as cited in Chronis, 2015). Anderson's (2016) illustration, in fact, encourages us to consider practices in a 'more playful way'. "Non-representational theory privileges play" in which "play is understood as a perpetual human activity with immense affective significance" (Thrift, 2008, p. 7).

Tourism implies encountering unfamiliar places, perceptions and scenes. Therefore, diverse affectivities of familiarity and a sense of safety are fundamental to the emotive balance and the feeling of being welcomed (d'Hauterres, 2015; Lynch, 2017; see Gherardi, 2019). In addition, various actors such as the local weather may affect the creation of a safe "cocoon-like affective space" through a "home-like" attachment (Saxena, 2018, p. 106). In visiting and returning to a particular tourism place, tourists hope to be wrapped with these same positive affectivities, vibes circulating in the tourism space (d'Hauterres, 2015).

Nevertheless, affects may also emerge as inappropriate or disharmonising (d'Hauterres, 2015). Both affectivities – appropriate and inappropriate – stick in the memory of a body and afford the capacity to affect bodies (see Ahmed, 2004; see Carter, 2019; d'Hauterres, 2015; Valtonen & Haanpää, 2018). Already in the orienting and planning phase of the approaching holiday, the imaginative tourists are filled with dreams and emotions tied to the previous knowledge and nature of the experience (d'Hauterres, 2015; Jóhannesson & Lund, 2017; see Gherardi, 2019). If tourists do not feel socially, materially and emotionally harmonised in tourism practice, this will most likely result in disharmonising affectivities (d'Hauterres, 2015). Social disharmonising may take place if the tourists do not feel welcomed and are ignored by the service providers, fellow tourists or locals. The unruly affect therewith circulates inbetween these social, cultural and sensuous dynamics in an unseen manner and affords a particular knowledge to individuals (see Ahmed, 2004; d'Hauterres, 2015; Närvänen, 2013). Affectivities, such as fear and vulnerability, are considerably formed and ordered by "sensory-material arrangements" (Rantala & Valtonen, 2014, p. 25). Affect entails a power over the social performances of bodies in tourism sociocultural practice (d'Hauterres, 2015; Jóhannesson & Lund, 2017; Saxena, 2018). For instance, communities have different kinds of normative expectations about how people should feel and how they should act. This possibly refers to Edensor's (2000, 2001) notions of the appropriate performances in accordance with normative acting of bodies. In fact, the epistemic practices of a community strongly guide the knowing in the tourist's practices. Additionally, the perception and use of senses are refined within the social and cultural practices of the community. Material disharmonising, in turn, may emerge if, for example, the beaches are littered and there seems to be no sustainable acts (d'Hauterres, 2015). Both social and material disharmonising and disruption affect emotional harmonising. Incidentally, the destinations should support "existential authenticity" (d'Hauterres, 2015, p. 85) which also Wang (1999) highlighted in her discussions

on the inner bodily feelings as a primary source of knowing. The opposite affectivities and the sense of inauthenticity refers to disharmonising affectivities created by the orders and constraints over the body (Wang, 1999). Whether it is a question of positive or negative effects, they both radiate and stick in the sociomaterialities of a touristic place (d’Hauteserre, 2015). In sum, understanding the emerging affective knowing is fundamental as it unveils the quality of sociomaterial practices which engages bodies in touristic places (see Thrift, 2008, as cited in d’Hauteserre, 2015).

2.2.3 Rhythms

There are rhythms everywhere in our quotidian life. Rhythms may be found in a body and in all social spaces and time; they are entangled in social life and within sociomaterial practices (see Lefebvre, 2004). Lefebvre’s (2004) rhythmanalysis has been seen to allow access to the affectivities arising in practices (Gherardi, 2019; Katila, Kuismin, et al., 2019; Reckwitz, 2012; Simpson, 2021) and sensualities emerging in various tourism situated practices (e.g. Edensor & Holloway, 2008; Jensen et al., 2015; Katila, Kuismin, et al., 2019; Rantala, 2010). Rhythmanalysis allows us, for instance, to unfold how varied rhythms such as stillness, harmony in touristic practices synchronise in the tourist body (Rantala & Valtonen, 2014). Rhythms are found not only in music but in the repetitive movement of acting, in bodies, nature, situations, events, (technical) objects, gestures, media or discourse, to name a few. Through their rhythmic movement and practices, touristic bodies negotiate and (re)produce tourism places with diversified social, material, natural, mechanical/technological and organisational actors (e.g. Chronis, 2015; Duffy et al., 2011; Edensor, 2000a, 2001; Quinlan Cutler et al., 2014; Saldanha, 2002; Small & Harris, 2012; Valtonen et al., 2020; Valtonen & Veijola, 2011; Waitt & Duffy, 2010; Wilson et al., 2019).

The notion of rhythm is founded on life and movement emerging in various spaces as polyrhythms, a composition of varied rhythms (Lefebvre, 2004). Rhythms “can be defined as movements and differences within repetition” (Lefebvre, 2004, p. 90). Two different repetitions may be recognised in movement: cyclical and linear repetition. Cyclical rhythms are based on the cosmic cycles of nature, the repetition of days, nights, months or seasons. Linear rhythms, on the other hand, originate from human activity and social practices. Social life is filled with cyclical and linear rhythms or organic and mechanical rhythms (Lefebvre, 2004). They are “entangled with one another, they penetrate practice and are penetrated by it. This seems to us true of all times and spaces” (Lefebvre, 2004, p. 96). The cyclical and linear rhythms are in constant interaction, at times compromising, at times disordering. This constant interaction is in the focus of rhythmanalysis (Lefebvre, 2004). More specifically, because in contemporary societies social life and its mechanical rhythm tend to dominate the organic rhythm of movement, the analysis of rhythms is particularly interested in the clashing interaction “of natural biological

and social timescales, the rhythms of our bodies and society” through which we produce understandings of spaces/places and time in our everyday life (Lefebvre, 2004, p. viii; see Cristini & Kauppinen-Räsänen, 2022). Lefebvre (2004, pp. viii, 3), in fact, proposes rhythmanalysis as “a new field of knowledge”, for the purpose of rethinking practices through the notion of rhythms and that way unveil a particular understanding of “what happens every day” and their “practical consequences”.

Unveiling the new knowledge emerging in everyday practices and their effects demands turning to the “producer of rhythms”, that is, to the acting living body (Lefebvre, 2004, p. 98). The body is the inherent reference point in rhythmanalysis (Lefebvre, 2004). In fact, within the body each organ has its own inborn rhythm which aligns with the movement of natural rhythms in working towards eurhythmia, harmony, equilibrium and balance in the body (Lefebvre, 2004). Rhythmanalysis demands embodied engaging of the researcher as well as an analysis of how polyrhythms, both cyclical and linear, merge in the body. In an eurhythmic, “normal and healthy” state, the cyclical and linear rhythms synchronise (Lefebvre, 2004, p. 67). In turn, in an arrhythmia the various rhythms conflict, discord and set the body into a pathological state (Lefebvre, 2004). Rhythmanalysis has a goal: it works to unfold how the eurhythmia of the body is accomplished in practices (Lefebvre, 2004).

Therefore, rhythmanalysis recognises “‘rhythm of the self’ and ‘rhythm of the other’” (Lefebvre, 2004, p. 95). ‘Rhythms of the other’ refer to formal, more ordered external acting, ‘the rhythms of representation’. The ‘rhythms of the self’ or ‘secret rhythms’, as described below, are related to the intimate acting of a body (Lefebvre, 2004, p. 95). However, there is no polarity or isolation of “an object, or a subject, or a relation” (Lefebvre, 2004, p. 12) as rhythmanalysis evades a dualistic analysis of interaction. Rather, it analyses the interacting rhythms emerging through the triad “time-space-energy”. These relational three terms are inherent in depicting and analysing “the cosmological reality” of life (Lefebvre, 2004, p. 60), named “outer space” by Massumi (2002, p. 201). Without energy, time and space are inactive, immobile, as “energy animates, reconnects, renders time and space conflictual” (Lefebvre, 2004, p. 60). This signifies that “everywhere where there is interaction between a place, a time and an expenditure of energy, there is **rhythm**” (emphasis in original) (Lefebvre, 2004, p. 15). Rhythmanalysis brings forth the existence of diversified rhythms beyond the polars. In the same way as particular rhythms, tempos and melodies of music conjoin, the rhythmic qualities of a tourism space afford particular connections that sustain particular “moods, energy levels and actions” (Waitt & Duffy, 2010, p. 462).

Within these diversified rhythms, at least four forms of rhythms may be recognised (Lefebvre, 2004): 1) Secret rhythms, i.e., the physiological and psychological moving of a body that veil for instance in breathing, pulse or memories of conscious and unconscious events. 2) Public, social rhythms such as linear rhythms following

the calendar or linear time, but also socially shared rhythms that for Lefebvre imply digestion and tiredness. 3) Fictional rhythms that refer to gestures or rhythms that are a result of a learning process or imagination. 4) Dominating-dominated rhythms that Lefebvre denotes as completely fake. These may emerge every day or as long-lasting and can be found in voices or in music. These rhythms work towards an effect that exceeds their duration. This means that rhythmanalysis sees rhythms as embedded in (historical) time and spatial practices concerning the abstract, absolute, relative and concrete space (Lefebvre, 2004, p. ix). Temporal and spatial rhythms are entangled, but they do not fuse as each rhythm works through its own sense. For instance, we can recall how time feels short at the airport as our energy is diverted to diversified practices with technologies or security check (see Adey 2009) or as our own pace of walking towards departure gate is restricted by the slowly moving human masses. Instead, Lefebvre's rhythmanalysis "seeks to grasp this moving but determinate complexity" of real time complex life in which rhythms are a mode of analysis rather than object. This creates the framework for analysing the "*particular*, therefore *real* and *concrete* cases that feature ... the lives of individual or groups" (Lefebvre, 2004, p. 15).

Similarly with the rhythmanalysis, sociomaterial practice-based literature and non-representational approaches are particularly interested in this interactive relation between the cyclical and linear rhythms or organic and mechanical rhythms entangled and emerging through mundane practices (Gheradi, 2019; Katila, Kuismin, et al., 2019; Simpson, 2021). They see rhythm as "a prominent, regularly repeated pattern of movement" which is "often associated with music or sound" but may be related "more broadly to a range of actions that contain within them some kind of [temporal] pulse or measure" (Simpson, 2021, p. 39; see Katila, Kuismin, et al., 2019). In mundane practices this may be exemplified with the rhythmic, repetitive movement of a leisurely walk taking place every morning or the regular rhythm of going to bed or having lunch. Thus, rhythms also create some order in their repetition. Further, sociomaterial practice-based literature highlights how within a practice there are varied rhythms that necessitate various embodied negotiations and adjustments in order to successfully accomplish the practice (Valtonen et al., 2017). An example may be the way we might feel when arriving in a holiday destination while having flown over several time zones (see Valtonen et al., 2017). There is an arrhythmia, conflict between the rhythm of the liner time and the body's chronobiological rhythms which affect the touristic practices. The rhythms – may they be conflicting or harmonising – adjust the embodied practices and these practices also adjust the rhythms (Katila, Kuismin, et al., 2019).

Therewith, sociomaterial practice-based literature similarly with NRTs consider that " 'the social' " practicing exceeds into diverse materialities (Gherardi, 2019; Simpson, 2021, p. 40). Signifying that the rhythms of cars (Wilson et al., 2019), aircrafts, bodies, mealtimes, texts and even rhythms of our metabolism interact

within a practice and possibly synchronise in a harmonious way. Saldanha (2002), for instance, demonstrates how bodies, movement, a rhythm, a beach, a smell, ideas, the earth, the sea, the wind, the light, trees, music, and drugs, engage as appropriate, temporal agencements. This illustrates how rhythms emerge through “relational composition of just about everything”, in other words, heterogeneous “human and non-human, organic and inorganic, technical and natural” elements (Simpson, 2021, pp. 20, 87). Rhythms are manifold, complex, contagious, discording and harmonising affective agencements. Still, it is the temporal “proper” arrangements of the entangling interactions and the rhythm (of music) that provides the capacity for touristic bodies to engage into the touristic practices which arises powerful affectivities, whether it would be moving their bodies in the tempo of rave dancing or sitting still in the forest or beach or listening to classical music for instance (see Waitt & Duffy, 2010).

Similarly to music, the sensory tourism space is organised through rhythms, intervals, vibrations, and orchestration arising through music, to mention a few (Saldanha, 2002). The flow of these qualities orders and organises the moving of the bodies and bring people with various backgrounds together (Saldanha, 2002). The proper flow orchestrated by the rhythmic (music) and moving bodies afford belonging to the space. Through the “proper” music the “body becomes the music, and the music becomes everybody” that allows the formation of a “smooth space” (Saldanha, 2002, p. 59; see also Waitt & Duffy, 2010). Likewise, in the formation of a multisensory luxury experience – a particular beat, the vibration of spatial sounds urges bodies to quietly explore the space (Mora et al., 2018). However, if the music is considered as noise, it also provides a sense of nonbelonging (Saldanha, 2002). This way, the non-representational rhythmic and arrhythmic moving entails a powerful affect in the formation of luxury in its capacity to affect sensuous (inner) body and harmonious acting.

Spaces/places enclose diversified affective rhythms. Researchers have found various affective rhythms through which bodies negotiate the meaning of a place, such as walking rhythm (Edensor, 2000a, 2000b), rhythms of nature (Rantala & Valtonen, 2014), chronobiological rhythm (Lefebvre, 2004; Rantala & Valtonen, 2014), circadian rhythm (Valtonen et al., 2017), rhythm of a vehicle (Wilson et al., 2019), rhythm of dancing bodies (Saldanha, 2002) and musical rhythms (Waitt & Duffy, 2010). It has even been illustrated how the organisational practices enclose “affecto-rhythmic” nature (Katila, Kuismin et al., 2019, p. 13).

This kind of rhythmic analysis, where the human body is also considered a biological organism, inherently regards a human body not “as a subject, but uses the body as the first point of analysis, the tool for subsequent investigations” (Lefebvre, 2004, xii). Therefore, the human body is a “*mode of analysis*” (original italics) through which the various rhythms are unveiled (Lefebvre, 2004, xii). Furthermore, seizing, noticing and understanding these kinds of non-representational interactions

demands careful listening to the body. Thus, it demands capacity to give oneself to the whole, or in other words, to engage in an “open totality” beyond mental act (Lefebvre, 2004, p. 83). For example, while listening to an opera one can be attentive to tempo, repetition, associations and differences in tempo. It is a corporeal *opening* (original italics) (Massumi, 2002, p. 104) that enables to analyse rhythms through a comparative act, to be able to notice of nuances and contrasts. Still, our bodies only perceive and understand what fits “to our own moving and the rhythms of our organs” (Lefebvre, 2004, p. 83). Each body has natural needs and preferences, and follows a rhythmic movement of sleeping, waking and eating, for instance. Rhythms evade logic and still involve a logic in the complex reality of the one who carries them (Lefebvre, 2004).

Even though it is enough ‘just’ to listen to one’s body, Lefebvre (2004) concludes that rhythmanalysis is challenging. Firstly, working towards the objective of a rhythmanalysis, to unveil the forming of an eurhythmia, the strengthening of a healthy body may take place only within an empirical study in which the body of the researcher is entangled with the polyrhythms (Lefebvre, 2004). Secondly, as mentioned rhythmanalysis demands sensitivity and a “corporeal *opening*” (original italics) of the researcher (Massumi, 2002, p. 104). Here, the researcher’s body acts as a “metronome” which characterises being in the affective “*mode of analysis*” (original italics) rather than analysing the rhythms as such (Lefebvre, 2004, p. 19). Meaning, openness for being affected (Massumi, 2002) within the rhythmic practices, to the dwelling in the “open” (Ingold, 2007, p. S20) within the polyrhythms of sociomaterial, natural and cosmic actors. Approaching the place “as open” demands particular embodied acting (Chronis, 2015, p. 126; Ingold, 2007, p. S20; see also Jóhannesson & Lund, 2017) as well as the routines of a learning process (Lea, 2008; Rantala & Valtonen, 2014).

Thirdly, rhythmanalysis is a method and theory which, in addition to sociology and psychology, brings together an extensive analytical field of “diverse practices and very different types of knowledge: medicine, history, climatology, cosmology”, physics, ethnology, anthropology and chronobiology (Lefebvre, 2004, p. 16). Rhythmanalysis seems to be an agencement within which “polyrhythmia analyses itself” (Lefebvre, 2004, p. 16). It exposes how the rhythmic practices become connected with no predetermined order but follow attachment and taste (Gherardi, 2019). It implies that rhythmanalysis at some point foresees the success of the analysis in illustrating the particular organising rhythmic movement, appropriate order within the phenomenon (Lefebvre, 2004). This way rhythmanalysis affords to alter our perspective within knowing-in-practice as “it changes our conception in relation to the classical philosophy still dominant in this field” (Lefebvre, 2004, p. 17). It thus presents “a new content and sometimes change the form of society” (Lefebvre, 2004, p. 17).

In conclusion, as suggested by the concept of affecto-rhythmic order, affects and rhythms are entangled in practices (Katila, Kuusmin, et al., 2019). We remember

how Massumi (2002, p. 1) reflected upon the body in the following terms: “It moves as it feels and it feels itself moving”. Therefore, in the next chapter I will continue my multidisciplinary exploration to determine how the body might move within various tourism practices, how affects and rhythms emerge and, finally, how the effect of practices is forming.

2.2.4 Moving entanglements

Examining the practical activities of tourists has revealed that the touristic spaces/places are not static but rather filled with diverse rhythmic movement which affects the knowing and practicing of bodies (e.g. Edensor, 2000b; Edensor & Holloway, 2008; Rantala & Valtonen, 2014). Tourists, along with tourist managers and workers, produce and reproduce these practises and meanings through their (embodied) performances. In other words, tourism spaces are organised in specific ways to provide meaningful settings for touristic practices. Various tourism spaces differ in their performative norms, habits, the forms of control as well as the material form and arrangement of space that shape the rhythmic movement of tourists (Edensor, 2000a) and affect embodied practicing. When tourists enter a certain place, they are assumed to know of pre-existing practical, discursive, and embodied norms supporting their moving (Edensor, 2001). However, it is also acknowledged that in addition to the formal tourism space/place, the touristic bodies interact within the informal tourism space.

Tourists’ formal and informal moving may be characterised in diversified manners that are fluid and situated. Edensor (2000a, 2001) recognises various forms of touristic movement which rhythms affect practicing, such as normative “appropriate” moving and nonconformist moving. Nonconformist moving further encloses improvised moving and involuntary moving that represent more imaginative or innovative ways of moving that may exist parallel to normative moving. These forms of moving are not exclusive, implying that a tourist may perform multiple forms of moving during one holiday that are relational to the other actors, social, material and natural space (Edensor, 2000a, 2001). The rhythmic movement of bodies blend the mundane and touristic rules of action and are processes that depend on the (embodied) skills of the actors in the same space, and in how it is interpreted by various actors (Edensor, 2000a). Therefore, the successful forming of this interactive rhythmic process demands the routines of a skilful body whose competences are learned and self-reflected during performance (e.g. Lea, 2008; Rantala & Valtonen, 2014).

Normative “appropriate” moving. Conventionally, it is understood that tourists’ movement in tourism space/place aligns with the normative conventions set by various social and material actors. This kind of movement may be characterised as “appropriate”, implying that the performance of touristic bodies is similar to directed conventions, disciplined orders or field-specific requisites of doing tourism “properly” and conformingly (Edensor, 2000a, 2001). Normative performances,

which adhere to the directives of managers and workers, expose the ways in which “social and cultural power can inscribe meaning and action on bodies” (Edensor, 2001, p. 78). With this, Edensor refers to how bodies perform and move in tourism spaces according to the set implicit social, cultural or normative orders. Nonetheless, this kind of normative moving is frequently susceptible to both the individual’s own self-reflection and the disciplinary gaze of other social actors (Edensor, 2000a). These may concern implicit bodily orders concerning, for instance, what to wear, how to gaze and how to use one’s voice. Additionally, guidebooks, employees, a daily programme and brochures, also provide essential guidance in the hinting of these “proper” embodied performances (Edensor, 2000a). This implies that conventionally touristic bodies are guided to move in a tourism space through discursive practices (e.g. Chronis, 2015; Waitt & Duffy, 2010). However, bare narrative guiding disregards the effect of embodied practices, meaning “the productive potential of bodily presence, movement, and interaction with the surrounding space” (Chronis, 2015, p. 126; Veijola & Jokinen, 1994).

The entangled sociomaterial practices may together affect the knowing of appropriateness of practices. As expressed by Anderson and Harrison (2016, p. 7): “While we do not consciously notice it we are always involved in and caught up with whole arrays of activities and practices. Our conscious reflections, thoughts, and intentions emerge from and move with this background ‘hum’ of on-going activity”. In other words, in this kind of unconscious practicing we are easily adjusting “to what is ‘normal’, what is expected of us, what we always do, and what others also do” (Simpson, 2021, pp. 17– 18). Notably, the forms of privacy or the look achieved through the practice of material dressing up are related to the acceptance of a body within the community (Matteucci, 2014). Although there are constant negotiations in attuning within the practices, the shared practices of a particular community afford social adherence in the form of imaginative and appropriative praxis through the moving and sensing of a knowledgeable body (Gherardi, 2009b; Matteucci, 2014). Tourism spaces/places are not static but become “socially negotiated” through practical sense making as “ ‘intelligibility’ of a situation” (Thrift, 1996, as cited in Simpson, 2021, p. 27). Indeed, meanings and values are embedded in practice as a “ ‘thought-in-action’ ” (Anderson and Harrison (2016, p. 6; see Gherardi, 2019).

Nonconformist moving: Improvised moving. This form of moving denotes that there are some general touristic guidelines, but these spaces allow tourists to choose more freely what to do, how to move and where to gaze (Edensor, 2000a). Here, the body is released from normative expectations, control and/or conventional meanings, and tourists purposefully or randomly enter into a space in which the embodied performances are not totally predetermined (Edensor, 2000a, 2001). There are diverse tourism spaces in which the body moves between the conventional and nonconformist and may interact through various levels of improvised moving (Edensor, 2000a, 2001). The spaces that allow the improvised moving of the body

may also be purposeful, as for example among backpackers. Nevertheless, already ordinary tourism spaces like a forest (Rantala, 2010; Rantala & Valtonen, 2014), a beach (Saldanha, 2002) or hotel premises (Valtonen & Veijola, 2011) enclose possibilities for improvised embodied moving. Furthermore, improvised moving may be prompted by the nonhuman or even cosmic nonhuman actor like Northern Lights (Jóhannesson & Lund, 2017), the stars, the moon or a sea breeze which entail the capacity to order or intensify the rhythmic movement of bodies (Saldanha, 2002). Finally, the improvised moving may also provide moments of surprise or self-awareness (Rantala & Valtonen, 2014).

Nonconformist moving: Involuntary moving. Involuntary moving happens if the multiple moving of bodies or other actors within the same tourism space/place does not resonate, i.e., relate harmoniously (Edensor, 2001). Disharmony in moving affects the various forms of the involuntary practicing of a body as well as the quality of experience. Common tourism spaces where diverse involuntary bodily moving may take place include hotels or aircrafts, where bodies and various other actors move in numerous ways around the clock which does not align with body's inner clock. In the hotel, for example, involuntary moving may appear in the form of a sleeping disorder, as the body involuntary moves between the different states of being awake and asleep (Valtonen et al., 2017; Valtonen & Veijola, 2011). This kind of involuntary moving affects not only the luxury of sleeping (Valtonen & Veijola, 2011), but affectivities spread temporally to the practices of the following day and even beyond in multiple ways. Involuntary moving may also emerge in the form of avoiding or "being forced" to skip or reorganise some touristic activities in order to safeguard the body of possible disharmonious states affecting in practicing. For instance, this is exemplified by the willingness to order in-room breakfast, instead of enjoying the sumptuous breakfast buffet in the hotel's breakfast room, in order to cherish the peaceful morning moment without crowds of other guests whose moving does not align for some matter (cf. Harkison et al., 2019). This might be the case if solo travellers, family tourists and snuggling couples, for instance, are accommodated in the same hotel or are seated side by side in the airplane (see e.g. Small & Harris, 2012, 2014).

Touristic places are formed through embodied moving which takes place through three diagonals: right-left, front-back and above-below (Chronis, 2015). The body constantly counts on the knowing emerging through various landmarks, signs and "crucial clues" which orientate the body to the place (Chronis, 2015, p. 127). In fact, the major activity in interacting within spaces/places is orientation, that is, attuning to space through the "body's sensory capacities" (Casey, 1996, as cited in Chronis, 2015, p. 126), in other words, within 'affective attuning' as it is called in this dissertation (Gherardi, 2017b; Katila, Kuusmin, et al., 2019). Attuning in practices is supported by the rhythmic movements of other actors in the same space – such as tourism employees, fellow tourists or nonhuman actors. Affective attuning in

practice encourages touristic bodies to engage, i.e. move within the place in a more intense manner through the body's "kinaesthetic mapping" (Chronis, 2015, p. 137). Kinaesthetic mapping is founded on the conscious and unconscious (inner) body's senses called proprioceptive and kinaesthetic senses, which are activated as bodies move within touristic spaces/places (Chronis, 2015). The proprioceptive sense produces the knowledge of bodily posture and its position in space. The kinaesthetic sense, in turn, affords knowledge as we move our bodies, through our limbs and muscles (Chronis, 2015). This way, the moving body serves "as a spatial framework", constructing the tourism space into "perceived" knowledge that "creates a powerful affect" (Chronis, 2015, pp. 127, 138). Similarly, in the premises of flamenco dancing it has been noted that the moving body itself becomes "both praxis as a physical space for exploration and a site for meaning" in which "desires play a role" (Henriques, 2010; Matteucci, 2014, p. 41). In other words, the moving body itself is considered "to be a site where existential and meaningful experiences are sought" (Matteucci, 2014, p. 41). Returning to yoga, in the premises of conscious luxury experience, Mora et al. (2018, p. 190) state that in the transformational economy the yogic body has become "the main vehicle of exploration" which quests a new Western aesthetic and ethical ideal of "looking, feeling and being good" through sustainable health and well-being practices.

When touristic bodies are acquainted with the visited space, they are also able to move within it in a more meaningful manner (Chronis, 2015). The more familiar tourism space allows tourists to perceive the "hidden affordances"; more nuanced possibilities of acting (Chronis, 2015, p. 138; see Rantala & Valtonen, 2014) beyond our normal moving, signifying that our sensual perceptions know and judge continuously diversified rhythms "inside our normal perception" and "beyond them" (Lefebvre, 2004, p. 83; see also Massumi, 2002). 'Normally perceived rhythms' denote here the more visible, representational rhythms that we perceive through our eyes: diverse movement of bodies, light, objects, wind, waves or trees. 'Beyond them', in turn, suggests that in the visibly perceivable movements more nuanced rhythms may be perceived than the mere representational. Lefebvre (2004, p. 83) exemplifies 'beyond' rhythms with "infrared and ultraviolet" light as hidden affordances. Further, Merleau-Ponty (1964, p. 178, as cited in Kosonen et al., 2017) notes that "we do not so much see light as we see in it" which may be related to the rhythmical character of light. Meaning, we normally perceive how the natural light is rhythmized by the seasons, the different times of the day and the weather (Ingold, 2000, as cited in Kosonen et al., 2017). However, the "rhythmic, ephemeral and mystical" character of light encloses many shades, brilliances, tints, colours, and saturations which affect and guide our moving in multiple ways (Kosonen et al., 2017, n.p.; Rantala & Valtonen, 2014). Through these nuances, light inevitably entails an agency that "human and more-than-human bodies utilises to improvise both their regular and irregular rhythmic performances and choreographies" (Jóhannesson

& Lund, 2017, p. 184). This kind of thinking inspires one to know the multifold rhythmic capacities that light might entail. Although in Hemetsberger et al.'s (2012) study consumer diaries illustrate enjoying the luxury of sunshine this thesis observes that the arousing affectivities of light emerging as luxury are beyond mere discursive notions and in most of the time they stay in the background of 'more sumptuous luxury practicing'.

Still, it has been illustrated how particularly dim lighting and candle light are inherent spatial matters in the formation of a specific feeling of luxury (Kauppinen-Räsänen, Cristini, et al., 2019; Mora et al., 2018). Additionally, the diminishing amount of light is illustrated to give rhythm to day time and night time practices through light's agential role in giving rhythm to the chronobiological rhythms of a body (Eskola et al., 2022).

These notions suggest that the moving of tourists is not merely affected and aligned by appropriate, conventional and dominant tourism practices. Rather, a variety of a non-conformist practices exist within which touristic bodies co/reproduce meaning and activities (Edensor, 2001). This is because different ways of moving afford the potentiality to know differently, not solely through the discursive narratives or gazing, but also through the particular body-place practices that connect the bodies to the place. It has been noted how diversified touristic moving arises through "a common-sense praxis" that "re-encode[s] established norms" (Edensor, 2001, p. 69). Here, Lefebvre urges us to go deeper, to examine rhythmic movement beyond our normal perception. "Let your gaze be penetrating, let it not limit itself to reflecting and mirroring" (Lefebvre, 2004, p. 80). Therefore, I return to Chronis's (2015) suggestion that attuning practices does not only concern right-left and front-back but, rather, the touristic bodies also attune to and are affected by movement emerging from above and below (see Ingold, 2010). Thus, it is possible to turn the attention to the affective rhythms and movements unfolding below the touristic body that is, the soil and earth, and further above, to the air and sky. That is, also air and nature are filled with the movement of matter, weather for instance (Hauge, 2013; Massumi, 2002; see Ingold, 2010; see also Hemetsberger et al., 2012), affecting touristic practices (Rantala et al., 2011). Consider, for instance, our urge to join the beach walk in sunny weather as compared to the same activity in very windy or rainy weather. Here, the movement in the air affects not only our mind but also our mundane practices of selecting the most appropriate and comfortable clothes, shoes and hat in accordance with the weather.

Rhythms of nature. I start with the rhythms emerging from below in the movement of soil and earth. In tourism studies, it is recognised that lying on the ground enables us to feel the pulsing rhythms and vibrations (of music) more intensively than through the practice of watching; truly throughout the body (Waitt & Duffy, 2010). Lying on the ground – instead of standing or sitting on a chair – allows us to be affected by the vibrating rhythms that penetrate and envelope the

permeable body and arouse affectivities of a pleasure described as “spine-tingling” or “energy” (Waitt & Duffy, 2010, p. 467). Even though soil and earth seem visibly immobile, they also vibrate through the “movements of the molecules and atoms that compose” them (Lefebvre, 2004, p. 20; see also Ingold, 2007). The lying body intuitively “responds to the rhythmic pulse” (Waitt & Duffy, 2010) that unfolds in a nuanced manner through the earth. Similarly, the human body “manifests rhythms and flows of energy” emerging in the interaction with the gravitational force through the apparent action of invisibility (Massumi, 2002, p. 104). Yet, entering this “different mode of being-in-the-world” demands non-linear, intuitive listening (Waitt & Duffy, 2010, p. 471). In fact, the lived experience of the arousing transient and nonverbal affectivities of rhythms generates a sense of belonging, which, in turn, may be regarded as a collectively sustained accomplishment. The shared affective routines and practices with other bodies thus enforce communication (Waitt & Duffy, 2010). In addition to this common rhythmic “aural journey” intimately connects people, places, togetherness, a “sense of being part of a greater whole” is awoken (Waitt & Duffy, 2010, pp. 468, 469), and a pathway to sacred moments and places is opened (Waitt & Duffy, 2010).

Vibrating with the natural environment can also be recognised in luxury literature. It has been noted that “*oscillating with nature* is experienced as luxury” (original italics) and, further, that this kind of vibrating is not a necessary intentional mental act but ordered “by external forces” (Hemetsberger et al., 2012, p. 486). These citations may be seen to refer to the consumers’ interaction with the power of nature which allows them the mental capacity to vibrate between the different states and processes of the self. It has been noted that these processes afford “(unexpected) relieving states of *self-integration*” (original italics), and an “ideal state of liberation ... typically experienced as luxury” (Hemetsberger et al., 2012, p. 486). However, the background of more explicit consumer notions of luxury diaries demonstrates the affecting role of rhythmically changing seasons. This implies that the practices and understanding of luxury of the (embodied) consumers are affected by the season changing from winter to spring, with sunlight and spring in the air. Similarly, “the stimulated blood circulation already generated a pleasant sensation” or “the choice of clothes had a touch of spring” (Hemetsberger et al., 2012; see Holmqvist et al., 2020). Indeed, the intensities of light materialise (Bille & Sørensen, 2007) as embodied knowing of luxury. The nuanced character of light, however, remains unnoticed as diaries are not analysed through the rhythmic or affective lenses.

I continue to look deeper, to right and left, front and back, beyond our normal perception reaching the non-representational realms in spatial attuning. Ingold (e.g. 2007, 2010) recommends us to live openly and in the open, that is, “to be immersed in the fluxes of the medium: in sunshine, rain, and wind” (Ingold, 2010, p. S30). In his view, human bodies are entangled with the changing weather and wind. In fact, bodies mingle, dwell and breath with the “weather-world”, also with light, earth and

sky (Ingold, 2010, p. S19). The weather-world is in constant motion and that way gives the rhythm to the moving of human bodies.

The alternative ideas discussed above may be seen as a form of “coming-together dynamically”, that is, resonance with the rhythms emerging in nature (Massumi, 2002, p. 224) which may enable the unfolding of luxury. These organic rhythms could also be compared to how the rhythms of music carry the capacity to affect bodies, to move to the same beat - the same vibration (Saldanha, 2002; Waitt & Duffy, 2010). It is the “unity in movement” in which the sensed vibration – whether it be gravitational vibrating or vibrating with nature in general like exemplified – affords more to the interaction (Massumi, 2002, p. 224). It is an organic “surplus-value of being” that turns into a more intensive relationality of “belonging-together” (Massumi, 2002, p. 224) as “plug[ing]-in to forces” (Massumi, 2002, pp. 104), integrating and liberating the harmonious states of luxury (see Hemetsberger et al., 2012) through “grounding” (Massumi, 2002, p. 101). Lea’s (2008, p. 94) study goes even further in arguing that in a similar way as “plants and trees receive their nourishment” from the earth and soil, in the process of bodymind balancing “the function of the body is to collect energy from the ground” that though demands being “connected to the soil”. In contemporary societies, it could be said that yoga studios apply the same principle. In other words, in addition to the promised balancing yoga practice, among others, “nourishing foods that balance energy levels” are offered to “cleanse the body” (Mora et al., 2018, p. 186). These kinds of practices, novel forms of grounding through yoga and pure nutrition, are promoted as part of a conscious multisensory luxury experience that “awakens the self” (Mora et al., 2018, p. 186). Therefore, the yogic body has become a “main vehicle of exploration ... around new meanings of luxury, health, well-being and aspirational class values” in the search of “the new Western aesthetic and ethical ideal” (Mora et al., 2018, p. 190).

However, there are other tourism spaces/places and practices for enhancing mental and physical health. Such places include many natural locations, such as a forest. Natural tourism spaces, in fact, allow the unveiling of several forms of rhythmic movement that affect, order and organise tourists’ embodied practices. Initially, in nature holidays touristic practices are ordered by the seasonal, daily rhythm of daylight. The cyclical, cosmic rhythm of nature guides bodies to attune to “natural time structure” (Rantala & Valtonen, 2014, p. 26; Lefebvre, 2004). Engaging with the natural rhythm enables bodies to disconnect from hurries, schedules and linear time, and guides bodies towards rest, recovery and equilibrium from the hectic tempo of contemporary society. Secondly, altering weather conditions give rhythm to the performances of bodies as well as slow down the tempo of moving bodies (see also Rantala et al., 2011; Rantala & Valtonen, 2014). This slower rhythm ordered by the weather and the cosmic rhythm of the nature afford the capacity to notice the “affective meanings and nuances related to the activities” that may also be

spontaneous and still calm the body (Rantala & Valtonen, 2014, p. 24; see Chaplin, 2002), thus guiding us towards natural equilibrium (Lefebvre, 2004). Many routine-like activities, such as slow mornings with a coffee cup, observing the weather, peaceful rhythm of the day, following the tempo of nature and cyclical repetition of yearly holidays, are all found to be pivotal practices in enabling a state of calmness to be reached (Rantala & Valtonen, 2014). Through stillness, it is also possible to sense the wind in a more sophisticated manner, its humidity and coldness as well as the delicate shadings of warmth radiating from the sun. Tourists' engagement with the slower bodily routines and the "ability to follow one's own rhythm" guide towards the sensory state of stillness and the state of well-being, harmony and "being renewed" (Rantala & Valtonen, 2014, pp. 25, 27).

Indeed, touristic bodies are not always socially active, externally moving, standing, walking or sitting, but merit should still be given to other bodily postures and ways of being (Valtonen & Veijola, 2011; Waitt & Duffy, 2010) within which the knowing of luxury also may unfold. The knowing arising through immobile bodily states affording slowness, for example, may be as substantial as the mobile states of a body (Jensen et al., 2015). It is in fact recognised how today silence has become a "luxurious travel experience" (Kauppinen-Räsänen, Cristini, et al., 2019, subchapter 3.6). Instead of being a stable act, a valued moment of silence can be enacted in diverse ways. In visiting sacred places like churches, the forest, Finnish sauna or yoga studios, silence is something expected (the code of conduct) (see Kauppinen-Räsänen et al., 2019). Sacred places offer a physical and mental well-being break from all acting; they are calming and empowering, affording energy (Kauppinen-Räsänen et al., 2019). Tourists have described how silence "revitalises ... helps concentration, to stay calm, to think, to make a break" among others and it is stressed how silence is done with various social, material, natural and symbolic actors (Kauppinen-Räsänen et al., 2019, subchapter 3.3; see Rantala & Valtonen, 2014). From the perspective of yoga, practicing silence is also today a desired ability that many yoga studios offer and bodies practice to know how to perform inner and external silence (see Kauppinen-Räsänen et al., 2019). Hence, luxury research would merit from having a continuation for studies that appreciate bodies that are not always awake and alert, but rather bodies that engage in practices also in half-awake and sleeping mode. These kind of studies would deserve more recognition and ethical debate in tourism research as well (Rantala & Valtonen, 2014; Valtonen et al., 2017). Indeed, Lefebvre (2004, p. 78) sees silence as an inherent part of practices in noting: "For there to be rhythm ... silences ... must appear in movement".

