

**EXPLORING THE IDENTITIES OF NORTH AMERICAN
YOGA TEACHERS FROM DIFFERENT PERSPECTIVES
ON THE SELF**

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Abstract

This qualitative study explores the work and identities of a sample of twenty-seven North American yoga teachers from two different ontological, epistemological and methodological perspectives. This study illustrates how the self can be understood and constructed in different ways using different readings of the interview material. The first reading of the interview material uses a symbolic interactionist approach and illustrates how a yoga teacher creates a sense of self using the meanings that they assign to their experiences. The second reading of the interview material employs Foucault's notions of power/knowledge and subjectivity and suggests that yoga teachers' sense of self is constituted by various discourses. Here, yoga teachers have agency in selecting their subject position and how they wish to locate themselves within the discourses, but they are not able to operate outside of discourse. These readings of the self and identities are at times complementary and, at others, contradictory. Taking these readings together, this study contributes some important insights to the body work literature surrounding women's motivations for this form of body work/ care work, the interconnections between care roles and the leisure-framing of work that individuals may undergo for their own physical and emotional well-being.

Keywords: body work, care, identity, interviews, perspectives on the self, yoga

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Chapter 1 Perspectives on the Self

1.1 Overview

This study uses semi-structured interview material from a sample of twenty-seven yoga teachers in North America to consider the different ways in which identity can be understood and constructed. I explore the work and lives of yoga teachers by ‘re-emphasizing the link between epistemology and methodology’ (Duberley, 2015, p. 340); that is, this study emphasizes that the way that we come to understand yoga teachers’ experiences depends on the underlying ontological and epistemological assumptions that we have. To ‘emphasize the link,’ I apply two different philosophical perspectives to segments of the interview material. In doing so I reflect on how these different framings may shape our understanding of yoga teachers’ experiences and understandings of who they are and what they are doing.

Rather than disguise qualitative research as a homogenous, standardized, and ‘sanitized’ field driven by institutional (often, quantitative) traditions (Donnelly et al. 2013), this study recognizes the duality of qualitative methodology in management research. There are competing and simultaneous narratives in qualitative research at present: one is standardization and the other is innovation (Donnelly et al. 2013). The first, standardization, is related to a general ‘squeezing’ of the academic world with tighter funding regimes, heightened reliance on metrics, and an overwhelming push for legitimation of research as ‘scientific’ by virtue of its publication in top tier (US) journals (Duberley, 2015). This increase in scrutiny and pressure impacts how researchers are doing and presenting qualitative work in our discipline to make it easier for non-qualitative reviewers in top journals to read (Pratt, 2009). In parallel with this ‘McDonaldization’ (Nancarrow et al. 2005) to ensure ‘efficient’ and expedient research output, there is also a demand by journals for increased innovation and imagination related to qualitative methods. For

example, Duberley (2015) highlights the breadth of innovative methods now being used – auto-ethnography, netnography, and visual methods, to name a few. This diversity of methods highlights the complexity of the qualitative paradigm (Beck et al. 2011). There is no ‘one best way’ to do qualitative research; qualitative researchers are trying to strike a balance between standardizing their work so that it is palatable to top tier journals while still advancing the field by introducing innovative methods.

What may be lost in this shuffle of qualitative management research is the recognition that within one research study different interpretations of the material are possible. This study puts into practice Duberley’s (2015) call to reflect critically on the philosophical assumptions that frame qualitative research questions and research design. Such reflection and analysis can lead to different interpretations of the interviews. Building on Duberley’s assertions, this study aims to advance our understanding of qualitative research by bridging the gap between standardization, innovation, and imagination, illustrating how qualitative methodology is a “vibrant and contested field with many contradictions and different perspectives” (Brinkman et al. 2014, p. 19). To do so, I explicitly focus on two different underlying philosophical perspectives related to self and identity in the context of teaching yoga: symbolic interactionism and Foucault’s notions of power/knowledge and discourse.

In this introductory chapter, I provide a brief outline of the ontological and epistemological framings of the self and identity that I draw on and introduce my research questions. From there, I contextualize the study by providing a historical outline of doing and teaching yoga in North America. The work experiences and identities of yoga teachers are not considered in the existing body work literature, which has contributed to my decision to use yoga teachers as the sample for this study. In addition, I explain how my own interest in doing and

teaching yoga developed and how this curiosity informs my study. I conclude with an outline of how the dissertation will unfold and the objective of each chapter.

1.2 Ontological, Epistemological & Methodological Perspectives on the Self

I anchor this study around interviews and, more specifically, what I did prior to conducting them, how I approached doing the interviews, and, following on from there, how I went about analyzing the interview material. The interviews act as a base from which different renderings and understandings of these respondents' identities are made possible. My first 'way in' to consider yoga teachers' identity was through symbolic interactionist theoretical perspectives on the self, which I then analyzed using thematic analysis. Here, I draw on the work of Mead (1934) and Blumer (1969), among others, to answer the research question: **How do people assign meaning to their experiences teaching yoga?** From this perspective, I consider how the self develops from social interaction, experience, and action. I pay particular attention to the role of significant others and social structures in meaning and interpretation.

I then analyze other segments of the same interview material using discourse analysis to explore Foucault's (1977, 1984) notions of power/ knowledge and discourse and how the self is positioned in these discourses. I explore how yoga teachers in my study construct a social identity in relation to discourses that shape yoga in North America and answer the question: **What discourses surround teaching yoga in North America?**

1.3 A Historical Overview of Yoga

In order to situate teaching yoga as a form of body work, it is first important to provide some background details about the historical emergence of modern yoga. In the last three

decades yoga has grown from a relatively unknown and counter-culture Indian philosophy and spiritual activity into a popular cultural phenomenon and a multi-million dollar New Age industry (De Michelis, 2004; Jain, 2014; Smith, 2007). Contemporary yoga discourse suggests that postural¹ yoga, referred to in this study from now on simply as yoga, is based on Indian spiritual philosophies and practices which can be traced back to the *Yoga Sutras* in South Asia circa 1700-1500 B.C.E (Jain, 2014). At that time, it is believed that yoga was a meditative, rather than physical, tradition that was “made up of heterogeneous systems of thought and practice in which individuals sought to destabilize normal consciousness characterized by knowledge of ultimate reality, and for the most advanced adepts, to eventually result in salvation from suffering existence” (Jain, 2014, p. 20). Pre-modern yoga was undertaken to change consciousness in order to help individuals achieve a higher state of being.

In the early nineteenth century, yoga was reconstructed within and beyond South Asia, resulting in a new transnational tradition that consisted of assorted systems, practices, and ideologies that were developed based on early encounters between Indian spiritual reformers, Europeans, and Americans (Jain, 2014). In this way, yoga transitioned from being a particular spiritual tradition into a hybridization of practices based on fitness, socio-political influences, and spiritual and philosophical ideas.

The developments of yoga in the nineteenth century established it as an unorthodox and controversial religious practice. This non-orthodoxy was, in fact, part of the reason that yoga was adopted in the United States. The early twentieth century marked a period of religious questioning in the United States, due in part to scientific advances and, in part, to the emergence

¹ Postural yoga is an Anglo-centric interpretation of pre-modern yoga that emerged in the early 20th century and denotes an emphasis on *asanas* or postures (Singleton, 2010).

and assimilation of alternative cultural ideologies. This environment of questioning and discovery led people to study yoga.

Some of the earliest modern yogic figures in North America were responsible for establishing yoga in North America. One influential early yogi was Ida C. Craddock (1857-1902). Craddock was an independent scholar who studied translations of fifteen-century hatha yoga² texts such as *Shiva Samhita*. Her reading of the hatha yoga texts focused on tantric traditions, mostly concerned with meditative concentration to help delay ejaculation in order to enhance sexual pleasure in married couples (Jain, 2014). Craddock established the Church of Yoga in 1899 based on her interpretation of hatha yoga as a mystic-erotic religion. This church was considered to be “antisocial heterodoxy” (Schmidt, 2010, p. 273) by the broader community who opposed her socio-religious interpretation and bold sexual reform. She was imprisoned for enacting these beliefs and later committed suicide. Craddock’s history illustrates a sordid, radical view of yoga and the plural realities associated with modernity. This history also reveals fears about yoga as it encroached on religious principles and ideals of the time. The mainstream North American population did not welcome yoga; instead, it was deemed a threat.

Pierre Bernard (1876-1955) was another early American radical and tantric yogi³. Unlike Craddock, he was feared less and he managed to develop a small following of American yogic students. Many of his students continued to practice and teach yoga well into the second half of the twentieth century (Jain, 2014). The Christian church tried but failed to legally sanction Bernard to give up yoga. In 1918, Bernard settled in New York and, with the help of wealthy donors, set up a country club for people who wanted to learn tantric techniques based on hatha

² Hatha yoga is a branch of yoga that emphasizes physical purification of the body for meditative purposes that is achieved through physical postures and breathing techniques.

³ Tantra yoga refers to meditative and ritualistic practices that channel divine energy to attain spiritual and material goals. Tantric yoga is often used synonymously with spiritual sexuality as a way to channel this divine energy through sexual practice.

yoga. Bernard's interpretation of yoga combined physical techniques, mystic-erotic ideology, and communal ethics. Bernard, like Craddock, was concerned with the relationship between enhancing physical health, living a good life, and pleasure (Jain, 2014).

These modern American yogis tried to reconfigure the relationship between the mind, body, and spirit in light of scientific advancements and prevalent religious ideologies. This relationship between mind, body and spirit is one that continues to inform how many contemporary yoga teachers construct their sense of self. However, the early attempts were not widely accepted. This history also reveals fears about yoga as it encroached on religious principles and ideals of the time. Early stories of yoga in North America depict it as socially disruptive, avant-garde, and contested, with the physical postures of hatha yoga likened to contortionist postures and viewed as entertainment or sexual magic, given these postures' foundation in tantric philosophies and practices (Singleton, 2010). Accordingly, North American yoga of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was at odds with both the philosophical and meditative dimensions of the pre-modern, Indian yogic tradition, as well as with contemporary religious principles and practices. Further, mainstream representations of yoga emphasized derogatory images of hatha yoga, which "reified colonialist and Orientalist concepts of hatha yoga as particularly mysterious, bizarre, uncivilized, and threatening to modernity and rationality" (Jain, 2014, p.28).

In their critical, historical work on the emergence and development of yoga as part of popular culture in the second half of the twentieth century, Singleton (2010) and Jain (2014) note that yoga has since been constructed and reconstructed many times over, both within and beyond India. Today, postural yoga invokes an image or stereotype of sweaty, glowing, toned, spandex-clad women doing series of gymnastics-like postures. More broadly, it is associated with New

Age spirituality, health, and holistic well-being (Lea, 2009). In these ways, the current, transnational, contemporary practice of yoga as we know it today bears little to no resemblance to pre-modern Indian traditions, which were believed to emphasize stillness and meditation rather than sequences of postural movements, or to nineteenth century or early twentieth century conceptions in North America, which involved radicalism, scandal, and sex (Singleton, 2010). From the mid-twentieth century onwards, yoga became embedded in discourses of health, well-being, and fitness (Jain, 2014). In North America today, yoga is understood to be a sequence of *asanas* tied together in a series of *vinyasa* (movements), which are connected by using a steady breathing technique (*ujjayi pranayama*). Along with a focused gaze (*dristi*), *ujjayi* breathing is believed to center the practitioner's attention, with the effect of promoting health, stress reduction, authenticity, beauty, and spiritual well-being (De Michelis, 2004).

The current widespread popularity of yoga in North America connects to three socio-economic developments: globalization, market capitalization, and consumerism (Jain, 2014). First, international mobility and immigration flourished in the 1960s as legal restrictions were lifted between India, Europe, and North America. This wave of immigration opened up new cross-cultural exchanges of services, activities, and ideologies. Specifically, this period of immigration enabled new religions and gurus to enter the spiritual marketplace, offering alternatives to puritan and orthodox Anglo-faiths (Porterfield, 2001). Spirituality is distinct from religion, which is the observance of an established faith characterized by formalized practices and institutionalized structures. Spirituality suggests an informality of practices and can merge institutionalized structures together because it is “non-denominational, non-hierarchical, and non-ecclesiastical” (Graber et al. 2001, p. 40).

This adoption of spirituality or spiritual practices rather than religious affiliation also marks a broader shift and adoption of the post 1970s New Age ideology, with its emphasis on alternative or complementary healthcare, self-healing practices, and non-allopathic or non-mainstream approaches (Fulder, 1996; Sutcliffe, 2003). This connects to the second socio-economic development, as it highlights the emergence of new markets. New spiritual practices paved the way for new ways of considering the mind and body. Sutcliffe (2003) suggests that New Age spirituality is based on themes of vitalism and holism. Vitalism claims the body is sustained by energy (Fulder, 1996) or by a “life force” (Saks, 1992, p. 4), and it suggests that people are then part of a broader cosmic ordering of life forces. The second premise, holism, refers to the “making or creation of wholes in the universe” (Smuts, 1927, p. 98). According to this logic, people’s lives, health, and well-being should not be viewed as parts in isolation, but rather should be understood together as a broader whole. In sum, the notions of vitalism and holism suggest that individuals have interconnected minds, bodies, and spirits that connect to a broader universe.