Hence, upon a closer reflection of the above, the noticeable stillness of a body enwraps thousands of movements (Lefebvre, 2004, p. 96). It means that "each organ or function [is] having its own in a perpetual interaction that constitutes a set [*ensemble*]" (Lefebvre, 2004, p. 89) (original italics). In other words, the

noticeable stillness of a body enwraps thousands of movements (Lefebvre, 2004, p. 96). Following Matteucci's (2014) notion as presented above, our inner bodies as a "praxis and physical space for exploration" contain multiple rhythms, such as the rhythm of breathing, heartbeat, blood pressure, kidneys or circadian rhythm which also affect the practicing of a body (e.g. Lefebvre, 2004; Rantala & Valtonen, 2014). Diverse overlapping and entangled social, natural, cultural and biological rhythms merge with the tourist's (inner) body rhythms as well (Rantala & Valtonen, 2014). Therefore, "the living body can and must consider itself as an interaction of organs situated inside it" and as entangled with the "spatio-temporal whole" (Lefebvre, 2004, p. 81). This means that the "human body is the site and place of interaction between the biological, the physiological (nature) and the social ... where each of these levels, each of these dimensions, has its own specificity, therefore its space-time: its rhythm" (Lefebvre, 2004, p. 81).

Against the thoughts discussed above, it may also be considered that there is an unbounded rhythmic "world that offers itself up to us (nature, the earth and what we call the sky, the body and its insertion into social relations)" (Lefebvre, 2004, p. 83). "It is becoming cultural [social] of nature. The very ground of life changes" (Massumi, 2002, p. 10) as "tourists experience themselves both in and as their bodies" through moving that supports tourists to experience their bodies in a more visceral fashion (see Joy & Sherry, 2003) and connected to earth (Matteucci, 2014), weather or nature in general (e.g. Ingold, 2007; Lea, 2008; Rantala & Valtonen, 2014). These forms of embodied interacting support the shift towards knowing the body not only through our conscious mind but also as being unbounded and organic rather than passive and neglected. The body becomes "a field of creation" which is in constant "process of transformation" (Matteucci, 2014, p. 36) as the "rhythms insert us into a vast and infinitely complex world, which imposes on us experience and the elements of this experience" (Lefebvre, 2004, p. 82). Further, this approach allows us to understand how bodies are interacting and affected by multiple "forces of the (new) spaces" which usher in the fresh forms of being (Matteucci, 2014, p. 36). Possibly, this knowledge may also set tourists free to feel their bodies as intensely human. However, pre-cognitively human bodies are affected only by "the universe movements that correspond to its own movements" (Lefebvre, 2004, p. 83).

Harmony may arise "when an activity brings plenitude" no matter how mundane, subtle, sacred or spontaneous this activity might be (Lefebvre, 2004, p. 76). Examples include enjoying the first sun beams of spring or the luxurious state of being integrated through meditation or unfolding "as a metaphysical experience of oneness with nature" (Hemetsberger et al., 2012, p. 487). Indeed, it is an activity that is "in harmony with itself and with the world" (Lefebvre, 2004, pp. 76–77). Regardless, harmony is not a stable state. Rather, harmony is a "spontaneous ensemble" in which balance lies in its constant move as it balances with other rhythms and possible disruptions and disorders (Lefebvre, 2004, p. 8). To add other words into the

discussion, synchronisation “supposes harmony between different rhythms; conflict [disorder] supposes arrhythmia: a divergence in time, in space, in the use of energies” (Lefebvre 2004, p. 68; see Kreuzer et al. 2020). In harmony, “time that forgets time”, and “time no longer counts” or is “no longer counted” (Lefebvre, 2004, p. 76). This way, the linear “experience of time” as luxury (Yeoman & McMahon-Beattie, 2018) receives an organic, embodied forming in which the measurement, preference, taste-making arises as the inner body knowing and not as the time of a clock (see Katila, Kuusmin, et al., 2019; Lefebvre, 2004, p. 78). Indeed, time that is characterised as luxury is not related to the length of linear time, but to the appropriate time in which “nature and people are empowered”, which Cristini and Kauppinen-Räsänen (2022, p. 8) call *Kairos* time (*italics original*).

Playfulness. Tourism spaces/places are often unruly and chaotic. The knowing of a body is affected by varied rhythms emerging in situated practices (e.g. Chronis, 2015; Matteucci, 2014; Rantala & Valtonen, 2014). For instance, moving in the rhythm of the dancing Northern Lights invites all social actors into improvised and involuntary bodily choreographies which, at the same time, afford playful features (Jóhannesson & Lund, 2017). This way the involuntary and improvised moving discussed earlier might emerge from a totally or partly (embodied) disorientation and still carry the potential of play (see Edensor, 2001). This demonstrates how improvised and involuntary bodily moving may entail playful and imaginative rhythmic practices beyond the scripted tour through the mundane and social interplays (Jensen et al., 2015; Saxena, 2018). The practices and emerging affectivities of moving bodies cannot be predetermined even in the most common tourism spaces and, moreover, this playful nature of entangled social and material practices is actually an inherent part of the experience (Jensen et al., 2015).

Indeed, the analysis of rhythms is natural and rational at the same time (Lefebvre, 2004). However, it is not limited to those only as there are many natural rhythms that are not ordered by rational laws but rather entangle with the rhythms of the living body, as “the social just as much as the cosmic body, are equally bundles of rhythms” (Lefebvre, 2004, p. 80). The preferences lie in the measurement, judgement of rhythmic notion and practice. “The bundle of natural rhythms wraps itself in rhythms of social or mental function” and unites in an aesthetic arrangement/agencement, harmony of a body (Lefebvre, 2004, pp. 9, 80).

En route moving. Still, the knowing within the unruly and chaotic rhythmic practices (taking place for instance at the airport) is not always playful or emerging only as the body itself is moving. The airport practices may be quite chaotic per se and create “nervous energies” (see Wilson, 2011, p. 644). Touristic bodies are moved from one place to another on board of a vehicle, travelling to their destinations (e.g. Jensen et al., 2015; see Reddy-best & Olson, 2020) or also enjoying a mobile tourism experience on board of an aircraft, for instance (Lee et al., 2021). In various phases of the journey, bodies are on board and interacting with diverse actors within the

vehicles (e.g. aircraft, bus, boat, train or car) which affects their practices (Edensor & Holloway, 2008; Rhoden & Kaaristo, 2020; Small & Harris, 2014; Waitt & Lane, 2007; Wilson et al., 2019). Particularly in long-haul flights, bodies spend quite a long time on board which highlights the relationship within the rhythmic practices of touristic bodies, mobility and tourism place. It means that these mobile phases involve various kinds of negotiations as the moving body is interacting with other sociomaterial actors in the same space. Still, “being in the air”, on board an aircraft is “an embodied, affective experience” that cannot be separated from the relationship of bodies, movement and place (see Rhoden & Kaaristo, 2020; Small & Harris, 2014, pp. 28, 38). The tacit knowledge of a body emerges within the collaborated human-vehicle-air/water assemblage/agencement (Rhoden & Kaaristo, 2020). Mobile phases in which touristic bodies are moved are a meaningful way of “being in, sensing and experiencing” the mobile tourism space (Jensen et al., 2015, p. 62). This signifies that moved bodies afford embodied knowing within the mobile tourism space that makes part of their holistic experience.

Upon closer look, during the en route or on board phases mentioned above, the moved bodies are affected by the nuanced rhythmic movements of the vehicle entangled with the movement/stillness of their own body and other bodies in the same tourism mobile space like the movements of driver’s body (Edensor & Holloway, 2008; Jensen et al., 2015; Rhoden & Kaaristo, 2020). More specifically, bodies are affected within the embodied interaction inbetween the tourist/driver and the sound of a vehicle (Wilson et al., 2019). These interactions may evoke various physiological and emotional states and involve various kinds of negotiations as the moving body is interacting with the other sociomaterial actors in the same space, as well as the material space of the vehicle, resulting in affectivities of well-being, stress or other bodily manifestations. Therefore, car manufacturers aim to create “relaxing bubbles”, cocoons, comfort air-conditioned interior spaces free from unsettling engine vibrations or other disturbances with the purpose of supporting unwinding (Bijsterveld, 2010, as cited in Wilson et al., 2019, p. 15) and reducing stressful stimulation. Furthermore, in addition to sound, there are other sensory elements of the vehicle which affect the knowing body on board. Noticeably, bodies on board are also affected by the driver and his/her rhythmic driving style that refers to the driver’s “embodied interaction with the car’s engine, brakes and steering system” as well as the use of the road (Wilson et al., 2019, p. 15). The skilful human-vehicle-air/water/road assemblage is formed through the communing social, material and technological elements (Rhoden & Kaaristo, 2020). The emerging rhythmic interactions within sociomaterial practices evidently affect the knowing of a body like the entangled interaction of rhythms, sounds and temperatures (Jensen et al., 2015). Therefore, the knowing emerging through these non-representational elements affects and materialises in the mundane practices of a sensuous tourist experience (Jensen et al., 2015).

As the discussions in this chapter demonstrate, diverse forms of embodied knowing are learned in situated sociomaterial practices (Gherardi, 2009b; see Gärtner, 2013). The knowing is ongoingly negotiated, refined and sustained; sustaining a practice encloses forming of taste and appreciation. Taste is forming in engaging within the sociomaterial practicing of epistemic communities (Gherardi, 2009b). Taste is a subjective attachment to the object of practice, which is learned and taught within the sociomaterial practices of a community. The sociological attachment in this thesis denotes the “reflexive result of a corporeal, collective, and orchestrated practice regulated by methods that, in their turn, are endlessly discussed” (Gomart & Hennion, 1999, as cited in Gherardi, 2019, p. 150) as previously mentioned in Chapter 2.1 Onto-epistemological starting points. Therefore, attachment encloses also the effect of collective practicing of taste, learning and knowing appropriate forms of acting and attuning within situated practices (Gherardi, 2009b).

Gherardi (2009b, pp. 537, 538) calls development of taste a “project that centres its theoretical and empirical inquiry” to see how the attachment to the object of practice develops through “intellectual, passionate, ethical and aesthetic attachment”, thus connecting relational individual bodies to heterogeneous sociomaterial practices. Thus, it necessitates in this thesis to focus on the detailed practicing of taste within practices of an epistemic community.

The sociology of attachment enables to study the collective forming of the ongoing situated sociomaterial practices which suggest an alternative interpretation of the action rather than promoting general theories of practice (Gomart and Hennion, 1999, as cited in Gherardi, 2009b, p. 539). Firstly, studying within practices through the sociology of attachment shifts the focus from action to passion. It explores the agencements to disclose the logic behind passionate practicing. Second, it moves the focus from actors to the way acting forms. It pursues to explore the following: “how is the effect produced” within heterogeneous sociomaterial practicing (Gherardi, 2009b, p. 540). Lastly, it moves the focus from making to feeling, thus unfolding how affective attuning within practices is enacted (Gherardi, 2009b). Finally, through these three moves it is possible to continue exploring the normative accountability of sociomaterial practices in theoretical and empirical terms (Hennion, 1999, as cited in Gherardi, 2009b, p. 539).

Exploring the becoming of the object of practice within practices complements the commonsensically conducted empirical practice research in which practices are regarded being nothing more than doings (Sandberg & Tsoukas, 2015, as cited in Gherardi, 2019, p. 29), externally observed and in which rational logic is forwarded thus, disregarding embodied knowledge (Gherardi, 2019; Strati, 2007). This way they neglect the inconspicuous affordances emerging in the embodied relations within situated sociomaterial practices that shape, order, organise and matter as inherent form of knowing how to act within particular communities and cultures (Gärtner, 2013; Katila, Kuusmin, et al., 2019; see Strati, 2007). Indeed, the proposed empirical

investigations allow an analysis of the evolving tacit capacities of embodied knowing and necessitate engaging within the *in situ* practices as bodies encounter each other in physical environment (Gherardi, 2019; Gärtner, 2013; Nicolini 2013; Strati, 2007). Engaging in the practices of a particular community and empirical fieldwork enables to generate nuanced, delicate yet accurate knowledge also of the emerging social reality that remains in the background. Thus, in this thesis it is understood and accepted that the nature of the descriptions of life I offer is uncompleted and fragmentary (see Gherardi, 2019; Simpson, 2021). There is always a surplus that cannot be captured as things continue to move within. Practice may emerge as a “relational composition of just about everything” that is, as an agencement of heterogeneous “human and non-human, organic and inorganic, technical and natural” things that matter (Simpson, 2021, pp. 20, 87; see Gherardi, 2019). In sum, there is always more than theorisation is able to capture (Simpson, 2021).

In the following Chapter 3, I will move towards unfolding the particular affecto-rhythmic knowing emerging within the epistemic practices of a community. It will start with the “pre-history” which is relevant in the empirical analysis of rhythms (Lefebvre, 2004, p. 69) and the discussion will subsequently be continued in the empirical part of the thesis in Chapter 5.

3 Taste-making within epistemic practices of a community

In this chapter I will illuminate how the taste-making of luxury is forming within the practices of a yoga retreat holiday community and how these sensuous epistemic practices are understood as luxury in contemporary society (see Mora et al., 2018; Speier, 2020). The notion of ‘epistemic practices’ highlights knowledge as the object of exploration (Gherardi 2009, 2019). Taste is found in the subjective attachment to the object of practice though, taste-making is “performed as a collective, situated activity within a practice” (Gherardi 2009, p. 535). I will illustrate various ways of common acting within which practitioners know, make aesthetic-judgements, attune to, contest and refine situated practices (Gherardi 2009, 2019) that allow the capacity for luxury to emerge. As aesthetic, embodied knowing within situated, ongoing practices is a theoretical and empirical project (Gherardi, 2009), the discussions in this chapter necessitate complementing empirical reflections that will be presented in Chapter 5.

3.1 Epistemic practices of a yoga retreat holiday

A yoga retreat holiday has been chosen for the epistemic practices within which I engage and elaborate the emergence of luxury. Initially, in this thesis, a yoga retreat holiday serves as a resource for exploring “practical reasoning and acting” to reveal the forming of epistemic practices (Gherardi, 2019, p. 64). In contemporary society the luxury phenomenon has extended to cover new forms of luxury tourism such as various types of lifestyle holidays, retreats, spa and yoga holidays (Correia, Kozak, et al., 2020; Eskola et al., 2022; Yeoman, 2011).

A yoga retreat holiday is an embodied practice in which tourists use their body-mind-spirit to afford the sensuous tourism practice they are seeking (Eskola et al., 2022; see Mora et al., 2018). Yoga retreats are defined as yoga-based holidays which entail a daily offering of different types of yoga classes such as ashtanga, hatha, yin, kundalini, to name a few (Smith & Kelly, 2017); they are places “for spiritual renewal, detoxing and pure yoga” (Speier, 2020, p. 71). Although, historically, yoga is known as a strict and ascetic practice, today yoga retreats are oases offering the tourist a possibility to concentrate on practicing yoga in the quest for well-being (Rautaniemi, personal communication, July 15, 2020). In yoga holidays tourism practices are related to yoga (Speier, 2020).

Today yoga or well-being holidays represent an inherent part of wellness activities offered by (luxury) hotels such as Six Senses, Mandarin Oriental, Small Luxury or

St. George and Kuru Resort, to give a few examples. Yoga and yoga holidays are a sociocultural phenomenon and have turned into a “multibillion dollar industry” (Mora et al., 2018). In today’s fast-paced societies yoga experiences, retreats and holidays seem to offer the well-earned retraction and well-being sanctuary to balance tired bodies and minds (see Correia, Kozak, et al., 2020). Luxury is seen to emerge through inconspicuous practices like time, personal fulfilment, well-being, and related activities (see Yeoman & McMahon-Beattle, 2018) connected to rest, (re)connection with the self, self-development, and seeking resilience in the contemporary ever-changing, disruptive life (Eskola et al., 2022). Transformative forms of tourism with the focus of “health, rejuvenation and a sense of discovery and purpose for the self ” are becoming more prevailing (Kelly, 2010, p. 108). Attending a retreat is also seen to emphasise the creation of healthy bodies (Lea, 2008); particular practices are seen to affect well-being and health (Maller, 2015). Well-being practices allow capacity for physical, mental and cognitive restoration in contemporary society (Gill, Packer, et Ballantyne, 2019; see Cristini & Kauppinen-Räsänen, 2022).

A yoga retreat holiday practice pertains not only everyday yoga practice. The yogic bodies appreciate the holistic sensuous practices of a yoga retreat holiday in the pursuit of harmony and balance (Eskola et al., 2022; see Mora et al., 2018). Relaxing, quality sleeping (see Valtonen & Veijola, 2011), healthy eating with minimal or no alcohol consumption (see Matteucci, 2014), having me-time and reconnecting with oneself (see Hemetsberger et al., 2012) as well as socializing in inspiring company are ordinary enlivening practices in engaging within the yogic shangri-la. The modern yoga retreat holiday practices enclose diverse sociomaterial encounters with other bodies (fellow yogis and guests, yoga teacher, hotel employees) and human-made (yoga shala ‘place of yoga’ hotel service and premises, other service providers) as well as natural materialities (weather, sea, wind, nature) (Eskola et al., 2022). Further, yogic embodied practices entail not only engaging with other bodies and heterogenous sociomaterialities, but practices also spread very much to dwelling within one’s body, engaging the within-corporeal sensorial flows (see Valtonen et al., 2017), being sensitive and appreciating the embodied sensations flowing in the inner space of a body, in internal organs, blood vessels, muscles and in fascias that affect the knowing (see Lefebvre, 2004; Massumi, 2002; Simpson, 2021). Indeed, embodied knowing in yoga retreat holiday practices reaches outside the boundaries of yoga practice, external perceptions and highlights the inconspicuous forms of knowing arising within the visceral body. Hence, representing a contemporary well-being trend of luxury tourism, the modern yoga retreat holiday may be seen as a perfect site to explore the emergence of luxury within diverse sociomaterial practices (see Eskola et al., 2022). Tourists engaging in contemporary yoga holidays that enhance health and well-being obtain a perfect lens through which to explore embodied practices (Speier, 2020).

Senses and sensuality are entangled in luxury experiences as they afford pleasure and sensory gratification (Joy et al., 2014). Luxury experiences appeal to all senses in the creation of a soothing multisensory experience (Wiedmann, Labenz, Haase & Hennings, 2016). Still, the inborn embodiment is often disregarded in luxury tourism research discussions. Though, as already suggested in my opening vignette in Chapter 1, travelling bodies might be quite exhausted and thus, sensitive to the surrounding sociomaterial practices. It is possible that tourists are suffering from jet-lag symptoms, being drained of a yoga practice, or generally appreciate calm practices. In yoga retreat holiday practice, it calls for sensitivity in sociomaterial practicing to accomplish the yogis' dreams of healing yoga retreat holiday practices. Especially, engaging in a yoga retreat holiday in a luxury hotel setting evokes expectations towards the practices, with detailed notice on nuances and attentive service to accomplish the high standards (see Iloranta, 2021). The significance of atmosphere and attentive service as an inconspicuous actor in hospitality experiences related to luxury is embodied in the practices of luxury hotels (Yang & Mattila, 2016). This demonstrates how luxury is very much a felt sensation that exceeds our visual and cognitive perceptions. Rather, tourists are sensing the whole sensuous practice also through moving and being modes (Chronis, 2015; Merchant, 2011; Valtonen et al., 2010).

Modern yoga is illustrated as 'a multisensory conscious luxury experience' in the transformation economy (Mora et al., 2018, p. 190). In earlier luxury literature studies on multisensory luxury, the multisensory approach is emphasised (Hennigs et al., 2012; Wiedmann et al., 2016; Yang & Mattila, 2016). Still, with the exception of a few of the most recent studies (Holmqvist et al., 2020; Sudbury-Riley et al., 2020), most commonly, research on the sensory experiences in luxury tourism and hospitality concentrates on exploring individual senses, like visual perceptions, auditory impressions, olfactory or palatal sensations. Additionally, the research has concentrated on the five senses as commonly acknowledged in the Western paradigm that follow the Aristotelian tradition of the senses. Notably, previous sensory luxury studies have explored senses to develop product/brand qualities. Yet, the sensory luxury experience from the perspective of all human senses, including the sensations arising in and through the body, has remained neglected. This perspective originates from the etymology of the Greek word 'aisthanesthai' and Baumgarten's aesthetic philosophic thoughts that Berthon et al. (2009) have highlighted in luxury literature. Aligning, that is, engaging all bodily senses has been forwarded by practice theorists (Gherardi, 2009; Strati, 2007). Furthermore, practice-theoretical aesthetic tradition has also been noted in tourism research (Rantala, 2018).

Mora et al. (2018) also highlight knowing luxury as a conscious practice. The yogic practices guide towards a more conscious practice in life in general – socially, environmentally and ethically through ideas centred around modern yoga. The postural yoga and philosophy behind it is understood to unfold conscious wellbeing

and quality experience (Mora et al., 2018). The contemporary notions of luxury are increasingly related to issues such as a healthy and ethical lifestyle (Yeoman, 2011; see Hauser, 2013). Hence, the modern yoga retreat holidays allow capacity to explore luxury not only as an embodied practice affording health and well-being, but also unfolding more enduring forms of practices that are seen as luxury in the life of contemporary tourists.

3.2 Defining “yoga in modern times”

It is also necessary to define what the term ‘yoga’ means in this study. The yoga known in the West and discussed in this study differs very much from the ancient yoga and cultural heritage of India. The contemporary phenomenon called yoga has become popular worldwide and is manifested in many states. Currently, the interest and discussion around modern yoga (hereafter MY) is lively and multidisciplinary. There is a huge interest in practicing as well as studying yoga as it appears in this modern era among practitioners as an alternative lifestyle, preventive form of healthcare, and as a peculiar transnational form of culture (Domingues, 2018; Strauss, 2020). However, the topic of MY is disputed and, thus, complex to discuss comprehensively.

The MY researcher Newcombe (2018, p. 569) states that the “overarching essentialist definitions of yoga are impossible” as yoga is defined differently by different people with various aims (see Lewis, 2008). However, the definition of yoga is inherently tied to its historical and sociocultural context (Strauss, 2020). Newcombe (2018, p. 569) highlights that the ongoing debate over “what ‘is’ and ‘is not’ yoga” and who owns yoga (Fish, 2006) would benefit from a wider understanding of yoga. Therefore, based on the discussions above, this subchapter adapts its name “Yoga in modern times” from Singleton (2010, p. 19) as he suggests calling the transnational Anglophone phenomena of yoga in our era. In this study, I base my writing on seminal and distinguished authors to the best of my knowledge and present multi-layered ideas around the burgeoning practice of yoga in modern times. Yet, notably, the description of the extensive history of yoga will be left to the hands of other academics in this study. The origins of yoga will be examined only in a limited manner to build the background for understanding the luxury phenomenon under investigation. Hereafter, I am using the terms modern yoga (MY) or modern postural yoga (MPY) interchangeably when discussing yoga in modern times and the style of yoga the author refers to.

Yoga is an ancient philosophy and practice of health and well-being originating from India dating back to approximately 2000 years ago (de Michelis, 2004; Desikachar, Bragdon, & Bossart, 2005). The practice consisting of asanas (bodily postures) and applied pranayama (breathing techniques) and meditation depending

on the yoga style (Domingues, 2018). Yoga practice joins the human body, mind and spirit as a holistic well-being system within the universe. Practicing yoga is a pathway to exploring our inner world, knowledge and internal power. Although practicing yoga is rewarding already as such as it brings holistic well-being to the practitioner, the ultimate aim of yoga is to join (or attain) samadhi, a state of higher consciousness as defined in the seventh limb of Yoga Sutra.

The term yoga has multiple meanings in historical and contemporary relations. The etymological root of the word yoga is most commonly translated from the Sanskrit language term “yuj” meaning joining or yoke (Whitney, 1997, p. 132, as cited in Newcombe, 2009, p. 1). Depending of the practitioner, joining refers to a union with the universe, infinity, to God or to binding “the conscious attention of the mind and the body” (Barbour, 2014, p. 81). Yoga is not a religion (Newcombe, 2009, 2018) although the roots of yoga and associated ascetic practices are related to diverse religious traditions in Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism.

Yoga Sutra, the classical collection of yoga aphorisms, provides the foundation for the holistic well-being practice of the ancient and thereby for M(P)Y. According to the story, Sutras were collated by Sage Patanjali around 400 C.E. In Yoga Sutra, yoga and yoga practice are explained through eight limbs or phases of yoga (Barbour, 2014), which guide the yogic path towards enlightenment. In order to provide a perspective into the foundations of yoga as a holistic well-being system applied in the modern world, I turn to Donna Fahri (2000), a merited yoga teacher and author, to open the yoga philosophy as it appears in her yoga practice and in MY: 1) Yama and Niyama – The ten ethical principles of through within which the practitioner finds peace with the self, family and community; 2) Asana – Dynamic internal dance in the form of yoga postures. Asana practice holds the body strong, flexible and relaxed. The practice also strengthens the nervous system and cultivates the spiritual ability; 3) Pranayama basically means a breathing exercise. More specifically, breathing exercises support to stabilise prana, the life force; 4) Pratyahara – Directing external attention towards silence; 5) Dharana – Concentrating and cultivating spiritual consciousness; 6) Dhyana – Maintaining consciousness in all circumstances; and ultimately 7) Samadhi meaning the returning of the mind to authentic silence. As we can see here, the mix of mental and physical exercise is still performed today in MPY for improved health and wellness (Hauser, 2013). Noticeably, in addition to regular practice, the well-being system of MY pertains holistic therapies, preventive medicine and guiding for nutrition (Lehto et al., 2006). Barbour (2014) concludes that the congruence between yoga and accords of well-being are inherent in the ancient Indian cultures and philosophies established in the historical documents during the 2000 year of the history of yoga. Nonetheless, compared to pre-modern yoga, MPY practice is featured to be more private, commodified and medicalised (de Michelis, 2004).

The ancient yoga in India was mainly a spiritual practice practiced by sages. Yoga was exported to North America and Europe as gymnastic sequences in ‘spiritual

stretching' (Singleton, 2010, p. 143) in the beginning of the 20th century. Swami Vivekananda attended the Chicago Parliament of Religions 1893 and exported yoga from India as a spiritual practice awaited in the materialistic West (de Michelis, 2009; Singleton 2010). This spiritual practice of stretching consisted of rhythmic breathing, stretching and relaxation, which also govern the yoga of today (Singleton, 2010, p. 152). From those beginnings, yoga has developed into a bodily-mental-spiritual practice practiced by the global consumers.

In the academia, the origins of MY and MPY can be attributed to the writings of Elizabeth de Michelis and her book *A History of Modern Yoga* (2004) as well as to Mark Singleton's seminal postural yoga book *The Yoga Body: The Origins of Modern Posture Practice* (2010). Common MPY styles are, among others, hatha, ashtanga, vinyasa flow, kundalini, bikram, iyengar and power yoga. These styles are the most taught and practiced in the global marketplace of yoga, from particular yoga shalas (place where yoga is practiced) to more universal fitness clubs or private homes. De Michelis (2004) defines MPY as a form of yoga centralising on physical postures (asanas) and breathing exercises (pranayama). Domingues (2018) and Singleton (2010) add a varying amount of meditation in their definition of MPY. In quotidian language, asana is translated as a bodily yoga posture. Originally, Sutra 2.46 defines the qualities needed to practice asana as 'Sthira Sukham Asanam'. Translated from Sanskrit, the term literally means balance between stability and comfort, or seated posture. According to Devi (2010, p. 286), it means 'comfort in being, posture'. Yoga practice encourages the practitioner to attempt a sitting or standing posture in which they feel steady and at ease. Similar to Sage Patanjali, the aim in asana practice is to maintain a straight spine and upright posture, allowing the energy to flow in the meditation or, as in MPY, in the body. The yoga breathing (pranayama) is central in yoga. Sequenced yoga practice and series of postures align the rhythmic and controlled breathing with the aim of purifying the body, the nervous system and the mind (Schilderman, 2008).

In 2008, De Michelis drew a framework in order to improve the definition of the MY phenomena with five ideal descriptions: 1) Modern Psychosomatic Yoga; 2) Modern Denominational Yoga; 3) Modern Postural Yoga; 4) Modern Meditational Yoga and 5) Denominational Yoga. Newcombe (2009) notes that this kind of typology might be helpful in understanding the diversity of the contemporary yoga phenomena in global marketplaces, as various yoga practices and teachers often combine several types of yoga. However, Singleton (2010, p. 18) refuses these kinds of typologies as they 'subsume detail, variation, and exception'. According to Singleton (2010), in global societies yoga is practically a synonym for the practice of asana (bodily posture), which he sees setting modern yoga apart from pre-modern yoga. Nevertheless, Mallison (2011) specifies that it is the act of linking asanas in the form of a specific set of exercise that is typical for MY compared to the ancient practice.

The term MY, in turn, adapts a wider approach to yoga. Newcombe (e.g., 2009; 2018) understands MY in multiple ways between bodily, mental or spiritual practice, depending on the yoga practitioner. In her recent study, Newcombe (2018, p. 569) sees yoga as a set of diverse activities unveiling insightful manners in various social and physical situations. For her, yoga is a “lived space” (Newcombe, 2018, p. 569). Hauser (2013, p. 2) notes that among today’s practitioners, the word yoga is applied in referring to diverse bodily practices moving between health, fitness, lifestyle and spirituality. Regular yoga practice accounts for having the potential to relief stress, refine breathing, assemble strength and attain flexibility (Lehto et al., 2006). In the hectic and stressful modern world, yoga has become one of the most popular practices to balance our mind-body-spirit (Speier, 2020). This has also awoken arising scientific research interest towards exploring the physiological benefits provided by M(P)Y as a bodily regulator system (Udupa & Sathyaprabha, 2018).

Nevrin (2008, p.119) argues that “taking bodily experience into account is essential to the study of contemporary yoga, especially when attempting to understand the effects of yoga practice and to explain its increasing popularity”. However, there are challenges in understanding the yogic bodily experience as it is a result of interpreting interrelated bodily techniques and contextual practice (Nevrin, 2008). It is always challenging to seize intrinsic experiences (Newcombe, 2018). However, more importantly, the merit of Nevrin (2008) lies in foregrounding the relevance of practice environment to human experience and apprehension of yoga (Newcombe, 2018). Idealistically, yoga can be practiced everywhere (Newcombe, 2018), but the restorative spaces of modern yogis are related to particular premises (Gill et al., 2019).

To this end, in Chapter 3.2 Defining “yoga in modern times”, I have considered the foundation and elements of yoga in modern times for modern yogis (yoga practitioners). I am following especially Newcombe’s (2018) and Strauss’s (2020) ample understanding of MY, paralleled with Jeffrey’s (2020) view on yoga as a philosophical and ethical lifestyle system and agencement. Tightly founded on the ancient yogic health and well-being system, MY unfolds in various bodily, mental and spiritual applications in lives of Western practitioners. Yoga seems to adapt to the sociocultural environment of this era (Strauss, 2020) and is topped with the practitioner’s own imagination and meaning attached to the practice (Newcombe, 2018). Still, understanding yoga through these convolute definitions, and furthermore, as a contextual instrument in its particular social and material spaces, appears significant (Newcombe, 2018). It is through the diverse definitions and interpretations that the contemporary phenomenon called yoga can unveil its multiple facets in the lives of modern practitioners (Newcombe, 2018). Thus, I will now move on to present the methodological choices of this thesis.

In Chapter 3, I have discussed the epistemic practices taking place in a yoga retreat holiday. Significantly, the epistemic practices exceed beyond the mere physical yoga

practice to multiple encounters within the yoga retreat holiday practice. These discussions demand further empirical elaboration (Gherardi, 2009b, 2019) which will be conducted in Chapter 5.

4 Reflecting luxury within autoethnography as methodology

4.1 Evocative autoethnography: embodied knowing as empirical material

When I began to work on this study, I had been involved in and developing high-quality customer experiences in a global tourism company for approximately 20 years. At that time, my knowledge of luxury was largely founded on luxury services and high-class customer encounters that I was familiar with through my professional background and leisure travelling on a highly practical level. As I discussed in the introductory chapter, my past practices with luxury services undoubtedly affected my knowledge of luxury in the yoga retreat holiday practice. Gradually, I started to consider the origin and nature of luxury in my yoga retreat holiday which took place in the premises of a luxury hotel. What was behind and underneath the label of 'luxury hotel'? How was 'luxury' actually forming? As discussed in the earlier chapters, I started wondering why yoga holidays and retreats had turned into such a popular form of (luxury) tourism in contemporary societies (see e.g. Condé Nast Traveller, 2020; Six Senses, 2023; Speier, 2020; Strauss & Maldelbaum, 2013). An increasing number of luxury hotels seemed to offer well-being holidays involving yoga practice. I started to relate my personal knowledge to wider communities, cultural and societal practices. These questions finally lead me to investigate the quite ordinary practices along my yearly stay in the same premises.

In reflecting the situated practices of a yoga retreat holiday, I recognised that my embodied knowing of luxury emerging within sociomaterial practices was not only related to yoga practice, but exceeding into the wider practice of a yoga retreat holiday and tourism. As I reflected upon the arousing affectivities within my body, I noticed how challenging it was to put the soothing embodied sensations, that I understood as luxury, into words even in my own mother tongue. Furthermore, the affectivities were so persistent yet silent, entangled within and hiding behind the practices (see Valtonen & Haanpää, 2018), that reflecting on them was sometimes challenging as it required careful attuning into them (see Gherardi, 2017b; Katila, Kuusmin, et al., 2019; Willems, 2018). This required pausing, being still and sometimes grounding with some yoga posture. Many times my eyes were closing naturally as I was attuning to the knowing arising within me. It necessitated being open and sensitive to the ephemeral, embodied sensations emerging within my body to know 'what is going on within my body', what are the affectivities like, how are the affectivities prompted within situated, ongoing sociomaterial practices

and what is their effect on my bodymind. The affectivities of yoga retreat holidays remained in my body and they still do, even to this day. They affected my knowing in a powerful way, allowing me the capacity to attune to my embodied luxury flow within diverse yoga retreat holiday practices. I began to observe how the affectivities arising in my body attached my knowing of luxury into everyday practices, though, sometimes also disrupting my capacity to attune. I became to notice how I was negotiating within the mundane practices and relying on the arising affectivities to go on appropriate practicing. How, for the purposes of this study, could I gather knowledge of such emergences of luxury taking place within the (inner) body? I felt embodied knowing to be very intimate in its nature. It is not necessarily something to be revealed or discussed in the course of a formal research interview. It is also acknowledged that not everyone has the capacity to know, let alone share the inner feelings, sensible or embodied knowing arising in the body (Strati, 2007, 2008; Gherardi, 2019). However, like mentioned earlier, unconventional luxury literature suggests further studies to unfold the physical intensities and the momentary nature of luxury that matter in luxury practices (Thomsen et al., 2020). Still, the established research methods and methodologies to approach luxury did not seem to unfold and appreciate the delicate, powerful affective nature of knowing-in-practice that I wished to illustrate (see Valtonen & Haanpää 2018). Thus, I was challenged to find an appropriate methodology (and a theory) to demonstrate my embodied knowing of luxury with words and sensations.

Autoethnography is a form of ethnographic research that through description and analysis of personal experience pursues to understand the phenomenon under study as a cultural experience (Ellis, Adams, & Bochner 2011). Jones, Adams and Ellis (2013, p. 22) conceptualise autoethnography through four characteristics: autoethnography intentionally reflects cultural practices; it contributes to current research; as a method it involves vulnerability with purpose; and lastly, it generates a mutual relationship with audiences to evoke a reaction. In the autographic tradition, the human body has been performing in multiple manners (Haanpää, 2017; Markuksela, 2013; Valtonen, 2012). It has been argued that the researcher's body offers fertile material for generating fresh knowledge of social life (Valtonen & Haanpää, 2018; see Strati, 2003). With the knowledge arising within the researcher's body, it is possible to unfold the ephemeral, inconspicuous nature of phenomena that are challenging to know with other methods (Valtonen & Haanpää, 2018; see Bispo & Gherardi, 2019; Gherardi, 2018; Katila, Kuismin, et al., 2019; Simpson, 2021; Valtonen et al., 2017).

In practice-based studies (e.g. Valtonen et al., 2017) as well as in studies employing non-representational theory (e.g. Haanpää et al., 2022), it is illustrated that the autoethnographic body explores the phenomena from 'within' (Gherardi, 2019). These studies highlight how the researcher's intimate, biological and fleshy body becomes elementary in interpreting phenomena and unfolding fresh knowledge

affecting in practicing (Valtonen & Haanpää, 2018; Katila, Kuismin, et al., 2019; Valtonen et al., 2017; see Gherardi, 2019, Simpson, 2021). The diversified forms of embodied knowing are especially salient in the evocative autoethnography orientation in which researchers aim to generate “aesthetic and evocative thick descriptions of personal and interpersonal experience” (Ellis, Adams, & Bochner, 2011, p. 277; see Dashper, 2016; Valtonen & Haanpää, 2018). This dissertation joins evocative autoethnography in terms of research orientation and does so in engaging with the embodied, affective and personal knowing of the researcher to better understand the emergence and nature of luxury within situated, ongoing sociomaterial practices in tourism.

In the studies of luxury, as in studies on luxury tourism, ethnographic methods have surprisingly rarely been applied. There are only few studies applying ethnography as a part of their research method (e.g. Ahmed et al. 2022; Holmqvist et al., 2020; Joy et al. 2014). In the premises of luxury brand store experience, Joy et al. (2014) conducted ethnographic observations complemented by interviews conducted by a local ethnographer. In unconventional luxury, in turn, first two authors in Holmqvist et al.'s (2020) study engaged into a three-year ethnographic immersion in a salsa dancing community, conducting also participant observations and in-depth interviews. Within practice-based luxury literature, Ahmed et al. (2022) studied how social learning and knowing take place in a retail environment. They employed a mixed-method approach enclosing the first author's ethnographic immersion and micro-sociology to investigate the consumer-employee interaction to disclose what people do, say and think in encounters as they happen. In sum, it seems that long-term cultural engagement, immersing into the cultural community of the phenomenon and real time observations of practices are seen to produce fruitful material in luxury investigations. However, the ethnographic research method has been notified in suggestions for future luxury studies though being unexpectedly rarely applied (see Zanette et al., 2022). To add, in luxury tourism literature there is a call to extend conventional methodologies and approaches especially in the quest to understand the sensual formation of unconventional and inconspicuous luxury that exceeds the context of cognitive understanding and experience (Iloranta, 2022).

4.2 Body reflexivity – the ephemeral, multi-sited and longitudinal embodied fields

My first yoga retreat holidays in the years 2016 and 2017 were not intended for fieldwork purposes. The idea appeared in the course of my research process only some years later in 2018. Although I was geographically “in the field” during my four yoga retreat holidays in the years 2016–2020, along the longitudinal research

process it was the knowing emerging in my body that gradually became the living field for this study (see Gherardi et al., 2019; Valtonen & Haanpää, 2018).

In January 2016, 2017, 2018 and 2020, I attended the same yoga retreat holiday in a small Thai village in a boutique hotel which is part of the Small Luxury Hotel Chain. The hotel is located by the sea in a windy gulf and offers a beautiful white sandy beach with astonishingly few tourists. The yoga retreat holidays were organised by a Finnish yoga studio. The length of the holidays varied between seven and fourteen days, depending on whether I stayed in Bangkok prior to the actual beginning of the yoga holiday. The attending yoga tourists were a heterogeneous group of couples and (solo travelling) women of all ages. The composition of the travel party altered every year and the number of participants varied between eleven and seventeen. During the years 2016–2020 I also attended three other well-being holidays entailing yoga practice in Bhutan, Finland and in another location in Thailand. These holidays did not take place in luxury hotel premises. However, engaging in the practices of other tourism sites naturally affected my embodied knowing (see Valtonen, 2012) of luxury, and therefore the interpretation of the phenomenon as well (see Haanpää, 2017). The sensations we have felt in the past leave traces into our body-memory (see Valtonen & Haanpää, 2018). The characteristics of autoethnography allowed me to explore the knowing arising in my body not only while in field but also at home and within various other tourism or (service) encounters throughout diverse fields as well. The knowledge arising within the body was, and is, an ordinary and natural way of knowing for me, blurred with the cognitive-rational knowledge of the social world (see Bochner & Ellis, 2016). In other words, knowing the world as a sensitive person as well as a yogi (a person who regularly practices yoga) I have learned and naturally attune to the world in trusting the knowing emerging in my body. Still, it took some time of my rational-cognitive mind to really take the embodied knowledge seriously in this academic process. The natural way of knowing luxury, as I know it, was veiling behind professional, historical and conventional academic boundaries (Bispo & Gherardi, 2019; Gherardi, 2018; Valtonen & Haanpää, 2018). I was – and still I am – carrying and “living in the field” within my body (Valtonen & Haanpää, 2018, p. 131).

As I was memorising and reflecting my fieldwork notes at home, I sensed multifold sensations arousing in my body. More precisely, the embodied knowing of luxury felt to be very much related to the intensive inner body affectivities. Therefore, encouraged by several studies (Bispo & Gherardi, 2019; Gherardi, 2018; Katila, Laine et al., 2019; Katila, Kuismin, et al., 2019; Kuuru, 2022; Valtonen et al., 2017) to accept the emerging diversified affectivities as a relevant form of knowing, I set out to interpret the emergence of luxury in tourism situated, ongoing sociomaterial practices (see Buda et al., 2014; d’Hauteserre, 2015; de Souza Bispo, 2016; Rantala & Valtonen, 2014; Soica, 2016; Thrift, 2008; Valtonen et al., 2017; Valtonen & Veijola, 2011). However, for the purpose of my research, I needed a methodology

which would appreciate the embodied knowing. Valtonen and Haanpää (2018) call this kind of approach ‘body-reflexivity’, a particular technique for autoethnographic research.

Body-reflexivity is defined by its ability to appreciate the body that is in a constant state of becoming (Valtonen & Haanpää, 2018). It enables one to unfold and theorise embodiment in appreciating the ephemeral, flowing, porous knowledge arising in the body that is in constant process of becoming (see Gherardi, 2019; Haanpää 2017; Simpson, 2021; Valtonen et al. 2017). In accordance with Valtonen and Haanpää (2018) and Gherardi (2019, p. 133), I see my body as an essential tool for my research practices in this study. My autoethnographic body-reflexive explorations guided my ethnographic process first by making notice on the mattering sociomaterial practices in which the embodied knowing of luxury was emerging (see Gherardi 2018). However, along with the fieldwork and the embodied memories I became even more attuned to the practices and I noticed that I was judging the flowing emergence of luxury as related to its soothing effect on me. Entangled in practices, the unfolding soothing affectivities ordered the emerging knowing of luxury. Therefore, in order to “to get in touch with the full range of registers of thought by stressing affect and sensation” (Thrift, 2008, p. 12), I am inspired by the resources offered by practice-based studies (Gherardi, 2019) and particularly the affecto-rhythmic nature of practices in my body-reflexive autoethnography (see Katila, Kuismin, et al., 2019; Valtonen et al., 2017).

4.3 The empirical material and ethical concerns

The notion of ‘material’ generation in autoethnographic study is complex (Dashper, 2016). In this dissertation, the empirical material was co-generating along my yoga retreats during the years 2016, 2017, 2018 and 2020, as I have mentioned above. In the previous subchapters, I described the forming of my primary material within the embodied practices. The material generation occurred partly already during my yoga retreat holidays of the years 2016 and 2017, while I was still unaware of their becoming the site of my fieldwork. The embodied knowing as my empirical material was generating within the entire research process.

It is quite common that the knowing that has emerged earlier is relevant in autoethnographic explorations of the phenomena (Dashper, 2013). However, when I attended the same yoga retreat holiday the subsequent years of 2018 and 2020, I was more research oriented. Notably, in those years, while in the field, I noticed how ‘conducting research’ disrupted my practicing of luxury. Apparently, I was not able to engage into the situated sociomaterial practices in the way I had in the previous years. I was too conscious of my activities. At first, I felt desperate. Aiming to attune to practicing luxury (see Banister et al., 2020) through constant photo shooting

and making notes of 'every' meaningful and aesthetic practice with my mobile phone made it difficult to know luxury. Those activities only distanced me from my luxury flow. Besides, I noticed that I was engaging more or less with the same practices and taking photos of the same matters as in the earlier years. I realised I was already familiar with the practices of the hotel, yoga studio, small village and beach. I was not compelled to orientate (Kuuru & Närvänen, 2020) so much only on the external practices that could be captured with photo shooting. Rather, I needed to slow down, to stop 'the material generating' the way it is conventionally understood. I needed to focus on attuning into the emerging affectivities and the soothing effect of practices as practices were temporally connecting. Consequently, I tried to drop the obsessive conducting of fieldwork, the hunting of luxury and just tried to 'concentrate' on attunement. The successful accomplishment was multifarious. I realised my repositioning as a researcher afforded a different kind of fieldwork and reflection. I felt perplexed. There were so many actors affecting the arousing affectivities. How to continue the material generation?

In cases where the empirical material 'is generated' earlier than the research topic is sharpened or formed, Dashper (2016, p. 219) and Wall (2008, p. 45) suggest researcher to trust 'headnotes'. It implies engaging into "systematic sociological introspection", imagining being *in situ* as things happen both physically and emotionally (Ellis, 2004, 2009, as cited in Dashper, 2016, p. 219). Still, in my process it was closer to what I discussed in the earlier chapters, attuning to memories within the emerging affectivities of my body (Valtonen & Haanpää, 2018). In practice, this meant drifting in time and place, turning inwards with a frozen gaze, letting my eyes close, lying on my yoga mat beside the laptop, practicing yoga, and more importantly, dwelling back and forth in the practical encounters of my yoga retreat holiday. Occasionally, the drifting was more systematic and linear, as illustrated in Chapter 5.1, Orienting practices. Other times, it was more of an in-depth exploration of the particular affective nature of practices taking place in various yoga retreat holiday encounters. Attuning and waiting for my embodied material to generate took time. It took a long time to be able to capture the real nature of practices into words. With time I do not mean months, rather, the generating of rich sensuous material took years. There were pauses while I just let the material generate somewhere in my body, to mature in the background, in my subconscious, in the mode of not-knowing which yet aroused many affectivities of insufficiency in me.

Significantly, I feel that the richest material was generating while I was not conducting research in a purposeful manner with my conscious mind during the first two years 2016 and 2017. Even though I have numerous photographs, videos, printed material and audios from my retreat holidays, the material unfolded in a more engaging manner within my body-memory and reflecting the movements in my inner body. I trusted the arising knowing in my body-memory rather than memorising various encounters through my cognitive external senses (see Wall,

2008). Admittedly, the co-generated material described below in Table 1, afforded only little support in my explorations. Consequently, from the perspective of conservative autoethnographic writing, the kind of ethnography I conduct in this study could be questioned (see Richardson & St. Pierre, 2018). However, the importance of memory in the ethnographic research process has been recognised. “‘Ethnography is an act of memory’ because fieldwork and the unfolding reflections are entangled with the memories that form them” (Coffey, 1999, p. 127, as cited in Wall, 2008, p. 45). Headnotes, or body-memories as in this thesis, enclose diversified forms of ephemeral, subtle yet powerful knowledge that is too manifold to put on paper (Ottenberg, 1990, as cited in Wall, 2008, p. 45), though they diffuse inherent essential knowing of the phenomenon under study. Wall (2008) suggests that this kind of memorising might even be more relevant and reliable than conventional field notes. That is because field notes are formed with the help of memory and may change the precision of memory as field notes are read, reread, interpreted and reinterpreted (Sanjek, 1990, as cited in Wall, 2008, p. 45). However, the more conventionally generated material of my personal embodied ethnographic stories covers 128 pages of fieldwork diaries. In addition to the field notes, the co-generated empirical material from my yoga holidays is briefly presented in Table 1. The material is allocated along the customer journey in the phases of pre-, during and post-encounter.

Table 1. Co-generated empirical material

PRE-ENCOUNTER:	PIECE(S)
Internet links of various yoga holidays	28
Email correspondence and social media messaging between me and the arranging yoga studios	33
Printed material received for the preparation of yoga holidays (retreat holiday programmes, resort/hotel information)	9
DURING:	
Photos taken in the yoga holidays by myself, my co-yogis or yoga teachers	600
Videos taken in the yoga holidays by myself, my co-yogis or yoga teachers	11
Printed material (hotel brochures, hotel & well-being magazines, invoices)	6
Social media messaging between co-yogis (yoga holiday participants) and yoga teachers	118
Written material (Personal daily well-being program, workshop material, mandala drawing)	3
Audio material (CD of the resort’s own theme music)	1 (30 min)
POST-ENCOUNTER:	
Social media messaging between co-yogis, yoga teachers and yoga studios	28
Recommended documentary films, websites, books and nutritional supplements	63

In the formation of a credible autoethnographic study, the researcher has to be reflexive in her position in fieldwork as well as in regard to the phenomenon under investigation (Haanpää, 2017). The reflexivity of the researcher as well as the contribution to understanding social life belong to the evaluating criteria set

for diverse forms of ethnographies (see Richardson & St. Pierre, 2018). In this thesis, one of my aims is to understand how the embodied knowing of luxury might emerge in the lives of people living in contemporary societies which also include myself. The beginning of this dissertation, Chapter 1.1 Entry point – “Soothe my senses”, is the entrance point to my exploration of the luxury phenomenon in this study. Chapter 3, Taste-making within epistemic practices of a community, also illuminates how the embodied knowing of luxury might emerge in the lives of contemporary humans and within the emerging yoga practice communities. These discussions are further continued in this chapter, as I will move on to examining how I studied luxury with autoethnography as my methodological approach. Further, Chapter 5 reveals broader socio-cultural entanglements affecting the emergence of luxury in contemporary societies. These are entangled in my own position in the field. Essentially, I disclose how the knowing of luxury is emerging in the practices of a middle-aged woman juggling between family and work life; a human living in a Nordic meritocracy apart from being a yoga practitioner as well. As mentioned earlier, my observations, reflections and interpretations of luxury are affected by my previous essentially practice-based knowing emerging from working in a global tourism company for 20 years. While travelling for work, I overnighted all over the world in high-quality hotels together with developing high-class customer encounters. Additionally, practicing yoga and engaging in a yoga community over the past 24 years also inherently affect my knowing of the world.

Ethical concerns. The ethical concerns are complicated in autoethnographic research. Autoethnography arises through personal knowing and through investigations of shared interactions and happenings with other people (Ellis, 2007). Writing an autoethnography encloses back and forth reflections between the vulnerable self and unveiling wider situated practices (Ellis, 2007). Writing my own story also implies writing someone else’s story. This arouses ethical questions of anonymity and reflection regarding how the others may be presented in the research as the autoethnography is written from the researcher’s position. The consent of the relevant others should always be considered. Further, as evocative autoethnography is intimate, personal and revealing, the ethical questions should be thought of also from the perspective of the vulnerable self. Still, there are no general, standard ethical guidelines that could be applied in autography (Dashper, 2016). Regardless of this, the author should explain how the ethical concerns are thought through (Dashper, 2016). In my research process, I have been following the Guidelines for the Responsible Conduct of Research of Finnish National Board on Research Integrity (TENK, 2023). I have followed their principles for research integrity to conduct research in a responsible manner. I have been open about my research topic and fieldwork during the yoga retreat holidays. I have orally informed the organising yoga studio, the other members of our yoga group as well as the hotel manager about my research. I am grateful to them for being so encouraging regarding my research

process. The topic generated interesting discussions, questions and reflections. Only the research phenomenon, luxury, received one negative notion as the word as such carries varied connotations that may not always be felt as positive against the virtues of yoga philosophy. I have explicated how I conduct autoethnographic research and what it implied in practice in terms of anonymity. In my research, I do not use any names and refer to our yoga group mostly as a whole. Those who know me may recognise the Finnish yoga studio and remember the location and name of the hotel. The organising yoga studio might remember some attending participants even though I refer to them in very general and anonymous terms such as “the other woman travelling solo” or “couples”. In regards of the hotel employees – although the focus of my study falls largely on the emerging practices within my body – the practices of various actors are entangled with a practice. I sincerely appreciate the common practicing and their valuable work. The voices of other actors could have been given more space though, it would have meant the research design to be different. I have been careful not to produce colonial narratives and I have escaped suppression. I wish to emphasise that the aim is not to evaluate the personal characteristics of employees, their skills, competences or professionalism on an individual level, even though these may be illustrated if they are related to the arising affectivities and rhythms. The main purpose in all vignettes in the following Chapter 5 is to illustrate the emergence of embodied luxury, to concentrate on practices that though, for the nuanced analysis, may be accessed through the knowing emerging within my corporeal body within varied sociomaterial practices.

Ethical considerations in autoethnographic research also involve the author herself. The strength of the autoethnography arises through the potentiality of the method to illuminate the attendance “to incomplete, interpersonal, embodied lived experience” (Gannon, 2006, p. 477). Conducting an autoethnographic study demands from the researcher to open up and expose herself in a manner that is not necessary required in other different types of research (Dashper, 2015). This makes the author vulnerable as the personal feelings, matters of concern and intimate dreams can be read by the audience of the academic text (Dashper, 2015). The vignettes that can be read in this dissertation illustrate my embodied life and knowing, and in that sense, I see them as quite intimate matters. They represent in many parts the unsaid, mundane, taken for granted, in other words, the ‘soft’ emotional things which affect my knowing of luxury in a powerful way (see Richardson & St. Pierre, 2018). In retrospect, I noticed how already showing the first drafts of the vignettes to my supervisors caused embarrassing affectivities in my body. I did not know how they as readers would react. I was pondering even though I knew they had conducted autoethnographic studies, too. Waves of relief flushed my body as the comments turned out to be supportive. My supervisors also inspired me to go on with my own messy illustrations from the very beginning, allowing me to play with my text that surely affected the outcome. Furthermore, the first drafts were written in my mother

tongue Finnish in which I am able to express the sensations in even more colourful manner. Evocative autoethnography entails the capacity to unveil the sensuous, subtle and ephemeral nature of knowing the phenomenon under investigation, and the attachment to particular matters (Bochner & Ellis, 2016; Dashper, 2016). This opens exciting possibilities to make visible the diversified embodied intensities emerging in practicing, thus challenging conventional ways of researching experiential or unconventional luxury through interviews or observations (see Richardson & St. Pierre, 2018). Rewriting the text in English was challenging and possibly some embodied intensities and nuances faded, though, at the same time my embarrassment faded away. It was not easy to select the most intensive encounters of luxury practicing from my wide, messy first draft. I struggled and carefully reflected what and how revealing passages of the text I would be able to carry (see Richardson & St. Pierre, 2018). To demonstrate the affecto-rhythmic nature of practices in the emergence of luxury within the sociomaterial practices necessitates unveiling their intimate and embodied nature, that also exposes the carrier of the practice - the vulnerable researcher.

As a researcher I had to make decision regarding what to focus on, how much to reveal and the ways to take intimacy into account. I also had to consider how feelings, thoughts and actions are revealed (Dashper, 2016). At the end, I feel that the vignettes reveal a great deal of my intimate practices. However, these are the parts I feel comfortable to balance with. I also keep in mind that autoethnography is a way to illustrate culture and not so much the person. I am quite happy with the momentary presentation of the ongoing agencements to serve the purposes of my thesis project. They are ongoingly in the state of becoming like I am, too, as a human. It is a matter of balancing between the vulnerable self and the opening of intimacy to form evocative vignettes that uncover the researcher as an exposed and incomplete human (Dashper, 2016). Significantly, the researcher's self-exposes also form one of the evaluation criteria set to autoethnography (see Richardson & St. Pierre, 2018).

However, I also realise that at this stage, towards the end of my PhD project, I have to prepare myself for publication and public comments that exceed the comments of my supervisors. After being published, the autoethnographic vignettes are open access material and thus open to public interpretations, comments and evaluation. This demands preparation of the author in terms of how to react to the public comments and inquiries in regard of the personal vignettes (Dashper, 2015). I am excited but also admittedly somewhat concerned about the arising comments in the academic world, but also in other social relations. Nonetheless, I can only admit that my dwelling and knowing of the world is exactly like illustrated in the sensuous vignettes of this thesis (see Richardson & St. Pierre, 2018). There are alternative ways of knowing the world (Thrift, 2008), although Richardson (2018) argues against this statement. Revealing ethnographies may in fact present a more desirable representation of the social as they are so easily escaping the academic

research practice (see Richardson & St. Pierre, 2018). The ‘hard material’ can also be soft, sensual, embodied as the “aesthetic merit” is an additional criteria for creative analytical research writing practice (see Richardson & St. Pierre, 2018).

I do also understand that human bodies and their capacities to sense differ from each other. It might not be easy or natural for all people to know the world through the senses or to sense the nuanced sensations emerging within the body (see Strati, 2007, 2008). This apparently excludes some people to sense the embodied forms of luxury illustrated in this thesis. Though, the embodied capacity to know may be evolved at least in some forms if there exists interest to practice over time. Today practicing yoga is a global phenomenon and yoga practice affords one possibility to learn about arising affectivities also at minimum costs. For instance, YouTube offers diverse yoga videos to follow and learn from; also, many yoga studios offer yoga classes at reduced prices to various customer groups, and occasionally even for free. Knowing the embodied sensations does not always demand staying in luxury hotel premises, flying to long-haul destinations or even dedicating much time to the activity. Already breathing or mindful mundane walking in the nearby park or forest may afford possibilities to know momentary sensations of luxury within one’s body. We may sense the quality of air and feel how the warm, humid wind slowly caresses our cheeks. Closing one’s eyes enables to shut out the dominant visual sense and may open possibilities to learn about the world with our other embodied senses. Against the thoughts presented above, I much see that knowing luxury as illustrated in this thesis is more related to the appreciation and capacity to enjoy the subtle, emerging embodied sensations and understanding them as luxury (see Dufour-Kowalska, 1996, p. 161, as cited in Strati, 2007). Accordingly, sensing the embodied forms of luxury might not be dependent on economic means, but rather conditions such as an open mind, presence and space for the knowing of the body to emerge. In sum, I hope I have been able to select, write and form the vignettes in a manner that touches and inspires the readers not only as an academic text but also as affording possibilities to learn how to know the world with varied inner body senses that might offer a form of accessible luxury to people interested in this approach.

However, it may be argued that attending the kind of yoga holiday illustrated in this thesis sets some socio-cultural-economic barriers, especially if the holiday includes a long-haul flight and accommodation takes place in a high-class hotel. It is a discussion related to the inclusion of those who might be included or excluded in engaging with the practices affording the type of luxury illustrated in this thesis, and second, on which condition engaging in these practices is possible (Scheyvens & Biddulph, 2018). Academics have critiqued tourism as an exclusive practice that is accessible to the global elite and exploits local people and culture (Scheyvens & Biddulph, 2018). Nevertheless, studying the brochures of the luxury hotel included in this thesis highlight the various ways their practices support the local culture. All the employees are local, and the hotel has its own organic garden which supplies

ingredients to the hotel's restaurants. Still, it has been claimed that international hotel chains are not very successful in attending to their socio-economic community development (McEwan et al., 2017). In the experiential industry, in addition to the community level, engaging inclusiveness should include actors of both consumption (guests) as well as production (operational level, management and governance) that go beyond the mainstream actors (Dashper & Finkel, 2020) so that "all groups and individuals can play an active and meaningful role" (Finkel & Dashper, 2020, p. 476). To successfully enhance inclusiveness demands recognition of less visible disabilities that might be related for instance to safety, financial position or personal circumstances (Dashper & Finkel, 2020). Inclusiveness in the experiential industry is a complex topic that requires long-term strategic engagement of all actors, and thus, remains for further studies to be investigated as the topic is regrettably beyond the scope of this thesis.

4.4 Processing within the embodied material and text

In the beginning of the process, all the research material, fieldwork notes and happenings were muddled in my head and body. Finding a way to proceed with the emerging knowing in the body and the research material was not easy. Apparently, there was no readymade path for my process, which I soon realised while working with my fieldwork material. Initially, I had particular practices in my mind and in my field notes which served as a starting point for my work. I set aside my laptop and started transcribing those happenings to organise some form to my knowing. However, writing created insecurities in me. I had narratives on the paper, but something was wrong. I felt that the narratives were partly written and constructing luxury 'from outside of me'; their soul was missing. These reflections set me out to a long journey within my research material and threw me into multidisciplinary theoretical discussions. I engaged in dwelling and elaborating the emerging affectivities within my body that I knew as luxury. I reflected the emerging affectivities and diverse sociomaterial practices against theoretical, multidisciplinary explorations to be able to demonstrate how the embodied knowing of luxury might emerge. I worked to interpret and be able to analyse the luxury as I know it as naturally dwelling within me.

As mentioned, I was struggling to engage and attune to luxury as I knew it by means of the traditional writing process and methodologies. Yet, it felt effortless to grasp the ephemeral, nuanced sensations in just sitting or standing aside my laptop and writing only through the mental processes. My body was restless. I had to find another way to be able to transfer my sensations on paper and to turn them into academic knowledge. At the end, I might have found the appropriate way to proceed partly by accident – non-intentionally at first. At some point, I remember being so

frustrated and broken with my research process, not finding the connection with my material and the words, that I retreated to my yoga mat aside my desk at home. I felt despondent and therefore settled on my mat on my back. I bent my knees towards my lower abdomen and let my body float in its own calming pace. I was just breathing to gather some strength to continue. Maybe I also cried a little bit. I do not know for a how long I stayed on the mat at that time, but I know that I was floating somewhere else, in another reality. No, I was not asleep. Sleeping during daytime is not easy for me as I have things to accomplish and work on. Anyway, something appeared to happen in my knowing as I was lulling in this half-awake state (see Valtonen et al., 2017). The encounters, practices I was working on suddenly became subtler. I was plunging within them and started to see some connections inbetween affectivities, luxury and theories! As I at some point was floating back into the external reality, my body felt somehow light. Words started to unfold on the paper I had aside me. My body was open, and the access enabled writing down the emerging affectivities and supported the cognitive process.

After this, the research and writing process became at least a little more reachable. Especially while writing and analysing the vignettes I found myself in a lying posture or in some yoga asana on my yoga mat at home and hoping to be able to produce vivid and evocative text. I emphasise hope as the writing practice taking place on my yoga mat proceeded in various ways which I could not foresee or force (see Richardson & St. Pierre, 2018). From the perspective of an external observer, it might have looked as if I was just 'lying down'. Such atypical research method caused me a bad conscious, though unnecessarily. I did have an intention, a purpose to perform while staying externally still as part of my research writing practice. With the research practice taking place on my yoga mat, I was turning inwards, reconnecting, attuning to my research material residing in my body. While having no methodological guidelines regarding how to go on, I started following my embodied intuition. Thus, as a result, I had developed my own embodied research and writing practice.

I travelled back to my yoga retreat through my body-memory to be able to recall the multifold nature of arousing affectivities of luxury for my writing process (see Valtonen & Haanpää, 2018). While settled on the yoga mat, I oriented in various ways in wearing woollen socks my mother had knitted to make sure that I had a warm feeling in my body. I made myself as comfortable as possible, sometimes under a warm blanket. I closed my eyes, took a few deep breaths, paused and attuned inwards to listen to my body. I felt the secret, physiological, hormonal, neural and breathing rhythms circulating (see Gärtner, 2013; Lefebvre, 2004) within my inner body space (Massumi, 2002), and how they were moving quite intensively without any conscious effort. It is actually noted how "standing in a place without moving" might unveil the forming of the phenomenon (Gherardi, 2019, p. 347). Releasing from rational thinking for a moment, afforded space for things to unravel in a natural way. I first travelled in my mind back to my yoga retreats, maybe to some

particular happening I had already been writing about. I refreshed the memory of imagining being there. I mean really being there, dwelling in the memory with my whole body, mind and soul. In the beginning, I had no pre-set formula regarding what to make notice of while then dwelling in my yoga retreat holiday practices. I let the things, actors and happenings organise themselves. This way I gradually found a way to illustrate the connection-in-action, agencements, within nuanced affects and rhythms in practices as they kept arousing in the knowing of my body while body-reflecting the memories. Though, the manifold, messy embodied knowing and multifaceted theoretical discussions made no promises of a smooth analysis process and knowledge forming.

One might easily consider lying on a yoga mat and reflecting as effortless research practice. I have to disagree at least in regard to attuning to know within the body. Sometimes it was easier than other times. In this hectic and disruptive world, it seems that ‘concentrating’ on ‘just being’ or concentrating on one thing (like remaining still as described here) is easier said than done for contemporary humans. To write of affectivities appeared to me as ‘moving’ somewhere else in space and time, in another reality and demanded a release of whatever was going on in my life (see Valtonen et al., 2017). Naturally, it is not always so easy to put the distracting hum of the ongoing world aside for thesis writing. I can easily recall several other actors in this research practice agencement that affected my writing process, such as the earlier night sleep, the time of the day, the argument I had in the morning with my daughter, things waiting to be done, library books that were overdue and the pressures of furthering my thesis, just to mention some. It may demand some skill to ‘let go’ of everything to attune to writing of embodied knowing. Just to be there with your pulsating, breathing body.

Sometimes I even played singing bowls, an ancient instrument for meditation, to allow the reconnecting to happen, or to intensify, get deeper within the embodied memories. I felt how the vibrations of the bowls caused my inner body liquids to vibrate and carried me into the subtle knowing of sensations felt in the yoga retreat holiday (see Gärtner, 2013). Miraculously, if I happened to play the bowls in the evening, my brain felt more refreshed in the following morning and I felt the creative flow in my researching and writing. After all, our brains are floating in brain fluid and they cannot resist the “laws of nature” (Massumi, 2002, p. 224). I wondered if this was the “surplus of effect” (Massumi, 2002, p. 224) because the rhythmic vibrations arrived to remove waste from my brain as I noticed the metabolism in general was more quick. It is probably needless to admit that not all writing sessions were like this, and I also applied more conventional writing practices. Still, the turning points as related to my thesis writing usually began to appear as I allowed myself to release from the conventional, rational writing efforts. The releasing half-awake, unconscious moments usually offered as much or even more fruitful capacity for my research process.

Apparently, I understand that I set myself in a vulnerable position in sharing these intimate ways of working. However, I hope that with this reflection I have been able to disclose the practices the way they really took place, how I was working with the empirical material and knowledge formation within my embodied research and writing practice. The emerging research practices were commonly fruitful in some parts of writing, like finding the right words, modes, nuances or poignance of text. Therefore, I was engaging with them throughout my research process and applied this peculiar embodied research practice also in working with other matters of research or life in general.

Along the process, I kept persistently reading Massumi's poetic articles which, in addition to Lefebvre's writings, appeared quite philosophical particularly in the beginning, though they were referred to in many articles and books my knowing was resonating with. Knowing "within-corporeality" of Valtonen et al. (2017), NRTs (Simpson, 2021; Thrift, 2008), Gärther's (2013) notion of 'knowing in flesh', and, finally, Valtonen and Haanpää's (2018) body-reflexivity in autoethnographic research process, supported me to validate the knowing within the ephemeral corporeality and enlarge my verbalisation of embodied practicing. Valtonen et al. (2017) coined knowing beyond the external practices taking place while the body is awake. NRTs offered practical corporeal examples and validated the affecting heterogeneous actors (like metabolism for instance) in the background of practices as 'serious' knowledge through which to rationale my knowing (Simpson, 2021; Thrift, 2008). Gärtner (2013), in turn, complemented with embodied knowing through detailed knowledge of neural and hormonal affects. Valtonen and Haanpää (2018) offered a particular embodied technique to generate rich material for theory-making and analysis and to form the research questions of my non-rational luxury phenomenon. Little by little, was I able to find the right pieces for my research puzzle and analysis. However, luxury literature turned out to be an exception as it was quite challenging to demonstrate my practices on the basis it provided. Even though arousing affective relationships have been recognised as focal in knowing luxury (Berthon et al., 2009; Chandon et al., 2017, 2019), they have not much been approached through the body (Zanette et al., 2022).

These major events supported me in seeing the empirical and at the same time theoretical emergence of luxury within the sociomaterial practices involving soothing, harmonising affects and rhythms. The emerging approach felt appropriate as it was not a static framework, but rather an agencement that allowed me to explore luxury within the situated, ongoing practices (Gherardi, 2016). Moreover, the ongoing agencement of sociomaterial practices allowed me to see how the knowing of luxury emerged as entangled with affects and rhythms and with heterogeneous human, nonhuman and natural actors. I began to see how the knowing of luxury is affected beyond the tourism practices, and being part of a wider communal, societal and natural agencements of practices. The multidisciplinary and philosophical

studies were eye-opening as I applied them in forming my own interpretation of luxury.

As noted before, the analysis process was messy and multifaceted. As the first draft of the vignettes and their analysis was in Finnish, I had to first translate the vignettes into English. The translation work demanded some reattuning to the vignettes. I worked carefully not to lose the affectivity I had demonstrated in the original versions written in my mother tongue. Choosing the English vocabulary and the forming of sentences was not always easy as English works through different rhythm and logic than Finnish, a trochaic language with the stress on the first syllable. The form of the text looks different in English, maybe not as poetic as the initial version. My translation work also influenced the way the analysis was written. I worked a great deal with a foreign language to accomplish aesthetic narratives which would arouse imaginative, nuanced affectivities, the similar effect that the happenings had on me. Although I feel that the English version does not flow like the original one, I am quite content with the affective accomplishment. Still, it remains to be seen how the vignettes will affect readers.

Yet, the original vignettes written in my mother tongue were the starting point to my approach in which multidisciplinary theories informed the analysis of this material. In the analysis, I applied body-reflexivity and body-memory (Valtonen & Haanpää). I was floating in time and space to dwell in the yoga retreat holiday practices illustrated in the vignettes. It demanded pausing, flowing between being still and moving the body, sensitivity for the silently arising knowing within my body. As stated earlier, I mostly listened to the answers arising in situ practicing or my body-memory. For most part, I did not use conventional co-generated material such as photos or videos. I feel that visual mediums easily turn the attention away from embodied knowing towards cognitive forms of knowing. Therefore, inbetween the time of my yearly yoga holidays I preferred 'just' to dive, be open and attune to the emerging inner sensations of my body. As discussed earlier, for me this implies the natural way of knowing the world. It was a back and forth movement between the knowing arising within my body and theoretical multidisciplinary texts. This way, being open and sensitive, I also found the practices and their messy relations with the inner body acting, through which I was able to trace the epistemic practices into a wider cultural, communal and societal level of affectivities. Significantly, it was not like coding the material. The rich material was too sensuously nuanced and varied in intensities for categorising or a machine-based analysis. Finally, I also came to find relations with luxury literature which were related to the recent notions of unconventional luxury (Thomsen et al., 2020).

During the analysis process, I refined and compiled the vignettes for this study. There are many practices, mundane and extraordinary, that I engaged year after year during my annual yoga retreat holiday. Each time they still aroused affectivities of luxury, such as sensing the warm humid air caressing my body or, alternatively, the

feeling of slow walking barefoot or having a spa treatment. Some of the vignettes have been formed based on the basis of my field notes, though, as many have been formed through the body-memory work as well (Valtonen & Haanpää, 2018). At some point, I systemically started to go through and reflect on the holiday practice as a process. I began from the very moment the idea of a yoga holiday appeared into my bodymind and proceeded dwelling, exploring and reflecting the arousing embodied knowing throughout the whole holiday practice. It felt like a good way to organise my knowing. Like said, I continued to the analysis of the practices taking place at home upon arrival. I also continued to my practices after the holiday, although I had to leave those reflections out of this thesis. The discussion would have expanded too much if added to the already extensive analysis chapter, although such entity would have complemented my practices.

During the process, some vignettes were searching for their place. The material was a puzzle, just as life is, messy and entangled with heterogeneous actors. Thus placing it into a framework felt challenging. Consequently, for the purposes of this thesis, I had to go with my embodied intuition, with the temporary forming that became in dwelling within them. For the momentary division, the vignettes unfold here as practice agencements. I have labelled them as follows: Orienting, Reconnecting, Adjusting, Guarding and Releasing. However, I wish to highlight that in many parts the agencements overlap and could have been formed, drafted and divided in another manner. To clarify the disposition, Chapter 5.1, Orienting practice agencement, focuses on my body-reflections and memories related to the very first yoga holiday in the year 2016. It complements the discussions in the very beginning of this thesis in showing how the “intellectual, passionate, ethical and aesthetic attachment” to knowing luxury develops and is practiced in unbounded and multi-sited practices (see Gherardi, 2009b, p. 538). This is followed by the practice agencements in Chapters 5.2–5.5, which are a collection of all the four yoga retreat holidays. They illustrate the “harmony, which results from a spontaneous ensemble” (Lefebvre, 2004, p. 8), the soothing affecto-rhythmic nature of practices which year after year harmonised my bodymind and which I interpret as knowing of luxury in this thesis.

4.5 The analysis agencement

In my analysis of the empirical material, I illustrate the emergence of embodied knowing of luxury within the agencement of situated, ongoing sociomaterial practices of a yoga retreat holiday. I empirically demonstrate the temporal entanglement of connecting affects and rhythms in practices, and the forming of appropriate affecto-rhythmic nature of practices that enables attuning to the smooth flow of practices that allows embodied luxury to emerge. In being engaged within the agencement

of sociomaterialities that are entangled with affects and rhythms, I am able to illustrate the aesthetic entanglements within the practice (see Gherardi, 2017a, 2019; Katila, Kuismin, et al., 2019; Valtonen et al., 2017). Engaging takes place within an open-ended process as the heterogeneous actors (human, nonhuman and natural) connect to each in action (Gherardi, 2016, p. 687). The ‘analysis within the various agencements’ allows me to demonstrate how the aesthetic judgements are made within the affecto-rhythmic practices and illustrate attuning into the flow of embodied luxury (see Gherardi, 2019; Katila, Kuismin, et al., 2019; Lefebvre, 2004; Massumi, 2002).

In my analysis, I engage in body-reflexivity (Valtonen & Haanpää, 2018). Reflecting the knowing of luxury within agencement of sociomaterial practices as a lived and living corporeal body, allows me the capacity to sense the varied affecto-rhythmic entanglements and sensorial states in which the embodied knowing of luxury emerges in within-corporeal and inter-corporeal practices of heterogeneous actors (see Katila, Kuismin, et al., 2019; Valtonen et al., 2017). With body-reflexivity I analysed the material emerging in my body (Valtonen & Haanpää, 2018). I analysed practices as a matter of attuning to the smooth flow of practices, sensing how I became attuned within tourism practices that allowed embodied knowing of luxury to emerge (see Gherardi, 2019; Katila, Kuismin, et al., 2019; Willems, 2018). The analysis unfolds as an evocative reflection within sociomaterial practices to demonstrate the varied emergences of knowing embodied luxury (see Gherardi, 2009b; Katila, Kuismin, et al., 2019; Valtonen & Haanpää, 2018). In sum, the illustrations in the form of vignettes enable me to unfold the negotiations, aesthetic judgements and demonstrate the forming of the object of practice as attachment to the harmonising nature of affecto-rhythmic practices.

The aesthetic taste-based judgements are illustrated as five practice agencements which were generating while I was practicing and dwelling on body-reflexivity within my material (Valtonen & Haanpää, 2018). I label them as follows: Orienting, Reconnecting, Adjusting, Guarding and Releasing practice agencements. The generating and naming of the practice agencements was a heuristic move which allowed me to show the temporal connecting of affecto-rhythmic practices to trace and illustrate the emergence of embodied luxury for the purposes of this study (see Gherardi, 2019; Katila, Kuismin, et al., 2019). They illuminate knowledgeable practicing in a more general sense in the various encounters of a yoga retreat holiday. Each agencement is further unfolding in the subchapters that I name ‘micro-agencements’. They invite readers to engage within the “micro-politics of everyday aesthetic judgements and [in relation]to know[ing] through the senses” (Strati, 2007, as cited in Gherardi, 2009b, p. 539–540). Micro-agencements in the form of empirical vignettes elaborate in detail how attuning into the embodied knowing of luxury unfolds within ‘appropriate’ nature of affecto-rhythmic practices and how attuning is accomplished together with heterogeneous actors.