The third socio-economic trend, consumerism, connects the notions of holism and vitalism to consumer choice and the marketization of self-development. Different cultures, religions, and beliefs have infiltrated the marketplace and consumers can “assemble” (Lyon, 2000, p. 76) their lifestyles, connecting different ideas, beliefs, and practices to develop themselves in a way that best suits them. With this development, yoga shifts from being a spiritual experience based on unorthodox religion to an exercise routine, and more specifically, a service that can be purchased. Jameson (1991) suggests that when a product or a service, such as yoga, is widely consumed by the masses, it becomes part of popular culture. Yoga garnered mass media attention when the pop culture icons, The Beatles, promoted it (Jain, 2014). Taken

together, the three broad socio-economic changes, globalization, market capitalization, and consumerism, helped to popularize yoga and introduce counter-cultural principles of self-development, higher purpose, and spirituality into popular culture as “an exoteric body–maintenance regimen for the masses” (Jain, 2014, p.46).

Very few studies have examined how many people practice yoga in North America. One census study estimated that in 2005, close to 14 million people practiced yoga in the US, up from only 4.3 million in 2001 (NAMASTA, 2005). Contemporary yoga is most often taught in weekly classes in community gyms as well as in dedicated yoga studios (Lea, 2009). It is practiced for forty-five to ninety minutes in an open space, typically on rubber or cotton mats laid out in a series of rows (Valente & Marotta, 2005). Typically, yoga is practiced in instructor-led classes, but more seasoned students may also participate in Mysore-style practice (Smith, 2007) where they run through an established series of postures and breathing exercises on their own. Both instructor-led and Mysore classes are observed by one or more teachers, who sometimes intervene in each student’s practice to give verbal and physical ‘adjustments’ and improve the student's posture and bodily alignment (Smith, 2007).

As its popularity grows, many people are also turning to yoga for employment purposes. The North American Studio Alliance, an industry organization, estimates that close to 70,000 people currently hold yoga teacher certifications (NAMASTA, 2005), while many others are believed to teach without formal certification. To become a qualified yoga teacher, people undergo a 250-hour registered training program offered at participating yoga studios. These programs prepare future instructors to lead yoga classes by teaching different postures, breathing techniques, and cues to realign their students’ bodies. The curriculum focuses on the

fundamentals of teaching yoga, including the practice of postures and how to teach the postures, human anatomy and physiology, yoga philosophy, lifestyle, and ethics (NAMSTA, 2005).

Moreover, much of the existing literature on yoga concerns its history or the health benefits of regular yoga practice. Less is known about the work and work identities of those that teach yoga. Morley (2001) suggests, "The academic analysis of yoga must extend beyond textual analysis and engage with the experience of practitioners" (p. 73). In this study, I turn my attention to these practitioners and examine how their experiences shape their identity as yoga teachers.

1.4 Teaching Yoga as a Form of Body Work

What we do know about yoga as a form of work comes from the sociology of work literature, in which teaching yoga has been identified as a form of body work (Wolkowitz, 2002). Body work refers to labour that is done on one's own body as well as on the bodies of others (Twigg, 2000; Wolkowitz, 2002). Earlier body work studies have been primarily concerned with healthcare workers and other workers, such as hairstylists (e.g. Gimlin, 1996), manicurists (e.g. 2003), massage therapists (e.g. Oerton, 2004; Sullivan, 2014), or fitness instructors (e.g. Harvey et al. 2016; Smith Maguire, 2008), all of whom are concerned with improving the aesthetic appearance or overall well-being of others' bodies. This study focuses on yoga as a form of body work that restores and beautifies bodies *while also* improving the psychological health and well-being of people who practice yoga.

Equally, much of the existing body work literature has focused on workers' employment experiences and challenges, many of which are shared across various occupations on the premise that the work can be dirty, disgusting, stigmatized, sexualized, and undertaken in precarious

conditions. Further, many of the challenges that body workers face are based on inherent inequalities between worker and customer/ client/ patient such as those around gender, race and class. Again, however, yoga does not fit linearly into traditional ideas of body work because it has additional dimensions. For example, teaching yoga is not dirty or disgusting, and is no longer stigmatized as it was in the early nineteenth century. Rather, it is celebrated in Western popular culture. Further, the costs associated with becoming a yoga teacher and the cost of taking a yoga class are substantial. This influences the power differential between and relative status of service provider and client. Teaching yoga has less inequality or status-related issues than other body work occupations as it is most often done by women, to female students. Additionally, many body work studies have identified the gendered aspect of such work and its precarious economic terms of employment, but few have examined these body work conditions from a whole-life perspective, taking into account work-life balance or workers' competing family priorities and commitments that may be attracting them to this form of employment. In a similar vein, few body work studies to date have examined non-financial reasons for undertaking body work or have explained how body work as a hobby may reframe employment expectations and experiences (for an exception, see Smith Maguire, 2008). In sum, considering yoga teaching as a form of body work provides an exciting opportunity to learn more about the work experiences and identities of these body workers, whom the extant literature has largely ignored.

1.5 My Self-Reflections on Doing and Teaching Yoga

What role, then, have my own experiences with yoga played in the formulation of this research project? This project is about ways to consider how philosophical perspectives underpin social science research and guide our understanding, in this case about yoga teachers and their

identities. Different perspectives affect the ways in which we understand the world; our understanding of the world, in turn, results partly from what we have experienced. Cunliffe (2003) notes that reflexivity can take many forms and does not necessarily have to be exclusively connected to data collection and analysis. Equally, and as I have stated earlier, Duberley (2015) suggests that researchers should critically reflect on the philosophical assumptions that frame their research questions, research design, data analysis, and evaluations of the quality of their research. My own forays into yoga play into the philosophical assumptions I have about teaching yoga and doing qualitative research and influence how I came to create this study and to consider the identities and experiences of my yoga teachers.

My introduction to yoga shapes my understanding of identity and body work because I did not initially understand yoga to be a business. At the time of writing this study, I have been practicing yoga regularly for fourteen years. I was introduced to it in the final years of my undergraduate program. My first yoga experience was attending weekly classes in the basement apartment of a Buddhist monk. Although we paid him, it did not feel like his business, or as if it were his job. This might have been because he was a single father and his eight-year old daughter would watch television at a high volume in the other room as we practiced our sun salutations⁴ and learned how to breathe in pace with our postures. The impetus for my practice at this time was in part fitness-related, as I found yoga to be more enjoyable than running, and in part therapeutic, as it calmed my tense, type-A personality. From there a friend introduced me to a more mainstream, bustling urban studio. Although the postures matched what I had learned in the early days of my practice, what yoga meant in the urban studio seemed different. Classes

⁴ A Sun salutation, also referred to as *Surya Namaskar*, is a series of eleven postures that are repeated typically eight to twelve times in succession to warm up the body. Sun salutations are typically done at the beginning of a yoga class to connect movement with focused breathing.

were fast-paced and crowded; we were jammed into small rooms with only the real estate of our yoga mats. Rather than reaping the benefits of finding inner stillness, I was motivated to keep up with the flexible, strong and beautiful bodies of the others in the class. These yoga classes continued throughout my postgraduate studies at a variety of other, similar studios.

It was not until the second year of my doctoral program, after attending the European Group for Organization Studies (EGOS) Conference in Montreal, Canada in 2013, that I first considered the body as a badge, as a site to signal self-discipline and control. I then began to think more specifically about my own experiences and insights about the ‘body as a badge’ and broader ideas about the ways that bodies are supposed to look, to function, and to conform in order to be ‘successful.’ Following some health issues and the stress of working toward my doctoral degree, I made the decision to ‘give back’ to my body and enrolled in yoga teacher training.

Although I did not realize it at the time, in many ways, I was perpetuating the very discourse with which I was taking issue. Yoga teacher training seemed to be a way for me to regain control of my physical body as well as my emotions as things in my life seemed to be out of my control. Yet the notion of yoga teacher training as a way to cope with my stresses was quickly usurped by the idea of studying yoga teachers. My own desire to become a yoga teacher transitioned into wanting to achieve a yoga teaching credential that would allow me to gain access into this community of practice, to be a true insider. Except I was not a ‘true insider’ – I did not share many of the yogic practices, insights, or ideological values that we were being taught in training. I grew increasingly sceptical of yoga and simultaneously fascinated by it. My only experience teaching yoga came in the fourth year of my doctoral studies where I

volunteered at a local community center, doing chair yoga⁵ with seniors for six months. The more that I learned about yoga, from my own experiences teaching yoga and through the interviews and observations of teachers for this study, the more contradictions and tensions I noticed. This thesis acts as a way for me to acknowledge these tensions. Personally, I do not identify myself as a yoga teacher, but rather as someone with experience teaching yoga who studies yoga teachers, and more broadly care work and body work.

1.6 Summary of Chapter & Outline of Thesis

In this chapter, I have:

- indicated what I have set out to achieve in this study, and how;
- provided some background information about the ongoing discussions that surround qualitative methodologies for management research;
- introduced the ontological, epistemological and methodological perspectives that I draw on for this study;
- provided background information about doing and teaching yoga in North America, particularly focusing on the proliferation of contemporary, transnational yoga; and
- outlined the development of my personal interest in yoga and how I identify with teaching yoga.

I organize the remaining chapters as follows: **Chapter 2** outlines the ontological, epistemological, and methodological lenses introduced in this chapter in more detail to establish the different philosophical assumptions that I draw on throughout the study. **Chapter 3** contextualizes the study in the relevant literature on body work. In **Chapter 4**, I provide a detailed account of the research methodology. **Chapter 5** is a findings chapter in response to the

⁵ Chair yoga is a gentle form of yoga that adapts yoga postures so that they can be practiced sitting on a chair or standing using a chair for support.

first research question: **How do people assign meaning to their experiences teaching yoga?**

This chapter considers identity construction from a symbolic interactionist framing of the self and offers a thematic analysis of the topics of care for self, care for others, and working conditions. **Chapter 6** is a findings chapter in response to the second research question: **What discourses surround teaching yoga in North America?** As such, this chapter considers identity construction using Foucault's notions of power/knowledge, discourse and the subject positions that people take up within these discourses via a discourse analysis. I describe teaching yoga in light of discourses of 'The Good Wife', 'The Good Body', and 'The Good Yogi'. The thesis concludes with **Chapter 7**, a detailed discussion that acknowledges, rather than reconciles, both the similarities and differences pertaining to the identity construction of yoga teachers that these different ontological, epistemological, and methodological framings surface. This chapter also discusses the implications of this study in relation to body work and frames this study in terms of qualitative methodology, its limitations, and areas of future research.

Chapter 2 Perspectives on the Self

2.1 Introduction

This study contributes to an emerging body of literature that takes ‘multiple stabs’ at interpreting research material to demonstrate this can generate alternative understandings (see for example Honan et al. 2000; Mordhorst, 2008). In particular, I focus on people who teach yoga and what their work consists of. I suggest that how we come to understand the work and lives of yoga teachers hinges on the ontological, epistemological and methodological lenses that we use to render their experiences visible and analyzable. The objective of this study is not to pit one philosophical positioning of the self against another, but rather to illustrate how different framings enable us to see different things in the data. My respective theories and methodology are symbolic interactionism (SI) in tandem with a thematic analysis and Foucault’s notions of power/knowledge and subjectivity using discourse analysis. The different ‘readings’ of the interview transcripts, albeit using different sections of the data, are made possible by the ways in which I pose my research questions. Specifically, I ground the first ‘reading’ of these yoga teachers’ experiences using symbolic interactionism to answer the research question: **How do people assign meaning to their experiences teaching yoga?** Here, I draw on the work of Mead (1934) and Blumer (1969) among others to illustrate how the self develops from social interaction. I detail Mead’s (1934) thoughts on meaning, experience, and action, paying particular attention to social encounters with significant others as well as social structures.

As I will go on to discuss in Chapter 4, I had originally planned to use symbolic interactionism as the only overarching theoretical framework for the study. Two things contributed to the decision to re-tell the story from a Foucauldian perspective. Upon reflection, I realized that while SI does provide rich accounts of participants’ experiences, it has received

strong critique for intimating that individuals are ‘blank slates’, free, unconstrained, and agentic in how they navigate the self and self-identity. SI does not take into consideration how power relations influence my yoga teachers’ experiences and consequently, their self-identity. Although the SI approach did allow me to consider the teachers’ experiences in relation to others, it did not provide the grounds to discuss how power flows between different individuals and institutions. Second, my supervisory committee changed partway through the study, and the new committee shared my concerns about the rather ‘harmonious’ presentation of self from the modernist SI perspective. They encouraged me to pursue exploring the role of power/knowledge and mechanisms such as agency, resistance and positioning within discourse as a way to see things differently.

My ‘re-reading’ of the interview transcripts is therefore done using Foucault’s (1977, 1984) work to understand how power and knowledge fuse and function, creating, reinforcing, and resisting discourses. Here, I draw on people’s affinity with various discourses and how this constitutes and coordinates their subjectivity and their everyday lives. I conduct a discourse analysis on segments of the interview transcripts to answer the following research question:

What discourses surround teaching yoga in North America? Here, I draw on Foucault’s work about the productivity of power and the relations of power, knowledge and subjectivity. I discuss these ideas to locate, historicize and understand how my yoga teachers’ sense of being and acting is at times simultaneously impacted, enabled, and constrained by the subject positions they take within yoga and career discourses. It is important to note that SI is a social theory that involves more than one theorist. However, although the second theoretical framing concerns only Foucault, I want to highlight that I am using Foucault’s theories, bridging together many of his

ideas - primarily from his later works – in a particular way. There is no single ‘symbolic interactionism’ and nor is there is a single reading of Foucault’s oeuvre.

It is also important to note that these are not the only two readings that can be generated from the material. Re-reading and re-telling accounts of what teaching yoga is like from multiple angles reiterates that participants’ experiences are contextualized interpretations of behaviours, events, and situations (van Lier, 1988). Moreover, I highlight that the ontological, epistemological and methodological choices within a research project play a significant role in what we come to know.

The objective of this chapter is lay the groundwork for how the self can be imagined, how it functions, how it interacts with the very world it is a part of from these different philosophical positions. Throughout the chapter, I connect these ideas to the current study, using the context of teaching yoga in North America to flesh out how the various concepts might apply before offering a thorough analysis in the findings chapters. I structure this chapter by discussing, in detail, components and characteristics of both SI and Foucault’s notions of power, knowledge and discourse. Throughout the chapter, in each respective section, I will also share some of the key criticisms that the relevant theoretical perspective has received.

2.2 Symbolic Interactionism

2.2.1 Context

SI is a North American-based sociological theory that is rooted in pragmatist and humanist philosophical traditions. It remains one of the most durable and contested twentieth-century sociological theories; Plummer (2000) suggests it has been “at times in ascendance, at times declared dead, always changing and adjusting to the world around it” (p.193). It is difficult to trace the history of SI because of the very tenets that distinguish the theory. First, SI is in flux;

second, what SI means, including discussions of its historical origins, will continue to shift with time; and third, what SI means depends on the definitions of those who interact with and interpret it (Plummer, 2000).

Overall, the inauguration of SI is still largely associated with and credited to George Herbert Mead's (1863–1931) work in the 1920s. His student, Herbert Blumer (1900-1987), who went on to teach Mead's classes at the University of Chicago after Mead's death (Plummer, 2000), coined the term in 1937. Mead's (1934) posthumous text '*Mind, Self, and Society*' (1934) continues to be identified as a key source of SI, conveying many of its central ideas: analysis of experience rooted firmly in its social context; the importance of language, symbols and communication; the reflective and reflexive nature of the self; and relativism. But it would be misleading to perpetuate crediting Mead as the central contributor to SI as many others have influenced (and continue to influence) the interactionist tradition, including German phenomenologist Husserl (1963) and other North American pragmatists such as Peirce, Dewey, and James (Oliver, 2012; Plummer, 2000). I will primarily hone in on the concepts and ideas that Mead (1934) and Blumer (1969) developed as these inaugural ideas are still accepted as the foundation of symbolic interaction, but I will also borrow and flesh out their ideas using more recent works (e.g. Denzin, 1992, 1997; Stryker, 2008).

Building on the previous point, from the SI position, there is no such thing as a single 'truth.' Something is 'real' or 'true' only through the ground level, empirical, material consequences that it produces. As such, SI rejects a quest for fundamental or authentic truth, but suggests that there is a plurality to what can be true. Truths are multiple, shifting and always grounded in concrete experiences and language. Put another way, something takes on meaning not because 'it is' but rather, through the experiences that people have and the interpretations that

people make of it (Denzin, 1989; Gubrium & Holstein, 1997). Plummer (2000) suggests that there is no way “to divorce the knower from the known, the subject from the object” (p. 200). This highlights that experience and meaning are tightly interconnected, that life is considered a blank slate onto which people etch meaning through encounters with others, which spark feelings, behaviours, actions and experiences (Sundin & Fahy, 2008). Taken together, Blumer (1969) summarizes these points with three main ideas that guide SI:

The first premise is that human beings act toward things on the basis of the meanings that things have for them... The second premise is that the meaning of such things is derived from, or arises out of, the social interaction that one has with one’s fellows. The third premise is that these meanings are handled in, and modified through, an interpretive process used by the person in dealing with the things he encounters (p. 2).

2.2.2 Key Concepts and Critiques

2.2.2.1 Action & Meaning

In SI, the world is not only material and objective, but also symbolic (Mead, 1934). What differentiates humans from other animals is their symbol-producing capacity, which allows them to produce a history, a culture, and a web of communications. A key focus of SI is the way in which symbols are assigned meaning through social interactions and then interpreted. This includes how we define ourselves, our feelings and behaviours, our experiences, and feelings towards them. Meaning is constantly (re)built through interactions with others, modified, transformed. Consequently, meaning is always “shifting, emergent, and ultimately ambiguous” (Plummer, 2000, p. 194). Though we may create habits, routines and shared meanings, they are always open for adjustment and reinterpretation (Wiley, 1994).

Meaning making is a relational process, without a fixed outcome (Mead, 1934). SI examines the strategies that are used as people develop a sense of self, as they adjust to others

through interactions, encounters and social practices. From this perspective, the self is shaped by the contexts in which people are situated and through their social interactions (Mead, 1934).

Like meaning, the self is not a stable entity, but rather “a process, continuously created and recreated in every social situation that one enters” (Berger, 1963, p. 106). The self is not there from birth, but developed by language, play and games (Mead, 1934). The self develops by language, as people are able to respond to each other using symbols, words, and gestures. Play develops self as, through it, people take on different roles and internalize the perspective of others in different social situations. Play begins to develop in childhood, where children are able to experiment with different roles. For example, they may play ‘doctor’ and experiment with taking either the role of the doctor or the patient. In the stage of play, the child begins to build a sense of who they think they should be but it is limited because the child is still developing a more general sense of who they are.

In the next stage, the game stage, a person develops a full sense of self. While in the play stage children had taken on the role of distinct others, in the game stage, they acknowledge the distinct relationships involved with everyone in the game and must be willing to take the role of everyone else (Ritzer, 2008). These relationships inform people that there are rules to which they must adhere to be successful in society. Mead (1934) illustrates the game stage with an example using the game of baseball:

If he gets in a ball nine⁶ he must have the responses of each position involved in his own position. He must know what everyone else is going to do in order to carry out his own play. He has to take all of these roles. They do not all have to be present in consciousness at the same time, but at some moments he has to have three or four individuals present in his own attitude, such as the one who is going to throw the ball, the one who is going to catch it and so on. These responses must be, in some degree, present in his own make-up.

⁶ In baseball there are nine field positions. Ball nine refers to the right fielder position.

In the game, then, there is a set of responses of such others so organized that the attitude of one calls out the appropriate attitudes of the other (p.151).

Language, play and games work in tandem to balance out two sides of the self, the 'me' and the 'I' (Mead, 1934). The 'me' represents the socialized aspect of self and learned behaviours, as well as the attitudes and expectations of others. The 'me' is a phase of self that develops from experiences and continues to be adjusted through social interactions. The 'I', on the other hand, presents a present or future phase of self and acts in response to the 'me' (Mead, 1934). Here, the 'me' and 'I' work together. The 'me' acts as a societal control over self, pointing out when the rules of a game might be being broken. The 'I' allows someone to express individualism and distinctiveness as regards or against the norm. SI's most basic concept, the self (the me-I), also invokes the image of 'the other.' As Wiley (1994) suggests, the self can never be alone; it always exists in relation to others. For example, a newspaper article may suggest that a person should be healthy. The 'I' is able to agree or to disagree with such expectations based on the 'me's' social encounters with others; thus, the individual is able to either agree and be healthy or disagree. Health, here, is of course relative. How healthy a yoga teacher is, for example, would always be discerned in reference to others – other yoga teachers, others who do yoga, others in general.

Building on this idea, self-development is accomplished by communicating with others (Stryker, 2008). Denzin (1989) contends that interactions with certain people, whom he calls 'significant others', hold the most weight. For example, they may be people whom the individual especially loves, respects, identifies with, or fears (Charon, 2001). Significant others include spouses, parents, teachers, friends, and clergy to name a few. Beyond the role of significant others, social structures also play a part in the creation of self-concept because the self is thought

to mirror society. Mead (1934) contends, "Society is a never-ending process of routinization of solutions to repetitive problems. Both persons ... and society are created through social process; each is constitutive of the other, and neither has ontological priority" (Mead, 1934 as cited in Stryker, 2008, p. 17). Here, Mead suggests that society emerges from social interaction. This shapes the self and the self then shapes interaction.

SI has, however, received a litany of critique. It has been accused of neglecting the role of structure by overemphasizing micro-level interaction and subjective experience (Denzin, 1992; Fine, 1990). Mead has specifically come under fire for neglecting history and society as a whole (Plummer, 2000). For example, Stryker (2000, 2008) has intervened in this debate on agency and structure by recognizing the limitations of Mead's (1934) notions of the self and society, suggesting that they are indistinct, inexact and empirically indefensible. Nevertheless, Stryker does not suggest that the micro social world should be considered analytically separate from the macro. This is in line with Couch (1984), who claims that there should not be a divide between the micro and macro. Couch (1984) also suggests that a local situation cannot be demarcated from the historical context in which it is rooted because experience does not exist in a vacuum. Put another way, "the micro-world of every-day life cannot be viewed as an irrelevant foreground to social-structural factors of real importance... Conversely, the macro world cannot be written off, or underestimated as an incidental backdrop to social activity" (Layder, 1997, p. 44). Instead, micro experiences remain "deeply implicated" (Giddens, 1984, p. 198) in a relationship with the macro landscape. This is to say that, although the self and the social other are central tenets of SI, they need to be considered alongside macro layers of the social world: groups, organizations, and societies. As Hall (1987) asserts, these macro layers are interconnected and reoccurring networks of collective activity.

Stryker (2008) also suggests that Mead's (1934) homogenous, undifferentiated and coherent conception of self does not reconcile issues related to varying roles, situational variables, personal characteristics and their effect on social behaviours. He modifies Mead's view with what he calls structural symbolic interactionism, which suggests that although society may continually emerge from social processes, society exists before the appearance of new members in it because our predecessors constructed it. The social structures created by our predecessors facilitate and constrain interactions and relationships between different networks. Therefore, society shapes self, which shapes social interaction (Stryker, 2008). The I-me dialogue of self is, further, not a homogenous experience, but rather a continuous process based on social differentiations that develop because society is composed of different organized systems, roles, groups, communities, and institutions that are diverse in class, age, gender and ethnicity (Stryker, 2008). As such, society is not experienced as a whole, but through local networks and intermediate channels such as schools, neighbourhoods, and communities. For example, in relation to this study, yoga is not expected to be experienced as a global phenomenon, but rather locally, as people discuss their experiences within their city, and more specifically within the studios and fitness centers in which they work and practice. These meso-channels funnel into people's interpersonal networks, influencing relationships, which in turn shape their self-concepts, attitudes and actions (Stryker, 2008).

Denzin (1989) takes a different approach to the relation of agency to structure. In line with C. Wright Mills (1967, p. 395), he agrees that troubles are always micro and biographical while issues are always macro, historical and structural. Biography and history fuse together, connecting individual experiences and challenges to public, historical and social structures. In this study, many of my respondents reveal that they decided to teach yoga as a way to work

while still caring for young children. Their motivations (and challenges) in trying to juggle work and home connect to other accounts of women in other industries and sectors trying to balance both roles. Further, as this dissertation will show, teaching yoga as a way to care for one's family illustrates certain structural issues in and barriers to employment.

In line with these acknowledgements, contemporary variants of SI do not suggest that individuals have complete control over their lives. Scholars such as Layder (1997) and Stryker (2000, 2008) highlight the relevance of structures and institutional forces insofar as they empower or constrain our experiences and contribute to the meanings that we attribute to our social interactions. However, SI's view of what these structural mechanisms are and how they work continues to be called apolitical and criticized for failing to acknowledge the dynamics or relations of power within social structures, in relation to significant others, and in the development of the self and self-concept.

2.2.2.2 Interpretation

In addition to interaction, the self develops through interpretation, the process of filtering our experience to generate meaning. For example, Cooley's (1902) early theory of the looking glass self is understood to be an early forerunner of Mead's (1934) theory of the social self. Cooley's theory suggests that a person acts to match the sense or image they interpret or understand that others have of them. The looking glass self has three aspects: imagining, interpreting and developing a self-concept (Cooley, 1902). Imagining occurs when we assess the way we appear to others. For example, in a yoga teacher's assessment, her husband may see her as nurturing while her coworkers may see her as ambitious. Initially, this mosaic of imaginary selves makes up a person's self-concept. The second stage, interpreting, involves drawing

conclusions about what we imagine others think and the third stage involves reacting to what we perceive their assessments to be. An example of the looking glass self applied in the context of this study might be that a yoga teacher imagines how she appears to their students in class – e.g., she may think the students are judging her for not being flexible enough. She might interpret this as suggesting she is not working hard enough at the yoga postures and may react by increasing the number of hours she spends practicing each week. Thus, she develops her self-concept based on the assessments that she perceives others make of her.