The Orienting practice agencement illuminates the forming of appropriate affecto-rhythmic tourism practice as the tourist is dreaming and planning the coming holiday. The micro-agencements unfold how the entangling societal, natural and micro-level practices affect to the embodied knowing of luxury (see Gherardi, 2019). Accordingly, they show how the affective memories the body carries of past sociomaterial practices affect, how embodied memories evoke affectivities in present time, and further affect the coming practices (see Valtonen & Haanpää, 2018). Orienting practices are foundational as they demonstrate how the aesthetic taste and criteria of 'proper' affecto-rhythmic order is developing (Gherardi, 2009b). Furthermore, they also show how the attachment to the object of practice is forming.

In the Reconnecting practice agencement the embodied knowing of luxury unfurls in and through affectivities which arise within engaging familiar and safe practices. The micro-agencements illuminate how the familiar and safe practices allow for the capacity to attune to the private bubble and flow of practices that allow luxury to emerge at a more rapid pace. They show aesthetic judgements in the entanglements between 'within-corporeality' (Valtonen et al., 2017) and technological rhythms, and how service encounters attune to the knowing of luxury with their proper affecto-rhythmic nature. Further, reconnection into the smooth luxury flow takes shape in a particular sacred place emerging as jointly moving bodies form vibration of energy that traverses the body (see Lefebvre, 2004; Massumi, 2002).

The Adjusting practice agencement highlights the negotiations within sociomaterial practices. The micro-agencements demonstrate how the 'within-corporeality' knowing affects clothing practices. The agencements show how disharmony arises in the form of inappropriate sounds. Furthermore, they reveal how learning a new embodied skill unfolds new ways to know luxury.

The Guarding practice agencement demonstrates the knowing of luxury as chronobiological rhythms of the body - natural and linear time rhythms become connected. The micro-agencements shed light on how the knowing of luxury is entangled in appreciating and in carefully listening to the "secret rhythms" of the body (see e.g. Lefebvre, 2004), here as related to eating, sleeping and emerging dreaming practices. Finally, the agencements show how knowing of luxury unfolds within spatio-temporally moving private practices in sensory-release rather than in sensory attachment (Valtonen et al., 2017).

In the Releasing practice agencement, the aesthetic judgements of luxury arouse within diverse rhythmic and affective practices of touch (Gherardi, 2019; Strati, 2007). The micro-agencements illustrate how knowing luxury within affective touch is not limited to hands or sociomaterialities. The bodies touch and are touched, affect and are affected with their whole corporeal being (Massumi, 2002; Strati, 2007) and the energy body as well (Philo et al., 2015). The last vignette shows how attuning into the harmonious flow of embodied luxury is surprisingly emerging within the inventive practices with nature actors that let the emerged arrhythmia fade away.

As I aspire to assist the reader to sense the embodied luxury, the following Chapter 5 presents subtle and extensive vignettes to introduce the affectivities and rhythmic flow of knowing luxury within the situated, ongoing agencement of sociomaterial practices. I have chosen these vignettes as they poignantly illustrate the intensive affective entanglement of affects and rhythms within practices unfolding as embodied luxury. In the beginning of each subchapter, the reader is invited to engage with the empirical vignettes which illustrate the agencement of affecto-rhythmic practices and aesthetic taste-based judgements, each with a slightly different approach. These are followed by a theoretical reflection and analysis on the practices and the affecto-rhythmic entanglements within each micro-agencement in a detailed mode. Within micro-agencements, I empirically show and elaborate the emergence of embodied luxury within the sociomaterial practices entangled with appropriate affecto-rhythmic nature.

In conclusion, with the evocative vignettes, I invite the reader to corporeally imagine “ ‘being there’ ”, by which I mean bodily engaged within the practices of a yoga retreat holiday (see Gherardi, 2019, p. 134; Katila, Kuismin, et al., 2019). Applying “our own embodied knowledge, we can imagine and imaginatively sense what another body has heard or smelled” or felt (Gherardi, 2019, p. 133). Hence, I welcome the reader to pause and sensitise him/herself into the nuanced affective notions possibly arising in the body. I encourage the reader to engage into the flow of affective intensities. Even better, if possible, I suggest someone else with appropriate rhythmic voice to read the vignettes for you. This would make it possible for you to gently close your eyes and solely engage with the imaginative embodied practicing taking place within your own body.

5 The emergence of luxury within the situated yoga retreat practices

5.1 Orienting

5.1.1 Embedded in contemporary Western culture and Nordic nature

How did I originally decide to leave on a holiday alone, to practice yoga in luxury boutique hotel premises in Thailand and with a yoga studio that I was not familiar with? Why and how did this holiday become my yearly retreat holiday every January since 2016? A retreat holiday in which I found balance into my life.

I remember that in the year 2015 I was thinking over and carefully reflecting on what kind of a holiday I was longing for at that point. A calming environment and a balance between just being and pleasurable activities were materialised in my reflections. My conventional Western life, approaching middle age, was quite scheduled and busy: balancing between work, family, leisure time and friends. Too little rest and too many activities. The gasping feeling inside me adduced a need for a pause, to take time just for dreamy being instead of constant performing, to breathe in my own pace, to wonder about life, rest, restore and energise in some harmonious surroundings. I didn't long for anything special or for an extraordinary experience. I just longed for harmonious being in a sunny and warm climate with regular sleep and some similar restorative exercise I had in my everyday life.

The above vignette describes the sociomaterial setting and the knowing emerging in my body through which my journey for this study begins. Therefore, the vignette acts as a starting point to the taste-making and inventing luxury within sociomaterial practices. The vignette shows how the forming of the object of the practice is related to the embodied knowing of being-in-the-world, i.e., the hectic everyday life practices, and affectivities aroused by giving rhythm to my life within the flow of meritocratic society. The external, dominating rhythms of on-going life (Lefebvre, 2004) seem to allow too little time for restoration, the luxuries of one's own time (Yeoman & McMahon-Beattie, 2006; see von Wallpach et al., 2020), (inner) silence and sleep (Kauppinen-Räsänen et al., 2019; Valtonen & Veijola, 2011). The body has drifted into a discordant state, into an arrhythmia (Lefebvre, 2004). These – quite common premises in Western society – set out the forming process of luxury in the Orienting practices.

The vignette shows how the body's natural, internal rhythms are not in natural synchrony (Lefebvre, 2004; Rantala & Valtonen, 2014, p. 28). The regular, normative, hectic rhythms of Western life disrupt my body's biological rhythms between rest

and active time, causing a need just for being and breathing in my body's natural pace. In these circumstances, the knowledgeable body dreams of a sensory state in which it would be in balance, following its normal inborn state. This aligns with the thoughts of Sudbury-Riley et al. (2020, p. 453) recognising that normality can also be considered a luxury. Kreuzer et al. (2020, p. 488), in turn, find luxury in "embodied synchrony" in interpersonal relations. Indeed, luxury cannot merely be related to mundane objects and practices with them (Banister et al., 2020), but to the most mundane bodily practices such as harmonious being (Hemetsberger et al., 2012), as expressed in my vignette. A dream arises of being in a place where the body would be able to follow its natural chronobiological rhythm and not to perform any extraordinary activities (see Rantala & Valtonen, 2014). I am dreaming of enjoying the luxury of ordinary life experience that is illustrated as luxury in a study by Sudbury-Riley et al. (2020), though their study being related to palliative care.

The unrhythmic state of a body is also affected by the Nordic nature environment, which is constantly changing along the rotation and angle of Earth with respect to the Sun. During winter time, the Northern hemisphere is leaning away from the sun, granting only a minimal amount of sunlight and warmth into my normal living environment. The lack of natural light affects the functioning of my inner, biological body and paces it as my body naturally seeks to synchronise with the surrounding nature (see Lefebvre, 2004; Rantala & Valtonen, 2014), adapting to the dark and cold winter time of the year. In the field notes of my retreat holidays, I repeatedly find notions of the significance of the light and the warmth it provides, as expressed in the following vignette.

It has been many years since I have been on holiday in the sun. I miss peeling my body from the many layers of clothes to feel the warm air and breezes touching my skin.

December. During this phase of the year, I have already forgotten what the natural sun light looks like, how bright it can be, and how the warmth feels in my body. A shimmer of a light mercifully shows up only approximately five hours per a day in order to vanish at 3 p.m. in the afternoon. These daily hours of natural light I am spending indoors in artificial lighting. It feels like there is no day at all. I feel sleepy all the time even though I'm sleeping long nights from ten to eleven hours per night, sleeping half of the day. Fortunately, my annual yoga retreat holiday is approaching. Every year it is the light and warmth I notice to be waiting for the most.

The vignette exemplifies how the nature's seasonal rhythm – the sharp contrast between the amount of light and darkness, warmth and coldness – affects the embodied being in the world, dwelling (Edensor, 2007; Hemetsberger et al., 2012; Jensen et al., 2015; Jóhannesson & Lund, 2017; Rantala & Valtonen, 2014) and

knowing of luxury (see Hemetsberger et al., 2012). In the cold and dark winter season, I have to protect my body with many layers of clothing and spend a lot of time indoors. The skin – my largest sensory organ – breathes and produces knowledge of the outside world (Hauge, 2013) through layers of clothing (see Hemetsberger et al., 2012; Obrador-Pons, 2007) and under the control of artificial light (Bille & Sørensen, 2007). Indeed, the knowing of light, luminosity and warmth materialises as luxury within different affective states of being (see Rinne & Olsson, 2020; Saxena, 2018). In Hemetsberger et al.'s (2012) findings of luxury, the agency of the sun to consumers' clothing practices and aroused affectivities is discernible, though it is not explicitly pointed out. In accordance with unconventional luxury literature, Holmqvist et al. (2020, p. 510) forward how changing winter clothes to delicate salsa dresses affects the dancers' "ways of being" and creates a luxury moment of "different reality". Furthermore, Holmqvist et al. (2020, p. 486) make note of the sun as part of the nature as an "external force" contributing to the experience of luxury. Similarly here, the sun entails a force that affects the emergence of luxury.

Light as part of a weather-related phenomena also guides bodily practices (Rantala et al., 2011, p. 285; Rantala & Valtonen, 2014, p. 24) such as clothing and sleeping practices. The body has an innate capacity to "read" the light, know through light, and synchronise its functions according to the natural environment (Rantala et al., 2011, pp. 291, 295; Rantala & Valtonen, 2014). The affectivities of light and heat produced by artificial light is in many ways different from the knowing of natural light from the sun (see Massumi, 2002). Light illuminates, but I can feel the light and its quality, brightness, shadows, hue, nuances, colour and saturation (Ingold, 2000; see Saldanha, 2002). Light vibrates not only on the surface of the body, on the skin (Massumi, 2002), but also in the visceral body (Duffy & Waitt, 2013). It is possible to be affected by countless variations in the amount and quality of light. The sensations of warmth also vary (Kosonen et al., 2017). Indeed, the different affective sensations of light are deeply rooted in the seasons (see Edensor, 2012; Rinne & Olsson, 2020).

In the vignette, the described cultural and affective knowing makes me long for an environment where my body's own internal rhythm is supported by natural sunlight and I can feel its warmth on my nude skin. I am dreaming of a place where the daily variations of light and dark times are steady all year round, such as Thailand. In sum, along with my dreaming practices, my thoughts drifted into affective matters that afforded the luxury of "calmness" (Sudbury-Riley et al., 2020, p. 453), balance and energy into my life (Mora et al., 2018).

At that time, I had practiced yoga more or less regularly for 16 years. I had become familiar with various kinds of yoga practice, different teachers and yoga studios. After my weekly yoga classes, I always felt inner peace, harmony, stability and good energy within my body in the yoga studio's pampering ambiance. Yoga, my happy place... The long

asanas of a yin yoga smoothened my mind and body and, on the other hand, ashtanga yoga practice with ujjayi breathing brought me a meditative flow of energy and concentration. Indeed, life was better in yoga pants. Could a yoga holiday be one option... but would it mean travelling without my family and would that be ok for my family... would I have the courage for a solo trip?

As illustrated above, the everyday hectic rhythm, worries and stress appear to be left out in the yoga studios' sociomaterial practices that produce "intellectual pleasure" (Gherardi, 2009b, p. 538). Instead, luxury unleashes in the dwelling of a yoga studio's gentle, "healing and renewal" practices that afford "nourishment of body, mind and soul" (Mora et al., 2018, p. 180). In addition to knowing emerging within the physiological embodiment (Gärtner, 2013; see Gherardi, 2019) of yoga practice and conscious breathing, the diverse actors and calming practices like dim lighting (Kauppinen-Räsänen, Cristini, et al., 2019), warm-hearted chattering (Philo et al., 2015), care and hugs (Banister et al., 2020), herbal tea and tiptoeing in woollen socks intensify a genuine connection to myself, other yogis and something bigger at the same time (see Matteucci, 2014). Life seems to feel 'better' within the pampering practices of this "*affective culture[s]*" (original italics and in plural) (Reckwitz, 2012, p. 253; Gherardi, 2019) in which the affective "objects of emotions" circulate inbetween and connect actors together (Ahmed, 2004b, p. 11). The practice of "Yoga, my happy place" extends beyond the physical yoga practice and unfolds within varied affective sociomaterial practices. The arousing affectivities are forms of attachment that are supported and accomplished among this particular community based on particular taste (Gherardi, 2009b). A dream arises of similar affectivities of bodymindsoul harmony that would take place in holiday practices which illustrate the unfolding attachment to the affective practices of this particular community. The knowing of luxury emerges not only as the silence of inner state of mind (Kauppinen-Räsänen et al., 2019; see also Dubois et al., 2001), but also as the inner state of a body as well.

However, social practices such as holiday plans do not take place in isolation. It is a common practice that Western families plan and spend their holidays together as the paid labour takes most of their time in quotidien life. The holiday destination and its activities are decided together and quite often as a result of a compromise. In other words, the practice of holiday making is attached to the social rules and norms of the surrounding society and culture alongside my search for a particular affective state through the bodily activity of yoga. Therefore, I felt hesitant. According to Schatzki (2002), cultural rules are related to certain activities and they are clearly formulated, while norms are generally accepted practices, based on tacit knowledge, and can thus be applied more widely. It happens that an individual family member's personal holiday wishes cannot be fulfilled, at least not completely.

5.1.2 A woman travelling solo and fellow tourists

Despite my insecurities of leaving for a solo trip, I started to google for yoga holidays. I found that in many cases yoga classes were offered in resort-type high-end hotels among other activities like tennis, bowling, ping-pong, minigolf and water aerobics targeting the whole family and masses. The pictures in the advertisements introduced special premises for children, water slides, and a pool for toddlers. How restless ambiance would these fellow dwelling tourists with various activities induce in the hotel premises... As I was considering the calmness of the premises, I also turned to my yoga teachers and friends to hear about their experiences and recommendations of various (yoga) holidays they had attended.

The vignette reveals how the diversified performing of various guests with multiple activities in the same environment arouse particular “nervous energies” within my body (Wilson, 2011, p. 644; see Small & Harris, 2014). In fact, von Wallpach et al.’s (2020, p. 496) study relates luxury moments to various kinds of freedom from, where the freedom from “having people or noisy children around” can be recognised as luxury, as suggested in the vignette above (see Harkison et al., 2019). The affectivities of different spaces emerge as bodies interact with the particular material environment, such as architecture, interior design, and artefacts (Krafl & Adey, 2008; see Rinne & Olsson, 2020; Wetherell, 2012) as well as through various practices, movement and sensations (Duff, 2010) of social environment. Mobile bodies in the same space affect and are affected by a variety of affectivities (Simpson, 2021), including kinaesthetic knowing through various bodily gestures, ways of moving and bodily choreographies (Haanpää, 2017, p. 80; Valtonen et al., 2010). Evidently, the trajectories and fast tempo of the physical performances of families with children did not synchronise with my understanding of a peaceful holiday environment (see Valtonen & Veijola, 2011; see Waitt & Duffy, 2010). After all, I was not looking for a family trip. Neither was I planning to travel with my partner. That is why I also readily skipped resorts aimed at couples, even though these hotels were usually of a high standard. Among snuggling couples I might be feeling a bit lost, even if the solo trip was my own choice.

Upon glancing at the webpages, the aroused affectivities told me that I would not be able to attain the luxury of silence in the illustrated premises (Kauppinen-Räsänen, Cristini, et al., 2019) to calm my body. Duff (2010) notes that the affective aspect is more profound than the experiential element. Therefore, I also asked for recommendations from my own community in order to ensure that the affecto-rhythmic nature of the holiday practices would resonate with the affective attuning I was searching for (Katila, Kuusmin, et al., 2019).

I also reflected on how a woman travelling solo would “fit” into the particular social environments. Would I receive compassionate gazes from fellow tourists while moving alone? Would I, therefore, be compelled to eat mainly in-room? Eating alone in the

breakfast room would still be feasible, but how about dinners? As a woman travelling solo, should I consider my clothing more carefully, maybe to have some more covering dresses. Phew...

The holiday offerings by private yoga studios felt somehow more welcoming, warmer and more merciful towards a woman travelling alone. Additionally, I would have like-minded people around me, maybe also other women travelling solo. That is, a cosy companion would be available if I would need it – a nice balance between solitude and being together.

The vignette links my discussion on affective knowing to the sociomaterial and cultural practices in hotel environments. Even if solo travelling would be my conscious choice, gazes – directed for one reason or another – can cause uncomfortable affectivities. The vignette, thus, demonstrates an opposite view recognised in luxury literature where mainly having the pleasure to be *under* the gaze of others is discussed especially in relation to external beauty or an aesthetic experience (e.g. Holmqvist et al., 2020). However, here findings by von Wallpach et al.'s (2020) make an exception in also linking luxury moments to freedom from other people's gazes. Bissell (2008) continues discussing bodily comfort as part of a multifaceted bodily sensitivity and how embodied comfort can be realised in many different heterogeneous ways in the intra-action of bodies like also illustrated in the vignette. In fact, (Valtonen, 2012) discusses in her study how bodies socialise with each other in many ways, like via different gazes. That is, tourists do not just look at the sights (Urry, 1990) or focus only on their own performances. Fellow tourists and their bodies, too, are subject to curious, secret glances. These gazes may be direct or secretive, more questioning or blinking from the fellow tourists or staff (see Valtonen, 2012). A fellow body's gaze is touching (Valtonen, 2012). The affectivities arise from the performances and (micro) gestures of fellow bodied. The staff or other people in the same space may show, for example, either acceptance or disapproval of a tourist's habitus or practices of clothing through their behaviour, gestures, register of speech, prosody or other embodied communication (Coen et al., 2021, p. 544; Edensor, 2001). Again, bodies affect and are affected by other bodies in diverse manners (Massumi, 2002). In regards of the clothing practices, I will concentrate on them later in Chapter 5.3.1 as these negotiations continue.

As the vignette illustrates, in my affective knowing yoga holidays provided by yoga studios seemed to offer a more "acceptable" social environment and practices for a woman travelling solo. They provided diverse kinds of embodied comfort in the practice of social acceptance, warmth, and respecting personal privacy. In such social environments, it would be possible to find a balance between solitude and togetherness, to enjoy also the luxury of being alone (Hemetsberger et al., 2012) without the need to carry possibly pitiful glances. However, there was a variation of holidays provided by yoga studios as well:

One possibility was to have a round trip in Bali with a joyful yoga teacher I was familiar with... How tempting, and there would surely be a lot of merriment and laughter, but still the nature of a round trip involving several departures and arrivals to new hotel premises and environments as well as constant unpacking and repacking would disperse the feeling of a calming holiday.

The nature of a round trip with ever-changing sociomaterial environments, practices, and reorganisation of bodies is very different in its rhythmic and affective quality as compared to a yoga holiday taking place in one single physical location (Edensor & Holloway, 2008). Having a tour around Bali would require my body not only to familiarise with one new environment as well as its practices, but to be active and orientated towards the changing practices of diverse sociomaterial environments, new bodies and rhythms; unpacking and repacking. Surely, the round trip would not meet my need to pause and enjoy a peaceful environment even if the social environment would, on the other hand, offer a joyful time, which Hemetsberger et al., (2012) consider as luxury. Nevertheless, also the meditative state – which I was longing for – is related to luxury as well (Hemetsberger et al., 2012). Rather, a yoga holiday with the luxury of routine practices supporting a meditative state and stillness, a still external and inner body (see Rantala & Valtonen, 2014) would support my physical, mental and spiritual well-being (Domingues, 2018; Kelly, 2010; Mora et al., 2018). Even my tired body would be able to rejuvenate on a holiday where my body's own rhythms would synchronise with the sociomaterial polyrhythms of the environment into a harmony, and produce a homeostatic state; in a healthy body rhythms follow their normal, innate rhythms (Lefebvre, 2004, p. 16). In sum, the main goal for this holiday would be to harmonise myself, as a whole, including my inner body.

5.1.3 Founded on one's own pace, single room and luxury hotel premises

After weeks of googling and consulting my yoga friends, I noticed an Internet advertisement that made my heart beat faster. It was an advertisement of a yoga holiday arranged by a Finnish yoga studio in January, in the middle of the Finnish winter - just like I was dreaming of:

Come along on a yoga holiday in Thailand. You are starting the day with energising and dynamic Flow yoga and ending the day with relaxing Yin yoga practice. During the day, there is a possibility of asana-clinic practices and relaxing massage. You can attend the yoga classes as often as you wish. Whether you wish to enjoy the sea, walking on the beach, good food, sunbathing, strengthening yoga practice, or relaxing massage, on this yoga holiday you are free to do anything as much or as little as you wish. – The advertisement of a Finnish yoga studio, 2015

Beneath the intro text there was a piece of information about the holiday taking place in a hotel belonging to Small Luxury Hotels chain. I felt waves of excitement going up and down inside my body. I stared at the advertisement and noticed how a warm and steady sensation filled my bodymind: This is it. On the basis of my professional background of developing high quality customer experiences as well as decades of overnighing in high quality hotels all over the world, I didn't want to have any insecurities or disappointments in regards of accommodation or hotel experience during my fairly short holiday break. I was willing to pay for a premium, high quality and trustworthy hotel experience. I read further.

Designed with relaxation in mind amidst the gentle waters of the Gulf of Thailand. The beautiful beach getaway offers just the right blend of relaxation and revitalisation, with stunning tropical surroundings and a choice of tantalising indulgences. While complete tranquillity comes first and foremost, there are also plenty of invigorating activities to intrigue the mind, awaken the body, and satisfy the soul. –An extract from a luxury hotel website

But would a single room be available?

The holiday advertisement material above afforded radiating affective knowing that engaged me through “visceral sensibility” (Carter, 2019; Chronis, 2015; Gherardi, 2019; Hauteserre, 2015, p. 83; Small & Harris, 2014). The illustrated pre-reflexive affects that take place in my inner body space told my conscious mind (Massumi, 2016; Simpson, 2021; Thrift, 2004) that this was something my body needed in working towards equilibrium (Yakhlef, 2010). Moreover, the arousing corporeal affectivities were not only related to the yoga practice, rather, it was the sociomaterial practices of the holiday as a whole. The depicted practices exude lenient, calming rhythms, freedom from external, dominating rhythms (see Lefebvre, 2004; cf. Mora et al., 2018) and the urge to follow one's private practices performed in one's own personal pace. The embodied knowing of luxury is unleashed in the ownership on my own movement, on the self-generated moving of my body (Lefebvre, 2004) in the trustful premises at Small Luxury Hotels (henceforth SLH). At the end of the vignette, I am wondering if a single room is available as I consider a private room to be one of the most fundamental elements for my restoration. That is, accommodating in a single room affords luxury by allowing me to follow my own rhythm and sensuous practices that form embodied privacy and peacefulness (Krafl & Adey, 2008), and are related to the moving and being bodies.

Firstly, the knowing emerging in my body guided to be freed from the dominating rhythms of my programmed Western life during my holiday (Lefebvre, 2004). Furthermore, this affective need of a body (Yakhlef, 2010) entailed the holiday practice and time to be free from “pressures, schedules, deadlines, stress, from cultural

and social constraints, from routines, banal chores, offices, economic restrictions, and sources of authority”, luxury perceived as a scarcity of the conditions mentioned above (Llamas, 2015; von Wallpach et al., 2020). It seemed that thanks to the practices of the depicted holiday, it would be possible for me to keep my body and its rhythms, habits and routines as their starting point, and not to force my body to follow external practices ordered by the hotel or any other actor involved (see Lefebvre, 2004; see Yakhlef, 2010). I had the idea that it would be socially acceptable to attend or not attend any offered social practices during the holiday. It would also be possible to choose to be still, to enjoy the luxury of affective being, as highlighted by Rantala and Valtonen (2014) as the sensuous being of a body. As the body is in constant movement, in an ongoing state of becoming, it feels challenging to “plan” or know the next day’s sensory state of being beforehand (see Saxena, 2018). Especially, in the case of long-haul trips, it is difficult to anticipate when the body might be recovered from jet-lag and alert enough to attend yoga classes or other holiday activities (see Valtonen et al., 2017). Therefore, being able to adjust the ongoing holiday practices to align with the inconstant knowing arising through the body is related to the emergence of luxury.

Second, the luxury hotel’s sociomaterial practices – which I was used to – afforded me affective trust on the functional quality of a holiday: silent rooms with an excellent sleeping environment, attentive service and safety (see Iloranta, 2019). Naturally, a well-rested body is able to be present and conscious with every part of the body, mind and soul, thus representing luxury to me as described in the illustration of the hotel. Although tourists may associate luxury with a destination or hotel as such, von Wallpach et al. (2020, p. 499) also found that luxury itself unfurls in the feeling of being alive. Thus, I felt it would be pointless for me to depart for a holiday without meeting these foundational prerequisites. Thus, I was willing to pay premium for obtaining the affective trust. To have value for money is a concern shared also among luxury consumers.

There are affective, sensible differences between the practices of a traditional luxury hotel and a hotel belonging to the SLH chain. Through the embodied knowing accumulated in my body of my earlier experiences, overnighting in global high-class hotels, I have learned that the sociomaterial practice of SLH is less formal than the one in traditional luxury hotels (see Valtonen & Haanpää, 2018). The premises of SLH are smaller, the ambiance is cosier and warmer, and the diffusing affectivities are more human and homely (Chapman, 2001; Kraftl & Adey, 2008; Kreuzer et al., 2020). This affective knowing resonates with Kreuzer et al. (2020, p. 483) citing Sherman (2007) according to whom caring human interaction is a “crucial element of distinction” in the creations of luxury moments within the practices of healthcare consumers. In a way I felt synchrony with SLHs sociomaterial practices as their premises aroused the affectivities of trust and complete relaxation in a calming nature environment through various sensory states of a moving, being

and spiritual body (see Kreuzer et al., 2020). Further, the more relaxed affective atmosphere (see Gherardi, 2017b) of SLH enabled being more at ease (see Cruz & Buchanan-Oliver, 2020, p. 1331; Kraftl & Adey, 2008). The illustrated affectivities of cosiness and homely are disclosed in the sociomaterial practices within which the luxury of a homely atmosphere emerges, that also Kreuzer et al. (2020) and Sudbury-Riley et al. (2020) relate to luxury. Homeliness is performed through diverse embodied performances, such as gaze, gestures, distances between the bodies and in encounters in tourism spaces (Edensor, 2007). For instance, I did not want my 'liberated' holiday body with no make-up to not be 'accepted' for its external natural habitus within the normative clothing practices of the hotel and other guests (see Gherardi, 2009b; Reddy-Best & Olson, 2020; Small, 2016), since within a holiday practice it is actually the 'natural look' without make-up that affords luxury. Thus, homeliness can also be understood as an embodied knowing of "being home *in the body*" (Cruz & Buchanan-Oliver, 2020, p. 1331; Thompson & Tambyah, 1999, p. 228) in one's living and sensing body. I will continue discussing "being home *in the body*" further in Chapter 5.3.1, Adjusting, in relation to clothing practices.

At the end of the vignette I am wondering whether there are single rooms available as I consider a private room to be one of the most foundational elements for my restoration. Obviously a single room as such provides the luxury of privacy in the meaning of excluding those who are not in the same party (cf. Bauer et al., 2011; Iloranta, 2019) and based on its up-graded price traditionally defined as luxury. However, in my affective knowing, the luxury of a single room receives diverse intensities, as sharing a room requires many kinds of bodily adaptations, compromises as well as synchronisation with another body. Apparently, accommodating and sleeping in the same room or apartment is an intimate practice of being together (Valtonen & Närvänen, 2015; Valtonen & Veijola, 2011) in which the bodies affect and are affected by each other (Massumi, 2002). Living in the same hotel room includes a variety of bodily practices, of which some are quite intimate like sleeping practices, (un)dressing, in-room eating and washing practices. In a shared room, the different bodily movements create polyrhythms that do not necessary synchronise with each other (see Lefebvre, 2004), like different sleeping rhythms, for example. This kind of situation might prevent relaxation, depending on if you were to share the room with a family member or, alternatively, with an unknown person. Already, the mere presence of another person in the same space affects the other person (see Valtonen & Närvänen, 2016). Particularly for introverts, embodied privacy, i.e. the luxury of being alone and freedom from other people appear important for the restoration and for balancing the bodymind. I felt that sharing an apartment would prevent my affective flow and 'access to my own bubble'. I affectively felt more confident (see Colls, 2012) to choose an environment where sleeping well and recovery would likely to be more easily accomplished. Nevertheless, I was not alone in requesting the luxury of a single room. I learnt that the other women travelling

solo had the same request. Some years later, I noticed that the yoga studio had added a note of the possibility to have a single room in their advertisement. Apparently, there were others like us.

5.2 Reconnecting

5.2.1 “My summer cottage” – Regular single room with a sheltered terrace

I always request a particular rooftop room upon making my reservation – for me a hotel room is much more than just a hotel room for overnighiting or changing clothes. Already upon making the reservation for my first yoga holiday, I knew that in this holiday I would spend a lot of time in my room as well – to restore myself, enjoy the peace and staying in the harmonious premises, maybe reading a book laying on the terrace sunbed.

Most of the other yoga group members are mostly accommodated in double room apartments approximately 200 metres from here. Despite being apart from the others, I feel safe in my regular room as my regular room is located quite near the reception. I prefer my regular room for many other reasons as well.

As indicated by the title of the vignette, I started to joke that this retreat holiday with my regular room had turned into my summer cottage. I arrive every year at the same time at the cherished familiar location to calm down from the restraints of Western life. Just like Finns do when withdrawing to their private summer cottages at the beginning of summer to be reawakened. Thus, the vignette makes visible how embodied knowing of luxury emerges within the familiar practices (Chronis, 2015; Rantala & Valtonen, 2014; Waitt & Duffy, 2010). The attachment to the “home-like”, intimate practices (see Saxena, 2018, p. 106) and affectivities of safety (Colls, 2012; see Gherardi, 2019) allow faster engagement in a “‘cocoon-like’ affective space”, (Saxena, 2018, p. 106) in the “realisation of the peace” (see Sudbury-Riley et al., 2019, p. 453).

In visiting the same location, I know the general practices pertaining in the social and material environment of the hotel, its surroundings, yoga and especially how to synchronise my private practices and rhythms to the external ones (see Lefebvre, 2004). I know the various spaces of the hotel; I am familiar with the general “rules” and the code of conduct in this hotel’s practices as well as the appropriate ways of behaviour and clothing, so that I also feel comfortable in my body (see Bissell, 2008; Kreuzer et al., 2020), and, finally, how a woman moving alone around the hotel premises is encountered by the personnel. Knowing the familiar environment and its sociomaterial practices is a way of ordering, holding practices together ‘in the correct way’ (Gherardi, 2019, p. 157) that supports attuning to the flow of luxury. It is related, for instance, to Sudbury-Riley et al. (2020, p. 453), who find that within the familiar community practices hospice patients conceived the return of “a sense of

agency” as luxury. Accordingly, in visiting the familiar premises, there is no need to disperse the energy on connecting to totally new surroundings and its sociomaterial practices. The smooth, familiar reconnecting affords the capacity to engage into my flow right from the beginning of my week-long holiday (Chaplin, 2002, p. 218). The affective knowing of familiarity and safety reduces the stress aroused in a new tourism practices (see Saxena, 2018). Indeed, in accordance with Edensor & Holloway’s (2008, p. 488): “ordering familiar and homely rhythms” induces “dwelling that shapes the ways in which places are encountered and perceived”. For me – a woman travelling alone – this kind of affective knowing within familiar practices provides physical safety, which is the prerequisite for opening the path to luxury. I am not travelling there to experience a new hotel or to do sightseeing (see Urry, 1990), but to dwell in embodied harmony.

The second part of the vignette exemplifies how the luxury of a single room arises through the affectivities of safety. However, I have to admit that upon booking my first yoga holiday, I was thinking whether the other members of the group would consider me strange as I was accommodating in a single room located away from the others. Therefore, as mentioned in the Orienting chapter, at the time being I felt somehow relieved to hear that the other women travelling solo had also requested a single room. Thus, I would not stand out so much from our group with my special requests (see Haanpää, 2017, p. 88). As there were two of us, I felt it was more socially acceptable to be accommodated in a single room. Nevertheless, later it was discovered that our rooms were close to each other. Still, we respected each other’s privacy during the entire duration of the holiday. I was able to maintain my “own free space” as discussed in the Orienting chapter 5.1.3. Nonetheless, as that was my first yoga holiday in the premises, having another group member accommodating next door provided me with the affectivities of safety through social affinity. Along the yearly visits in becoming familiar with the place and its practices served the same purpose in the provision on safety. This kind of physical and mental feeling of safety arises from repetitive activities and becoming familiar with the situated practices (see Frykman, 2020, p. 155) and, thus, they are meaningful in my embodied knowing of luxury as a woman travelling alone.

The following vignette continues to unfold the ‘other reasons’ affecting the emergence of embodied luxury within intimate, familiar practices. It continues the debates on how the bodily comfort (Bissell, 2008), my cocoon, is supported by the particular architecture of the terrace.

The windows of my room and terrace open to the East, to the dawn. The terrace is large and sheltered enough, about 15 square metres. I guess this is the largest terrace and maybe the most private terrace of the hotel as it is located “in the hug of the building” in the L-corner. All rooms are slightly different in their shape, and their terraces are not next to each other. It is impossible to glimpse into the neighbour’s terrace.

The vignette above unveils the embodied knowing of luxury, how it arises through the particular architectural form of the material terrace (Krafft & Adey, 2008) and, more importantly, through its opening facing a particular compass point (see Reckwitz, 2012; Rickly-Boyd & Metro-Roland, 2010). Seeing and feeling the dawn, the first tender sunbeams of the day and awaking at the same pace with the sun allow the gentle rousing for the body after the night. It urges the body to follow the cosmic time together with the sun (Rantala & Valtonen, 2014). The sheltered terrace with a ‘proper’ compass point affords a resource to follow the natural chronobiological rhythm of the body (Lefebvre, 2004). The reconnection to the knowing of luxury occurs through affectivities of being able to awake and live together with the cosmic rhythm of life ordered by the sun and not through the dominant linear time followed in my everyday life (see Lefebvre, 2004; Rantala & Valtonen, 2014). These thoughts may be seen to specify the assumptions made by von Wallpach et al. (2020, p. 499) of luxury unfurling as consumers “feel reconnected with the nature” (see also Bauer et al., 2011). Further, earlier luxury literature acknowledges that a particular hotel room view creates a touch of luxury for customers (Harkison et al., 2017) and the vignette above allows one to understand the statement in the light of embodied practicing.

Secondly, the material form of the terrace facilitates the reconnection through its sheltering nature which allows having the luxury of being free from the gaze of others (see Valtonen & Veijola, 2011; see von Wallpach et al., 2020). The vignette illustrates the emergence of knowing within embodied privacy practices. This way the luxury of embodied privacy afforded by the single room (as discussed in the first vignette in this subchapter) entails also the sheltering form of the terrace. Deviating from traditional views, it is not only the size of the terrace or a sea view that makes the room luxurious, but it is also the sheltering material form that affects the private embodied practices, thus contributing to the reconnection to luxury. As my intimate practices of the sheltering terrace are an integral part of my knowing of luxury, with the following vignette I will unfold their rhythmic and affective nature in further depth.

After the morning yoga and swim, I return to my room. It's almost half past nine in the morning. The sun is already shining, burning hot. Fortunately, my regular room's terrace is located half in the sun and half in the shade. This enables me to enjoy the in-room breakfast in the shadow but still cherishing the outdoor warm climate I have been longing for.

After the shower, I choose to wear only a very light, airy dress that covers me from the sun. It feels liberating as there is no need to blanket my skin with any sticky sun screen or make-up. The private terrace allows me to enjoy the warm and humid climate in the shade.

I still have time to pause, to enjoy this miraculous moment before breakfast arrives

as planned. I make myself comfortable on the terrace sunbed and sigh. I enjoy the warm humid gentle breezes of air caressing my body, touching my nude purified skin under the airy dress and feeling the wind blowing my damp hair.

No one can see me on my sheltered terrace – in my own bubble. So calm... Birds are singing, butterflies are fluttering around me, and the sea is roaming in its regular manner which I am already used to. It is very common that I am dwelling in these feelings until afternoon with my lazy breakfast while enjoying a lot of coffee. I change my sitting and lying position, rearrange the terrace furniture according to the movement of the sun so that I can enjoy the warmth in the shade.

The vignette illustrates my routine-type morning practices that are affected and entangled with the particular architecture in the form of a sheltered terrace (Gherardi, 2017c; Kraftl & Adey, 2008). It demonstrates how the body is reconnecting into luxury within practices that are related to the 'proper' rhythm, surrounding material and natural elements as well as the effect of clothing (see Kuuru & Närvänen, 2020) and the weather (see Rantala et al., 2011). The entanglement of these resources enables the appropriate way of dwelling on the terrace which allows the knowing of luxury to emerge.