In addition to this example of Cooley's (1902) looking glass self, Denzin (1989) suggests that people's self-concept is particularly informed by their interpretation of critical events, which he refers to as epiphanies, or turning point encounters. This suggests that it is not only how one positions one's self from Mead's (1934) me-I perspective or how one expects to be perceived and understood by others (e.g. Cooley's (1902) looking glass self), but also one's interpretation of experiences that crucially inform one's next steps and further action. Turning-point encounters act as a critical incident that leaves a positive or negative mark on the person's life; "having had the experience, the person is never quite the same" (Denzin, 1989, p.15). Denzin here focuses on a) people's individual experiences and the meanings that they assign to them; b) people's epiphanies, wherein underlying social patterns are most likely to become apparent; and c) people's private struggles and how these relate to broader social structures and processes. As experiences occur, people generate meaning about what is happening and (re)produce their concept of self, based on the judgements that they have of their experiences and that they perceive others have of them. In the context of this study, illness, death, career transition, job loss, and family issues such as child rearing and double-income family responsibilities act as examples of epiphanies that have influenced respondents' decision to teach yoga. For example,

one yoga teacher in this study, Monica, had an epiphany that she should teach yoga after having witnessed a family member coping with a severe illness. She interpreted this experience as a turning point that motivated her to focus on her own health as well as the well-being of others.

2.2.3 Symbolic Interactionism Summary

To summarize, the first part of this chapter has outlined a conceptualization of self from a symbolic interactionist perspective. From this vantage point, the self is relational, activity-based, subjective, and multi-perspectival. The self is a process built out of social interaction as meanings shift and change. Further, interactions and meanings must be investigated in the form of concrete, material forms grounded in the empirical world. Plummer (2000) reminds us that SI is considered an ‘old-fashioned theory’ that is often excluded from serious consideration as a viable, contemporary perspective. SI’s dilution in part is due to an over-emphasis and reliance on assembling theories from the empirical world. While SI concepts such as meaning, experience, and interaction are useful heuristics in guiding field research⁷, they are theoretically under-developed and act as ‘mini-concepts’ rather than as well-elaborated theory (Plummer, 2000). Additionally, these concepts are confusing, specifically in regards to the self. Even though SI attempts to eschew the abstract and universal and to instead ground its approach in the empirical world, the conceptualization of the self, how it operates, and how it is shaped can easily fall prey to abstract generalizations (Plummer, 2000). Consequently, in spite of the inherent ‘messiness’ of social worlds that it aims to foreground, SI has been accused of being simplistic, deterministic, individualizing and overly tidy (see Denzin, 1992; Fine, 1983; Maines & Charlton, 1985).

⁷ Methodology was an important aspect and contribution of the Chicago School, which has been noted for advancing participant observation as well as case-study approaches (see Plummer, 2000).

I discussed the concept of self (the ‘me-I’) and the other, the looking glass self as well as epiphanies, and highlighted the importance of significant others and social structures in relation to how meaning is made. In the next section of the chapter, I will discuss Foucault’s perspective on the self, which acts as a counterpoint to SI’s pragmatic humanism and highlights the distinctive role of power/knowledge through which subject positions develop.

2.3 Foucault’s Critique of Modernity

2.3.1 Context

Following on from the previous section of the chapter, which concerned symbolic interactionist conceptualizations of self, I now discuss Foucault’s perspectives on how subjects position themselves within various discourses that surround teaching yoga in North America. I begin by introducing Foucault’s work and discuss his ideas about how meaning is made through power/knowledge regimes.

Michel Foucault (1926-1984) was a French philosopher and social theorist who remains one of the most widely cited contemporary critical theorists. He has influenced post-structuralists, post-modernists, feminists, post-colonialists, and post-Marxists in fields ranging from sociology to anthropology, cultural studies to English, history to management. In management studies, scholars increasingly use Foucault’s conceptualizations of the subject and power/knowledge (see Alvesson & Willmott, 2003; Caldwell, 2007; Fournier & Grey, 2000; Townley, 1993).

Importantly, Foucault rejected having his work labeled as postmodernist or poststructuralist. He was opposed to developing a unified corpus of work and did not strive for career momentum, as he believed all these to be fictional elements that authors (or their interlocutors) impressed on events only after the fact (Mills, 2003). Although his work has had

considerable impact, his academic and theoretical concerns are not easily pigeonholed. His research interests and methods changed significantly throughout his working life, including his views on the relationships between power, knowledge and subjectivity. His work, which he presented as a critical history of modernity, reflects the eclecticism and, at times, discontinuity in these views. Foucault (1980) himself suggested that his works were at times inconsistent, forming “an indecipherable, disorganized muddle” (p. 80). This complexity and dynamism makes it difficult to describe his work and specifically his discontinuous development of concepts such as subjectivity and power.

Scholars have since attempted to map his intellectual contributions into three phases: archaeological, genealogical, and aesthetic/ ethical (Allen, 2000). An example from the archaeological phase is *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1969). Here, Foucault was interested in exploring ‘regimes of truth,’ how scientific knowledge advances and how humans come to understand themselves through that knowledge and the agency it constructs:

To Foucault, modernity constructed man, the subject, the agent running the world. It was modernity that fashioned the whole of human life as constructed around and for man, the central subject, and the central agentic actor. It was modernity that wrote the history of the progressive rational rise of the human sciences guided by and for man, the central subject. (Scheurich & McKenzie, 2008, p.858)

The second phase, genealogy, is associated with works such as *Discipline and Punish* (1977), and the first volume of the *History of Sexuality* (1979). Here, Foucault shifts his focus from the archaeology or rules of formation of knowledge, and instead questions and subverts commonly held social beliefs. As Yates and Hiles (2010) explain, in his archaeology, Foucault was concerned with ontological and epistemological ways of being in and understanding the world, and criticising modernist conceptions of the knower. In his new approach, genealogy, Foucault was instead concerned with analyzing everyday practices. Further, genealogy attempts

to pinpoint the plurality and contradictions of histories, using these to reveal traces of the influence that power has had on knowledge and truth. Foucault's genealogical work tries to dispel the common, taken for granted and mundane aspects of everyday life, refuting the notion that there is a naturally occurring order to how people live (Townley, 1993). Foucault's work is not, however, without critique; he has been charged with being vague and confusing, seemingly ahistorical, apolitical, and androcentric (McNay, 1994), critiques that I will flesh out in the proceeding sections of this chapter.

With each phase of his work, power, knowledge and the subject or subject positions are central concerns. In this study, I explore how teaching yoga can be analyzed as a system of knowledge and a modality of power. To do this, I focus on how power flows and how subjects position themselves within various discourses. This perspective emphasizes how teaching yoga creates knowledge and power, where participants can then construct a subject position in relation to yoga that is both analyzable and describable. By using a Foucauldian perspective, I am able to address the micro-politics of power and, further, to arrive at an alternative reading of respondents' accounts than that resulting from SI's modernist approach to identity, covered in the previous section. In the proceeding section, I go on to articulate key concepts such as power/knowledge and discourse, as well as subject positions.

2.3.2 Key Concepts and Critiques

2.3.2.1 Power/ Knowledge and Discourse

Much of Foucault's work has examined power and more specifically, power relations and the impact of these relations on our everyday lives (Foucault, 1977). Townley (1993) states that Foucault's views of power contrast to those in which power is something that can held, possessed, or used for individual gain. To Foucault (1981), power is not a commodity that can be

acquired or lost but rather becomes apparent when it is used. Power is relational. It is not associated with a particular person or institution, but instead flows within and through various practices, techniques and procedures (Foucault, 1977). These practices create, disseminate and assert what we think to be real, and what is rendered real is, in turn, what we come to know.

Foucault (1977) coined the term power/knowledge to illustrate the regenerative nature of this relationship: knowledge creates power and power creates knowledge, and taken together they produce discourse. He suggests:

The exercise of power itself creates and causes to emerge new objects of knowledge and accumulates new bodies of information ... the exercise of power perpetually creates knowledge, and conversely, knowledge constantly induces effects of power... It is not possible for power to be exercised without knowledge, it is impossible for knowledge not to engender power (Foucault, 1980, p. 52).

From this perspective, knowledge is both dependent on power (Knights & Vurdubakis, (1994) and central to how power functions. As a result, the insinuation that knowledge can lead to power or that power can be bolstered with more knowledge, is also negated. A second implication of this conceptualization of power/knowledge is that power is productive or creative (Foucault, 1977). As Foucault (1977) explains:

We must cease once and for all to describe the effects of power in negative terms: it “excludes”, it “represses,” it “censors” it “abstracts,” it “masks” it “conceals.” In fact, power produces; it produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth. The individual and the knowledge that may be gained of him belong to its production” (p. 194).

Within discourses, objects of knowledge are shaped by discursive practices rather than existing independently. Foucault (1977) states that discourse refers to the ways in which power/knowledge and social practices shape and are shaped by one another. Discourses are the “nexus of ideas, arguments, symbolic structures, and images, social institutions, and specific concrete

practices, which combine to support a particular way of knowing the world and to perpetuate it” (Brewis, 1996, p. 23). Discourse includes talk, that is, what people say, how they say it, why they say it; boiled down; discourse is action, what people do. Discourses constitute and reinforce what can be said, when, how, and by whom, in any given context (Andersen, 2003; Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982; Willig, 2008). Put another way; how individuals, institutions and norms act and interact depend on the rules that shape the objects of knowledge within a particular discourse. Further, these rules are constituted and constructed through discursive practices. Discourse defines, facilitates and limits what is said, done, how one behaves, acts, and thinks. Foucault (1977) suggests that discourses literally produce us, that there is no individual outside of discourse; no human essence or experience that is beyond the reach of discursive regimes.

Prevailing discourses then construct objects that are common sense, obvious, taken-for-granted and appear to be ‘natural’. However, alternatives are possible. Further, Foucault says that discourses come and go; they have a history, a genealogy and can change, morph, splinter, self-contradict, appear and even disappear over time. This conceptualization of discourse has however, been critiqued for veering dangerously close to cause-and-effect argumentation and for seeming overly deterministic (Donnelly, 1986; Smart, 1985).

2.3.2.2 Subjects, Subject Positions and Subjectivity

From a Foucauldian perspective, the human subject is created by the connective elements of power and knowledge over time. Foucault focuses on the knowability of the individual, or the processes by which this individual is constructed and produced. Identities from this perspective are provisional and dynamic and, as in SI’s views on interaction, can only be seen in relation to something else (Foucault, 1980; Townley, 1993). Foucault’s (1980) work traces the formation of

knowledge and the power structures and discourses that result. By analyzing the processes involved in the construction of knowledge, Foucault explores how discourses develop and the implications that this has for the individual, who becomes an object of knowledge. For example, Townley (1993) discusses how Foucault has shown that madness is not a pre-given or natural state. Madness is created historically through discourses as both an object of knowledge and a target of institutional practice whereby “psychiatric knowledge invents, moulds, and carves out its object – mental illness” (Townley, 1993, p. 523). In addition to creating the mental illness, this also creates the mad individual or subject. For the purpose of this study, exploring how people are naturally drawn to teaching yoga must likewise be dispelled.

Discourses operate at a micro-level on every human subject that encounters them. Here, humans are not the blank slates, ready to formulate their own interpretations, that modern, pragmatist schools of thought such as SI posit, but rather are born into ways of being in, acting in and understanding the world.

Foucault is concerned with how social identity and subjectivity are shaped by discourses, and specifically how discourses shape how people come to know themselves (Fairclough, 1995). He emphasizes the power of knowledge, proposing that discursive practices construct the subjects and objects that they claim to identify and explain. Discourse allows and limits the possibilities for understanding an object and a subject. Foucault (1983) theorizes that among the modern practices by which an individual is rendered an object of knowledge, two key ones are the examination and the confessional. Townley (1993) explains that the examination has two effects, individualization and individuation. The former is about making the individual more identifiable, aiding the differentiation of one individual from another. The latter refers to dividing practices that occur within the individual, that is, those processes that attempt to

distinguish different aspects of her individuality, her preferences, desires, wants and needs in relation to other preferences she may have. Individualization uses others as the referential, whereas individuation uses oneself as the point as reference and comparison. Meanwhile, in confession, which has its origins in religious practices and Catholicism more specifically, the individual acknowledges his actions and thoughts, producing knowledge that becomes part of his understanding of himself (Foucault 1981, 1985). The role of the person to whom one confesses is also central here, as they assist the confessor in knowing the ‘truth’ of oneself. In the present study, I explore how yoga teachers differentiate themselves from other people, such as their students, their families, and their friends, and how they siphon off their current experiences teaching yoga from other experiences, such as mothering. In addition, I am the person to whom they confess. I am focused on their confessions, their own acknowledgments of how they make sense of their thoughts and feelings about their decisions and experiences.

To Foucault, then, the self is created by a continuous blending and ‘rearticulation’ of several discourses and practices, as opposed to stemming from one predominant influence (Knights & Vurdubakis, 1994). Given the multiplicity of available discourses, how individuals come to know themselves is complex and shifts. Exposure to certain discourses allows us to buy in to those we support as being more ‘meaningful’ and reject those that we deem to be less ‘true’ (Brewis, 2000). We do not just accept a discourse or reject it, but rather position or locate ourselves within the discourse, or resist it from the vantage point of another discourse(s). With Foucault’s genealogical works, a person is not simply a passive product of power, as some critiques have suggested. Within these object categorizations, they take up a subject position. Discourse creates agency and people have the ability to be self-aware and critical of the very discourses that produce them or that they earlier located themselves within (Foucault, 1977).

Subjects are also able to resist discourse. For Foucault (1990), “where there is power, there is resistance” (p. 95). Power dynamics are embodied and relational. To resist or reject comes from our sense that there is something better, and this ‘something better’ or more true comes from the powerful effects of other discursive understandings. Resistance then, does not remove us from the powerful effects of discourse but instead as Brewis (2000) contends, “Our resistance to one discourse is always over-determined, based on an alternative understanding of self deriving from the effects of other discourses” (p.56). Here, Foucault (1980, 1988) asserts that resistance cannot be understood as an emancipatory force because it too is conditioned by power.

This conceptualization of resistance as conditioned by power has been criticized for being simplistic and insufficiently addressed in Foucault’s work. While his later genealogical view and his discussion of governmentality, ethics and aesthetics move away from power as being solely repressive, much of Foucault’s work focuses on how it is repressive rather than productive.

Further, several feminist theorists have critiqued Foucault for being androcentric, focusing exclusively on the male experience. They also argue that his conceptualization of resistance as ineluctably re-expressing existing relations of power/knowledge makes any effort to challenge regimes of power seem like a dead end. Practically speaking, it is thus difficult to use his ideas to argue for social-political programs that liberate women (see de Laurentis, 1984; Deveaux, 1996; Markula, 2003). These scholars suggest that the inherent sexism and the possible nihilism in Foucault’s work needs to be considered, modified, and adjusted. For example, Allen (2000) contends,

Foucault’s eradication of the subject seems suspiciously convenient, coming as it does at a point in history when many members of oppressed groups are just beginning to demand to be treated as full subjects with all of the rights and responsibilities that come along with such a status (p. 117).

In this view, Foucault is critiqued for presenting an unsatisfactory account of subjectivity and the agency of oppressed groups. In this study, I do not focus on the ways in which individuals actively reflect on themselves as seen in his later works (Foucault, 1984, 1985, 1986). Instead, I pay particular attention to the power/knowledge regimes and discursive practices that constitute teaching yoga and explore the emancipatory aspects of their subject positions. Of note, I pay particular attention to gendered norms and ideals, as the sample in the current study is nearly all female.

In sum, Foucault explored the instability and complexity of human existence and the social structures that create and surround it. He (1989) indicates, “Power produces the very form of the subject” (p. 158). Subject positions and subjectivity are only formed through power and as such are produced historically through certain discourses. Foucault (1980) asserts that it is “one of the prime effects of power that certain bodies, certain gestures, certain discourses, certain desires, come to be identified and constituted as individuals” (p. 98). Identity then forms as an ongoing, dynamic project. Foucault (1990) suggests that we act in accordance with our interpretations of what it means to be human, which are made available to us through discourses.

Individuals are not free to choose an identity, but nor are they condemned to simply act out a structurally determined identity. In this view, what the subject can think or say is directed by and limited to the culturally scripted discourses that make available different ‘subject positions’. Identity, then, forms as an ‘outside in’ process whereby the subject position that we assume is based on what we have learned as a result of being in the world, making sense of our materiality through ideas, structures, behaviours, and institutions (Brewis, 2000). Nevertheless, this notion of the self also alludes to thinking subjects who are capable of reflecting on who they want to be. The emphasis here is on how subjects can recognize themselves as able to work

actively upon themselves and their own subjectivity. In this study, I explore what is involved in making the object (yoga) known and visible. I examine the processes and practices whereby yoga is rendered visible, and consider other discourses that are perhaps being resisted. I look to see how the discourses that construct yoga teaching and those who teach yoga are established and used and look to see the implications once they are visible. Further, I look to see how subjects locate themselves within these discourses.

2.3.3 Foucault's Critique of Modernity Summary

To summarize, in this portion of the chapter I employed Foucault's ideas about power/knowledge, discourse, and subjectivity. From this ontological and epistemological stance, the emphasis is not on what subjects do, but rather on what they can do and who they might be, based on the positions they take within the discourses that produce them. Throughout the chapter I introduced some of the criticisms that Foucault has received in relation to these ideas, namely that his genealogical views appear ahistorical, apolitical, and androcentric.

2.4 Chapter Summary: Fusions and Fissures

This chapter has illustrated that how we understand our sense of self, our identity, and ways of being and acting in the world depend on the philosophical framings we take. I provided a foundation of key concepts concerning the self from the modernist, SI perspective as well as Foucault's critique of modernity. Both perspectives reveal who we can be, our possibilities, and how we operate in relation to wider society. As articulated at the beginning of the chapter, the aim is not to turn this study into a competition, a war of interpretations. Rather, it is to consider and then reconsider teaching yoga from different views. These views, as the chapter has

indicated, have overlaps and similarities. At times, the perspectives even appear to fuse together, complementing each other. For example, identity from the humanist, modernist perspective of SI is viewed as unstable and in flux. Foucault concurs. Further, SI and Foucauldian social theory alike emphasize and materially ground analysis and ways of 'knowing' in real practices and the empirical world. Both theories merge the notion of structure and agency, suggesting life is not lived in a vacuum, but is implicated within different communities or 'grids of intelligibility' (Foucault, 1977, 1980). However, what impacts ways of being, what makes or produces us, differs according to these two perspectives. For SI, meaning is shaped by experiences, social interactions and encounters, and interpretation. These micro experiences are thought to reflect but also feed back into social norms. Foucault, on the other hand, suggests that meaning is produced, mediated, and reproduced in discourse. In addition, who one is and what one does has a greater range of possibilities in the optimistic SI perspective. Foucault sees the individual as more constrained. Although he claims that individuals are self-aware and capable of choosing how to act, one of his central tenets is to topple the subject, as the foundation of all thought and action, from its modernist pedestal. Foucault thus emphasizes power relations rather than individual action. This chapter set the stage for understanding how the self can be explored from a modernist and anti-modernist perspective. In the following chapter, I review the existing literature on body work, that is, work done on other peoples' bodies (Wolkowitz, 2002) to emphasize where the current literature has gone, and how this study aims to contribute.

Chapter 3 Literature Review

3.1 Introduction

Within the last three decades the body has become a key site (and problematic) for linguistic, cultural, and social analysis, a way to examine “contemporary social relations, corporeality, and subjectivity” (Wolkowitz, 2006, p. 1). As such, the way we understand it has transformed: once considered as a mere biological artefact, the body is now also considered sociologically as a project (Giddens, 1991) and an “immediate site of labour” (Twigg, 2000, p. 497). One key term here is body work (Wolkowitz, 2002), which is used to describe work done on the body, whether one’s own, or others’ bodies. This work involves “assessing, diagnosing, handling, treating, manipulating, and monitoring” (Twigg, 2000 p. 171). Body work spans a range of occupations, including:

Beauticians, hairdressers and barbers; care assistants, coaches and fitness instructors; dentists and dental hygienists; doctors (specialists, GPs and pathologists); maids, nannies and other childcare workers; midwives, nurses, and home visitors; occupational and speech therapists; opticians; paramedics and other emergency workers; podiatrists; physiotherapists; practitioners of complementary therapies; radiographers (including mammogram service workers) and radiologists; sex workers; tattooists and body piercers; undertakers and mortuary workers; Weightwatcher leads; and yoga instructors; as well as salespeople whose jobs involve measuring or touching customers as a matter of course (cosmetics, corsetry or shoe sales, for instance) (Wolkowitz, 2002, p. 498).

The list of body work occupations is broad and varied, encompassing work that is “medical, therapeutic, pleasurable, aesthetic, erotic, hygienic, and symbolic” (Twigg, 2000, p. 389). Each such occupation requires its workers and the bodies that they work on to be in the same place at the same time (Lawler, 1991). Here, the body serves as a productive site of labour as well as an outcome or deliverable of the labour.

In this project, I build on and develop Wolkowitz's (2002) assertion that teaching yoga is a body work occupation, though to date, little is known about the work experiences of yoga teachers. Although teaching yoga encompasses physical exercise and reminds us of the work of personal trainers (e.g. Smith Maguire, 2001), yoga is also used as an alternative healthcare practice with a focus on well-being, with benefits similar to massage therapy (e.g. Sullivan, 2012, 2014) and homeopathy (e.g. Taylor, 2010). I explore what teaching yoga means to my respondents and how they navigate their identity in an industry that in part seems concerned with health, well-being and caring for bodies, instructors' bodies as well as others', but also is concerned with making money. Therefore, the aim of this chapter is to review the existing literature on body work, specifically focusing in on work that is done on the bodies of others (Twigg, 2000; Wolkowitz, 2002). I structure the chapter by grouping together body work occupations into three broad categories: work on declining bodies (e.g. health care, domiciliary care, and funeral directing), sustaining bodies (e.g. homeopathy, massage therapy and fitness workers), and beautifying bodies (e.g. salon workers including manicurists and hairdressers). Although I present these body work experiences within the context of these distinct occupational themes, it is important to note that they overlap considerably. Therefore, throughout the chapter, I illustrate body workers' experiences and their employment issues, many of which are shared across occupational contexts on the premise that their work is often dirty, disgusting, stigmatized and sexualized, and undertaken in precarious conditions. As I detail, many of their challenges connect with a broader discussion about the inherent inequality they may face based on gender, race and class. I illustrate how they respond and the strategies they use as a way to cope with these inequalities. This chapter will lay a foundation for the current study, highlighting and problematizing gaps within the existing literature and noting how the current study aims to

contribute. I conclude the literature review by summarizing key themes and gaps and identify two research questions that were iteratively developed based on these gaps as well as through the analysis of the interview material.

3.2 Declining Bodies

To date, much of the existing body work literature has focused on the dirty work experiences of health care workers (e.g. Lawler, 1997; McMurray, 2012; Twigg, 2002). The concept of dirty work stems from Hughes (1962) and is concerned with cleaning up physical, social and moral waste that emerges as societies function. It has been applied to socially stigmatized roles such as nursing, which is concerned with serving or helping others (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999; Ashforth et al., 2007). Nursing deals with leaky bodies, social issues, and moral challenges. Nurses work with diseased and injured bodies, some of which have the potential to infect their own bodies, which are tasked with caring and curing (McMurray, 2012). Dirty work also consists of practices that actively separate in-groups from out-groups (Douglas 1966; Hughes, 1962). In his study about nursing, McMurray (2012) discusses these social divides and suggests that doctors represent the ‘clean-us’ (in-groups), whereas nursing represents the ‘dirty-them’ (out-groups). In terms of prestige and status, medicine dominates health care occupations (McMurray, 2011), nursing has emerged parallel to medicine and reinforces that the practice of medicine is dominant, rational, and powerful (Davies, 1995).

Nurses, as members of an occupational out-group often try to reframe or reconfigure or reposition dirty aspects of their work to appear more valuable (Lawler, 1997). Lawler (1991, 1997) suggests that these body work activities are also organized hierarchically and vary depending on the tenure and status of the worker. Early-career nurses often focus on basic body work tasks including dealing with bodily excretions, bedpans, and sponge baths (Lawler, 1997).

Here, the junior employees perform grunt work; in contrast, foreshadowing McMurray's (2012) later conclusions, doctors limit the contact that they have with patients' bodies and more precisely, are able to limit their interactions with human waste. Their interactions with the body are physically and emotionally distant and depersonalized with activities such as diagnosis (Lawler, 1997). Similar to Lawler's findings, Davies (1995) observed that nurses' grunt work tasks involve touch, skin-to-skin contact and 'mopping up' of bodily excretions. Twigg (2000) echoes this in her assertion that nurses deal with "human wastes: shit, pee, vomit, sputum; and as such [the work] involves managing dirt and disgust" (p. 365).

In addition to over-emphasizing the positive aspects of the work, nurses may hide its less desirable aspects (Ashforth et al., 2007). However, McMurray (2012) suggests that, although dirt may act as a social divide and thus workers may try to avoid or subvert it may also be something that is claimed as a specialty. He suggests that nurses may use dirt and dirty work as a way to claim an occupational identity. Here, nursing can be "unwanted, unbearable and undesirable from the perspective of self and other; but, where imposed and at the same time claimed, it can be a source of identity, giving and satisfaction" (McMurray, 2012, p. 134). Put another way, although cleaning bedpans and giving sponge baths can be difficult, disgusting, or resented, nurses are able to simultaneously feel pride in this work and feel a sense of accomplishment from helping others and doing their tasks well.

In addition to studies on healthcare workers from a dirty work perspective, other studies have focused on the theme of care, or care work as evidenced with domiciliary care workers. In a study on home care workers for elderly and disabled people in the UK, Twigg (2000) suggests that care work is a form of body work. Although body work may not always involve care, care work always involves the body. In her study of thirty-four care workers, Twigg explores how

they cope with their work's ambivalence, specifically around the characteristics of human waste, nakedness and touch; the last being an aspect of body work that I discuss in the next section in regards to massage therapists. Care work emphasizes interpersonal relations, feelings, emotions, and values that encompass a range of help, support and interaction. As with nursing, care work involves gendered, racialized, and classed aspects. Indeed, body work has also been established as female-dominated work (Gimlin, 1996). Here, the gendered aspect of body work, which is so closely connected to care and nurturance, is believed to limit career opportunities and resources, perpetuate the subordination of women, and lead to their feeling disempowered (Gimlin, 2007; Linstead & Brewis, 2000). In another study, Wolkowitz (2002) discusses how domestic care workers who look after children's bodies are classed and racialized. She notes that white women are called 'au pairs' or 'nannies', although black women are called 'maids' despite the similarities of their roles.