Similarly to the earlier vignette, this one highlights the material, architectural form of the terrace contributing to the reconnection with the knowing of luxury within the affective practices. However, here the focus is not on the compass point as such as suggested by the material form of the terrace affording a sufficient amount of sun shine, shade and shelter, but also on the possibility to be touched by the wind in a pleasant manner (see Ingold, 2007). As only one flank of the terrace wall is fully open and the other flank half open, the speedy breezes of wind (typical to the area) do not strike my body and make me disorderly with their constant fluttery movement. Instead, the terrace architecture has the power to tame the rhythm of the breezes to suit my sensitive morning body and mood (see Saldanha, 2002). This allows for more engaging socialising with the nature and weather as my Nordic body prioritises spending time outdoors, to be touched by the warm and humid air (Ingold, 2007; Jensen et al., 2015; Kolehmainen & Kinnunen, 2020, p. 102; Obrador Pons, 2007; Rantala et al., 2011) and breath the invigorating air (Low & Hsu, 2007). Occasionally, I retreat to cool my heated body in the air-conditioned space of the room, then returning back to the gentle air of the terrace. Thus, the vignette forwards my embodied practices with the diverse terrace furniture which can easily be rearranged away from the moving sun to the shadow, and they also provide diverse ways to sit or lay on them (see Bissell, 2008). Notably, the emergence of luxury may take place in practices related to the mundane objects and furniture such as chairs (Banister et al., 2020).

Further, having in-room breakfast affords my body the luxury of just enjoying being in its most natural state. I am not compelled to follow the normative clothing

practices of a breakfast room in terms of my external habitus. Again, the body is freed from sociomaterial constraints (Llamas, 2015). On my sheltered terrace, there is no need to apply any make-up on my face or cover my skin with any sticky sun screen. I prefer being without any sun screen so that the nude and pure skin is able to breath in direct connection with the warm and humid air. Socialising with the sun, wind, warm and humid air (Ingold, 2007, p. S19) without any sun screens produces a different kind of embodied knowing of luxury. This being an example of how the most natural state of the purified showered body, and getting dressed in a particular form of an airy dress became elevated as luxury. This entangled connecting between the purified skin, the dress and the natural environment aligns with the notions of luxury in Hemetsberger et al., (2012), as the vignette above furthers the earlier discussion in unveiling their affective emergence that is displayed in diverse forms in the vignette.

The end of the vignette exemplifies the embodied knowing of luxury within the agencement in which embodied privacy, mingling with the natural environment (Ingold, 2007) and having in-room breakfast become connected. Significantly, having the in-room breakfast frees my body from the linear time of having breakfast ordered by the breakfast room serving time. The dominant external rhythms would disrupt my harmonious rhythm arising from my own practices and rhythms (Lefebvre, 2004). If I had the breakfast at the hotel breakfast room, it would mean following the linear time of the breakfast service.

It is getting dark when I return from evening yoga. Terrace lights glimmer and welcome me back. The housekeeper is just leaving my room and completing the turn-around service. In my room, I am wrapped with soft lighting. The curtains are drawn and a lemongrass aroma oil candle glows steadily. Slippers are set aside the bed, water bottles refilled and my jewels arranged nicely on the bedside table. Peaceful evening atmosphere... I feel secured.

The above illustrated how turndown service is a common practice in luxury hotels. Traditionally thinking, in turndown service luxury arises from the functional practice of preparing the room into a multisensory space with various clues (e.g. see Iloranta, 2019), such as dim lighting or aromas to guide the guest towards the evening ambiance and a good night's sleep. However, in my affective knowing – as a woman travelling alone – the importance of lighting practice provides another element of cosiness (Bille, 2015), but even more so, of safety. The set lighting affects my bodily comfort (see Bissell, 2008) and affords continuation of the embodied flow of luxury from the evening yoga into my in-room evening practices.

In my earlier discussions, I already considered the agency of natural light to my embodied practices concerning dressing, for example. In this vignette, the attention turns to the service practices around artificial light, and how the dimming practice

materialises as an affective knowing of comfort and safety elevated as luxury. Various light practices provide a particular affective feel in a room (Bille, 2015). Similarly, the vignette describes the feeling in my room rising from dim lighting practice, which is also affected by the rhythm of light emitted by the aroma oil candle. A candle with a still flame provides a soft feeling in the room, compared to the fluttering rhythm of a candle which an imaginative body might perceive as daunting when preventing the sense of peacefulness. The turndown service obviously guides the guest towards relaxation as the dimming practice also provides a signal to my biological body that the night is approaching. The light practice also connects and gives rhythm to my evening practices as the service personnel has illuminated light in the bathroom and next to the bed (see Kosonen et al., 2017; see Rantala & Valtonen, 2014). Bille & Sørensen (2007, p. 264) note that “light is more than just a medium; it evokes agency”. Appropriate lighting set by the turndown service evokes in me an affective “presence of a home” (Bille, 2015, p. 60) in “my summer cottage” as well as the feeling of being protected even though it is dark outside. Being secured may create a feeling of luxury (Sudbury-Riley et al., 2020, p. 453); I can rest without worries. It is in and through these cosy and safe practices that luxury is kept flowing.

5.2.2 Tranquillising service encounters

Safely here. It is 1 pm Thai time but in my inner body time it is 8 am. I have 16 hours of travelling and a sleepless night in the aircraft behind me as our minibus from the airport arrives at the hotel. The personnel are ready to welcome us at the main entrance. I am awaking from the naps I had during the bus drive, but still feeling groggy after the long night flight. My tiny feeling of unease and headache have faded away a bit into the background. I guess I am able to survive until the evening yoga and night.

The drive was smoother than before. This was probably due to this new minibus. It had better suspension, spacy seats, and convenient, silently flowing air-conditioning which the driver tuned according to our wishes. And we didn't drive the bendy road this time. The smoothness may also have something to do with the driving style of the chauffeur. In the lap of the stately seat, I was able to wrap myself into a fetal ball as the steady rhythm of the drive soothed me to sleep.

Before leaving this comfort nest, I take a sip of cold water offered by the chauffeur upon leaving the bus.

This vignette describes a minibus transit practice from the airport to the hotel. Within the practice, the inner rhythm of the tourist's jet-lagged body becomes connected with various rhythmic practices. The agencement of the diverse technical rhythms of the vehicle, the chauffeur's rhythmic driving style and conflicting linear and chronobiological rhythms affect the knowing of a tired travelling body (see Edensor & Holloway, 2008; Lefebvre, 2004; Rantala & Valtonen, 2014; Valtonen et al., 2017; Wilson et al., 2019). While the minibus transit journey as such might

not be seen as luxury, the practice is part of the hotel's service system, and as a "connected service" makes the hotel's transit service a part of the luxury hotel's experience (Sudbury-Riley et al., 2020, p. 454). Thus, the embodied knowing takes place en route, in an "inbetween space", which entails capacity to engage into the knowing of luxury at a faster pace. Within the sociomaterial practice of a minibus transit, the arrhythmic state of a body is engaged in tranquilising affecto-rhythmic practices which enable the body to reconnect into the knowing of luxury in a more fluent way.

Indeed, the knowing of luxury arises as a smooth embodied synchrony within practices. The synchrony takes place not solely inbetween humans or in a psychological sense (see Kreuzer et al., 2020), but is also accomplished within embodied sociomaterial practices and their appropriate affecto-rhythmic nature (see Katila, Kuismin et al., 2019). The minibus transit practice naturally involves social actors in the form of a chauffeur and a tourist as well as a material actor in the form of a minibus, all of which become connected (see Edensor & Holloway, 2008; Wilson et al., 2019). Actors, such as the chauffeur's rhythm of driving, speed, the texture of the chosen road (straight and sleek instead of curly and bumpy), and the technical features of the bus such as appropriate flow of the air and comfort of seats, all affect embodied knowing of luxury.

Further, service encounters in luxury service essentially involve encountering tourist as a human being (Sudbury-Riley et al., 2020; see Iloranta, 2021). It necessitates appreciating also the knowing arising within the tourist's inner body (Jensen et al., 2015; Katila, Kuismin, et al., 2019; Valtonen et al., 2017; Valtonen & Närvänen, 2015). My unease, headache and the dehydration of the jet-lagged body were eased within the practice. Indeed, a connected luxury service (Sudbury-Riley et al., 2020) becomes a service encounter entangled with the outer and inner body's moving needs (see Yakhlef, 2010). This implies transporting the body from the airport to the hotel and, at the same time, taking care of the tourist's various inner body needs to provide comfortable and smooth luxury service (see Bissell, 2008).

The next vignette shows us how the appropriate affecto-rhythmic practices in the service encounters of the hotel's breakfast room give rise to the embodied knowing of luxury.

I have had breakfast in the half-opened breakfast room a few times. Couples and individual guests enjoying their unhurried breakfast, in benevolent silence or leisurely chatting with each other. No children around as is the case here. I remember the atmosphere there; as if we would have a common agreement to nurture this harmonious, warm-hearted atmosphere. No one seemed to be in a hurry. The voices were muffled, no one was running about and the employees were moving or rather floating between the tables and setting the tableware in a smooth and silent manner. Fans hanging from the ceiling created a slight movement of the air in the tropical morning, as harmonious as

in Shangri-La. I was served breakfast with caring, almost imperceptible gestures. No one wondered where my husband was or if I was really having breakfast all alone. Those wonderings that I would be able to read from their body language, small micro-gestures, tiny movements of the eyes that tell so much more than mere words. I was encountered as an 'equal' along with the other guests. It sometimes feels good to 'just' be with me and myself. I just wanted to be, to enjoy, to feel this moment, time and place while tasting the delicacies of breakfast.

In the sociomaterial practice of a breakfast room, luxury emerges not only through the served delicacies of a luxury hotel's breakfast room, but within diverse embodied practices which diffuse harmonious affectivities that elevate the breakfast into the sphere of luxury. As discussed earlier in the search of a peaceful environment, I had chosen a holiday resort not targeted to families with children. The bodies moving in various ways in the shared space affect and are affected by diverse forms of embodied knowing, including kinaesthetic knowing unfolding through various body gestures, ways of moving and bodily choreographies (Haanpää, 2017, p. 80; Valtonen et al., 2010).

The body becomes connected with the affecto-rhythmic moving of other actors (bodies and fan) and particularly the personnel's rhythm of working with work-related material artefacts. The chairs slide back into place without a screeching sound when they touch the floor, and the cutlery, plates and glasses find their place without clatter. Still, the service is efficient and smooth. In my embodied knowing, the harmonious luxury of the breakfast room practice is formed above all in the synchronous practices of the rhythmic slowness of the sociomaterial practices space (see Cruz & Buchanan-Oliver, 2020; Joy & Sherry, 2003). The bodies move smoothly, which affords the peace and harmony that I was used to on my previous work and holiday trips, and which I expected of this retreat holiday setting as well. Since luxury service is a multi-sensory experience, a certain kind of graceful bodily movement that supports the service environment is part of the embodied knowing of luxury.

I felt that the personnel were also at ease with me sitting there alone. I was not subjected to extra care, curious questions or gazes from the staff. This in turn afforded a soothing knowing of luxury. I was able to enjoy my breakfast in peace and to know a 'normal feeling of acceptability', care as part of the breakfast practices of a luxury hotel. The staff was not bothered by me sitting there alone (cf. Bianchi, 2016, p. 204). The personnel recognised that I was one of the yoga group members or they were just used to having women travelling solo as their guest. I have always been able to experience warm-hearted caring, which is not only transmitted through cognitive knowing. I feel that warmth and caring are somehow transmitted within a more holistic encounter, which is based on how the personnel is able to attune to their customers beyond verbal communication. Sensing each other's body language,

sometimes we only exchange a few mandatory polite phrases with the personnel; sometimes we have a benevolent chat. In this hotel and breakfast room, the social environment seemed to be balanced. I did not feel embarrassed or out of place, even though I was sitting alone at the table.

The calming affecto-rhythmic practices are also a relevant part of knowing luxury within other practices in which the hotel's employees are inherent actors. The following short vignettes demonstrate how in the holistic luxury experience the appropriate affecto-rhythmic nature in the beginning and ending part of the event are essential.

As I arrive in the spa, I am offered a moment to sit for a while in the spa lobby. The Massage Therapist floats in silently and asks gently how I am feeling. At the same time, she offers me herb tea and we have a nice small chat. But not too much, to keep in my own bubble.

At the end of the treatment, the Massage Therapist touches my arm gently and says in a whisper: "Take your time, no rush." I know that I do not have to hurry. There is all the time I need.

Back in the spa lobby, I am offered some more fresh tea and a comfortable place to sit, to enjoy the warm touches that I still feel in my body. I may leave the lobby in my own pace.

The short vignettes above illuminate how the embodied knowing of luxury becomes available within the practices involving the personnel. The affecto-rhythmic nature of embodied moving, gestures and discursive practice emanate the 'proper' rhythm. Moving softly and silently along with verbal communication is essential, as illustrated in the opening vignette of the thesis.

The vignettes show how the spa treatment practice exceeds beyond the specific treatment room and treatment as such. The affecto-rhythmic nature of arriving and leaving practices are notified as essential in the forming of luxury. The personnel's way of forming the message that the treatment has ended involves a particular affecto-rhythmic mode in which bodily and verbal practices entangle. This entangled practice creates embodied knowing, not only about the end of the treatment but about there being all the time needed to leave the spa room. There is no rush to move my body quickly away from the room, even if there would be another booking coming according to the notion of linear time. This particular communication practice is supported by the personnel's rhythmic body language. The Massage Therapist has attuned herself to my embodied state and "harnesses" her affective knowing into visible actions (see Kuuru & Närvänen, 2020). This particular nature of practice facilitates the after-treatment dwelling in the affectivities of luxury, as demonstrated by the other vignette.

The following vignette illustrating an encountering with the piccolo is short but affectively powerful.

Upon arriving in the hotel room: The piccolo places my luggage neatly and with the correct side up on its reserved place in the room. While leaving the room our eyes do not meet, but the piccolo raises his hand to a kind sign of good bye and closes the door in a silent benevolent and cosy manner.

The proper calming rhythm oozes here in the personnel's slow, but steady, smooth and competent performing. The gestures illustrate no mannerism, they are not dominating or fake but tender-hearted and emanate caring (Lefebvre, 2004). This cosy rhythm of acting and being affords a particular order that gives me the capacity to engage into my own soothing embodied flow of luxury. In luxury experience, cordial service emanates also from the gestures of the personnel (e.g. Iloranta, 2019) that are beyond mannerism. Attuning to the proper flow is affected within a practice in which humans encounter each other as caring humans; it is more than solely an employee-customer encounter (see Kreuzer et al., 2020; Sudbury-Riley et al., 2020). The nature of encountering practice emanates returning home.

5.2.3 The Sacred Yoga Shala

Morning yoga. As usual, I am early. I have settled myself in my own spot in the beautiful garden where our yoga practice takes place. I lie on my back, knees bent towards each other. I sense my body lying under the fragrant frangipani trees, under the morning sky and in this space. I feel my body grounding to the gravity of the Mother Earth. I gently close my eyes, turn my attention inwards to sense the energies flowing in the place and inside my body...

In the background, I sense the arrivals of the other members of our group. I feel their moving sleepy bodies, the unrolling of yoga mats, soft yawns, smooth ways to settle on their yoga mats... Wonderful, respectful silence, like a common agreement, not just during the practice but also in other relations. I feel safe in this cotton-soft atmosphere.

Without opening my eyes, I feel more determined steps. Our teacher arrives. It is time to start our common practice. Tadasana – mountain pose. I let my gaze rest forward down, gently focused. The teacher's soft voice instructs us to take the first inhale... and exhale. A sense of peacefulness suffuses my body and mind. Sans glance I sense the teacher's guiding and the movement of the co-yogis' bodies as we relate to the common movement of Sun Salutation (an ancient sequence of 12 yoga poses). Urdhva Hastanasana – standing posture with hands up, I reach the sky with my hands. I feel the releasing breaths aside me. Uttanasana – Standing Forward Fold. In bowing we show our gratitude to the sun and a new day of life. Ardha Uttanasana – Half Standing Forward Fold, I open my heart. Bodies move together in unison, repeating the flow of asanas. I inhale the energy of the postures. The heat of the sun starts to be burning and

the air is getting thicker. Exhaling through the mouth reduces the heat inside the body. Nordic bodies are not yet used to this tropical climate.

As usual, something magical happens in yoga practice. We gather together, start our common practice and along the daily yoga practice this space is filled with a kind of sacred and empowering energy. It is a space created by each of us, emerging from the energies of all participants. From the national team level athletes to the husbands who have been drawn here by their wives. The participants of this yoga holiday have changed along the years. Looking at it from the outside, one would say that our group is very heterogeneous. Still, the ambiance we create together is always quite similar. Or is it only me feeling like this... There are many kinds of energies which take the shape as one uniting us together. We are one.

Already under the Orienting chapter I discussed my affective dream arising within my regular yoga practice. I described the harmonising sociomaterial practices taking place in various yoga studios where all mundane worries were left aside. As stated in the vignette above, these familiar practices are taking place in the yoga retreat holiday, I am able to sense a similar attachment (d’Hauteserre, 2015; Gherardi, 2009b) within which the (re)connection into the embodied knowing of luxury is enabled.

Here, the embodied knowing of luxury arises within the reconnecting agencement in which the embodied practicing is entangled with the affectivities and rhythms of natural and human actors. Attuning to the flow of luxury is facilitated within the ‘appropriate’ affecto-rhythmic practices that emerge in the silent and tranquil performances of yoga bodies, which also Mora et al. (2018) note to create harmony for the mind and body in the creation of a conscious multisensory luxury experience. The vignette describes how this reconnecting is nurtured within the ‘proper’ order of sociomaterial practices (Katila, Kuismin, et al., 2019) performed along the common yoga practice that allows the healing yogic space to unfold. Below, I illustrate how the embodied knowing of luxury arises in the entangling practices of myself, fellow yogis and collective yoga practice that allow the emergence of particular yoga place, our common Yoga Shala (in Sanskrit *home*; yoga space; a gathering place for yoga practice).

Firstly, in the beginning the reconnecting is facilitated in the practice of arriving well in time in order to have a private quiet moment before the beginning of joint yoga practice. With the practice of arriving well in time, participants show respect to the place, other participants and the joint yoga practice. It is part of Yoga Shala’s code of conduct. I use this time in settling down into the place with my body, mind and spirit. As I close my eyes I (re)connect into another reality (see Valtonen et al., 2017). I attune to the environment with my five external as well as inner body senses (Chronis, 2015; Kuuru & Närvänen, 2020). In settling down, I sense the harmony of the place first through my body’s external senses and gradually move to

sense more carefully the “affective energies” circulating in the space (Lobo, 2014) to feel how they synchronise with the energies of my body today (see Philo et al., 2015). That is, “before we can begin to balance, we need to explore our connection with the earth both imaginatively and physically” (Lea, 2008, p. 94) as “by grasping the gravity of the earth we become connected to the soil, from which plants and trees receive their nourishment” (Scaravelli, 1991, p. 41, as cited in Lea, 2008, p. 94; Massumi, 2002). It is through the spiritual practice that yoga affords “harmony and balance between the interior and the exterior, the mind and body” (Mora et al., 2018, p. 176).

Reconnecting within this kind of attuning is a foundational part of each yoga practice which demands the participants to arrive to the location well in time. Arriving well in time is part of Yoga Shalas’s *code of conduct*. Similarly, a part of the code of conduct or ‘dressage’ as Lefebvre (2004) calls it, are the described discreet and silent moving bodies. In dressage, bodies have learned to know the proper rhythms to move as a result of bodily training (Lefebvre, 2004; Saldanha, 2002; Waitt & Duffy, 2010), like here the bodies have learned the “appropriate” way of performing along with practicing yoga in various yoga studios. In other words, the yoga bodies have become embodied with soft and silent ways of settling down on the mats ahead of the practice as their bodies have been affected and have affected within the sociomaterial practice of yoga practice. Meaningfully – as noted in the vignette – this dressage corresponds with other yoga retreat holiday practices as well, which supports the flowing of embodied knowing of luxury. This smooth embodied flow enables capacity to the holistic (re)connecting into luxury within the yoga retreat holiday practice. Similarly, exemplifying luxury by another type of practice: in the case of salsa, luxury spreads out to the general atmosphere of a salsa event through the collective performances of dancing and smiling which also link people together (Holmqvist et al., 2020). However, in the vignette the practicing of silence and quiet moving connects the bodies together also beyond the core yoga practice. In fact, yoga spaces encourage yoga participants to immerse themselves in meditative and silent performances (Mora et al., 2018, p. 174) in the provision of “multisensory luxury experience” which is part of the healing nature of Yoga Shala. Just like in churches, silence resides and emerges naturally in a yoga space, too; it is expected from everyone (see Kauppinen-Räsänen et al., 2019). The quiet and respectful practices of the yoga space support the bodily transition into the calm (see Kuuru & Närvänen, 2020) and contemplative state for the coming practice. Undoubtedly, silence has become a form of extraordinary luxury which entails a healing power (Kauppinen-Räsänen et al., 2019) for the contemporary bodies that are continuously affected by arrhythmia (Lefebvre, 2004) in the sounds of their mundane life.

Together with other yoga participants, I can safely close my eyes to tune in or to “surrender and catch” (see Gherardi, 2019, p. 330–331) the flow of luxury – not

through music like in the study of Saldanha (2002) but through a good moment of silence. In yoga space, good silence receives its meaning not through a total absence of sounds, but by the proper, organic sounds belonging to the space, and the participant are invited to turn their senses inwards (see Mora et al., 2018). Therefore, “turning attention inwards” as mentioned in the vignette, shows how the affective knowing of tourism space unfolds beyond the tourist gaze (cf. Urry, 1991). In addition, reconnecting to the familiar energy also takes place as the body interacts with land and gravity, i.e., the property of the land (Massumi, 2002). Being open implies being affected by the gravitational field of the earth (Massumi, 2002, p. 103) as I am lying in contact with the vibrating earth or ground (Lefebvre, 2004; Waitt & Duffy, 2010) and in embodied moving in yoga asanas. These ‘grounding’ affectivities emerge as the knowing of luxury as they bring “harmony and balance between the interior and the exterior, the mind and the body” (see Mora et al., 2018, p. 176). Grounding, balance, means to become embodied (Katila, Kuusmin, et al., 2019) with the surrounding space: the earth, air, sky and sun which create Yoga Shala’s affective field (see Jóhannesson & Lund, 2017) together with the other yoga bodies as well as yoga practice in itself. However, becoming embodied within the space conditions surrendering, an openness to being affected within natural actors and “cosmological reality” (see Lefebvre, 2004, p. 60; Chronis, 2015; Massumi, 2002), dwelling in the “open” (Ingold, 2007, p. S20). As suggested by Hemetsberger et al. (2012, p. 486), this kind of relating with nature could be called “oscillating with nature” or intensive “feeling of unity” aligning Hemetsberger et al. (2012, p. 486)” that opens the gate to luxury.

Secondly, within the agencement embodied knowing of luxury attuning continues to take place along the core yoga practice which bonds the bodies together and through which the healing yoga space is shaping. Embodied knowing of luxury emerges as bodies are moving together in the same pace, but also through collaborative respiration while breathing in and breathing out. The rhythmic breathing and coincident moving from asana to asana engage the participants into the common yoga flow. A mellow way of speaking is essential (Mora et al., 2018) as the yoga teacher facilitates the practice. In providing a gentle rhythmic order, the teacher furthers the flow of practice and her practice creates a resource for the affective atmosphere. This being in accordance with the earlier example of how salsa events are facilitated by salsa teachers and the participant are joining with happy music and fast rhythms in the construction of a luxury moment (Holmqvist et al., 2020). Furthermore, just like salsa dancing, yoga is an intimate practice that brings bodies together. In addition to collaborative moving, the yogic bodies are conjoined to each other in the conscious practice of breathing (cf. Valtonen & Närvänen, 2016). Paying attention to breathing, the conscious inhaling and exhaling can be related to Hauge’s (2013) notion of a strategic way of producing knowing through particular air practices. The bodies next to each other inhale and exhale the same

air at the same tempo which makes the yoga practice intimate. The bodies hear and feel the respiration of other bodies. They share the same air. The tropical air flows between the bodies bringing knowledge of the surrounding bodies. The bodies hear the rhythm and arrhythmia of breathing bodies aside, “the warmth of the breath” and the smell of the breaths (Valtonen & Närvänen, 2016). Indeed, Low and Hsu (2007, p. S8) make a special notice of the knowing formed on the smell which in the vignette is getting increasingly intense as the yoga practice proceeds. Besides the smell of the air flowing from exhaling, the breezes bring the smell or even drops of sweat touching my skin. Bodies listen to other bodies (Hauge, 2013, p. 184). Listening through the sensation of air “is motoric as well, *kinaesthetic*” (original Italics) just like bodies “listen to music with their muscles” (Massumi, 2002; Sacks, 2008, p. xii citing Nietzsche, as cited in Hauge 2013, p. 184; see Chronis, 2015). Hauge’s (2013) notes that in yogic air practices bodies are not only listening and sensing through their ears or external senses, but with their whole bodies as material bodies echo “vibrotactile” knowing (Henriques, 2010; Massumi, 2002, p. 78). Similarly, Haanpää (2017) suggests that the entire body is engaged in knowledge production and relates kinaesthetic sensing to corporeal intelligence. Knowledge is transferred through the multiple use of air. The communion among yoga participants emerges not only within collaborate moving but, in line with Low and Hsu (2007), within sharing the breathing which bond the yoga participants together and creates a common yoga space. Indeed, within the joint yoga practicing my body feels like “being at home *in the body*” (original Italics) (see Cruz & Buchanan-Oliver, 2020, p. 1331; Thompson & Tambyah, 1999, p. 228).

The end of the vignette takes notice of the common energy emerging in and through diverse forms of physical bodies or sociodemographic backgrounds. Significantly, all kinds of bodies are accepted in the common yoga practice (see Matteucci, 2014). The luxury moments of communion are not dependant on social classifications (Holmqvist et al., 2020). In yoga holiday practices, participants come together to be affected by the collaborative atmosphere or, as in the vignette, the “energy” emanates along the common yoga practice. It is about being one *corporeal* crowd, a “*collective* subject” in which “flesh-and-blood” bodies pulsate together with various rhythms, heartbeats and muscle contradictions (Henriques, 2010, p. 67) As expressed by Philo et al. (2015, p. 39), participants “energise themselves” in the “*sites*” (original Italics) of yoga practice. It is the common energy that diffuses in corporeal being together, the collaborating bodily moving and shared breathing that allows the becoming of luxury in the healing yoga space.

5.3. Adjusting

5.3.1 Getting dressed for the breakfast room

After the morning swim, I begin to consider the suitable clothing for the hotel's breakfast room. Taking into account the tropical climate and the fact of being on holiday, as little clothing as possible and their sense of comfort seem appealing. Nonetheless, these clothes should still be chaste for the luxury hotel's breakfast room and moment of eating.

My stomach is still swollen because of the flight journey, time difference, irregular eating and sleeping. I don't want to annoy it any further, not with any tight clothing. Therefore, comfortable and elastic clothing seems tempting: my stomach would probably swell even more by having breakfast. Still, this is a hotel belonging to the luxury hotel chain, which may put some "restrictions" on the style of clothing I ponder. I spread the clothes that I have with me from home on the bed in my room. I chew over suitable clothing and different options... and end up with a compromise.

As I arrive at the breakfast room, I sweep my gaze for a wide look for the general dress code. I feel relieved. It seems that my choice has hit it right. The women's gossamer summer dresses dance in small breezes of air in the half-open breakfast room. Men's casual t-shirts are remarkably white and ironed. Cool, light, not too revealing clothing. I feel uplifted but comfortable in my plain, soft, cotton, aniline red glowing dress. I am able to enjoy the delicacies of the served breakfast and my stomach is allowed to breathe freely under the protection of the stretchy, loose dress that the warm wind flutters playfully towards my feet.

The vignette demonstrates how the practice of having breakfast in the luxury hotel's breakfast room unbounds beyond the hotel's luxurious surroundings and excessive breakfast buffet (cf. Harkison et al., 2017). It shows how the embodied knowing of luxury arises through negotiations that move within spatio-temporal, normative and cultural practices (see Gherardi, 2019; Valtonen & Haanpää, 2018). Here, the embodied knowing of luxury is heavily affected by the clothing practices (see e.g. Simpson, 2021; Zannette et al., 2022). Still, rather than forwarding the visual aesthetics of a luxury dress (Holmqvist et al., 2020), wearing clothing that allows the stomach, the living body to take its natural shape and have space to move freely in its natural breathing pace, affords intensive affectivities which enable the unfolding of luxury in the situated practice. In doing this, the vignette illustrates how the invisible breathing materialises within embodied sociomaterial practices of clothing (see Macnaughton, 2020).

Similarly, the beginning of the vignette illustrates how the tropical air materialises in clothing practice. It illuminates how the tropical weather affects the breakfast practice. The Nordic body that has just landed from a cold climate is not yet used to the hot and humid climate. Therefore, the relationship with the air guides the knowing of wearing the most appropriate dress. Secondly, as illustrated in the Orienting chapter,

during my holiday I wished to be free from obligations, dominating practices, set to my body in my quotidian life (Lefebvre, 2004; see Edensor, 2000, p. 338, 2001) which naturally pertain also clothing practices. However, the vignette illustrates how I wish not to suffer from my external habitus not being accepted within the normative clothing practices of the hotel and the other guests (see Edensor, 2001, p. 72; Schatzki, 2002). Yet, it also illustrates how the embodied negotiations are heavily affected by the embodied knowing arising as “being home *in the body*” (see Cruz & Buchanan-Oliver, 2020, p. 1331; Thompson & Tambyah, 1999, p. 228) within the comfortable, elastic clothing that would not force my stomach into a different shape than it is naturally seeking at that moment (Eskola et al., 2022, pp. 46–47). In other words, I appreciate my inner body’s knowing of its jet-lagged state (see Valtonen et al., 2017). I am adjusting the equilibrium inbetween the diverse forms of knowing (see Yakhlef, 2010) as the physical appearance affects the mood and enjoyment of various activities, like here the enjoyment of having breakfast (Small, 2016, pp. 18, 19). Even though I was familiar with the luxury hotel practice, this was my first yoga holiday in the given environment. If my choice of clothing would have been against the general dress culture or the knowing residing in my body, I would have felt uncomfortable throughout the breakfast and would not have enjoyed having breakfast as much (see Entwistle, 2000, p. 336). Therefore, beyond the exclusive food and drink offered at the luxury hotel’s breakfast room, the knowing of luxury is connecting to many other actors related to embodied being.

The vignette highlights liberation from sociocultural clothing practices – liberation from both normative everyday clothing practices and the clothing practices that are followed in higher class hotels. Attuning to the adjusting of clothing practices had already began at home upon selecting clothes to pack. Based on my clothing negotiations at home, I had packed only stretchy, soft clothes into my suitcase. Later on, on the spot, these negotiations continue. In other words, in terms of temporal and physical distance the embodied knowing of luxury that emerges in the breakfast room has already began months and thousands of kilometres prior to the actual moment on site where Orienting practices are supplemented in attuning through adjusting practices in place (cf. Kuuru & Närvänen, 2020). Further, wearing as little clothing as possible for the breakfast room would mean a bikini wear at this point, which is out of the norms, but also because of the tight feeling aroused in wearing a bikini. I also do not wish to look at other customers wearing too little: revealing bikinis or men without a shirt (see Coen et al., 2021; see also Hubbart, 2005, p. 121). Naturally, other travellers are not only gazing at the sights (cf. Urry, 1990) or focusing on their own performances only. In addition, the other tourists and their bodies are the object of curious, discrete glances. Further, the staff or other people in the same space can show either approval or disapproval of the tourist’s habitus or (clothing) practices with their gazes, behaviour, gestures, manner of speaking or through other bodily communication (Coen et al., 2021, p. 544; Edensor, 2001). This

way, the performances of other tourists and the personnel, the carried sociocultural and bodily practices, can affect the experience of a tourist who deviates from the general norms (Cruz & Buchanan-Oliver, 2020, p. 1332), for example allowing capacity of the affectivities of being accepted to emerge. At worst, the dominant practices can “force” the tourist, for example, to follow clothing practices that do not align with the embodied knowing. The bodily freedom from uncomfortable and restrictive clothing (Small, 2016, 2017), being able to let my stomach and whole body breathe freely, arises embodied knowing of luxury in the clothing practices of a luxury hotel. ‘Being home’ in diverse (tourism) spaces is related to various bodily activities (see Dion et al., 2011; Edensor, 2007) which might also take place and be affected by the acting arising in the inner body space.

Furthermore, according to Entwistlen (2001, p. 35 as cited in Ruggerone, 2017, p. 577), the body is made meaningful through various cultural clothing practices and accessories which are part of affective practices (see Meriläinen et al., 2015). Ruggerone (2017, p. 573) continues that in the case of clothing, the existing dualism in which the understanding of “how the clothes feel on us” is based on a rational and mental discussion which should be rejected. Meaning, in clothing, we often look into the mirror and sense “how it looks like” instead of feeling the bodily and affective feeling brought in the chosen clothing. By rejecting this body-mind dichotomy of clothing, we get closer to the human experience which takes shape together in the entanglements of our bodymind and clothing (Ruggerone, 2017). This paradigmatic shift helps to analyse the actual embodied knowing of common entanglements over the rational and mental state we experience in and through our clothes. In addition to being fashionable and trendy, our clothing practices represented by the clothes we wear entail an affective order which determines how a certain piece of clothing feels when wearing it; the within-corporeal body has forces which affect our embodied becoming by materializing, making the corporeal actors visible in the analysis of practices (see Ruggerone, 2017, pp. 574, 577).

At the end of the negotiations with myself, I managed to find an equilibrium between the diverse actors and knowing arising from my swollen body. I ended up wearing a “normal” dress that felt comfortable on my body (see Bissell, 2008). Even though I was in a luxury hotel environment, I did not wish to wear anything fancy, extraordinary that would easily align with luxury hotel’s “normal” clothing practices. Still, the ordinariness of the dress receives a touch of luxury from its glowing colour, which in turn affords me aesthetic pleasure and more self-confidence regarding my choice of clothing (see Holmqvist et al., 2020; Small, 2016; Zanette et al., 2022). When comfortable clothing is elevated to luxury, as demonstrated in the vignette, it highlights the soft feeling of the fabric on my skin and the fact that I can breathe freely with my entire body, up to my abdominal diaphragm, let my stomach expand and contract in its natural own pace (see Ruggerone, 2017, p. 580). In this synchrony, my stomach can freely balloon in its own pace (Lefebvre, 2004) while enjoying

breakfast, and I can still feel as following the normative luxury hotel's clothing practices, thus fitting in with the crowd.

In short, here the embodied knowing of luxury emerges within adjusting to various kinds of sociomaterial practices. Firstly, the knowing of a body arises through the socially and culturally learned ways of practicing (Gherardi, 2009a, 2009b; Reckwitz, 2002) of how to dress in luxury hotel premises. Secondly, knowing emerges through the surrounding climate/weather and embodied practices that affect the material and embodied practices (see Hitchings & Lee, 2008; Rantala et al., 2011) in terms of adjusting wearing to the most comfortable clothing gentle to the body (see Bissell, 2008). Thirdly, the knowing of a jet-lagged body (Valtonen et al., 2017), a body that is swollen, guides the clothing practice that appreciates the aesthetics and ethics of a body. Here, the embodied knowing affords an essential relational agency in adjusting the normative knowing of luxury in the practice of unfolding an extraordinary luxury breakfast.

5.3.2 Sudden discordance

In the blue moment of the evening I walk leisurely along the empty sandy beach towards our yoga place. Surprisingly, I hear sounds that do not belong to our sacred place. My body and mind become alerted and my steps are slowing down. It is like someone tuning in his/her music devices. The uproar will stop soon, I believe. I arrive to our Yoga Shala, open my yoga mat and settle down to lie on my back

The sounds are coming from somewhere a bit further away, outside our resort. I try to rule them out of my consciousness, but I feel uncomfortable. The bass jerk penetrates my body to its core and stays there pounding. I feel how my body is tensed all the way to the scalp. It's hard for me to focus on being present. Even though I choose to concentrate on yoga practice only, I still feel the notes of the familiar song in the background and the changing karaoke singers. There is no spirit; I am just moving my body and limbs from one asana to another as the practice proceeds. Like this would be a different place. This has never happened here before. The disarranged singing continues throughout the whole evening yoga.

As the practice is over, I quickly grasp my mat, and find my way in an unusually fast pace towards my room. Step by step as I walk away from the ordering disrupting uproar the affectivities and tension all around the body begins to gradually dilute. Miraculous peace. I sigh... feels like something is falling off my shoulders... even though I am still trembling inside. Certainly, I enjoyed the practice and purifying asanas, but I have to admit that I didn't get as deep into the practice as I could have without today's superfluous background music.

I have no interest to return to the place for our joint dinner gathering...

In the vignette, the body is affected by the unexpected sounds and voices that do not belong to the habitual soundscape of the sacred yoga place. That is, in the vignette

it seems challenging for me to disregard the embodied knowing emerging within the unconscious hearing of a body (Waitt & Duffy, 2010) that differs from the practice of conscious listening. The sudden discordance, disharmony in the form of inappropriate sounds, disconnects the capacity to engage into the flow of luxury even though I try to adjust to the situation and stir my attention solely to the familiar yoga practice.

As I walk towards our Yoga Shala under the darkening sky, I am already affectively attuned to the regular harmony of our yoga place also through its 'proper' soundscape. Here, the 'proper' soundscape spreads out through the healing, affective nature sounds that facilitate the immersion into the knowing of luxury (see Edensor, 2000). Indeed, in the knowing of luxury yoga place's particular "aural experience is crucial" (Mora et al., 2018, p. 187; see Gherardi, 2019). However, the dwelling in leisurely walking stops abruptly as the body is affected by superfluous sounds (see Saldanha, 2002; Waitt & Duffy, 2010) that do not belong to the harmonious nature of the approaching yoga practice. The "visceral sensibility" of a body instantly perceives the sounds before conscious rational knowing and external acting (Massumi, 2016, p. 60; Thrift, 2008). A sudden discordance emerges in the soundscape which affects the body and slows down the rhythm of the steps (see Gherardi, 2019, p. 104). The rational mind attempts not to be affected by this discordance causing arrhythmia within the embodied practicing, though to little avail.

As I settle down on my yoga mat and try to engage in my spatial grounding practices, I cannot escape the disturbing voices and sounds (see Strati, 2007). They vibrate in the air, traverse the body, and disable turning the senses inwards (see Mora et al., 2018) causing disorder in my affective knowing (see Lefebvre, 2004). The air has relational agency as it is entangled within the sociomaterial practices meaning that the voices resonate through the air and wind. This affects the body's ability to be present (Lefebvre, 2004) along the proceeding yoga practice in which the body is externally moving from asana to asana. The discordances affect to the yoga's foundational "*nourishment of the body, mind and spirit*" (Mora et al., 2018, p. 188) causing arrhythmia. There is a disconnection with the embodied flow of luxury. The bodies in the healing yoga space are affected by something else than OM¹ (see Mora et al., 2018). Still, the participants persistently continue the practice. Through the external gaze it is not possible to tell the whole truth of the affective attuning as the participants do not reveal all their inner body affectivities. The usual calming rhythm of breathing and collaboratively moving bodies are not capable to break the order coming in and through the neighbourhood's musical gathering. This causes diverse bodily symptoms, such as tension all over the body, a lack of concentration and the bass jerk pounding in the inner body. Similarly, the energetic flow characterised

1 The term 'Om' refers to a sacred sound that attunes yogis towards a "state of mindful, physical and emotional awareness". Om may be chanted in yoga practice (Yogapedia, 2020a).

earlier in Chapter 5.2.3 in the yoga place practice is disabled. The usual transition that takes place naturally and “almost immediately when people reach the sacred place” (Sudbury-Riley et al., 2019, p. 455) does not occur as the flow of “life-energies” (see Philo et al., 2015, p. 39) is disturbed. For me, it felt more like a physical exercise instead of a yoga practice. Later in the evening, while going to bed and before falling asleep, I notice how the sounds continue vibrating in my body (Massumi, 2002, p. 28-29) – maybe they were dwelling within my body the entire night affecting my embodied knowing long after the event (see Valtonen & Haanpää, 2018). Finally, the sudden discordant affectivities affect the external practices as well as expressed in the last sentence of the vignette.

5.3.3 Kundalini yoga practice and Mantra chanting

My first contact with “kundis” (a nickname for kundalini yoga among its practitioners) was awakening and energising. This took place during my first yoga retreat holiday in 2016. At the end of our holiday, our yoga teacher asked our group whether we were familiar with or would like to familiarise ourselves with kundalini yoga practice. If I remember correctly, this style of yoga was not familiar to any of us at the time, but we were excited to try something new. To start with, our yoga teacher instructed us to wear the white outfits found in our rooms for the kundalini yoga practice. She told that in kundalini yoga, it is customary to wear white clothes as well as a white beaddress or scarf. In kundalini yoga, white clothing is said to strengthen the practitioner’s healthy white aura (energy field) as well as its vibration. Wearing white is said to make it easier to stay connected with your inner self, your own truth, power, and the energy we hear. In kundalini, as in yoga in general, natural garments in cotton or linen are preferred, since energy is understood to transfer best through natural materials. Because in kundalini yoga practice the practitioners “move” and work with their own energy flow and life force, synthetic fibres may potentially interfere with this subtle energy and its movement.

In the evening, we arrive at our Yoga Shala wearing the hotel’s white outfits. Everyone seems to be a bit shy of the upcoming practice, which is new to us all. Someone has slipped an orchid flower behind her ear, maybe to beautify the appearance. I settle in the semi-circle near my own place which I have become acquainted with during the week. I open my yoga mat. Before each yoga practice, many of us have the habit of taking a moment for themselves before the actual practice begins, to search their own inner space as an orientation to the upcoming practice. Me too, I settle to lie on my back, and pull my knees on the top of my chest to Apanasana. I close my eyes. I wrap my arms gently around my legs and let my breathing swing my body back and forth in a calming way.

After a while our teacher arrives. She greets us following the kundalini yoga tradition by saying “Sat Nam”, the truth is my name. We follow the teacher as she is settling into our joint circle. The atmosphere is both comical and expectant. Here and there I hear benevolent laughs at our white “robes”. The teacher jokes that after the practice we will

take a group photo of us wearing these outfits and publish the photo on the yoga studios website. In fact, the traditional collective photo of a yoga holiday is always taken wearing these white outfits. However, the photo is not published but remains in private folders. Taking a picture of us wearing the white outfits and the conversations around it always evokes hilarity. Well, the teacher starts, today we are trying something new, and urges us to settle into a cross-legged pose (or lotus sitting pose).

For this evening and for us, the teacher has chosen a kundalini yoga kriya (a specific sequence of physical actions that work toward a particular outcome) for stress relief. Sitting in a cross-legged pose, we begin the practice by reciting together the traditional mantras of kundalini yoga. “Ong Namo Guru Dev Namo,” the teacher recites in a chanting manner, meaning “I bow to the subtle, divine wisdom and teacher inside of me.” I try to follow along.

The first mantra is followed by the Mangala Charan Mantra, a protective mantra to avoid external dangers. We recite each mantra three times. I stutter. The words in Indian (gen. Gurmukhi) are difficult, and we do not receive a printed version of the mantras. In any case, I learn that the purpose of the first mantra is to connect with our inner teacher and remind us that our practice is not controlled by the Ego.

Our teacher chants in front of us, keeping her eyes closed and guiding us to do the same. Since the practice is new to me, I have to glimpse every now and then at the body language of the teacher. I try to read the mantras from her lips. Usually in yoga practice, I keep my eyes closed as much as possible. That way I am able to concentrate better on the bodily doing, being and listening to my own body. Closing out external visual stimuli helps me to concentrate on the practice itself. At the same time, it is a path to my inner space, into listening to my body and being guided in my practice by my inner body. In kundalini yoga, it is also useful to concentrate the look behind closed eye lids on the so called third eye in the middle of eyebrows. This is said to stimulate the hypophysis which is an endocrine gland, an organ producing many hormones and regulating many bodily functions such as blood pressure, body temperature, and sexual activity and is also involved in the regulation of pain.

After the starting mantras, we continue to warm-up our body and especially the spine. Still sitting in a cross-legged pose, I place my hands on the shoulders and rotate the upper body to the left and to the right. We continue to do this for some time. After that, we grab our ankles with our hands, and open our chest forward in inhaling and arch our spine backwards in exhaling.

With these movements we awaken the dormant kundalini energy inside of our spine. As the kundalini energy releases, it feels like a flow of energy in the body. After warming up, we continue to the core of the kriya. We remain in sitting cross-legged pose as our teacher is urging us to raise our arms straight towards the sky. We are advised to cross our fingers so that the forefingers are pointing straight towards each other and the sky. The intention is to reach out to the sky with our hands and at the same time recite the mantra of “Sat”, and secondly, while reciting “Nam” to relax the movement. This

part of the practice is simple enough even for the first-timer, also in terms of lyrics and movement. At this point, I can close my eyes and get “in the flow” of this practice. “Sar Nam, Sat Nam,” we repeat the mantra together, “I am the truth”.

A single movement in kundalini yoga is usually repeated for about 11 minutes. However, since this is the first kundalini yoga practice for us, our teacher wants to keep the practice as a gentle one. Instead of 11 minutes, we only recite and chant the mantras for five minutes. At the end of the movement, I put my hands on my knees with my palms downwards, thus following the example of our teacher. After the kriya we keep our bodies still and eyes closed. The teacher urges us to feel the inner body vibrations caused by the movement. Although the chanting and movement of the mantra is over, I feel the vibrating sounds produced by the mantra chanting inside my body, on the inner lining of my mouth, on my lips, on my tongue, on my throat, and in my upper body. Even though I have been practicing yoga for decades, including diverse types of yoga, I now feel a whole new kind of flow and vibration pulsating around my body.

I open my eyes tenderly and we continue to the next stress relief session while sitting cross-legged. Hands are guided to be placed relaxed on the knees with the palms facing up. The teacher instructs us to take the mudra (Engl. a hand gesture). In this mudra, the thumb and middle finger are brought together in each hand so that the tip of the thumb is touching the nail of the middle finger. The other fingers should keep still.

The intention is to click the middle finger outwards separated from the thumb while repeating the mantra “Har”. The teacher suggests us to use as strong voice during this movement. I close my eyes again and surrender to the movement and mantra chanting. “Har, Har, Har, Har”, my strong r-voice comes out of my mouth sometimes more loudly, sometimes lighter. I am even a bit ashamed of my vigorous mantra chanting. Oh well, so what? I let go and surrender to this part of the practice, aiming to liberate yogis from blockages. I can also hear the resonance of r-voices chanted by the other participants and their variations, but I mostly focus on my own practice and just let go. After five minutes the teacher stops chanting, and it is a sign to stop the movement. I pause and listen to the effects of the mantras within my body. The ‘r’ sound is still vibrating powerfully on my tongue and palate. I still feel a click in my thumb and middle fingertips. I later hear that “Har” means ‘creative eternity’, one form of divinity, and connects the one who is chanting this mantra to the eternity.

In order not to make the practice too strong for us beginners, this evening’s kundalini practice includes only two kriyas. Kundalini yoga also includes various breathing exercises and background music. I would become familiar with the intense fire breathing and breath control over time by practicing kundalini yoga later on.

The roaring sea, the chirping of birds and the wind serve as our choir today. They play in the background as I settle back for final relaxation, which is meant to deepen the effects of the exercise in our bodymind. After about five minutes the teacher urges us to calmly get back into the cross-legged pose for the ending meditation. We sit quietly... I feel the vibrations of the practice inside of my body before the closing song.

The closing song is called “Long Time Sun” and we sing it in English. Filled with both sleepiness and energy, I try to sing along without knowing the words. When the teacher sings, the melody sounds beautiful and gentle. She says the words can be found on YouTube. After the closing song, we bring our hands together in the front of our hearts. Our common practice is over.

Slowly waking up... we are wrapped in silence and some magic... created together. After a while I hear sleepy laughs and silent chatting about the practice, how it was. I feel that I am still in another reality. Chanting has felt good. It was completely new to combine yoga and mantra chanting. Usually after the evening yoga I prefer to stay in my inner reality before returning to ‘this world.’ It feels like there wouldn’t be time at all. As usual, time has passed quickly, this time even faster. The passage of time is not noticed in yoga classes as there is usually no clock on the wall. With a yoga mat in my armpit, feeling a bit dizzy and with foggy eyes, I walk along the beach in the darkening evening to my room with the dancing chords of mantras in my body.

After a shower the mantras continue dancing in my inner body ... The bodymind is filled with inner warmth, calmness, a steady flow of energy... from where I am now wondering about the beautiful world around me. In this steady flow, it feels like nothing can make me nervous. I am floating in this immersive inner body flow... “May the long time Sun shine upon you. All love surrounds you. And the pure light within you. Guide your way on, guide your way on, guide your way oo-on...” There are several different versions on YouTube of the closing song we chanted at the end of our kundalini yoga practice. I sing slowly with the videos in my bed, following the lyrics sensitising the words... word by word. Little by little, my song turns into a hum, and I slowly flow towards lying position. The final song within my body. I fall asleep.

The adjusting practice illustrated in this detailed vignette takes place at the end of my first yoga retreat holiday. It shows how luxury emerges within the embodied sociomaterial practice of kundalini yoga. The adjusting takes place as shifting into knowing of “inner peace and freedom, a sense of flow, transcendence of the small self, [and] connection with something greater” (Sheldon, 2020, p. 1). In this practice, the external and inner body movement entangle with each other within diverse rhythmic bodily activities (see Gherardi, 2019; Massumi, 2002). This entanglement unites as affective vibration, inner body pulsation which attunes the body to the knowing of luxury.

The vignette describes how the body attunes to the coming within various preparative practices (Kuuru & Närvänen, 2020), such as clothing and grounding practices. Firstly, adjusting takes place within a particular clothing practice that in this vignette materialises as wearing white clothing. The clothing practices are guided by the yoga teacher. The organic nature and colour of clothing represent the essential epistemic practice of kundalini yoga as they allow the flow of energy as depicted in the vignette. The nature of the clothing, the colour as well as the organic fabric is a

meaningful part of the practice, similar to knowing the texture of sand with our bare skin (Obrador Pons, 2009). We know the world first and foremost through our skin, which might not be registered by our conscious mind (see Massumi, 2002). The most natural qualities of clothing allow capacity to connect into the “energetic field” as described in the vignette.

Secondly, closing the eyes enables us to enter into the more sophisticated knowing through sociomaterial practices. The pre-practice attuning occurs in grounding, being open and allowing the body to be affected by the rhythmic gravitational field of the earth (Massumi, 2002, p. 103; see Menigoz et al., 2020), as also discussed in Chapter 5.2.3, Reconnecting. The embodied knowing of luxury begins to form already as my lying body and the rhythms of the earth entangle (see Massumi, 2002). This way, the body tunes in, grounds and is rooted to be part of the surrounding outer space. Further, while lying on my yoga mat, knowing takes place as my bare hands touch the grass and soil (see Obrador Pons, 2009) grounding me into the present time, place and my core, the central spot in my body. These pre-practices (that I have discussed earlier in Chapter 5.2.3, The Sacred Yoga Shala) are meaningful as it is only with the capacity they afford that I am able to be present to myself, to practice and to others.

In the vignette, I move my body along the external order, movement belonging to the kriya (a specific sequence of physical actions that work towards a particular outcome) (Yogapedia, 2018) and in co-motion with the other yoga bodies. Collaborative mantra chanting and rhythmic, controlled breathing speed up the flow of the air in our shared space as well as in my inner body. More specifically, the flow of air in the outer space and inner space entangle and materialise in the inner body as “living impulses within the body” (Gatt, 2020, p. 3; Massumi, 2002). It is an entangled continuous becoming together within which my body knows especially during the pauses of outer movement as the “teacher urges us to feel the inner body vibration”, as illustrated in the vignette. In this vignette, releasing the ego (see Sheldon, 2020) is thus shaped within the mutual ongoing practice ordered by the “voiced breath” (Gatt, 2020, p. 16). In accordance with Gatt’s notions, the vignette sheds light on the adjusting practice through the embodied knowing arising from the order afforded by the entangled voiced breath, mantra chanting and bodily movement within the practice of kundalini yoga.

However, as can be read in the vignette, I begin with the meaningful preparative practices before the social practice of kundalini yoga. In addition to the particular clothing practice, kundalini yoga kriya holds mantra chanting (Engl. “a sound, word or phrase that alters consciousness through meaning, tone, rhythm, or physical vibration”)(Yogapedia, 2020) and forming mudras (Engl. a hand gesture) in order to perform a particular kriya. Our bodies chant mantras in a foreign language and we move our bodies according to the kriya. The teacher facilitates the practice in translating to us the main message of the sacred mantras (Engl. “tools of thought”)

which are “used as means of harnessing and focusing the mind” (Yogapedia, 2022). In guidance, I form a particular mudra with my fingers which activate the nerve endings to “create a subtle connection with instinctual patterns in the brain and influence the unconscious reflexes in these areas” (Madhav University, 2022). Mudras “guide the energy flow to specific areas of the brain” and forming a mudra “leads to increased flow of prana (vital life force energy) in the body” (Madhav University, 2022). According to Yoga Journal (2022), the practice of mudra channels the prana into the “areas of the body that need healing”. Further, each mudra has its own particular intention and “moves the energy in a specific way throughout the body to create subtle physical, mental, and emotional changes” (Yoga Journal, 2022). In sum, these particular elements of the kundalini yoga support the body’s immersing into the practice and allow the emergence of luxury.

With the entangled co-movement, in rotating, and with the back and forth movement we awaken the kundalini energy sleeping in the spine. As I chant, I move my mouth, lips, bones, joints and the tissues of the skull. The external movement of my body affords movement in my inner body. Chanting, in turn, affords a particular character to the simultaneous breathing and rouses the “inner winds” of the body that “flow in the veins” (Low & Hsu, 2007, p. S1). I can feel this active movement as flowing impulses inside my body that bring vitality, aliveness to my body (see Gatt, 2020; Massumi, 2002), on my lips, on my tongue, inside of my mouth, inside my chest, in my spine (see Merchant, 2011, p. 230). Chanting arouses intense affectivities and transports me to the present (Lefebvre, 2004) in a different way than normally, as I consciously perceive the knowing brought by the proprioceptive and interoceptive senses (Massumi, 2002). They bring embodied knowing within chanting, rhythmic breathing, and bodily activity. I breathe consciously, the air flows between the interior and exterior of my body, affording vitality into different parts of my body (Massumi, 2002).

For the emergence of luxury, both the affectivities aroused within the rhythmic outer and inner movement as well as their unification into the kundalini energy bringing strength and consciousness are equally important. Still, the pauses of outer movements between the sequences become meaningful as it is through the externally stilled body that the nuanced embodied knowing of luxury can be felt in a more intense way. Pauses, the silencing of the outer movement of the body, are an opportunity to allow the releasing into the luxury of unity to emerge. Our joint outer movement may stop, but the movement continues inside my body. The powerful recitation of vowels and consonants in the form of mantra chants resonates in the inner cavities of my entire body, in the material flesh, organs, veins and nervous system, filling my entire bodymind with a particular flow (Gatt, 2020, p. 3; Lefebvre, 2004; Massumi, 2002). During pauses, consciously breathing in the movement, I sense this inner movement, resonance, vibration which brings me a different, embodied knowing of luxury beyond rational knowledge. These vibrations

that I sense in my inner space bring me into a physical and soulful state of conscious presence, balance and connection. The life force pulsates strongly inside my body (Gatt, 2020, p. 4). This kind of affective knowing can be related to Hemetsberger et al.'s (2012, p. 485) notions of “self-integration and self-other relations” through vibration or oscillation that afford unexpected moment of luxury. Dwelling in these inner body sensations and a different state of being affords me embodied knowing of being alive in my whole body. The embodied knowing materialises in my inner body as pulsating affects, feeling the flow of “life force” (In Sansrit: prana) through all my tissues and cells. Moreover, in the vignette the body is also affected by the chanting of fellow yoga bodies’ and their vibration. Thus, there is an ongoing collaborative, entangling vibration in which bodies affect and are affected by mantra chanting, which in turn affects their knowing together. This implies a release through a new practice that has a capacity for the knowing of luxury to arise. Similar findings can be read in the study of Kreuzer et al. (2020, p. 487), where the authors make notice of “experiencing interpersonal synchrony”, “perceived energy” between people and the togetherness contributing to the moments of care in their study on luxury experiences of healthcare consumers. In addition of showing how to adjust to the new way of embodied being, the vignette also illustrates how the body is liberated in the practice of kundalini yoga. As also demonstrated by Hemetsberger et al., (2012, p. 485): both integration and liberation are experienced as luxury.

These nuanced intensities of releasing practice within this new social practice of kundalini yoga while being surrounded by nature, affords reaching another level of affective consciousness as an “intense existential experience” of luxury (Hemetsberger et al., 2012, p. 486). However, contrary to findings presented by Hemetsberger et al. (2012, p. 486), the vignette demonstrates that this unexpected sensory state of being is ordered by the activity, i.e. bodily movement of kundalini yoga and is not merely a result of pure being.

At the end of the practice, the knowing of luxury appears within the pulsating, vibrating flows in different parts of my body and in a half-awake sensory state as illustrated in the vignette (see Gherardi, 2019; Valtonen & Haanpää, 2018). I am still affected by the kundalini yoga practice and remain in another sensory state (cf. Merchant, 2011, p. 230) though feeling energetic (Massumi, 2002). Despite the unfamiliar practice, the body is affected by the intensive flow of kundalini yoga. In liberating my normative self (Hemetsberger et al., 2012), I have again been open (e.g. Massumi, 2002) to be affected by this new yoga practice that indeed (Merchant, 2011, p. 230) “enriched and refined my knowledge of the body”. Collective movement and the connecting with fellow present bodies affords my body an affective liberation to engage into the practice. This resulted in the feeling of being attuned to something bigger at the same time (see Sheldon, 2020; von Wallpach et al., 2020).

Finally, the practice arouses intensive knowing of luxury. Even though the practice itself is over, the vignette shows how the knowing and enjoyment of equilibrium

remains within the body. The embodied luxury continues to dwell within the inner body long after the practice is over, and entails the potential to affect all sociomaterialities around me in bringing joy and harmony.

5.4 Guarding

Guarding refers to the practices in which the state of luxury might not emerge as such. However, guarding practices are meaningful due to their supportive nature. They support the affective attuning to the harmonious flow of luxury (see Hemetsberger et al., 2012). The lack of guarding practices, in turn, may cause arrhythmia or discordance to the flow. Significantly, they may take place months before arriving to the yoga retreat holiday, starting from the booking of flight ticket. Still, they also occur while in place, for instance within the particular eating practice. That is, eating only at times appropriate to the body and not being guided by the normative cycle of meal times such as breakfast – lunch – dinner. Performing the guarding practices may thus also mean leaving out something, which might traditionally be considered being a part of tourism practices or luxury experience such as having a glass of champagne at the airport upon departure or enjoying fancy dinner with exotic dishes. I will now proceed to elaborating guarding practices in detail.

5.4.1 The body en route

Feeling stuffy and swollen. My stomach has not functioned properly, even though it is already the third day here. On the way here, I already spent a couple of days in Bangkok to ease the time difference, and my digestion worked miraculously after the flight. I wonder what is now causing this constipation... even though I am totally at ease with this familiar place, its people and practices... However, I have noticed that my metabolism often slows down while travelling, at least in the beginning of the holiday. Yet, by this time of the holiday, my body would usually have recovered from all the strain associated with travelling and the intestines would work quite normally, freeing energy and enabling me to concentrate on other matters.

I wonder if this constipation has something to do with not being able to follow the normal daily rhythm of eating habits so well during travelling hours. After all, while travelling the eating rhythm and quality of the food are different from what one's body is used to. One is obliged to eat irregularly and what happens to be available, have comfort food, nibble several (unhealthy) snacks, enjoy the same food with the others for social reasons as well as sleep and move in the pace of the travel schedule which might imply night time as well. I have skipped the ubiquitous airport menus filled with convenience food like pizza, pasta, burgers, antipastos, salads, Asian food, food with additives... Instead I looked for a meal prepared from pure ingredients and served in a peaceful environment – though this is not so easily found at airports. And it does not have to be

fine dining. In the beginning of the journey, a glass of sparkling wine would be a perfect start, but I only ordered spring water. Drinking alcohol is no good to the flying body, or otherwise. I just wanted to enjoy a healthy, warm meal because I knew that this would not be available until arriving at the resort.

In this vignette, the sociomaterial practices during the travelling phase of the holiday are depicted. The vignette illustrates how the en route practices form a meaningful part of the holiday, even if this phase is often less discussed, and more attention is given to the destination experience (Small & Harris, 2014). Moreover, the vignette elaborates the en route phase practices through the intimate knowing emerging within the body. The interoceptive senses of the inner body space bring me information about the inner workings of my body (see Massumi, 2002). The interoceptive knowing guides me to analyse the arising internal knowing, the dysfunction and arrhythmia in my metabolism as well as the en route practices affecting it.

Travelling involves a variety of changes to the normal rhythm of life: hectic practices, new people, objects, habits, instructions and regulations, early wake-ups to catch the flight, short nights, temperature and time differences, crowds and rushing. The diversified en route practices may upset and stress the body, thus launching it into a state of alertness (see Simpson, 2021; Small & Harris, 2014; Wilson, 2011). It is the agencement of several en route practices which prevent the embodied knowing of luxury to emerge and all retreat holiday's sociomaterial practices are thus affected. Luxury food is commonly discussed as related to fine dining in luxury hospitality services, gastronomic experiences, special occasions, to being rare, exotic or expensive or, finally, as a way for social distinction (Batat, 2020; van der Veen, 2003; Yang & Mattila, 2016). However, the vignette exemplifies a novel approach in which food receives its luxury meaning through various practices around eating and, moreover, through the positive effects of food on the body during en route practices.

The functional and experiential nature of food experiences in the luxury gastronomic field has previously been recognised in luxury literature (e.g. Batat, 2020; Yang & Mattila, 2016). Healthy food and the sensory, aesthetic are found to be essential in the formation of sustainable food experiences (Batat, 2020). The notion of sustainability is discussed in relation to the corporate social responsibility which, however, is said to entail people (companies' and customers' perspective), the planet and profit as its pillars. However, these discussions do not entail the aesthetics and ethics of a body which are regarded as inborn and affects the food experience practices. Further, the functional and emotional well-being of tourists as related to the destination's gastronomy is also forwarded in literature together with how the capacity to affect through the appropriateness of food, healthiness and nourishment in relation to practices around food is entailed (Björk & Kauppinen-Räsänen, 2017). In another study, functionality

affords value through quality food and immaterial actors, such as attentive service and environment (Yang & Mattila, 2016). Tourists' culinary experiences are also discussed in relation to the body's external spatio-temporalities (Bjork & Kauppinen-Räsänen, 2016). Still, more importantly, it has also observed how the understanding of a luxury food is defined within each culture and community (van der Veen, 2003). It has been suggested that healthy eating is understood more as being related to "feeling great, having more energy, stabilising our mood, and keeping ourselves as healthy as possible" rather than relating the healthiness solely to nutritional facts (Hrelia, 2015, p. 1).

The unfolding of the emergence of embodied knowing of luxury as expressed in the thoughts above, might be connected with the notions arising in the vignette. The illustrated sociomaterial practices of eating allow one to disclose the inner body eating practices which are innately affected by the (ir)regular eating rhythm, although they are also affected by the epistemic practices of a particular community. As I observe it, the luxury emerging within eating practices is largely based on the functional, qualitative properties of food, a regular eating rhythm suitable for my body, and slow eating. Still, to this form of luxury I don't always have time to focus on in my busy quotidian life. Notably, functionality does not exclude the aesthetics of food and eating, which are also an essential part of the luxury in my retreat holiday. On the other hand, alcoholic beverages, white sugar or wheat flour are not part of my retreat holiday (or rarely everyday) pleasures, because they again cause arrhythmia in my body's natural function, block my intestines and decrease immunity. These notions support the body's well-being and, therefore, also the emergence of luxury. Indeed, in the vignette I am not feeling lively or fully present and my thoughts are constantly drifting into the stuffy feeling of my body (Colls, 2012, p. 439; see Nichter, 2008, p. 173) due to the en route irregularities upsetting the body.

Apparently, the stagnation in my metabolism stops me from enjoying the food or the yoga practice, which affects the state of my entire bodymind, energy level and all the activities in my retreat holiday practices (see Macnaughton, 2020, p. 18; Markuksela, 2013, p. 159; see Massumi, 2002). The bodymind feels blocked, irritated and restless. The gut is connected to our nervous system, brain and through that to our mind (Massumi, 2002), my affective state and thus affecting the knowing of luxury. Accordingly, a normally functioning body and the daily functioning of metabolism would afford well-being luxury in my knowing. Incidentally, it is only through a functioning metabolism that I am able to enjoy the retreat holiday practice the most.

Even though I do not consider my stomach sensitive, worrying about the next appropriate restroom is a constant concern while traveling and may cause stress. There may not be hygienic, clean, pleasant-smelling restrooms available in many cases, I mean ones that would fulfil my criteria. During travelling it is common that one also has to regu-

late one's natural flow of metabolism. It is no good for the body and mind to restrain flatulence which, however, is necessary in public social spaces. It makes me irritated and restless. Sometimes even being a bit ashamed if – for some reason – there is an increased need to urinate. For example, in the aircraft I am obliged to numerous times bother people sitting next to me to find my way to the aisle and restroom because of the intense drinking of water during the flight. The sanitary facilities on the planes are small and often unclean due their heavy use. During the minibus drive, the bus has its pre-defined pausing stops. The time allocated for the stops must be used wisely as it takes time to queue to the restrooms and to the checkout counter in order to perform all the necessary tasks within the limit of the given time.

The above illustration continues with the disruption of embodied knowing of luxury within the intimate practice of metabolism. It shows how the most mundane and natural inner body practice of waste removal is essential and affects the emergence of luxury. In the vignette, the practices around metabolism are elaborated not only through the particular aesthetic criteria of restrooms, but also through the situated rhythms that dominate and order the affordances to en route waste removal (see Edensor & Holloway, 2008; Lefebvre, 2004). Along my regular yoga practice I had also become familiar with Chinese and Ayurvedic medicine and their understanding of the flow of energies in the inner body and how the process of cleaning the internal organs is allocated in the course of different times of the day (see Mora et al., 2018). Restraining intestinal gases disrupts the flow of energy. I find it very uncomfortable not to let the body follow its natural functioning, to remove the accumulated gases. It does no good to my body, which inherently aligns towards its natural state. Holding back only increases swelling and irritation as well as causes pinching in the stomach. Further, well-being practices are related to embodied hydrating practices in drinking lots of water during the flight which, however, affects relationships between passengers and the emotional climate/ affective culture within the micro-environment of an aircraft (see Reckwitz, 2012; Small & Harris, 2014). Moreover, it brings out how the knowing is affected by the dominating external rhythms which, in turn, affect the embodied knowing days after arriving at the destination. Small and Harris (2014) have noted how little attention is given to relationships between passengers during a journey.

I find that my blocked metabolism causes irritability and restlessness, an inability to be fully present. The middle body feels heavy and it affects all my being and doing. My concentration is directed there. It is as if the energy is blocked in my gut. Even yoga practice feels different with a blocked stomach. I lost my appetite, too. How liberating would it be if my metabolism worked normally now? It would release a huge amount of energy, cleanse and I would also be able to enjoy eating, the meals on my sheltered terrace or join the others at the beach breakfast and in interesting conversations... I continue to drink a

lot of water and swing myself in a yoga squat to launch the moving of waste in the inner body space. Well, I wish my tummy would begin to function.

Even though I know my body and I try to support its natural practice, as demonstrated in the vignette, I am unable to find a reason for the congestion, arrhythmia in my inner body, as I am not able to fully control it. I can consciously and subconsciously control my body's performance only partially, yet my body has the power to override my control (Macnaughton, 2020; Massumi, 2002). This power becomes visible especially in the dysfunctional or painful states of inner body (see Macnaughton, 2020) affecting my affective state. Freedom from such arrhythmia in the inner body space or the dispute about control – in which I remain at a loss - brings a new dimension to the luxury of freedom from the body's point of view (see Llamas, 2015, 2016).

5.4.2 The luxury of sleeping tight

The third night in a row when I sleep poorly. I wake up at three o'clock in the morning, after which I'm tossing and turning nervously in the sheets for the rest of the night. How can it take so long for my body to adjust to the time difference?

Before the retreat holiday, I already spent a couple of nights in Bangkok levelling the five-hour time difference. Or what could be the reason for this poor sleeping? I feel safe in this familiar environment... I am in the shelter of my regular room, I have appeased my evening, followed my evening routines... The air conditioner is operating normally, so that cannot be blamed. Nor can I blame the full moon as the moon is just growing. And last night I didn't even fall into the trap called social media after going to bed, I just sent good night greetings to my family. Most of the time I am able to leave my mobile phone in peace. In my leisure time, I am almost allergic to it. I wouldn't want to see and touch or spend my time on my mobile taking up my valuable free time. I am and wish to be here, fully present, to myself, with everything around me, physically and mentally, in this time and place. Now. I surrender into being and experiencing life.

In the dark hours of the night, I revolve in my bed. I almost start missing my 9–10 hours of sleep at home. Now, instead, I crawl up from the bed, slightly irritated. Getting up at seven o'clock feels difficult, although this morning yoga begins an hour later, exceptionally. My head feels swollen, my body stiff and restless. My smart ring indicates that my "readiness" is 85 points. Hmph, according to points, I've recovered well last night, and that "Today is a good day to challenge yourself". My foot! I don't always believe in the diagnoses presented by my smart ring, even though I am still following its measurements. I do my morning activities in a groggy state, slip into my yoga pants and head towards our Yoga Shala.

This morning's yoga is a "gentle practice for tired jet lag bodies, reeaaal calming" our instructor gently emphasizes her words. She urges us to first inhale through the nose and then to slowly exhale the air out of the mouth. To myself, it sounds appropriate for this state of being, even though I don't think my body is as tired from the journey as it is

from the time difference and last night's poor sleep. I move in the pace of the breathing, allowing the breath to refresh me from the inside of my body. The yoga series with "basic movements and poses" feels just enough this morning to keep up with the practice. In fact, I don't feel very well. I try to breathe the nausea away, but the malaise rises at the same rate with the sun and heat.

This morning the sounds of the street and the waking village – the confusing beeps of mopeds, the chatter of a roadside construction site and the songs of a rooster – sound surprisingly loud. Could this be because the surrounding village is already starting to wake up at this time, since we have started our practice an hour later than normally? Or are my senses just more sensitive this morning due to a poorly slept night? The soft back bendings increase the feeling of malaise inside me. Ok, I give up of back bendings today, although usually my morning practice is more intense. I fold my body on Balasana – a child's pose to breathe the malaise away.

Sleeping is an inherent part of the tourist's everyday practices (Rantala & Valtonen, 2014; Valtonen & Veijola, 2011). Sleeping well is not merely a hedonic act, but a focal inborn practice taking place in the background of the extraordinary while still being the prerequisite for enabling capacity to other successful holiday practices. Sleeping well affords the capacity for well-being, balance and good energy for the following day (see Lefebvre, 2004; Massumi, 2002; Philo et al., 2015; Waitt & Duffy, 2010) which is anticipated especially in a holiday practice. Attaining "luxurious states of harmony" demands "stocking up energy" (Hemetsberger et al., 2012, p. 486), for example, a good night's sleep which can even be the purpose of a luxurious holiday (Valtonen & Moisander, 2012). Therefore, the vignette illustrates how being able to wake up feeling lively correlates with knowing luxury through feeling alive (see e.g., von Wallpach et al., 2020). Indeed, it shows how luxury is not emerging solely in practices while the body is awake. Rather the embodied knowing in day time practices is related to the sensory states and practices taking place already earlier in the night (see Valtonen et al., 2017).

The vignette shows how the unruly, defying body that is resistant to sleep affects the knowing of luxury. As has been noted, in the vignette the sleeping practices allowing capacity for the luxury of sleeping are in order – at least in regards of the functional actors, premises of the luxury hotel room (see Iloranta, 2019). The room is quiet and dark, the bed is comfortable and "appropriate" for the body, the air conditioning is functioning properly, i.e., blowing a silent flow of air with adjusted temperature and not blowing air towards the head. More importantly, like illustrated also in previous vignettes, the body is sleeping in a familiar environment and feeling safe. However, the foundation that luxury hotel forms for performing the luxury of sleeping is only partial. The knowing of luxury is entangled with the inner body performing which has inherent power to disrupt the emergence of luxury regardless of the luxury hotel premises.

In the course of several years of overnighing in global high-class hotels, I have developed diverse bodily techniques to balance the inner body jet-lag with various success from evening milk to carrying my own pillow with me (see Eskola et al., 2022). In the vignette, I apply these bodily techniques contributing to soothing evening practices, for example not being engaged with the mobile phone and social media as the blue light shining from the phone increases the alertness of the body (see Lefebvre, 2004, p. 83). However, as exemplified, I have the habit of sending good night wishes to my loved ones while going to bed. This way the retreat holiday practices are dominated by the practices of bodies living in two different time zones. By this I mean the time zone my body is present in and the other one my family members and close friends inhabit. Even though my family members are not accompanying the retreat holiday, they are present in my thoughts and I am aware of being present in their thoughts as well, thus, they are co-participating in the formation of knowledge. In other words, our bodies affect and are affected by each other even if there are thousands of kilometres between us. This is evident in the evening practice of anticipating and sending the messages via social media platforms which, naturally, affects the sleeping practices. The other times of the day, I avoid being engaged with mundane mobile phone practices. I wish to stay in my flow. Opening the mobile would break this attuning to embodied luxury vibrating in the form of secret rhythms inside my body (Leban et al., 2020; Lefebvre, 2004). Instead, I am dwelling in my inner body and continue chanting in my hotel room and into the world of dreams.

The vignette further acknowledges the embodied knowing which emerges in an agencement in which the inner body space is connecting with the cosmic “outer space” (Massumi, 2002, p. 201; see Lefebvre, 2004). The vignette illustrates the relationality of knowing with the various phases of the moon, how a full moon affects the inner body functioning and, therefore, sleeping, just as in the nature where the movement of tides are affected by the phases of the moon. In sum, knowing together with the cosmic world is a natural way of knowing in the world, to understand the bodies as corporeal entities being affected by cosmic activities as well (Lefebvre, 2004; Massumi, 2002; Nichter, 2008).

In the morning, my smart ring provides information which contradicts the knowing arising through my body. The rational mind –mediated by the technological device of a smart ring – overrules the knowing arising from the inner body, and I decide to attend morning yoga as programmed. However, even though I apply various bodily techniques also over the course of the yoga practice, like breathing techniques, they turn out to be of little help. Forcing the body to make external moves against the knowing arising in my inner body (Lefebvre, 2004) results in the affectivities of nausea and “poor performance” in the course of the sociomaterial practice of a morning yoga (see Valtonen et al., 2017). Thus, I am disconnected from the inner flow of luxury.

Through attending the morning yoga I aimed to “mediate [my] physical and biological flows” Schatzki (2010, p. 137) in the hope of raising the “matter-energy flow” to make my bodymind to feel better. Nonetheless, it is in vain as illustrated by the vignette, and also suggested in Schatzki (2010, p. 138) as follows: “organisms and matter-energy flow through practice-arrangement nexuses regardless of whether and how labour and technology channel, shape, or capture the flows involved”. Specifically, the emerging inner body knowing overrides the rational knowing through technological devices. The arrhythmic body has its own rhythms which dominate the rational mind orders (Valtonen & Närvänen, 2016, p. 382) affecting all states of being and shaping the daytime practices. This also aligns with Schatzki’s (2010, p. 138) notion that “materiality [of the body] pervades social life regardless of the extent and the ways... that labour and technology contribute to its presence”. To specify, in the vignette luxury may have emerged through “obeying” the knowledge arising in the matter-energy flow of a human body even though that would mean skipping the social event of morning yoga, the regular peak experience of the day. Instead, the end part of the vignette demonstrates the effects of the emerged practice agencement. Here, the effects of bad sleeping are illustrated in relation to one of the peak moments of the holiday, namely the yoga practice. Still, they affect the knowing throughout the entire day, as continued in the following vignette that introduces the chapter on Me time.

5.4.3 Me time

I am enjoying breakfast on my terrace but for some reason I don’t seem to have an appetite. I have a poorly slept night behind me, I am tired and feel a bit of malaise. Fortunately, I didn’t promise to join the others for a day trip to the neighbourhood. It would have been challenging to join in this state of mine. My “sightseeing” are found in my own little, sweet routines that run along the axis of my hotel room, Yoga Shala, beach, sea and spa. I have noticed that during my yoga retreat holiday, I avoid getting out of my own circles. My own familiar daily routines and rhythms keep me happy. Fortunately, there are no major temptations, attractions, shopping malls or a selection of appealing restaurants in this small village. My biggest external excursion is probably having a dinner with fellow group members in the local restaurant at the small main road crossing the village.