Within the healthcare and the care work literature, some scholars have explored the employment relationship and questioned whether intrinsic satisfaction and shared values can overcome poor extrinsic rewards, including low pay, poor benefits and other negative job qualities (Berg & Frost, 2005; Decker et al., 2009; Macdonald & Merrill, 2002; Mittal et al., 2009). For example, Morgan et al. (2012) question if the intrinsic rewards of being a frontline worker can compensate for these poor extrinsic rewards in a mixed-methods US study including a variety of healthcare organizations (acute care, long-term care facilities, community care centers and behavioural care centers). They found that frontline healthcare workers reported high levels of intrinsic job satisfaction but were also likely to leave their jobs. They found that the nature of care work attracted workers to their roles, but 'bad job' characteristics such as pay and

benefits played a significant role in worker loyalty and whether they would stay with their current employers.

In addition to the intrinsic and extrinsic rewards associated with care work, other studies have examined care work from a transnational perspective, exploring the demand for domestic care workers and nurses, which is largely met from outside national borders (Iredale, 2005). Many care workers such as nurse aides, nurse assistants, personal care attendants, and immigrant workers in both institutions and private homes (Kingma, 2001; Kofman & Raghuram, 2005). For instance, Huang et al.'s (2012) qualitative study of domestic workers and elder care nurses in Singapore found that there was a gendered and nationalized structure in nursing homes in Singapore. Here, junior staff were male migrant workers and they were responsible for doing basic body work tasks. Senior staff were local males in managerial positions. This is aligned with Twigg's (2000) assertion that as staff advance throughout their career they move away from basic body work tasks toward high-tech, skilled interventions, away from dirty work. Huang et al. (2012) also found that migrant men were relegated to the lowest care work tasks, which included emptying bedpans and cleaning toilets; and that male staff were employed in cases of dementia and bed-ridden patients because physical strength was needed to help control and carry them. When men did more technical tasks, it was in accordance with heteronormative masculinity and gendered stereotypes and included things such as blood transfusions and IV arrangements. In addition to these gendered ranking and preferences, Huang et al. also found that migrant staff were ranked according to nationality with Filipinos at the top, Indonesians in the middle, and dark-skinned Sri Lankans at the bottom. Here, workers were subject to essentialization based on skin colour, language skills and cultural stereotypes. Care work then can be gendered, nationalized and racialized and as this study highlights, is often "deemed more

suitable for the bodies of women and migrants” (Huang et al. 2012, p. 211). Specifically, Huang et al. (2012) explore migrant work experiences in their study.

Another kind of care work that concerns caring for and about declining bodies is the work of hospice workers and funeral directors. Here, the focus is on bodies in total decline and then dying. In a study about hospice care workers, Callahan (2015) examined the impact of spiritual care work on terminally ill patients, that is, spiritual and emotional restoration. Callahan (2015) found that spiritual care could help patients to understand their place in the world and find peace. As such, this sort of spiritual care work helps patients “move from hopelessness to wholeness, from despair to peace, and from meaningless to purpose and dignity” (Puchalski, 2008, p. 114). The emphasis here is not on curing the body, as it is near death, but instead on helping the patient cope with impending death and find peace and harmony.

Funeral directors also engage in body work and care work through empathizing. Here, body work is seen as the work that is done on a deceased body with practices such as embalming and grooming for the funeral. Care work is the relational aspect that funeral directors display by empathizing with the bereaved during arrangements and funeral services (Howarth, 1996). Here, similar to the work of hospice workers, workers focus on “transferring sympathy and empathy between individuals” (Paterson, 2005, p. 162). In addition, similar to nursing and domiciliary and hospice work, there is a gendered aspect to funeral directing, with the work being primarily conducted by women. Bailey (2010) indicates that this work is comprised of three main tasks: funeral arranging, body management of the deceased and funerals themselves. Bolton (2000) also questions whether funeral directors are motivated by profit or by compassion, a similar line of inquiry to Morgan et al.’s (2012) work examining intrinsic versus extrinsic motivations. Here, Bolton (2000) refers to it as “emotion management for commercial gain” (p. 156).

Emotion management, also known as emotional labour, is a repertoire of techniques that is used by some to distance themselves from dirty or stigmatizing aspects of their work. In a seminal study, Hochschild (1983) found that flight attendants needed to present a smiling, helpful demeanour to passengers, which resulted in their own anxiety and discomfort. This illustrates a commercialization of human feelings, where feelings are manipulated to produce a certain emotional state in others (Tyler, 2012). Here, workers' emotions and feelings are commodities that can be bought and sold (Wainright & Calnan, 2002, p. 97). Emotional labour can include face-to-face and voice-to-voice contact with customers and methods of training and supervision that give the employer control over workers' feelings (Wainright & Calnan, 2002). Gimlin (2007) suggests that many body workers use emotional labour en route to displaying socially appropriate emotions and suppressing less favourable elements of the work.

Hochschild (1983) found that emotional labour could be negative and could take a toll on those conducting the work. Counter to these findings, in a study about hairstylists, Gimlin (1996) found that emotional labour could also be positive for those doing the work. Here, hairstylists used emotional labour as a way to counsel their clients that reinforces their status as a 'professional' and not 'just' a beautician. Relatedly, Twigg (2000) observed that by labeling elderly people as sweet, innocent, and vulnerable, homecare workers helped themselves to overcome feelings of disgust and resentment. Abbott (1994) also found that female domiciliary workers emphasize the interpersonal and relational aspects of their work that they deem as most fulfilling and enjoyable. Here, workers emphasize positive aspects of their work, rather than focus on the negative or difficult parts. There is also evidence that distancing assists body workers in coping with their work on declining bodies and their working conditions. In this spirit, Twigg (2000) found that potentially demeaning work that includes contact with other

people's bodies is often accompanied with physical distancing by way of uniforms and gloves or using humour as a way to cope with difficult aspects of the work.

Within this study, I examine yoga teachers' tasks – and how they engage with their students' bodies, how they deal with sweat, flesh, and farts, how they care for and about their own bodies as well as the bodies of their students. I examine their work experiences in light of gendered, nationalized, and racialized assumptions about teaching yoga and how teachers cope with the work using emotional labour, distancing techniques and other positive strategies. I explore how they experience this notion of 'emotion management for commercial gain' in their work, which lies outside of the context of declining bodies and – unlike the work of nurses, domiciliary workers, hospice workers and undertakers – is not stigmatized.

The focus of yoga teaching is also distinctive from the focus of these other body work occupations. It is to restore the mind and body, largely by using verbal cues. Yet, my suspicion is that this does not decrease emotional labour, but rather compounds it. Herein lies a gap in the current literature: how do yoga teachers engage in emotional labour, and what are the similarities and differences from the emotional labour employed in stigmatized health care and care work roles? Further, many of these studies (e.g. Abbott, 1994; Gimlin, 1996; Twigg, 2000) have examined the gendered aspect of body work and have positioned the work as negative, oppressive, and of low status. The current study aims to understand a specific group of (mainly) female body workers' sense of agency and identity, uncovering their perceptions of the challenges and rewards of the work, as well as their motivations for doing it.

3.3 Sustaining Bodies

Another occupational theme within the body work literature is that of sustaining or restoring bodies. Hancock et al. (2000) suggest that the contemporary societal focus is shifting

from fixing diseased bodies to sustaining healthy ones. Here, biomedicine is undergoing a ‘crisis of legitimization’ with alternative and holistic medicinal practices and discourses challenging it (Hancock et al. 2000, p. 6). This preoccupation with physical and emotional well-being can, in part, be attributed to the health and fitness boom of the late 1970s and 1980s. This, in turn, aligns with what Furedi (2003) has coined as the ‘therapy culture’ where North American consumers are taking a self-help or DIY approach to their overall health regimes. This fusion of physical health with emotional well-being emphasizes having awareness and making conscious choices in creating one’s life. Sointu (2006) conceptualizes well-being as something that:

...emerges from listening to one’s self as the ultimate source of wisdom that will lead the person to true health in various interconnected spheres of life. Well-being is facilitated by good practitioners who encourage and enable personal meaning-making (p. 346).

Similarly, Sharma and Black (1999) refer to this as ‘deep health,’ where the focus is not just on the body but a fusion between body, the mind, spirit and general well-being. A similar point is made by Goldstein (2003), who suggests that health and fitness are important values sought after by many people given the restorative effect that they have on a person’s mind and body. Twigg (2000) also acknowledges that many self-care practices such as yoga and massage are “packaged in the language of therapy” (p. 390), although Taylor (2010) notes that well-being is simultaneously being packaged into commercial products and services as part of an emerging spiritual economic sector, which Woodhead and Heelas (2005) call the holistic milieu.

Consequently, studies have examined the experiences of body workers in occupations that restore the body. This includes the work of alternative healthcare practitioners such as homeopaths (Taylor, 2010), fitness instructors and personal trainers (Smith Maguire, 2001, 2006, 2008; George, 2008), and massage therapists (Oerton, 2004; Sullivan, 2012, 2014). Within this subcategory of the body work literature, scholars examine how alternative healthcare

practitioners are trying to establish a similar reputation to their biomedical counterparts in regards to legitimacy, status, and reputation. Many of these studies highlight the balancing act of meeting customers' individualized needs in ways that do not place the worker in compromising positions. This section will highlight the gendered ideals that shape work that restores bodies and different ways in which professional legitimacy is negotiated.

Taylor (2010) explores themes of gender, the meaning of work, structure and agency in a critical realist life history study about the work experiences of five UK homeopathic practitioners. Specifically, he traces their career transition from mainstream occupations to work within the holistic milieu, also known as the holistic economic sector or New Age capitalism (Lau, 2015). Although women are four times more likely to engage in this work as both producers and consumers, Taylor (2010) suggests the gender relations that they experience are surprisingly similar to those in the mainstream work contexts that they had left. People made the decision to transition from established, mainstream work to take up homeopathy, a low-status occupation, because they saw it as having a purpose higher than corporate success or status. Further, the decision to move to work as a homeopathic practitioner was often instigated by a desire to escape gender discrimination within mainstream occupations. Yet, participants were not able to escape gendered ideals. Instead, many experienced tension and increased pressure in maintaining childcare and the home. Further, with less economic security from full time employment, participants depended more on their spouses financially, thus reproducing what look like male as breadwinner, female as homemaker roles.

Another gendered aspect of restoring bodies in these occupations is the way they draw on and reproduce heteronormative expectations of how bodies should look (Bordo, 1993). In the cultural scripts that prevail in North America and the West more generally, bodies are expected

to be stereotypically fit, slim, toned, and youthful. For example, Brewis and Linstead (2000) discuss how female sex workers have to be physically skilled to perform sex acts but also need to look like ‘real women’, be slim, tanned, and meet Western aesthetic standards and stereotypes. Gimlin (2007, p. 355) suggests that “women are expected to engage in a larger number of body management practices, spend more effort and money on them, and be more concerned about them than men”. Yet, Hancock et al. (2015) assert that a parallel literature is emerging on the male body and how men negotiate and perform heteronormative masculinity. They examine the gendered perceptions of the body across different occupations (male massage therapists, Santa Claus performers, and sex shop retail workers). Their findings reveal that men, similar to women body workers, are under increased pressure to have specific types of bodies and to create specific types of bodies for their clients.

This emphasis on the body, specifically the female body, as a project or a performance has also led to the proliferation of industries and practices that support it such as restrictive dieting (Gimlin, 2007; Monaghan, 2001) and exercise (Crossley, 2006; Gimlin, 2002; Grimshaw, 1999). Another burgeoning body of literature examines fitness-related employment. For example, Smith Maguire (2001) examines how personal trainers market and then sell their services. Fitness instructors’ work involves a series of tasks: they represent the fitness club and help to recruit and sustain memberships; they must build a personal relationship with customers and motivate them; and they need to represent a healthy lifestyle. In this study, the sample of US fitness instructors did not see their work as exploitative because they considered it to be leisure, rather than work. This leisure framing of work is made possible with their flexible schedules and autonomy. Autonomy acts as an important safeguard against the high amounts of emotional labour required to do this work. Smith Maguire’s findings suggest that emotional labour and

flexible work schedules are interconnected in personal training. Further, she emphasizes the need to examine the body at the nexus of consumer culture and labour, where the body is a marker of identity that is the target for commercial development (Falk, 1994). Smith Maguire (2001) calls for more research to examine the commodification of fit bodies and the pursuit of health through the marketplace.

George (2008) also explores how US-based personal trainers professionally present themselves to clients by combining emotional labour, specialized knowledge and an individualized, customized approach. This illustrates consumer demand for skillful, individualized care that enhances one's lifestyle. Similar to Smith Maguire's (2001) findings, George (2008) found that personal trainers could "enrich their leisure time, and upgrade their cultural capital through the differentiated use of goods and services" (p. 109). George (2008) introduces the notion of 'expert service work'. Her ethnography reveals that personal trainers draw on a variety of skills in order to provide customized service work and excel at quality customer interactions. For example, they engage in instrumental exchanges where they impart their knowledge about the body and fitness to a client. In addition to conversations during in-take assessments, trainers also use their own bodies to establish and convey credibility as an instrumental exchange. This reiterates the role that appearance has in front-line service jobs (Adler & Adler, 2004) and the embodied aspect of this work or 'aesthetic labour' (Witz, Warhurst & Nickelson, 2003). George (2008) found that even when trainers tried to downplay their appearance and emphasize their certification and skill, participants still acknowledged that appearance was a more direct way to convey their professional expertise and promote their work.