Once during a retreat holiday, our group is usually having dinner in another high-end hotel at the village main street. Sometimes I participate, sometimes I don’t, depending on my mood, if I feel like dressing up or applying some make-up. Most of the time the opening and closing dinners at our own hotel are often sufficient for me. Occasionally, I have also taken part in our joint one evening shopping trip to a bigger city nearby. While these visits and deviations from my routines have been quite invigorating, I find that they may fracture something... The “magic” of my retreat holiday somehow breaks. The social evening gatherings leave less time for evening

relaxation and my own routines, as well as for a good night's sleep. And this decreases the energy level the following day.

It feels good not to have a need – or temptations – to go anywhere from the hotel premises or to deviate from my own familiar routines. In this place, there is no internal need or burn to go and do some sightseeing or experience something outside of regular retreat holiday routines. It is somehow very reassuring. Well, I do go on my inner journey every day. Even though the environment and yoga holiday are the same, I am not the same as I was the previous day, week, month, year as I am constantly in the state of becoming. Similarly, practicing the same ashtanga yoga series: the practice is always the same, but the bodymind arriving on the mat is always different. The life in me is constantly changing shape.

Due to my low energy level, I decide to retract to the hammock situated in front of the terrace. I close my eyes. The wind swings me softly... At some point, the midday's burning sun makes me awake. The wind has put me to sleep. Still feeling groggy, I crawl slowly up from the hammock. I gently stretch my limbs to wake myself up. Something makes me smile... a warm feeling floats in my body... Hmm, I might have seen a sweet dream though, I don't remember the details.

At this point, I return to Chapter 5.1.3, Orienting, where I already discussed the holiday advertisement that caused reassuring affectivities in me. This advertisement by a Finnish yoga studio did not suggest any forceful, pre-scheduled performing of a holiday or acting according to dominant external rhythms (see Lefebvre, 2004), but rather advertised the liberty to use the time according to one's own wishes and rhythms. In the vignette above, I am now settled in place, living true the emanating "affective field" (Jóhannesson & Lund, 2017, p. 189) that takes place in the rhythmic entanglements of diverse actors and spaces, bodies, nature and the cosmos (Lefebvre, 2004; see Massumi, 2002). In the vignette, I discuss attuning to the flow of luxury within the continuously emerging natural rhythm of the inner body. Again, luxury is released as the situated sociomaterial practices allow the body to be their orienting centre, thus adapting to the dynamic rhythms of a touristic body (Lefebvre, 2004, p. xii). This ongoing, processual "flow of becoming" is a complex entanglement of "planned and unplanned happenings, always and inevitably embodied, sensual, affective" informed by its context "within which it occurs and unfolds" (Edensor & Holloway, 2008, p. 483; Gherardi, 2019) which affects the emerging knowing of luxury. The vignette also demonstrates how the body is attached in two different realities and how the effect of the world of dreams brings unexpected joy to the awake state (Valtonen et al., 2017).

In the beginning of the vignette, I discuss how the limited attractions or shopping opportunities in the hotel's surroundings support stillness and harmony and therefore allow capacity to attune to the flow of luxury. There are not many disruptive external temptations, stimuli, in that particular environment. Due to the

few external disruptions, I do not feel the need to deviate from my familiar, ordinary practices that support my attuning. With the familiar practices and my own habits, I am able to focus on my routines that bring me more vitality and balance than deviating from them (see Chaplin, 2002, p. 227; Thompson et al., 2005). However, I bring out how myself: my bodymind and my inner body, are constantly in the state of becoming (Lefebvre, 2004; Massumi, 2002). The “secret rhythms” vary from day to day (Lefebvre, 2004, p. 18). I listen and appreciate the knowing arising in my inner body and let my ongoing energy level “take” me, intuitively, and my days are shaped based on this processual becoming (see Chaplin, 2002; cf. Katila, Kuismin, et al., 2019). It is challenging to plan the sensory state in advance due to the body’s secret rhythms – like those affecting the luxury of sleeping – since those tend to not obey external rhythms and cannot be tamed with different bodily techniques (cf. Katila, Kuismin; et al., 2019; Valtonen et al., 2010. p. 378), as demonstrated by the earlier vignette. Therefore, I rather withdraw from the pre-programmed activities.

In the hammock, the wind bounces off me, soothing my body with its gentle pace. I thank myself for not having committed to the external, dominating rhythms, to move my body to join the other bodies of our group leaving on a day trip to the surrounding area. This grants me the capacity to follow my own daytime rhythms the way they emerge in my “free time” (Valtonen, 2004, p. 72) connecting my “secret rhythms” (Lefebvre, 2004, p. 18) and routines. To possess the capacity to use all the time between the morning and evening yoga intuitively, listening to my own body, paced by the current vitality and rhythms of my own body, in my own routines (see Rantala & Valtonen, 2014; Saldanha, 2002) allows for luxury to emerge. I have my own daily “dressage” that forms continuously according to the energy level of my biological body and affords the capacity to engage into the flow of luxury - bringing me joy and inner peace (see Hemetsberger et al., 2012).

In the practices of this particular hotel, it is possible to live according to my own rhythm and energy level, because as shown in the vignette, the hotel’s practices are flexible, they adapt to my rhythms and not the other way around (see Lefebvre, 2004). Luxury is shaping through the “free flow of being” (Chaplin 2002, p. 222) not acting according to the dominating rhythms of events that are tightly bound to linear time (Lefebvre, 2004). Instead, acting according to the natural rhythm, energy level, vitality and cyclic time of my own body creates a “deep feeling of satisfaction”, inherent affectivities of belonging to the nature and cosmos (Kolehmainen & Kinnunen, 2020, p. 102). My knowledge of time arises from my body following the circulation of the sun, not from the time shown by the watch on my wrist. “It is the nonlinearity and profundity of inner time that ‘gear’ the listener into the world” (Saldanha, 2002, p. 55).

After waking up from the hammock, I find myself affectively in an intermediate state, inbetween sleep and awake, inbetween two realities. The world of dreams becomes part of my awake state’s knowing of the world, the “reality of being”

(Valtonen et al., 2017, p. 531). In addition to renewing my material body in napping, the knowing of the world is complemented by the arousing sweet, unknown dreams. The dreams pulsate sweetly within my body as I awake into a more conscious state. This way dreaming taking place in an unconscious sensory state adds an unexpected, refreshing, intimate dimension that affects the knowing body for the rest of the day. Thus, it is not only rational dreaming of luxury, but also dreaming that appears outside of our rational control as a creation of the subconscious, that has its own luxury value as long as it is appreciated (cf. Kapferer & Valette-Florence, 2016). Here, it is the 'sensory release' instead of 'sensory attachment' that enhances the bodily capacity to re-engage with the knowing (Valtonen et al., 2017, p. 520) of luxury.

5.5 Releasing practices

5.5.1 Undressing – freeing from clothing and sociomaterial constraints

Finally I am in my hotel room after the long journey. I open the doors leading to the balcony, and with the help of voile curtains I close the doorway to provide privacy from outside. I am eager to undress my travel clothing to allow my body and skin to breath. My skin is screaming for fresh air after the long winter season. Aah... also my swollen stomach is happily released while I am undressing from layer to layer. Flying at night and irregular and inappropriate nutrition during the journey have accumulated gases into my intestines and stomach.

After having a shower, I saunter into my room without any clothing. I enjoy the sense of purity, and the warm, humid warm air touching gently my skin and wrapping my entire body. My stomach is now free to breathe naturally – expanding and contracting. Even wearing a bikini would feel too tight for this moment. The rough stone floor massages my nude soles. I am unpacking my luggage in my birthday suit – fulfilment and inner joy are infusing my body and mind.

In the Orienting and Reconnecting practices, I already discussed the luxury of a single room. I now continue to unfold what privacy might mean in practice. As depicted in the vignette, private practices in a single room allow the body to be released from the sociomaterial restrains of travelling. Along the long travelling of almost twelve hours, my body has been dominated to move in the 'rhythm of the others' (Lefebvre, 2004), to comply with external sociomaterial practices, rules and regulations. Correspondingly, the movement of my inner body has been disrupted by the dominating rhythms of travel. The luxury of a single room enables intimate practices that allow capacity for luxury to arise.

During the journey, the body has been ordered to sit in a narrow airplane seat close to many other strange bodies, eating and drinking what is available at airport

restaurants or in the aircraft as well as walking and queueing long distances in the middle of a night in crowded and noisy airports and in their security checks (see Adey, 2009; Small & Harris, 2014). The night flight and flying over several time zones have ordered the body to adjust to the rhythm of flight timetables (see von Wallpach et al., 2020, p. 496). The travelling practices have prevented the body from following its natural external and inner “rhythms of the self” (Lefebvre, 2004, p. 95); they have set the body’s natural, inner rhythms and the function of intestines into the affective state of arrhythmia (Lefebvre, 2004; see Rantala & Valtonen, 2014). However, the private room in the hotel allows the body its intimate practices (Valtonen & Närönen, 2016) as the body is in the quest for its natural equilibrium (see Lefebvre, 2004, p. 80).

In my private room, the body is liberated from the gazes (see von Wallpach et al. 2020, p. 496; cf. Holmqvist et al. 2020) and from the en route “weaving between and among bodies” (Edensor, 2001, 2000a, p. 340). Thus, I am finally able to free the body from all clothing, the “microsocial order” that “makes our bodies acceptable to a social situation” (Entwistle, 2000, p. 326). My naked body enjoys the affective touch of the tropical climate instead of my body being wrapped by cold winter season and thick clothing (Obrador Pons, 2009; see Holmqvist et al., 2020; Massumi, 2002). This nude practice and being able to engage my own rhythms allow me to release my body to function in its natural rhythm which, at the same time, releases luxury.

The vignette shows how freeing the body from all clothing affects the knowing (Obrador Pons, 2007) of luxury. This is a controversial view in regards to the more conventional understanding of luxury being tied to the practice of dressing up or wearing a special (branded) clothes. In the vignette, dressing practices related to luxury are not related to being admired by my appearance (Holmqvist et al., 2020), or becoming the “ideal version” of me (Banister et al., 2020, p. 462), or indulging me with something unnecessary or even liberating myself in the mere psychological sense (Hemetsberger et al., 2012). Instead, luxury emerges within freeing (see Llamas, 2015, 2016; von Wallpach et al., 2020) the body from all clothes down to its most inborn state. Undressing releases the whole body to breathe not only deeply with its lungs, but through the entire body, skin, cells and tissues. Similarly to Macnaughton (2020), I am aware of the expansion, the free movement of my abdomen, as my diaphragm contracts in inspiration and releases as I am exhaling. This free movement releases, little by little, the body from the arrhythmia caused by the clothing. In luxury literature, the prerequisite for the well-being of a body is related to the luxury of breathing clean air (Cristini & Kauppinen-Räsänen, 2020). Still, the calming affectivities of luxury arise also in the rhythm of breathing enabled by undressing practice which allows for the capacity to free the flow of the air. Freeing the air flow is also related to releasing the flatus accumulated in the intestines during the sociomaterial practice of travelling as the body in seeking its equilibrium (see Lefebvre, 2004, p. 80). As Allen (2020) states, a living body is a dynamic metabolic

actor (see Colls, 2012; Lefebvre, 2004). Further, these precognitive bodily functions are related to the affectivities arising in the body (see Kuuru, 2022) and part of the knowing of extraordinary experiences (e.g. Murphy et al., 2019).

The embodied knowing of luxury is also emerging within releasing the feet, soles and toes from the shoes as they have been restricted by winter boots for months. This resonates with Ingold's (2004) understanding that knowledge can also be formed through the feet and in intra-acting with the ground (see Edensor, 2000b, 2000a; Strati, 2007). The feet are freed to their natural state of being and affectivities arise through "muscles and ligaments" (Massumi, 2002, p. 58) and diffuse a different kind of affectivities than having the shoes on. Additionally, the proprioception registers the quality of the ground as the nude skin touches it (Massumi, 2002). Again, here luxury arises not in combining beautiful shoes and skilful movement as expressed in the study by Holmqvist et al. (2020), but, rather, in the capacity to engage the natural rhythm of a body (Lefebvre, 2004) through breathing, and affective knowing through the nude skin in intra-acting with warm air, visceral sensibility and slow rhythmic embodied movement (see Gherardi 2019, p. 104) – in a sauntering sensed as luxury.

5.5.2 Having a spa treatment

The space, spa treatment room is located almost entirely in the open air, on a high, rooftop deck, between the sky and earth, half outdoors. I find the space very picturesque and healing as the nature and sea are so close, as do light and darkness, movement and stagnation. It is a kind of healing atmosphere. In the evening, when it gets dark, this space feels different than it does today, as it is now early afternoon. This time of the day, the space and air are vibrating from the heat and sun and refreshed by the breezes of sea wind. There are no other guests in the spa. Just me and the Massage Therapist. Calming stillness.

As usual, I start my retreat holiday with the hotel's two-hour Signature treatment. I find this treatment to be a magical start for my retreat holiday as it covers my entire body, balmy touches reaching the whole body. During the two hours, the body surrenders and the tensions are released. Today, this Signature treatment is tailored for me to include two shorter treatments: foot reflexology and a Crown Chakra head massage. These two treatments are also my favourites during my stay here. I listen to my body and vary the spa treatments accordingly.

The spa treatment always starts from the feet. With reassuring, but gentle, slow rhythmic palms and fingers, the Massage Therapist presses on the soles of my feet, their reflexology pressure points, and proceeds toward the toes, opening between the toes with a wooden stick. The touches resonate all the way to my head. It feels a bit uncomfortable, but at the same time it releases tensions from the body, leaving a tingling feeling of well-being in my body.

The healing pressures proceed at a slow pace from the soles of the feet to the legs and through the thighs to the upper body. Without a sense of rush. There is ample of time. I

hear a gentle request to turn onto my stomach. I have already plunged into somewhere far away as her voice seems to reach my ears like from behind a curtain of mist. I feel the pressing of warm hands, the spiral movement on my tight upper thighs, back, shoulders and palms. By the end of the week, at the latest, these parts of the body will also be softer, liberated from accumulated metabolic waste and stress, blockages.

She caresses the top of my head with gentle touches, thus signalling my body of a safe touch. She brushes and pulls my hair with tiny movements, going through different parts of my head. Feels like a small eternity. I feel smooth and accommodating pressings on my head. The pressings resonate all the way through my body, as if my bones would be settling into their own natural alignments.

The pressing of the ear's zone therapy points rouses pleasant glimmers. Touches and presses on the right ear arouse different glimmers than the feelings on the left ear. Then the Massage Therapist presses her warm hands on both my ears simultaneously. I can only hear the hum inside my head. The bones of my head are pressed against each other and when the pressure releases the bones feel to align naturally.

The hands retract slowly from my head. Nothing happens during the moment, there is only stillness. It is a wordless sign to indicate that the treatment is over. I am not rushed to leave the space. I can still linger here for a while, enjoying the world of caring, rhythmic, gentle touches that are still playing in my body.

The vignette illustrates the sociomaterial spa practice which allows for luxury to unleash. In the sociomaterial agencement of a spa practice the body relates to various social, material and natural actors within a rhythmic touch (see Gherardi, 2017a; Lefebvre, 2004; Strati, 2007). The knowing of luxury arises through the “balmy [affective] touches” (Paterson, 2016, p. 165; Strati, 2007). However, attuning to this engagement demands openness (see Ingold, 2010; Katila, Kuusmin, et al., 2019; Massumi, 2002) from my body for the “interpersonal synchrony”, “energy flow” (Kreuzer et al., 2020, p. 487) to emerge inbetween our bodies. Bodies affect and are affected (Massumi, 2002). They are mutually “vibrating” in collaborative interaction (Kreuzer et al., 2020, p. 487; Massumi, 2002) in which luxury may emerge.

The practice takes place in a semi-open roof-top room which opens to the sea. The open architecture of the spa room creates a constant state of becoming within the practice, and therefore the knowing is afforded by the diurnal cyclic movement which also affects my knowing of luxury. Behind my closed eyes, I can sense the surrounding nature and movements within it during the duration of the treatment. In addition to being touched by human touch, my body is also touched by warm and humid air (Ingold, 2010; Kolehmainen & Kinnunen, 2020). I feel the changing breezes on my skin, the landing of humid air on my skin, changing temperatures, mild breaths of air whispering in my ears, I can sense the evening winds arriving, the subsiding of the sea waves, the arrival of darkness (Ingold, 2007; see Massumi, 2002). This knowing with nature; the changing of weather and afternoon turning

into evening represents an elementary part of attuning to the knowing of luxury. Knowing appears different as the day progresses: at noon, later in the afternoon or in the early evening (Kolehmainen & Kinnunen, 2020; see Rantala & Valtonen, 2014). Despite the dynamic movement of wind, sea breezes and light in the spa room, I feel safe behind my closed eyes (see Sudbury-Riley et al., 2019).

As I mention in the vignette, having a spa treatment is almost a daily routine for me. The names of the treatments, the “Foot reflexology” or the “Crown Chakra Treatment”, symbolise and disclose their particular nature. They are not ordinary massage treatments, instead their names refer to energy treatments (Lea, 2019). In reflexology, the body is divided into different energy zones, which are pressed in order to open blockages and balance the functioning of different organs and thereby the bodymind. Crown Chakra, in turn, refers to the seventh energy centre of the body, which is located at the top of the head. The Crown Chakra is said to be the gateway to cosmic energy, the universal life energy. During the treatment, the Massage Therapist touches certain points in the area of my head to open the energy flows located there, so that they would spin in a more balanced manner and could thus merge with the cosmic energy field (Lea, 2019; Yoga Journal, 2021).

In the depicted treatments, the luxury emerges within embodied sociomaterial practices through the flow of external and energetic touch (Lea, 2019; see Massumi, 2002). The rhythmic flow of the touching embraces not only the movement of the Massage Therapist’s material body: hands, fingers and arms but also the nature of her voice, words, gestures and gaze (Strati, 2007; see Massumi, 2002). The Massage Therapist’s bodily movements encase diverse shapes and intensities to which my body responds in various affective ways. Having a spa treatment is an intimate sociomaterial practice which receives its luxury meaning within the affectivities arising in my body as well as in the vibration of energy (Lea, 2019; Paterson, 2016, p. 163).

The familiarity of the nature of the spa treatment creates confidence in an affective feeling of safety, which supports immersing in the treatment with my whole sensory body (Simpson, 2021; Strati, 2007). As I mention in the vignette, the treatments I choose are the same every day, yet my body is different every day. Each time, at a different phase of the holiday, on different days, at different times of the day, I arrive for treatment as being a different material becoming body. That is why the same treatments I take never arouse completely identical affectivities. The luxury unveiling in these treatments resonates as the same, however, with a variation in intensities as the bodily sensations vary in different times and sensory states. My bodymind is in a constant state of becoming, moving in the changing inner and outer states of the body as part of a dynamically forming agencement of actors, nature and the cosmos (Lefebvre, 2004; Massumi, 2002).

Each Massage Therapist has her own distinct way in terms of intensity and rhythm of touching, movement, proximity, which I sense through my kinaesthetic sense, as

described in the vignette. In an energy-type treatments, the Massage Therapist's role is of a special significance compared to ordinary massages because the treatment materialises in a personal, "therapeutic touch" (Paterson, 2016, p. 166), i.e. in a special way of "knowing together" (Lea, 2019, p. 15). Therapeutic touch is not mechanical or performative. Instead, I know it through their caring, safe, warm-hearted (see Sudbury-Riley et al., 2019, p. 453) nature that "opens affective energetic pathway" (Paterson, 2016, p. 167). In particular, touching the head is an intimate act, but being touched by a familiar Massage Therapist affords easier relaxation and tuning to the flow of touches that balance and harmonise my body's energies.

At the end of the treatment, the caring affective touch and movement withdraw. Still their rhythmic movement continues to vibrate in my inner body and bodily fluids. The inner organs of the body, tissues and cells continue ordering following their nature into the state of homeostasis (Lefebvre, 2004). Therefore, allowing the body gently, at its own pace, to wake up from the treatment is of greatest significance as opposed to being ordered by linear time. The Massage Therapist's gently spoken words (Massumi, 2002) and the affective feeling of not being in a hurry are enabling the hold of being attuned to the luxury that has become available within the affective energetic field in the practice of the spa treatment.

5.5.3 Surprising play within nature

After the morning yoga and joint breakfast with the others, I return to my room and settle down on the sun bed on my terrace. A long sigh rises naturally and I notice my eyes closing. I feel somehow dizzy; chaos inside me. The discussions and topics at the breakfast table keep crisscrossing inside me. I breathe, try to let these sensations balance. My heart beats quite normally, but somehow superficially. I consciously breathe in and out and try to calm down. I am suddenly running out of steam, even though I have slept pretty well. My mind is pounding. My thoughts float between the discussions at the breakfast, this particular moment, a book which I try to concentrate on, matters raising from social media groups... Sometimes this happens here, too. For some reason, I am disabled to focus on anything. I concentrate my gaze on the beach and the sea. The red flag on the beach seems to flutter wildly. It is always more or less windy here. Would my restlessness be partly due to the weather? I remember the first time I was here I found the wind somehow straining. I thought I was already used to it, used to living here with it. With the moist, warm wind.

Well, weeping does not help at the marketplace. I have to get going. I get up, wrap the hotel's light dressing gown around me, and head for the beach. When I arrive at the beach, I take the other direction than normally on my way to our yoga place. Instead of my usual relaxed way of padding, my feet adapt a brisker way of walking. I push towards the wind.

I don't look at anything or anywhere. I just keep walking along the beach. Sand crabs squeak quickly into their holes out of my way. At some point, I wake up from my brisk

way of walking. I laugh at myself. Like walking away from ants and my restless state of being. My brisk walking pace frees up a bit and my breathing stabilises. The dressing gown flutters wildly around me.

I come across some other people and couples walking hand in hand. Hardly ever there is someone sunbathing on the beach here. No children playing on the beach. Usually it is only the wind that rages here. I keep my gaze down and continue on walking my rhythmic walk that gradually changes its tempo to leisurely steps. I don't want to look or think about anything. I just want to purify myself of all the information filling my head – walking, my meditative moment. Even though during these holidays I regularly take the time to go for a beach walk, it usually happens unplanned. The right time to go for a beach walk usually arises naturally, sometimes when I for some reason feel restless, sometimes just for the joy of walking.

I feel the rhythm of my walking in my body and the pressure of the soles of my feet against the soft, wet sand: heel, the outer edge of my sole, the toes. I now have the patience to feel the moving of my body, sense it, aimlessly, to focus on the soothing rhythm and arising sentiments. At some point, my arms are rising straight to each side. I enjoy the wind fanning the long sleeves of the dressing gown. The moving wind continues its journey towards my neck, which bends backwards aligning the wind. My chest and heart open as the wind gently presses down my shoulders.

My mouth opens by itself. I let the air flow into my mouth and give space for it inside my body, I expand. I am a sail that bulges in the wind. Floating, drifting, closing my eyes from time to time I am carried away with the wind. The salty and moist, warm and sandy air twirls in my mouth, sometimes retreating, sometimes turning around inside of my mouth like a feather touching the inside of my mouth, tickling me.

I laugh at my foolery. Or do I laugh at the freedom, the feeling of boundlessness. Who cares if someone sees me monkeying around? I turn my body around, adjusting it to a different angle towards the wind. I let the wind bounce my light body, I surrender to the choppy wind. Occasionally, the gust of wind pushes me to step really fast, quick small steps until the gust abruptly fades, and sets off a pause. I'm also taking a break.

An intuitive, unplanned, natural movement rises from my living body, being present with wind, beach, heaven and earth, softness and hardness, flexibility. I don't know what's in it, but this kind of free movement is somehow very liberating, common bodily play with wind, movement and even the sand.

As I return, I come across someone from our yoga group. We nod, smile a little at each other. Maybe this is also her meditative moment. I don't want to disturb it. Or did he notice me monkeying around? Somehow, I'm in such a "liberated" state that I don't care.

Nearby the hotel, I undress my dressing gown and leave it on the beach sand. I don't walk deep into the water but sit in the shore water and set my back against the waves. Bump, bump... waves hit quite hard, pushing me towards the beach. When the previous wave withdraws, I can already expect the following. I feel and let the rhythmic waves rub my back and shoulders. I close my eyes. The big waves bury me underneath them. The

salty and mineral-rich seawater fills my ears and nostrils, sand flows inside my bikinis. Once the waves have pushed me ashore, I wade back, a little deeper again. Like a child, I want to continue playing.

Phew, enough... I sit on the sandy beach to dry myself. I wrap my arms around my legs, aimlessly squeezing the sand with my toes. The dry sand sticks on my wet toes until it dries and rasps between my toes. I can still feel the movements of the wind, sea and sand all over my skin and body. Sitting there I am swaying lightly, catching my breathing, and enjoying my inner state of being – stable again.

The vignette illustrates how the embodied knowing of luxury releases unexpectedly in the practice of a beach walk. At the beach, my body is wrapped into the intensities of windy weather and nature (see Valtonen et al., 2020). The restlessly moving wind affects my walking rhythm and forms into a particular kind of embodied knowing (see Chronis, 2015; Edensor, 2000b; Ingold, 2004). As I surrender my body (and mind) into the common rhythmic movement with wind, earth and water (Rhoden & Kaaristo, 2020) the walk turns into childish, joyful play (see Crouch et al., 2001; Simpson, 2021). The effect of the rhythmic and affective embodied engagement in the entanglement with the actors of nature releases my body (and mind) from anxieties, calming them, which then turns into the knowing of luxury.

From the body (and mind) this again demands ‘openness’ (Ingold, 2007; Jóhannesson & Lund, 2017; Massumi, 2002) towards the weather world – as the topic of “being open” was discussed in Chapter 5.2.3 as related to becoming embodied with the Yoga Shala. Through this openness the knowing is generated together with the weather (Ingold, 2007, 2010; Massumi, 2002). The weather materialises and suddenly receives a calming agency while walking (Rantala et al., 2011). In luxury literature, many academics have highlighted how immersive nature experiences create luxury moments (e.g. Hemetsberger et al., 2012; Iloranta & Komppula, 2021; von Wallpach et al., 2020). In addition, the above vignette is a detailed empirical and practical example of how immersing into the nature and even more, into the weather practices emerges. I will now elaborate the affective knowing of luxury arising within the practices involving the weather.

The vignette begins in depicting the bodily disharmony that circulates within the inner space of my body. The “sensory and social overload” circulating within the inner space of my body (Edensor, 2000a, p. 337) arouses affectivities of fatigue, dizziness, a superficial heart beat and the inability to be present. The regular ways to rebalance the body, e.g., through conscious rhythmic breathing, are not of much help (see Waitt & Duffy, 2010). This time, it feels challenging to be still. In addition to the extra strong windy weather, the body seems to crave for livelier moving. In heading for the beach, I have no anticipation of what the weather will be like during the beach walk practice. Allowing the body to flow into this unexpected agencement releases the embodied knowing of luxury along my ordinary beach walk.

On the beach, I feel how the wind is extra moody – like my bodymind on that particular morning described. By changing its direction all the time, the wind throws sand on my body. As I have dipped my legs into the waves, the sand sticks to my legs. The wind lifts the tails of my dressing gown and opens the strings. At first, I try to hold the agency in me as I want the gown to protect my body from the sun. I attempt to hold the order alone through my promptly advancing steps. Little by little, I notice that trying to hold the order just maintains my restlessness (see Ingold, 2010). Instead, I surrender without noticing, open to the windy weather, adjust to its movement and we are playfully moving together (see Ingold, 2007).

I let the wind move, push, make my body jump, carry my body hither and thither on the beach. The salty wind penetrates my body. The turbulent air fills the sleeves of my dressing gown and the tails dance wildly up and down. As my steps become more frequent after the wind, the cloth slaps agitatedly against my thighs. Between the vortex-like wind, in pauses, the dressing gown lands back on my body. The cloth feels different now, airy as it touches my skin. The moving wind is changing my knowing of the dressing gown I am wearing as the wind penetrates the fabric. The affective feeling of the dressing gown becomes different (see Ruggerone, 2017). Thus, the wind and air are now part of my clothing. Therefore, within the beach walk practice my body, wind and dress become a sociomaterial part of my embodied knowing of luxury.

My eyes close as the wind blows tears from the corners of my eyes. The wind penetrates my mouth, nostrils, ears, throat, filling my inner body space (see Massumi, 2002). The air moves inside my body in cleansing, healing twirls, blowing vitality into my body (Low & Hsu, 2007, p. S2). The wind pierces my body on a physical and mental level as well affecting my “bodily functions” (Low & Hsu, 2007, p. S7) and my state of being (Ingold, 2010). Simultaneously, it feels as if the nature, earth and sky are part of me; my embodied knowing about luxury takes shape as part of nature, part of the universe (see Hemetsberger et al., 2012; Ingold, 2007, p. S30).

As I am walking, my nude feet sink into the warm sand. My embodied knowing of luxury expands to include the freedom provided for my feet to walk without tight shoes or sandals (cf. Holmqvist et al., 2020; see Ingold, 2004). Feeling the shapes and quality of the earth through my naked feet arises as knowing of luxury that supports grounding, becoming embodied with the earth. This earth is fine sand, wet and dry, warm and it is sticking between my feet and toes. The ground moulds itself to the shape of the soles of my feet as I step forward. When I walk more forcefully, the soles of my feet sink deeper into the sand, and as my walking pace calms down, the soles of my feet probe the sand more subtly, more lightly. This resonates with the observations of Banister et al. (2020, p. 5) that luxury comes forth through “particular modes of talking and walking” that guide the way into a transformative state “facilitating the integration of luxury”.

In the final passages of the vignette, the embodied knowing of luxury emerges within mingling practices with the sea and ground. I cover my feet in the warm and

dry sand. I rub the sand with my hands, aimlessly yet with intentity, on the top of my footboards and on the sides under my heels. I pat sand on my footstools. The sand feels heavy. My feet are inside the ground. Like plants, through the soles of my bare feet I am rooted into the earth (see Ingold, 2010, p. S125). The earth is not just a surface or the surface forms what we see (Carolan, 2008, p. 413; Reckwitz, 2012). As the naked feet move touching the texture of the earth (see Obrador Pons, 2009) the knowing of luxury emanates within the grounding practice of beach walking.

Similarly, the knowing arises as I am mingling with the rhythmic waves of the sea (see Ingold, 2007, p. S19). Just like the earth is not just a surface (Obrador Pons, 2009), not all waves of the sea water are alike (see Rhoden & Kaaristo, 2020). The moving sea creates smaller waves, bigger waves, foamier and more watery waves, denser and gentler, bumpier and more caressing, the motion and texture affect the knowing. Additionally, the texture of the sea entails “therapeutic” minerals that endow capacity for pampering; a healing effect (see Little, 2013). The body affords the knowing of luxury within the sociomaterial practice in which the body, movement and texture of waves become connected and arouse intensive balancing affectivities of well-being.

After immersing within the common moving, playing with weather and nature, my inner body reaches a calm and peaceful state. Embodied “openness” (see Ingold, 2007, 2010; Katila, Kuismin, et al., 2019; Massumi, 2002) and the sudden playful surrendering to the weather (see Ingold, 2007) open the way to the harmonious state that the body knows as luxury. The wind, which my body remembered as unnerving, suddenly adapts a new form in play that calms the stormy winds inside my body when I no longer resist it. To be entangled with nature, filled with wind, air, earth and water (Merchant, 2011) emerges here as luxury (see von Wallpach et al., 2020). The healing effect of touch is not limited to human touch (Kolehmainen & Kinnunen, 2020, p. 102) but the effect is emerging as the body touches the electronic field of nature, water, earth and air through the bare skin (Menigoz et al., 2020). It is the connection with nature that grounds and balances my bodymind (Chevalier, 2015); the restless state calms down. I am balanced – at least for a while.

6 Discussion and conclusions

6.1 Summary of the study

In this study, I have theoretically and empirically explored and illustrated the emergence of embodied luxury in using autoethnography as methodological approach. To analyse the luxury phenomenon, I have interpreted luxury in engaging within the situated, ongoing sociomaterial practices that enabled to study their affecto-rhythmic nature. The theoretical exploration of the study draws on organisational sociomaterial practice-based literature that highlights the knowledgeable and acting human body. The knowledge emerges as knowing-in-practice as the body is engaging in practices (Gherardi, 2000, 2019). The body in this thesis is seen as being in a constant state of becoming and defined as ‘an agencement of embodied knowing in which the body as a resonant materiality is able to affect and be affected by heterogeneous actors coming together in tourist practices’ (see Katila, Kuismin, et al., 2019; Valtonen et al., 2017). The selected methodological approach and being inspired by multidisciplinary studies enabled a disclosure of the “micro-politics of everyday aesthetic judgements” (Strati, 2007, as cited in Gherardi, 2009b, p. 539–540) that unfolded the entangling rhythms and affects within sociomaterial practices affecting the tourist’s knowing (see Katila, Kuismin, et al., 2019). This approach allows to recognise the significance of appropriate affecto-rhythmic nature of sociomaterial practices in the knowing of embodied luxury.

This study was conducted within multi-sited, longitudinal autoethnography which involved engaging within the situated practices of multiple yoga retreat holidays in premises of a luxury hotel. Still, the attachment to the appropriate nature of epistemic practices was learned within a community over time. The aesthetic judgements on the nature of practices exceeded the physical context and emerged as multi-sited. The theory, methodology and analysis were forming over the course of a longer time span and as entangled.

My primary empirical material appeared as bodily arousals; affectivities affording embodied knowing in practices. The analysis is carried in engaging within the situated, ongoing sociomaterial practices and attuning to the affectivities that were arousing within my inner, corporeal body. I engaged in the flowing body-reflexivity (Valtonen & Haanpää, 2018) inbetween the empirical material – that still resides in my body-memory – and multidisciplinary research. Reflecting the knowing of luxury within situated, ongoing practices enable access to know the affecto-rhythmic nature of practices, and the diverse emergences of embodied luxury within the

tourist's practices. This approach allows to determine how knowing is emerging as practices of heterogeneous human, nonhuman and natural actors connect-in-action, and beyond spatio-temporalities. The tourist engages in the situated, ongoing sociomaterial practices in diverse sensory states that affect the knowing of luxury. The knowledgeable touristic body is not always engaging in practices as attached to the awake and alert state but rather flowing inbetween different sensory states like being half-awake, sleeping, half-asleep, or in engaging in the world of dreams (see Valtonen et al., 2017). Touristic ongoing and future practices are affected by memories carried within the body. In sum, the analysis illustrates the inconstant nature of embodied knowing that complements rational-cognitive knowing of luxury.

The longitudinal engaging within the practices and the unfolding of intimate practices allowed the following to be disclosed: it is the appropriate affecto-rhythmic nature of practice that allow luxury to emerge. In this study I understand embodied luxury as an affective knowing of harmony in the body(mind), as an epistemic object of practice that is forming within the ongoing common negotiations among actors, and emerges temporally as practices connect-in-action.

The analysis unfolds as agencements of affecto-rhythmic practices, and is illustrated under the five main practice agencements. I have named the main agencements as follows: Orienting, Reconnecting, Adjusting, Guarding and Releasing practice agencements. Each main agencement entails micro-agencements presented in the chapters that demonstrate the emerging embodied knowing of luxury in tourist sociomaterial practices.

Initially, the Orienting practice agencement illuminates inventing the proper affecto-rhythmic nature of practices within dreaming practices that move inbetween the past, present and future. It shows how aesthetic judgements are emerging as the body flows inbetween various sensory states. Next, the Reconnecting practice agencement focuses on how the body remembers in engaging with familiar and safe sociomaterial practices, and how it is affected when attuning into the smooth flow of practices. This is followed by the Adjusting practice agencement shedding light on the knowing emerging in bodily negotiations and highlighting the affect of inter-corporeal and within-corporeal rhythmic movement and vibration together with nature that attune to luxury. The Guarding practice agencement, in turn, highlights the effect of chronobiological rhythms and their effect as they connect-in-action with natural and linear rhythms. Finally, the Releasing practice agencement unveil the knowing arising within affective rhythmic touch. The ending vignette illustrates the entanglement of practices with natural actors and the surprising unfolding of embodied luxury.

In interpreting luxury while engaging within situated, ongoing sociomaterial practices, and inventing how luxury emerges in knowing their appropriate affecto-rhythmic nature, this study offers possibilities for understanding the luxury phenomenon and the sensuous knowing of luxury in a more comprehensive manner,

beyond the five external senses, than presented in previous tourism and luxury studies. Notably, this study approaches luxury as relational, situated, ongoing practice agencement that exceeds tourism practices, temporalities and spaces. The practice-based embodied knowing of luxury is thus seen as active open-ended practice that is emerging in everyday practicing of a knowledgeable body in diverse situated practices. This fresh approach to knowing luxury allows pathways for understanding how the meaning of luxury is unfolding in practical tourism encounters rather than solely on abstract mental level. In exploring the embodied knowing of luxury within the epistemic sociomaterial practices of a yoga retreat holiday, the study has aimed to contribute to the discussions of (luxury in) tourism research, luxury literature and more specifically, to the literature of unconventional luxury, practice-theoretical luxury studies as well as luxury tourism discussions.

6.2 Contributions

Contributions to the luxury literature

In this study, I have coined a new concept that I have named ‘embodied luxury’ to complement the discussions on luxury literature and tourism research. The debates around the evolving concept of luxury are multifaceted and complex as I have pointed out in the introductory chapter. My aim in this study has been to contribute to the discussions of unconventional and practice-theoretical luxury studies although the contributions match luxury research in general as well. Interpreting luxury within situated, ongoing sociomaterial practices entangled with rhythms and affect uncloses a novel approach on how luxury emerges as practices of heterogeneous actors temporally connect. I have demonstrated how knowing is aesthetically and ethically emerging as practices connect-in-action. This approach allows to unfold the intangible nature of luxury and uncover the effect of situated practices. The study reveals how sensuous and affective knowing of luxury arises within corporeal body, beyond external senses. This thesis coins affects and rhythms as new concepts in luxury literature. In sociomaterial practices, embodied knowing is seen as an inherent form of knowing (Gherardi, 2000, 2019). Knowing precedes knowledge formation (Gherardi, 2000, 2019). Knowledge emerges as knowing-in-practice within affecto-rhythmic agencements (see Katila, Kuismin, et al., 2019).