Similarly, Harvey et al. (2016) examine the work arrangements of UK-based fitness trainers, which they identify as hyper-flexible, self-employed workers in the service sector. Their

findings suggest that trainers act as neo-villeins. Neo-villeiny is characterized by four defining characteristics. First, neo-villeins are connected to the organization that employs them and depends on their physical resources. Second, they pay a fee to the organization in order to do their work using the organization's facilities. Third, there is no guarantee that the trainers will make an income, yet, fourth, they must do unpaid work (Standing, 2011), such as extra administrative tasks or 'spotting gym members' for free in order to interact with potential clients. Harvey et al. (2016) suggest how work precariousness and exploitation takes shape in the fitness industry. They suggest that fitness instructors may be complicit in their own exploitation as they seek to reap the benefits of being self-employed. Although this study brings to the foreground various constraints that this hyper-flexible service sector work entails, it does not thoroughly analyze how respondents feel and react to these conditions. My study develops these assertions by exploring yoga teachers' experiences, their emotional reactions to this line of work, and how they come to understand their working conditions in order to depict how they come to know themselves in relation to the work.

Taken together, fitness-related employment reflects gendered assumptions and ideals and the ways in which workers, at times, use these stereotypes to their advantage to secure and maintain client relationships. Similar to health and domiciliary care workers, these workers also try to emphasize their professional legitimacy. But workers responsible for restoring bodies focus less on the hierarchy of tasks assigned to them based on their status and tenure, and more on establishing legitimacy by creating distance from and differentiation to sex acts and sexuality. Twigg (2000) suggests that sexuality is a main theme within many body work occupations, and not only in sex work. Instead, body work is sexualized because: "direct physical contact, access

to nakedness and the sharing of bodily processes are all powerful mediators of intimacy, containing a capacity to create a closeness and dissolve boundaries between people (p. 403).

For example, female personal trainers in George's (2008) study tried to neutralize their behaviour, assert professional boundaries and de-sexualize interactions with clients to appear more legitimate. They worked to de-sexualize their own bodies as well as their clients'. The theme of maintaining and enforcing personal boundaries is also found in other, non-fitness related occupations, such as massage therapy. Here, sexual associations such as "dim lights, soft music, candles, private rooms, touch and undress" (Sullivan, 2014, p. 348) invoke the connection between massage parlours as fronts or forays for prostitution (Fortune & Gillespie, 2010; Sullivan, 2012). Oerton's (2004) study about the body work of massage therapists also illustrates how workers try to enhance their professional status by distancing and differentiating their massages from massages given by sex workers.

Sullivan (2014) emphasizes a different take on massage therapy in her examination of the complex interactions between massage therapists and clients. She asserts that massage therapy is inherently sexualised. When one ignores the links between massage and sex, Sullivan claims that sexualisation may actually be reinforced because it creates a taboo. This builds on similar arguments made about the sexualized aesthetics of flight attendants (Abbott and Tyler, 1998), female servers (Erickson, 2004) and other body workers. Sullivan's (2014) argument also suggests that the body naturally responds to stimulation. Erections, erect nipples, and leaky breasts may not be indicative of sexual arousal but of bodily stimulation during massage. She suggests that these bodily responses do not need to be managed, fixed or controlled. Instead, bodies act as 'reactive agents' (Sullivan, 2014, p. 359) and these are biological reactions. Sullivan's work on massage therapy contends in fact that it is possible to have a 'professional

sexuality', a space in between de-sexualisation and re-eroticization, something being eroticized because it is considered a social taboo. She claims that it is not problematic that massage therapists' touch may generate sexual stimulation. Rather, she suggests that professionalism needs to be reimagined. One possible way is for massage therapists to accept that sexuality is one aspect of the job, but to maintain professional standards by ensuring that they do not act on clients' sexual stimulation or impulses.

Although these studies explore the work experiences of female massage therapists, Sullivan has also written on the professional tactics that male massage therapists need to perform. For instance, Hancock et al. (2015) explore how men perform intimate labour and negotiate perceptions about themselves and their work. In the aforementioned cross-examination of male massage therapists, sex shop workers, and Santa Claus performers, the authors analyse these roles in light of the quality of interaction with customers. Using Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology of perception, they explore gendered experiences and the importance of perception. Their findings suggest that heteronormative expectations also exist for men. Similar to female massage therapists, male practitioners also have to navigate gender and de-sexualize their work in order to achieve a clinical professionalism.

Taken together, these studies have helped us understand work that focuses on sustaining bodies and to think about the similarities it shares with yoga. My study uses the work of Smith Maguire (2001, 2008), George (2008), and Harvey et al. (2016) as a jumping off point to zero in on the specific work experiences of female yoga teachers, as yoga is a fitness trend that commodifies fit bodies and healthy spirits. I examine the discourses that surround teaching yoga including the stereotypes and norms surrounding the female body, sexuality, and gendered experiences of work within the 'holistic milieu'. In addition, I explore control mechanisms at

play within teaching yoga: how do the studios and gyms that employ them control yoga teachers? How do yoga teachers control their own bodies as well as the bodies that they work on? Wolkowitz (2006) asserts that fitness and therapy integrate and produce a new form of body work rooted in alternative medicine that aims to restore the body. My study also aims to contribute by examining this nexus of fitness, emotional well-being and care simultaneously. As illustrated with this section, these themes have largely been explored separately. Within this study, moreover, I return to Taylor's (2010) inquiry about entering alternative health care industries as a way to escape mainstream employment and skirt gendered relations at work. I question whether teaching yoga does enable participants to rise above gender stereotypes or renegotiate these assumptions on their own terms, or whether teaching yoga instead further constrains my participants to traditional, domestic, feminine roles.

3.4 Beautifying Bodies

Another body work theme is how bodies and appearances are managed, modified, and beautified. Much like themes discussed in the preceding section on restoring the body, beautifying the body is deeply rooted in cultural norms and stereotypes. Western beauty standards are often used as tools that female workers and customers use to make claims about their social status and identity. Although some authors, such as Gimlin (2007), are concerned with the work that people undergo on themselves, in keeping with the objective of this chapter, in this section I am going to focus in on trades that emphasize the beautification of others' bodies. This includes the work of hairdressers (Gimlin, 1996; Shortt & Warren, 2012; Shortt, 2015) and manicurists (Kang, 2003; Sharma & Black, 1999).

In these occupations, body work tries to restore the body to a desired state and, similar to healthcare, has a 'tidying up' function (Twigg, 2000). Here, the focus is on improving the

client's appearance, pleasing, and pampering them. While healthcare workers try to restore health and bodily function, these body workers focus on addressing deficiencies of beauty and youthfulness and try to emphasize, package and sell self-love and confidence through salon services (Sharma & Black, 1999).

For example, Gimlin's (1996) field research study in a Long Island hair salon investigates how hairdressers construct gendered and classed identities. Using empirical material gathered over one year and two hundred hours in the field along with open-ended interview material from seven employees and twenty customers, she found that salon workers tried to imagine that they were social equals of their clients, yet were aware that they have to put clients' needs and ideas before their own. This is in contrast to massage therapists, who try to exert power and protect their status through professionalism. However, Gimlin's ethnographic study illustrates white, middle-class body workers and their work on white middle-class customers. It does not explore or address the work experiences of women of colour though other scholars are focused on the theme of race, ethnicity and racialized divides within low-status body work occupations (see Anderson, 2000; Bhavnani, 1994; Kang, 2003; Wolkowitz, 2002). Equally, this levelling of worker-customer status is not consistent across the board and differs for other body workers within beautification occupations where status differentials may be connected to race and ethnicity.

For example, Kang (2003) examines the work experience of immigrant women of colour doing gendered and emotional labour at different Korean nail salons in New York City. Her findings illustrate how nail salon work is gendered: it is done mostly by women on women, it abides by female beauty standards and norms, and it is done in semi-private spaces and involves gendered performances of care and nurturing. Further, her findings suggest that gendered

practices are central to expressing and negotiating race and class relations between white, Black and Asian women. The performance of femininity differs depending on race and class. Here, the style of body work that is performed depends on the ethnicity and socioeconomic class of the service providers and their clients. For example, in salons that cater to customers of higher socioeconomic status (middle-class and white), workers must be fluent in English and are expected to be more emotionally attentive and communicative with clients than in salons that cater to clients of low socioeconomic status. In addition to language variation, higher end salons provide more customized and hygienic solutions such as warm cotton towels, sanitized nail utensils, background music and soft lighting to enhance the guest experience (Kang, 2003). In salons where the clientele are of lower socioeconomic status, customers have fewer expectations for the services that they are receiving and do not require as much emotional attentiveness by the workers. Here, customers select workers based on technical skill rather than hygienic conditions or the emotional attentiveness and the additional, customized pampering that is provided at higher end salons. Further, when clients, patients and customers have higher social status than those who care for them, workers may be subject to discrimination or other forms of abuse (Abel & Nelson, 1990; Wolkowitz, 2000). Kang (2003) also calls for future research to examine the impact of body work on those who perform female-dominated service professions.

In addition to themes of race and ethnicity, other studies about salon workers have focused on the physical spaces of body workers. For example, Shortt and Warren (2012) examine hairdressers' workspaces. They work without desks, chairs, offices, dividing walls and are often on display, as many salon facades are glass and face the street or are located in shopping malls. Much of the existing literature on occupational spaces has, in contrast, examined office-based spaces (e.g. Warren, 2006). Using a visual methodology, Shortt and Warren (2012)

examined photos of workspaces to understand and illustrate how hairdressers narrate their identities through objects and spaces within the salon. For example, they gave participants cameras and asked them to take 'selfies' to capture how they saw themselves at work. Their pictures indicated that their identity was in part crafted by their associations with their coworkers and friends in public spaces but also in private spaces such as broom closets and laundry rooms, where they had private breaks and independent moments. Different front/back spaces had different emotional performances attached to them. Public spaces were more consistently associated with emotional labour, where backspaces like broom closets were zones where hairdressers could release negative emotions and drop their guard. Further, in both front and backspaces, the hairdressers took pictures of objects that had significance to their identity to show that mundane objects are also identity forming. This study reminds us that although the body acts as the immediate site of work, which is the hair that these workers cut, colour and style, the work is also situated in another site, the actual salon. It reveals how salons act as complex work sites that blur the boundaries between the public, customers, and work colleagues.

Shortt (2015) has also examined why and how mundane, liminal spaces such as hallways, corridors, and closets are used and made meaningful by workers and the implications that they have for the creation of professional identity in salon spaces. Here, the emphasis is on the spaces in between front and backstage work. In this study, participants created a photo narrative of their workspaces to indicate how they used these liminal spaces. For example, to maintain professionalism, privacy is a central consideration. This means that workers engage in emotional labour in front of clients and use liminal spaces such as hallways and staircases to recharge, process information, take breaks, connect with others, etc. Her findings suggest that it is possible to have different occupational identities depending on the space that one is in at work.

The notion of liminal spaces within beautifying body work as seen here with salons connects to previous discussions within this chapter about where and how body work is done and the impact that these locations have on the body workers and their professional identities. For example, work that deals with human waste, bodily excretions or other negative aspects of the body as seen with nursing and domiciliary workers is usually hidden or conducted out of sight (Twigg, 2006; Widding Isaksen, 2005). Lawler (1991) suggests that nurses may use privacy curtains in hospital not only to protect the privacy of patients, but also to shield onlookers from observing tasks that may be deemed gross. Similarly, in a study about residential elderly care homes, Lee-Trewick (1994) found that dirty work was moved out of public view and instead done in residents' bedrooms. Twigg (2000) notes that hiding unfavourable aspects of work is also common for funeral directors, who may experience strong social taboos and not wish to discuss their work in public settings. Work that enhances and restores the body on the other hand, such as fitness, is often public. Here, the fit bodies of workers act as billboards to help market their services (George, 2008) and further, perpetuate hetero-normative expectations of beauty for both males and females (Hancock et al. 2015). Yet, at other times, work that restores and sustains the body, such as massage therapy, is hidden in private rooms. The work here does not deal with negative aspects of the body, but is often sexualized. In sum, in spite of the occupational context, body workers struggle to establish and maintain professional identities around and in relation to the bodies that they service in hypo- or hyper-private working spaces.

The current study aims to incorporate the ideas and questions surfaced within this beautifying body work theme. For example, I explore yoga teachers' identities in relation to the intersection of gender, race, and class. Further, I examine where and how teaching yoga and their other work (paid and unpaid) takes place. I question how these spaces, their studios and gyms,

clients' homes and their own homes contribute to their identity formulation and understanding of their work. What are the hidden aspects to teaching yoga, and why are they hidden, if in fact they are? What are the visible aspects to teaching yoga and what emotional labour is required to render it visible? Finally, what and where are the liminal spaces for yoga teachers and how are these spaces used?