The practice-based approach (Gherardi, 2017a, 2019) problematises the understanding that luxury would form solely as experiential and personal. This study complements discussions in current luxury literature in drawing attention to the sociomaterial practices, knowledgeable body and embodied knowing of luxury. Referring to the first practice-theoretical study in luxury literature, Seo and Buchanan-Oliver (2019) pointed out that investigating social practices (Reckwitz, 2002) does not imply focusing on consumers’ psychological perceptions or on the

meaning of material objects by themselves. Leaning on Shove and Pantzar (2005), Seo and Buchanan-Oliver argue that the focus should rather be on the consumers' performances in which mental perceptions and materialities are integrated to determine what consumers really say and do that make (brand) luxury meaningful in their lives. However, in their findings, they illuminate the personalised meanings of luxury, an approach that is followed in the prevailing practice-theoretical and unconventional luxury discussions. In studying luxury within the situated, ongoing sociomaterial practices, I have demonstrated how the meaning and knowing of luxury take place as common embodied performing and together with heterogeneous social and material actors. The researcher and her(his) body are the carrier of practices; practices are social and non-individualistic. Knowing-in-practice (Gherardi, 2000, 2019) is unbounded, affecting and affected throughout cultural and societal practices to micro-level practicing. Exploring sociomaterial practices showed how the knowing of luxury is not always performed as related to luxury products and extraordinary or hedonic experiences. Contrary to how luxury is often understood in luxury literature, this thesis unveils how luxury emerges also in mundane embodied practicing. The emerging knowing of luxury within the affecto-rhythmic practices is illustrated in Chapter 5 through the five main practice agencements I call Orienting, Reconnecting, Adjusting, Guarding and Releasing. *The unfolding of these main practice agencements in Chapter 5 answers the first research question: In what kind of practices does luxury unfold in a yoga retreat holiday?*

Researching the luxury phenomenon within situated, ongoing sociomaterial practices allowed me to disclose varied embodied ways of knowing luxury theoretically and empirically that evolved simultaneously within the research process. Exploring embodied knowing of luxury with luxury literature was challenging as luxury research has given surprisingly little attention to the sensuous, embodied nature of luxury (Berthon et al., 2009; see Dubois et al., 2001). That is, even though in tourism and hospitality experiences, inconspicuous sensory pleasure and intrinsic enjoyment have been recognised to be especially significant in the creation of luxury (Correia, Kozak, et al., 2020; see Iloranta, 2022; Yang & Mattila, 2016). Thus, in reference to my study, the practice-based approach and multidisciplinary research enabled to explore how attuning to the luxury practicing happened as I know it in my body.

There are some existing studies where luxury is examined through socio-material practices. Yet, even though the notion of 'socio-materiality' is gaining some ground in luxury literature, the social and material are often conventionally seen as separate elements. These studies mostly approach practicing through an individual, experiential perspective as they attempt to move away from the traditional luxury marketing built around product or brand features (Banister et al., 2020; Zanette et al., 2022). Still, the notion of sociomateriality, deliberately written without a hyphen in this thesis, allows to highlight the diverse ways of how the social and material are entangled in relational embodied practices. In relational ontology, the

meaning, knowing, doing, culture and nature, among others, are situated in practices (Gherardi, 2017a). More, exploring the luxury phenomenon ‘within’ enables me to unfold the affecto-rhythmic nature of sociomaterial practices and its ordering effect in the emerge of luxury (Katila, Kuusmin, et al., 2019). In sum, this approach allows me to illustrate the body as a resonant materiality as well as affective actor, with a body that engages, acts and moves in different ways within various situated practices that affect the knowing of luxury.

Studying practices ‘within’ permits to determine how the embodied knowing of luxury arises also in the state of ‘not performing’, in ‘performing’ embodied stillness, being (see Hemetsberger et al., 2012; Rantala & Valtonen, 2014), or in ‘sensory release’ rather than sensory attachment (Valtonen et al., 2017). In luxury literature and in practice-theoretical luxury studies, practices are commonly accomplished by alert and awake consumers (practitioners). However, this thesis demonstrates how the knowing of luxury emerges not only in the practices of an awake and alert body. Rather, the knowing in practices is affected and emerges when the body is engaging within practices in varied sensory states in moving inbetween half-awake, sleep, deep sleep, engaging in the world of dreams, or inbetween the various states (see Valtonen et al., 2017). Recognising the different sensory states suggests the knowing of luxury to be entangled with the inner, corporeal body processes like the circadian rhythm that may support or disrupt the practicing of luxury and thus bring out the inconstant yet powerful nature of embodied knowing. Appreciating the different sensory states also enables to unveil how the memories carried in the body affect the present and future practicing of luxury. Indeed, Kapferer and Valette-Florence (2016a, p. 124) question the conventional categorisations between luxury and dreaming and state that “the paths toward the luxury dream do not always entail perceptions of luxury [brand]”. Engaging within situated, ongoing sociomaterial practices enables the recognition of the heterogeneous actors that are entangled in the practices, where the embodied knowing of luxury is affected through rhythms and affects such as the diurnal movement, chronobiology, and different bodily positions. Against this, reflecting the knowing arising in my own corporeal lived and living body guided my empirical analysis of luxury and simultaneously supported the theoretical explorations. *My multidisciplinary empirical and theoretical explorations within affects and rhythms are demonstrated in Chapter 2, the theoretical part, and in the analysis of Chapter 5 which together answer the second research question of this dissertation: How does the embodied knowing of luxury emerge when engaging in practices?* Instead of looking for knowing that would take place solely through cognitive perceptions or the external five senses, the embodied knowing of rhythms and affects allows me to disclose its more inconspicuous forms: ephemeral and physical intensities of luxury that the unconventional luxury literature has called for (see Thomsen et al., 2020).

Within the body-reflexivity (Valtonen & Haanpää, 2018) five practice agencements were forming. The earlier practice-theoretical luxury studies have

analysed practices through predetermined elements of practice (for instance with Shove & Pantzar, 2005). Each of the five practice agencements involves three ‘micro-agencements’ demonstrating the micro-politics of aesthetic judgements emerging in the situated, ongoing sociomaterial practices. *The illustrations of practices coming together under each agencement answer to the first part of the third research question: What does embodied luxury empirically mean? The second part of the third research question – how can the embodied knowing of luxury be methodologically studied? – is discussed under the Methodological contributions.* Analysing the emergence of luxury within agencements enables to reveal novel connections-in-action inbetween actors and practices in which luxury surprisingly unleashes. Agencements allow to unfold matters that make sense to continue with practicing. Now returning to examine the agencements as named in this thesis: Orienting practice agencement illuminates how the embodied knowing of luxury is entangled with the affective memories the body carries of past sociomaterial practices, how memories evoke affectivities in the present time, and further affect future practices based on the arising taste and criteria (Gherardi, 2009b). Reconnecting practice agencement shows how the familiar, affective sociomaterial practices support in (re)connecting to the knowing of luxury. Adjusting practice agencement sheds light on the knowing arising through bodily negotiations and illustrate the emerging of embodied luxury as a vibrating connection inbetween bodies and the within-corporeal body. Guarding practice agencement highlights the effect of the inner, corporeal body functioning and chronobiological rhythms. Finally, Releasing practice agencements unveil the knowing of luxury emerging within affective practices of touch. Referring to the ending vignette in my autoethnographic journey, it displayed the playful forming of embodied luxury with natural actors. Embodied luxury thus offers a more comprehensive interpretation of the formation of luxury in integrating the rational-cognitive and embodied emergences of knowing in the situated practices that move in time and space/place.

Exploring luxury in engaging within sociomaterial practices allows me to broaden the aesthetic understanding of luxury to be related to all bodily senses, not only the five external ones commonly referred to in luxury literature. In luxury studies, aesthetics is largely discussed though concentrating on the visual sense, and even though the knowledgeability of the consumer is recognised beyond the pure owning of the luxury product, the knowing of the body is neglected in many parts. In contrast, this thesis leans on the practice-based aesthetic understanding of appreciating the knowing emerging in the body as an inherent form of knowing within sociomaterial practices (Gherardi, 2009b, 2019; Katila, Kuusmin, et al., 2019; Strati, 2007; Valtonen et al., 2017). Additionally, in previous luxury research aesthetic taste regime is related to the features of a luxury product (Zanette et al., 2022) whereas this study reveals how the aesthetic taste-based judgements of luxury are ordered by the appropriate affecto-rhythmic nature of practices.

Even though the tourist body has been recognised as an inborn knowledgeable actor in tourism practices (Veijola & Jokinen, 1994), and the body is seen through its affective capacities (Everingham et al., 2021; Saxena, 2018), the notion of embodied knowing in situated, ongoing sociomaterial practices has not received enough attention in tourism research. This thesis complements the existing practice-theoretical approaches in tourism research (e.g. de Souza Bispo, 2016; Rantala, 2010; Rantala & Valtonen, 2014). A practice-based approach (Gherardi, 2000, 2019) with the focus on the embodied nature of practices has rarely been applied. The thesis explores the tourist's practices with the aesthetic tradition of practice theories, and complements the existing studies of tourism as practice (Bargeman & Richards, 2020; de Souza Bispo, 2016; Soica, 2016). An exploration of knowing within sociomaterial practices enables to unfold the various situated, ongoing embodied emergences of luxury in this study. A practice-based approach allows shedding light on non-discursive, non-cognitive knowing that serves as a continuation in tourism research discussions, thus contributing to non-dualistic knowledge formation. The thesis shows how practicing is unbounded, and how non-individual practicing takes place also within the corporeal body. As tourism is a complex phenomenon, studying tourism within sociomaterial practices allows me to unfold the knowledge forming taking place in unbounded tourism spaces/places (see de Souza Bispo, 2016). The epistemic practices of a community are practiced in the multi-sited. The study coins how embodied luxury emergences within the appropriate nature of affecto-rhythmic practices as the practices of heterogeneous actors temporally connect.

The study complements the existing discussions of the body and embodiment in tourism research in conceptualising the body in a fresh manner. The thesis offers a theoretically and empirically founded conceptualisation of the embodied practices emerging as affecto-rhythmic agencements (see Katila, Kuismin, et al., 2019). Sensuous tourism research is still much conducted with a phenomenological or psychological approach (Everingham et al., 2021; Pritchard et al., 2007). The approach of this thesis enables us to see embodiment as unbounded and entangled within sociomaterial practices beyond the object-body or subject-body. Analysing the embodied practices emerging as affecto-rhythmic agencements brings forth the temporal becoming of a body within sociomaterial practices as an affective entanglement within which luxury unfolds.

This thesis conceptualises the tourist's body as 'an agencement of embodied knowing and resonant materiality that is able to affect and be affected by heterogeneous actors coming together in tourist practices' (see Katila, Kuismin, et al., 2019; Valtonen et al., 2017) that represents a novel understanding in tourism research. Moreover, this thesis leans also on Massumi's (2002) notions of the body's capacity to affect and be affected, that is rarely applied by tourism researchers. Embodied knowing in this thesis involves "all knowing" (Gherardi, 2019, p. 99) and

emotions and feelings are seen to be entangled with affectivities (e.g. Strati, 2007). Regardless of the inconspicuous, non-representational nature of embodied knowing and of the fact that the arising affectivities may be beyond control, rhythms and affects are demonstrated to arise powerful bodily arousals, feelings and emotions that matter in tourism (d’Hauteserre, 2015). This thesis adds to current discussions in illustrating the powerful but at the same time subtle, nuanced and ephemeral nature of varied affectivities in diverse touristic practices of the tourist. Having the focus on sociomaterial practices allows to see how affectivities are situated and affect already prior to the first visit to the tourist destination. Further, in this study the body is seen in “constant need to keep itself in harmony” (Yakhlef, 2010, p. 421; Lefebvre, 2004; see Rantala & Valtonen, 2014) which draws attention not so much on the practices per se, but on their nature, and further on their effects. Until today, there have only been a limited number of studies that have researched diverse rhythms and affects, and their effect in tourist practices (Jóhannesson & Lund, 2017; Rantala & Valtonen, 2014).

Exploring the nature of practices is enabled in studying the sociomaterial practices ‘within’. The autoethnographic methodology and body-reflexivity (Valtonen & Haanpää, 2018) allowed to disclose how practicing is ordered by the affecto-rhythmic nature of situated, ongoing sociomaterial practices. Although rhythms and affects have been present in tourism research and their harmonising effect has been noted (Rantala & Valtonen, 2014), the within corporeal, biological body and its affect in practices has not yet been so much discussed. Finally, it is the appropriate affecto-rhythmic nature of practices that enables the capacity for luxury to emerge with a harmonising effect in tourist sociomaterial practices as the practices of heterogeneous actors connect-in-action.

The study demonstrates how practicing may also largely take place within the inventive corporeal body, and not only inbetween the external sociomaterial practices in tourism. Studying the affecto-rhythmic practices ‘within’ enables an exploration of sociomaterial practices emerging inbetween corporeal bodies but, importantly, within the corporeal body as well. The study demonstrates how practicing takes place as the body is flowing inbetween different sensory states – like awake, half-awake and sleeping – as well as being entangled in the world of dreams through sensory release rather than external sensory stimuli (Katila, Kuismin, et al., 2019; Valtonen et al., 2017). *The thesis illustrates theoretically and empirically diversified ways the embodied knowing of luxury may emerge within situated rhythms and affects in sociomaterial practices. In doing this, the thesis answers the second research question: How does the embodied knowing of luxury emerge when engaging in practices?*

Methodological contributions

Autoethnography offers a novel approach to luxury literature that has rarely been applied as such (Eskola et al., 2022). This way the study responds to the calls of

luxury literature for more diverse research methods (Atwal & Williams, 2009; Thomsen et al., 2020). Within luxury studies, it is quite rare that the researcher is even partly engaged in the empirical observations of the phenomenon, since interviewing is the most common method (Ahmed et al., 2022; Holmqvist et al., 2020). However, without engaging in autoethnographic explorations it would have been even more challenging to make sense and co-generate empirical material of the ephemeral and subtle affecto-rhythmic nature of practices as they are challenging to capture in words. Further, bodies are different so it might not have been easy for all possible study participants to know rhythms and affects (Strati, 2007). It demands bodily and mental openness, i.e. sensitivity to be able to 'access' the embodied material together with skilfulness and courage to put the ephemeral notions honestly into written format. Autoethnography as a methodology makes the researcher vulnerable, a position where many researchers would not feel altogether comfortable. With its autoethnographic approach, this thesis contributes to luxury research as it enlarges the existing qualitative methodological approaches in exploring luxury within situated, ongoing sociomaterial practices that sees the knowledgeable and acting human body as an inborn actor. The thesis complements the sparse empirical explorations of unconventional luxury (Thomsen et al., 2020), luxury tourism (Iloranta, 2021) and practice-theoretical luxury studies. It offers a longitudinal study of luxury practicing which is quite rare as the empirical material is co-generated and analysed in the course of five years.

In tourism research, there has been a methodological call for an investigation of tourism as practice and, more specifically, through an aesthetically oriented lens (de Souza Bispo, 2016). The autoethnographic methodology enabled a nuanced aesthetic exploration of the emerging knowing of luxury while being in the field, but also along the whole process of analysing the arousing affectivities. Importantly, an autoethnographic approach together with body-reflexivity (Valtonen & Haanpää, 2018) within the situated, ongoing sociomaterial practices allowed me the access to attune into the fleeting, nuanced emergences of embodied knowing and affecting physiological actors in my corporeal body and revealed how soothing engaging in practices happens. Touristic practices, in which embodied luxury emerges, are manifested as fleeting, subtle and prereflexive affectivities. Additionally, the mundane activities of the living body entail an inherent organising order in the formation of a holistic knowing of luxury through the bodymind. Body-reflexivity as a particular technique for autoethnographers offers a fresh opportunity to explore physical intensities within a range of tourist sociomaterial practices – such as dressing, walking, driving a car, scuba diving, mountain climbing, to name a few – that the researcher may encounter in luxury and tourism research. Diverse sociomaterial practices of heterogeneous actors that come together form the essential part of knowing beyond yoga practice (Mora et al., 2018; see Eskola et al., 2022) in tourism practice. The employed embodied and methodological approach complements the

dominant rational-cognitive understandings of knowledge formation in tourism. In luxury literature, practices have mostly been studied through interviews and to a lesser extent external observations. The autoethnographic approach in this thesis and 'within' explorations of the researcher in the situated, ongoing sociomaterial practices supplement the dominant rational-cognitive knowledge formation, individual and externally made perceptions of luxury in tourism and luxury literature.

Managerial implications

In this thesis, I have presented a novel way to interpret luxury for practitioners. Luxury in this thesis is seen to unfold within the appropriate affecto-rhythmic flow of embodied sociomaterial practices that here arouses as soothing affectivities of harmony. Although the situated practices in this thesis emerged in a yoga retreat holiday taking place in the premises of a luxury hotel, the findings of this thesis are not attached to the context of this study (see Gherardi, 2019). The similar way of knowing luxury within practices may emerge in several other tourism and hospitality contexts like in the practices of diverse other forms of holidays, retreats, events, museums, restaurants, spas or premium taxi services. The affecto-rhythmic nature of embodied sociomaterial practices arouses powerful affectivities in our knowing of various spaces/places (as luxury). It may even be the elementary feature in embodied brand aesthetics and in the formation of an aesthetic strategy (see Kapferer & Bastien, 2009).

The embodied practicing is quite rarely consciously recognised or implemented in experience development. In managerial practice the development of (luxury) customer experiences is often based on rational "data-driven management". Notably, our lived and living social body and its natural performing is conspicuously absent in the designing of (luxury) experiences. However, management should understand tourists as embodied human beings, as living and lived bodies that entail capacity to produce knowledge. Additionally, an appreciation of the embodied knowing-in-practice also offers a more ethical base for developing experiences than perceiving the tourist solely as a rational actor who follows norms. This study, therefore, suggests that the knowledge for managerial purposes should be co-generated more broadly, to reflect also the embodied nature of practices in tourism encounters, context and service touch points as the arousing proper affecto-rhythmic affectivities might just finalise the experience in being turned into luxury.

Further, a practice-based approach to luxury as a phenomenon that arises from the societal level practices allowed this study to determine how the emergence of luxury is related to quite ordinary and everyday practices such as sleeping, having breakfast or walking. I recognise plenty of space to (re)design and fine-tune ordinary practices in concentrating on their (soothing) affecto-rhythmic effect. In fast-paced societies as in the hectic quotidian life, contemporary people are contesting the rhythm of present life and long for a more harmonious being and living as attuned

to nature. The interest of global tourists to travel to various kinds of soothing, well-being holidays with various activities appears to be growing. This may indeed assign a unique and highly competitive strategic position in tourism and hospitality industry. Accordingly, the management is suggested to be advised by the bodies who recognise the subtle embodied sensations; some bodies are born to sense the delicate embodied differences (see Strati, 2007).

For managerial purposes, Chapter 5 illustrates the emergences of embodied luxury within appropriate affecto-rhythmic practices. It offers a fresh approach for understanding touristic knowledge production through embodied knowing and effect of practices along customer journey named as Orienting, Reconnecting, Adjusting, Guarding and Releasing. In carefully studying practice agencements and by reflecting the tourist practices, the management may recognise opportunities to design high-quality customer experiences which appreciate value formation through embodied practicing. Although not in the focus of this thesis, all the practice agencements also offer insightful material and nuances for managers to gain insight into solo travelling practices, which in the case of this particular study are carried by a female body.

Orienting practices draw attention to tourist practices that take place in the dreaming and planning practices of the holiday, thus affording fertile material for management and marketing professionals. Although the significance of pre-experience is recognised in current customer experience literature, this thesis unfolds the part which has earlier been much disregarded. The Orienting practices demonstrate how already within the pre-experience practices powerful physical intensities affect in the knowing of luxury.

Importantly, Orienting practices illuminate how the embodied knowing of luxury is founded on affective memories the body carries of past sociomaterial practices, how memories evoke affectivities in present time, and further affect the coming practices and holiday planning. This evidences to the management how tourist practices are unbounded and exceed the touch points beyond company practices. The knowing of luxury in touristic encounters is affected by various social, cultural and material affecto-rhythmic practices that move in time and place and reside in the body memory.

Reconnecting practices continue to demonstrate the practices describing how the body knows when visiting the familiar tourism site and its effect on tourist's practices. Reconnecting practices show how attuning to the familiar sociomaterial practices arouses affectivities of physical and mental safety that support in (re)connecting into the embodied luxury flow. The situated rhythms and affects entangled in the diverse practices with employees, other customers, minibuses, the hotel room and nature affect the unfolding of embodied luxury.

These findings suggest that management should appreciate and take better care of their 'regular' customers in order to ensure a delightful return visit. It is to actively observe their regular customers' ongoing (mundane) practices, discuss and listen to

them carefully within everyday practices. Additionally, the regular customers could be engaged in cocreation practices with various ethnographic means such as in diary writing or photo shooting and organise joint workshops.

In employee training it is suggested to give special focus not only to the offered product or storytelling of the fine history of the establishment, but also on the embodied encountering with the customers. Learning much more of the substantial role of body language in customer encounters would be advisable as beyond the words, bodies communicate much through eyes, movement, prosody and bodily postures. Further, the vignette illustrating the minibus drive practice advises managers to make notice on the meaningful inbetween spaces. Here, the affecto-rhythmic nature of the sociomaterial drive practice arouses a variation of detailed affectivities from the appropriate flow of air to the driver's driving skills, mode of encountering the customer and noticing the needs as well as the choice of the road.

Adjusting practices shed light on the knowing emerging in negotiations within the normative sociomaterial practices and other customers. Here management may learn how the embodied luxury is negotiated within disruptive practices. In forming the aesthetic strategy, for example the clothing practices of customers and employees as well are a focal topic to reflect on together with all actors.

Further, *Adjusting practices* highlight the negotiations inbetween the within corporeal body like circadian rhythms and tourism practices that follow clock time. This suggest that hotels for instance should rethink the rhythm of their hotel night and how they could adjust the services to be available for the customer to use at their own pace. Additionally, *Adjusting practices* draw notice on the playful nature of embodied luxury practices. They encourage management to notice the highly human and energetic intensities of unfolding luxury within attuning to common playful and imaginative practices in breathing, singing and moving the body in a particular rhythm. The designing of these kinds of playful experiences sourcing from the illustrated practices just attend unveiling, courage and being open.

Guarding practices highlight the effect of the within corporeal body functioning and chronobiological rhythms. Management and practitioners should recognise that the embodied tourists are not always in their fully alert and awake state. Touristic bodies are quite often engaging also in a half-awake state in which bodies might be especially vulnerable, sensitive to voices or other disruptions. The (tired) bodies might be more appealed with experiences, services and practices which afford flow of sensory release rather than sensory attachment, external stimulus (see Valtonen et al., 2017). This notion guides management to turn their attention more also on developing the soothing nature of practices. For instance, there is plenty of space to develop the 'affecto-rhythmic art of sleeping practices' all the way from linen or bamboo bedding and appropriate lightning prompting melatonin diffusion to good night menus, mindfulness practice and curated yoga asanas performed in bed to calm down the bodymind for a restful sleep. The good night menus could be

developed with a nutrition professional, and mindfulness and asana practice with professionals specialised in calming down the nervous system. Therefore, in aiming to design luxury experiences, the attention should be paid to not-performing: that of being, stillness, silence and presence which are valued in the practices of contemporary humans living in contemporary meritocracy. Further, rest and the lying bodily postures offer numerous other possibilities for management to design moments of luxury in day time practices as well.

Releasing practices suggests for the hospitality industry to take seriously haptic knowing in diverse practices. Releasing practices denote the ways the body knows through the affective touch in diverse tourism encounters such as in the hotel room, in spa treatment and at the beach. The body is touched by the form and material of the floor, air, human body and weather. The various textures, surfaces as well as the nature of the air flow coming from the airconditioner or air-source heat pump affect the knowing luxury. Too crowded premises make luxury dissolve so it would be advised to restrict the number of visiting customers. The management is suggested to book enough time for each customer as being rushed fades the magic of luxury. Ultimately, the human touch is the most human way of communicating with each other and an increasing number of customers is also willing to pay for services with human touch (Kuuru, 2022).

In addition to the tourism and hospitality industry, the affecto-rhythmic findings of this thesis may also be applied throughout diverse other fields like in the practices of wellness centres, coworkingspaces, organisations, management practice, education and coaching, diverse personal care services, and even in the gaming industry. For instance, in the service sector, there has already emerged a trend or rising request for services in which stillness practices are valued; hairdressers, cosmetologists and retail stores already offer silent appointments or hours which means that there is no background music and only necessary matters are discussed. Still, the appropriate affecto-rhythmic flow may also arise within diverse other tempos than stillness. In another context, fast, upbeat or alternating tempos may allow engaging in a luxury flow that may emerge as tickling embodied excitement and can be found in the practices of the gaming industry, sports or events, for instance. We tend to find places where we feel at home or even passion, and engage with these practices regularly. Luxury does not need to be conspicuous, glamorous or expensive (see Kapferer & Valette-Florence, 2016b).

6.3 Evaluation of the study

This thesis has been one of the first studies to discuss the paradigmatic concept of embodied luxury (Eskola et al. 2022). It attempts to understand the emergence of luxury in exploring the phenomenon within sociomaterial practices rather than

studying practices from the outside, and understands practices as social rather than seeing them as activities of individuals. Engaging within the situated, ongoing sociomaterial practices allows for an interpretation of embodied luxury as a relational and entangled phenomenon accomplished together with heterogeneous actors. Moreover, the entangled nature allows to present two novel concepts in luxury research: affects and rhythms. Appreciating the affecto-rhythmic nature of practices gives room for examining the nuanced affectivities that unfold as luxury within the body. The body in this study is seen as ‘an agencement of embodied knowing and resonant materiality that is able to affect and be affected by heterogeneous actors coming together in tourist practices’ (see Katila, Kuismin, et al., 2019; Valtonen et al., 2017). I recognise that embodied knowing is inconstant, therefore, in this study the unfinished and fragmentary nature of my descriptions of practices is accepted (see Simpson, 2021). Ultimately, there is always more than theorisation is able to capture (Simpson, 2021).

This is also one of the first studies exploring the luxury phenomenon with autoethnography as the only methodology (Eskola et al. 2022). The study has a longitudinal approach that evolved along and beyond the research process lasting in total over seven years. This approach enabled me to become aware of the practices that I naturally engaged with over and over again in my yearly yoga retreat holidays. The selected approach allowed me to fully engage in exploring the knowing of luxury and thus made the practices that really mattered easier to recognise. The specific technique of body-reflexivity (Valtonen & Haanpää, 2018) enabled me to unfold the appropriate nature of practices that emerged as luxury.

Still, autoethnography in which the researcher shares her own intimate knowing through narrative stories, vignettes, may also arouse questions and suspicion in readers about the validity, reliability and generalisability of the research (see Dashper, 2016; Richardson & St. Pierre, 2018). It is evident that autoethnography departs from traditional research, style of writing as well as disposition. However, autoethnography also offers exciting possibilities as illustrated in the methodology chapter (see e.g. Richardson & St. Pierre, 2018; Valtonen & Haanpää, 2018). My sensuous knowing of the world is illustrated in the messy, blurred and sensitive vignettes. Although they make me vulnerable, I hope my thesis enriches the academic knowledge and inspires further evocative writing with creative, analytical embodied research methods (see Richardson & St. Pierre, 2018; Valtonen & Haanpää, 2018).

As consumers increasingly interpret luxury to emerge in their everyday practices, the lack of empirical studies investigating luxury practicing in contemporary consumers’ everyday lives is recognised, and thus there is a need to study the changing ephemeral, physical intensities of luxury (Thomsen et al., 2020) affording enjoyment with in-depth methodologies such as “self-reports” (Chandon et al., 2017, p. 142). There are alternative ways of knowing the world (Thrift, 2008), also argued by Richardson and St. Pierre’s (2018, p. 821) in following terms: “CAP [creative

analytical processes] ethnographies” – like the research practices in this study – are neither alternative nor experimental but “valid and desirable representations of the social”. They embrace creativity and analytical research practices with for instance an artistic touch, memory work and introspection, and they are challenged to keep themselves free from somebody else’s research practices to find the appropriate research practices to make sense of the phenomenon (see Richardson & St. Pierre, 2018).

Autoethnography is also guided by research rigor, although these are applied and assessed through other criteria than in traditionally conducted research (Ellis et al., 2011; Dashper, 2016; Richardson & St. Pierre, 2018). As I have explicated in the methodology chapter, the contribution of an autoethnographic study is that it is connecting the personal knowing to broader cultural practices (Dashper, 2016). The researcher is an observer, a member of the particular culture who engages in real time happenings, illustrates them in a vivid manner and analyses them systematically (Ellis et al., 2011). This way, the aim is not to apply autoethnography as a form of therapy or for the purpose of unveiling personal matters as such. Instead, in my reflections in this study and as a representative practitioner of the particular yoga community under examination, I wish to unfold the practices which for humans living in the contemporary society might be known as luxury. Additionally, my position as a researcher being highly situated and entailing limitations should be acknowledged throughout the study. The methodology chapter illuminated my position as autoethnographer and I describe the research process in great detail.

The leading autoethnographic researchers lean on criteria which may be applied in the evaluation of an autoethnographic study (Dashper, 2016; Ellis et al., 2011). Autoethnographic studies are multifaceted (Syrjälä & Norrgrann, 2018), and the criteria shall be adapted in assessing each account (Dashper, 2016; Ellis et al., 2011). Firstly, there is evocation that relates to the feelings that the narrative arouses in readers (see Richardson & St. Pierre, 2018). Throughout my vignettes I have attempted to express the emerging affectivities and embodied knowing as vivid, nuanced and purposeful ways as possible. It is evident that in my mother tongue the narrative vignettes would have been more evocative. Still, regardless of the written language used, I have written the illustrations with all my heart and body. As mentioned in the methodology chapter, I have refined the narratives along with the entire research process and worked towards being able to share the diverse affectivities emerging as embodied luxury as they originally were arousing in my body, and how they still do. Secondly, the disarray that I first had with unorganised written vignettes acquired its final form gradually. Notably, it was quite at the beginning of the analysis process that I began to analyse my doings in a linear manner: before, during, and, in the first versions, also after the holiday. The topics of the main practice agencements guided my analysis structure and narrative flow. However, some of the micro-agencements changed their position a few times as they are not organised strictly

in chronological order but to align them beneath the main topics. This way I hope the structure is appropriately structured for the reader, yet avoiding too much categorisation –beautiful and making visible the soothing flow of luxury within the complex negotiations of situated, ongoing sociomaterial practices (see Dashper, 2016). Thirdly, autoethnography is a post-structuralist research method and thus, does not pursue to tell any single truth of any formation of knowing, experiences or affectivities. Nevertheless, the narratives need to evoke credibility in readers, to carry a sense of the real (Richardson & St. Pierre, 2018). In writing my affective and embodied illustrations I have sometimes wondered whether I have the courage to depict the arousing affectivities and practices with heterogeneous sociomaterial actors the way they really happened. However, I have chosen to be truly honest even though illustrating the affects of the disfunctioning digestion might not feel convenient to illustrate in a research. I admit having quite many serious negotiations with myself as I was writing the narratives, and in their analysis to show the things that mattered in the knowing of luxury. At first glance, some matters in the vignettes might seem quite personal, though they are eventually related to quite normal biological functioning of a human body. These thoughts bring out the vulnerability of the researcher that relate to research ethics.

The research ethics were extensively covered in the methodology chapter. I realise that the story I tell touches ethically not only me as a researcher but also other people around me, those being anonymously present in the vignettes, and those that are not included in person in the vignettes. For instance, my family has been very much present in my life during all those years of this research journey and inherently affected my practices. However, in focusing on the cultural practices and applying autoethnography to explore the practices within (Gherardi, 2019) in the vignettes, the family practices are discussed on a general, societal level. My family, friends, the yoga studio, retreat holiday participants and the hotel manager have been aware of my research project. I have been open, discussed the research with them, brought forth the question of anonymity, and answered to the arising queries. In regards of the hotel employees, although the focus of my study draws much on the emerging practices within my body, the temporal forming of practices is entangled within practice of heterogeneous actors. I much appreciate the joint accomplishment. Giving voice to the employees could have enriched the findings of this study, although at the same time the scope of this thesis would have been widened. I honour and wish to share my most sincere greeting to all sociomaterial actors in the premises of this thesis. I highly appreciate the sensuous practices within the premises of my empirical research and honour all the people around me as equals. It is evident that my position as a tourist who is able to engage in the practices illustrated in this thesis is privileged.

With this kind of evocative autoethnography at hand I aim to contribute to broader debates in diverse fields of luxury and tourism research studies. I admit

it was not always easy to find referencing literature, therefore, I chose to turn to a broad scope of multidisciplinary literature in this thesis. Admittedly, I could have narrowed down the numerous sources if the philosophical writings of Massumi and Lefebvre had opened for me earlier, and I would have had the courage to interpret them from the very beginning. Now it was over a longer period of time and with the help of non-representational approaches that eventually facilitated the interpretation of their philosophical texts. Yet, at this point being more familiar with these philosophers will be helpful in conducting future research based on their oeuvre.

6.4 Suggestions for further research

Interpreting luxury within sociomaterial practices has opened novel pathways for understanding the less rational nature of knowing luxury through the human body. Ultimately, the site of the situated practices of this study could be broadened to other tourism and hospitality sites and other industries as well. This would entail both luxury and non-luxury, commercial and non-commercial sites. With this, a more comprehensive understanding of luxury in the lives of contemporary humans might be co-generated. A wider scope of people and cultural experiences is needed to understand how luxury might emerge in the various practices. Finally, the applied autoethnographic methodology opens exciting possibilities for in-depth investigations of luxury in tourism and hopefully new methodological acceptance in luxury research.

This dissertation is one of the first endeavours to explore luxury with the focus on embodied sociomaterial practices entangled with rhythms and affects. Therefore, further examinations would be required to enrich the findings of this thesis and to develop further the theoretical understanding. More studies are needed on the affecto-rhythmic emergences, and formations of embodied luxury within diverse situated practices in various fields. This dissertation explored the practices before and during the holiday, yet, it would be as important to investigate the practices after the holiday while already at home and sometime after the return. This would pave way for demonstrating the more lasting affectivities of luxury in the body and life in general, since in this thesis they had to be excluded to limit the discussion in the analysis chapter, already being extensive as such. It would also be intriguing to follow by means of a practice-theoretical and/or phenomenological approach the evolvment of embodied knowing of luxury over a longer period of time, how aging and various periods of life affect practicing of luxury meaning, for instance from adolescence towards middle age or even to older age. Further, more longitudinal studies are needed with tourists living and being engaged in different cultures. Additionally, gender issues were not in the focus of this thesis but they

would need further elaboration to afford knowledge of their effect in the knowing of luxury.

In this study I have offered a new concept of ‘embodied luxury’ and analysed the human body as ‘an agencement of embodied knowing and resonant materiality that is able to affect and be affected by heterogeneous actors coming together in tourist practices’ (see Katila, Kuismin, et al., 2019; Valtonen et al., 2017). With this, the study brought into luxury discussions two novel concepts: those of rhythms and affects. This interpretation allowed me to unfold the diverse forms of embodied luxury emerging within affecto-rhythmic practices: inbetween corporeal bodies, within the corporeal body as well as knowing emerging as engaged with different sensorial flows. In earlier academic literature affects and rhythms have been discussed in tourism and management research in terms of to their soothing, harmonising affectivities affording luxury. Nonetheless, I see that the affecto-rhythmic nature of practices entails a capacity to unclothe the emergence of luxury with opposite, accelerated rhythms and rhythms with various alterations. There is a range of empirical studies waiting for an (embodied) analysis within the rhythms and affects all the way from luxury limousine services to diverse cultural and public sport events, down to even mundane walks. More explorations of luxury practices are welcomed as being engaged with various states of knowing inbetween being awake, half-awake or sleeping. Importantly, also pausing and stillness were discussed as a form of embodied practices in this thesis. I see that affectivities aroused by stillness and silence would merit more embodied explorations in this accelerating world.

I also brought into discussion the notion of energy body from earlier multidisciplinary studies. At this point, I still ask what a knowing body is. I see that there are multiple possibilities to continue with several pathways the exploration of the human body as a resonant materiality that is all the time in the state of becoming, thus affording knowledge (of luxury) when floating within many states of consciousness from full alert and awake to diverse stages of sleep. Here, the affects could also be measured with neuroscientific research methods to complement the cultural interpretation of luxury. I assume we are still in the beginning of coming across insightful studies of the emergences of luxury through the spiritual body or energy body in our attempts to unfold more comprehensive forms of knowing through the miraculous and intelligent human body.

In this dissertation, traces of the ethical practicing of luxury may also be found. Gherardi (2019) calls this “ethics in practice” accomplished within aesthetic knowing and embodied judgements in practices. This aspect, however, was not in the focus of this study. In current luxury studies, ethics are understood through rational lenses and, therefore, future luxury studies could investigate ethics within embodied practices and accomplished with varied sociomaterialities.

At the same time, investigating practices might offer complementing views on heterogeneous sociomaterial actors and shared practices. In our disruptive

technological era, there could be comparative qualitative studies investigating the arousing affectivities that emerge in interacting with robots as compared to interactions with human touch. It would be interesting to explore how the emerging affectivities differ from each other.

This study was conducted with autoethnography and luxury was interpreted through the cultural lenses of the researcher. It would be insightful to conduct a study which would juxtapose both the cultural knowing with the service provider's view. Moreover, the study could entail both the management and employee views as service employees are crucial in the formation of luxury in service encounters.

In conclusion, I hope that the autoethnographic methodology and body-reflexivity has arisen curiosity among luxury and tourism researchers towards a cultural and embodied approach in their luxury investigations and has encouraged to deviate from dominant conventional methodologies. In future studies, practices could also be investigated with less focus on embodied knowing in practices even though social practices are innately embodied. On the other hand, a more autobiographic approaches would also be welcomed in luxury literature as they might open insights, be inspirational and applicable for researchers, and for other disciplines as well. After all, luxury has traditionally opened pathways for others to follow.

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