3.5 Chapter Summary

In summary, teaching yoga is a form of body work and this chapter has reviewed various aspects of body work literature to date. I organized the chapter into three broad themes: declining bodies, sustaining bodies, and beautifying bodies. Though I presented each theme independently, through the discussion I emphasized overlap in body workers' identities and work experiences. As suggested, there is ample research on body work conducted on bodies in decline or decay as seen in studies of the work of nurses, domiciliary care workers, and funeral directors. Much of this involves dirty work tasks, carries significant social stigma and is often hidden from public view. This literature has also explored the division of work tasks. The work activities vary depending on the status, tenure, gender, and ethnicity of the worker. For example, grunt work with more 'mopping up' functions is delegated to low-status workers, often women and ethnic minorities. Other studies about bodies in decline and the workers that care for them and about them have examined the intrinsic versus extrinsic motivations to do the work, noting substandard working conditions with poor pay but strong personal affiliation and value alignment with the work. The current study investigates the role of status in how work, in this case yoga instruction is organized and assigned to teachers operating as independent contractors. Further, this study aims to understand the motivations to teach yoga and the trade-offs that yoga teachers are willing

to make in their transition from mainstream employment to teaching yoga.

In addition to bodies in decline, the second theme, sustaining bodies, focused on servicing people's bodies through preventative and/ or alternative health care practices and therapies to facilitate well-being through occupations such as fitness, massage therapy and homeopathy. In discussing this theme, I touched on similar heteronormative, gendered expectations with a specific focus on how body workers professionalize their work and aim to appear credible, market their skills using their bodies as evidence that they are equipped to care for other's bodies, and customize fitness programs for clients. This work emphasizes the quality of client interaction in personal service work. In terms of this study, I use information gleaned from these themes to explore why women are choosing to teach yoga, their experiences and emotional reactions to the work and working conditions. With Kang's (2003) call in mind, this study also aims to understand the impact of this work on those who perform it. With these themes in mind, my first research question is: **How do people assign meaning to their experiences teaching yoga?** Chapter 5 explores this question and illustrates how my yoga teachers as a sample of body workers construct meaning about themselves and their work from a symbolic interactionist theoretical perspective.

In addition to understanding the micro-experiences and motivations of yoga teachers from their own perspectives, I also look at the interview material to understand the discourses that shape, reflect, and perpetuate norms and ideologies around yoga teaching from a more macro perspective. Teaching yoga encompasses many of these themes but also disrupts some of the established assumptions about the body, the body as a site of work, and those that perform occupational body work. For example, teaching yoga is not culturally stigmatized; in fact, it is 'cool' (Jain, 2014). Moreover, although there has been a substantial body of literature on body

work within a number of industries and occupations, most notably the healthcare industry, less is known about the work experiences of workers within alternative medicine and related ‘deep health’ occupations such as yoga, where the focus is on holistic health, well-being, and spirituality.

Many of the studies discussed throughout the chapter, and most notably Gimlin (2007), encourage additional research into how the bodily requirements of a workplace are shaped by the social actors within it. Additionally, Wolkowitz (2006) has called for greater awareness about how issues of inequality and subordination inherent in body work may be resisted. The second research question that this study takes up therefore tries to reveal dominant discourses and signs of resistance by asking: **What discourses surround teaching yoga in North America?** I answer this question in Chapter 6, using Foucault’s work on power/knowledge, agency and resistance in relation to the subject and the self. I draw on this theoretical underpinning to explore how constructing others’ bodies contributes to how these workers construct their own identities. The lens of body work focuses on the ways that bodies are produced by the context of the work that they are in and how bodies are enacted, negotiated, and constructed by body workers themselves. In this study, I explore the body, paid care, well-being, and emotional labour implicated within and by teaching yoga.

By taking differing ontological and epistemological perspectives as seen with Chapter 5 and 6, I reflect on different aspects that shape a group of yoga teachers’ experiences and understandings of who they are and what they are doing. Overall, this study aims to build on themes and gaps found in the current literature and to contribute to that literature in two broad ways. First, existing literature has segregated themes pertaining to body work. Bodies are declining, being sustained, or being beautified. Teaching yoga involves an interesting nexus of

these themes and brings them together simultaneously. Further, teaching yoga may disrupt the social hierarchies and divisions between customer and service provider, remedying certain challenges connected to the inequalities of gender, race and class in body work, albeit allowing new ones to surface. This study also adds to the scholarship of writers like Oerton (2004) and Sullivan (2012, 2014), and Hancock et al. (2015) by emphasizing the well-being of bodies that are being worked on. As Chapters 5 and 6, will go on to demonstrate, this emphasis on ‘deep-health’ (Sharma & Black, 1999) involving mind, body, and spirit is an important consideration for body work with implications for not only the motivations to do this work in the first place, but also coping mechanisms such as emotional labour techniques. Second and most importantly, although many of the body work studies to date have identified the gendered aspect of body work and precarious economic terms of employment, few have examined body work conditions from a whole-life perspective, taking into account work-life balance or workers’ competing family priorities and commitments.

In the following chapter, Chapter 4, I will detail my methodological choices before, during and after conducting interviews, highlighting methodological practices that support the ontological and epistemological framings of self that I generated in this chapter.

Chapter 4 Methodology

4.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to articulate how the study was imagined and how it was carried out with two analyses of the data. I anchor this chapter in the interviews; discussing what took place *before the interviews*, articulating how I gained access to this sample of yoga teachers, which then established the context and parameters of the study. From there I discuss what took place *during the interviews*, including how data was collected. I identify some of the issues inherent in interviewing that contributed to decision to rework the material using a different approach to analysis. I then discuss what took place *after the interviews*, specifically how data was analyzed using a thematic analysis and then re-read using elements of discourse analysis. My aim here is to illustrate what I have done and provide persuasive arguments to guide the reader through these decisions. The study is guided by the following research questions:

- How do people assign meaning to their experiences teaching yoga?
- What discourses surround teaching yoga in North America?

These questions are in line with Duberley (2015) and others. For example, Mazeland and ten Have (1998) point out that “interviews may be analyzed with diverse questions in mind [and] can even be analyzed from a perspective that is more or less completely at odds with the ‘original’ purposes of the interview” (p. 99). In this study, I explore the interview data from two different vantage points, using research questions that correspond to the ontological and epistemological perspectives that I detailed in Chapter 2. My first interpretation of the material returns to the

original purpose of the study, exploring yoga teachers' work and identity from a symbolic interactionist perspective. The second reading of the material draws on Foucault's ideas and considers the practices that constitute yoga teachers' subjectivity.

I answer the first research question: **How do people assign meaning to their experiences teaching yoga?** using symbolic interactionism as the theoretical perspective and analyze the material using a thematic analysis (TA) as the methodological technique. The findings from this analysis are in Chapter 5. Here, I draw on the work of Mead (1934) and Blumer (1969) among others to illustrate how society is socially constructed, being actively created by individuals and simultaneously, society acts as a structure that constrains how individuals experience the world and react to it. I employ Mead's (1934) thoughts on meaning, experience, and action, paying particular attention to social encounters with significant others as well as social structures as the self develops from these interactions.

The second analysis of the material is done drawing on themes and ideas from Foucault's (1977, 1984) work to understand how power and knowledge operate interdependently to create discourse. I discuss Foucault's ideas of the self as an effort to locate, historicize, and understand how yoga teachers' sense of being and acting is simultaneously impacted, enabled, and constrained by the positions they take within yoga and career discourses. With this ontological and epistemological perspective, I conduct a discourse analysis (DA) on the interview material. The findings from this analysis are in Chapter 6.

4.2 Before the Interviews

This study was imagined on my yoga mat, in yoga teacher training. I was curious about yoga and swept up in the New Age, health focus and spiritual enlightenment that it promised. It

is unclear to me whether I had decided to do yoga teacher training as a way to gain access into the community so that I could later focus my doctoral research on yoga teachers or whether it was a reprieve from my doctoral research. In a blog post about my experiences during yoga teacher training, I documented what would later be the foundation of the study, trying to figure out what yoga teachers did and why they did it:

I am instantly drawn to this group, to these ideas. At the nexus of fitness and spirituality, yoga instructors are a new group of professionals that are maybe limbo-ing in the tangle of selling a spiritual practice, promoting health and trying really hard not to cause additional health issues or pressures in their students through poor alignment, bad verbal cues and incomplete or awkward physical adjustments. Yoga acts as a veneer of care under which is a profitable and sizeable small business model with few operating costs and wild popularity. And as I gaze around a final time before rolling up my mat, I see the 30 students in versions of sweatshop clothes (myself included) and the imagined care that we are all swept up in. I am confronted by a whole slew of ethical questions: should I be purchasing spirituality? Am I heralding care so that I can later pimp it out for a profit by means of selling yoga class participation? ... Should I be considering tapping into this new community of friends in order to get to the essence of this career? I am scared to research yoga because it feels exploitative, but then: so does the practice that surrounds this practice. I realize I am confused by this profession but sucked in and curious, a terrible combination because I will massage it in my hand back and forth until I make sense of it like a cat slowly on the hunt to kill and reap the recognition (Peticca-Harris, 2013).

As this excerpt suggests, I had certain critical inclinations to ask what might be happening with yoga, as well as suspicions about the business of yoga and the subsequent implications for those doing the work. However, in line with my then dissertation committee's expertise on careers and spirituality, the study was originally crafted from a symbolic interactionist perspective, and aimed to examine the development of a career longitudinally, tracing yoga teachers' experiences

in training, upon graduation, and on the job market. My original research objectives were to explore how yoga teachers experienced and identified with having a career calling.

Gaining access was not as easy a feat as I imagined it would be (see Peticca-Harris, deGama & Elias, forthcoming for a detailed account of these access challenges). Using participants from my own cohort of yoga teachers' training felt exploitative. This is in line with Irwin (2006) and Brewis (2014) who both discuss ethical dimensions of using friends for qualitative research and strategize ways to curb inadvertent exploitation. Instead, I decided to explore yoga teachers outside of my cohort.

Before I began to recruit participants, the ethics of this research were reviewed and approved by the human subjects committee at my institution. As the project developed and I struggled to secure respondents for a longitudinal study, I altered the scope of the project to be a 'retrospective longitudinal study' (Menard, 1991) so that I could cross-sectionally interview participants who had already graduated from yoga teacher training and have them explain their experiences of learning to teach and beginning to teach yoga.

4.2.1.1 Accessing Participants

To begin with, I contacted sixty-five yoga studios in major Canadian cities such as Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver, and Calgary over the phone and by email. The majority of these studios had a mix of yoga class offerings but focused predominantly on Ashtanga⁸ and Hatha

⁸ Ashtanga yoga is a modern style of vigorous, aerobic gymnastic exercises and stretching practiced in combination with breathing exercises and ancient yoga philosophy. Ashtanga means eight limbs or branches, of which physical yoga postures and breathing techniques are each a different branch.

yoga, two styles that are popular in North America. I sent an email to the studio managers or the studio website's information address providing details about the study, including an introduction to who I was, a broad overview of the study, the duration of interviews, and ways to participate (phone, Skype, in-person). In this email, I requested that the studio circulate a call for participants to the teachers on staff and to other yoga teachers within their personal networks. The enclosed recruitment letter (see Appendix A) promoted the referral technique of snowball sampling. That is, it asked participants to help facilitate recruitment by suggesting that they share the research invitation with other yoga teachers within their personal networks, who might also be interested in participating in this study (Rossman & Rallis, 2003; Seidman, 1998). People who were interested in being participants were asked to email me to join the study. Only five respondents were found this way. On reflection, this approach had two limitations. First, it placed the responsibility of circulating the call on the yoga studio manager. I was uncertain whether the lack of response from teachers was because they were uninterested in participating or because the yoga studio manager had failed to circulate the research invitation. Further, this approach might have yielded better results had the yoga teachers been formal employees; like other fitness workers (Harvey et al. 2016), yoga teachers are more commonly employed as independent contractors. In order to tap into this hidden community, I needed a different approach.

Instead of depending on the studio managers as organizational gatekeepers to forward my research call, I cast my net wider, extending the sampling frame to include yoga teachers from across Canada and the United States, and those who taught other forms of yoga and yoga-fusion fitness classes. I also initiated contact by directly responding to advertisements that yoga teachers had posted on the social networking sites Craigslist (2014) and Kijiji (2014). These sites act as

online classified ads and discussion forums. This revised plan included the non-probability techniques, purposive sampling and snowball sampling, so that I could reach people that taught yoga and gain access to their networks (Mason, 2002; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Seidman, 1998). Although it is not prevalent in management and organization studies, the use of social networking sites has been used in medical research as a means of recruiting participants from hard-to-reach or stigmatized groups (Morgan, Jorm, & Mackinnon, 2012; Worthen, 2013; Yuan, Bare, Johnson, & Saberi, 2014). I contacted the yoga teachers advertising their classes on these social media sites with a private message indicating who I was, what the study objectives were, and what the interview would consist of. I also indicated that upon completing the interview, an e-gift certificate for Lululemon, a popular yoga clothing and accessory shop, would be emailed to them (see Appendix B for the electronic Kijiji message).

The existing literature on qualitative research design lacks consensus on the 'magic number' for determining the sample size for non-probability sampling (Guest, Bunce, & Johnson, 2006). In a meta-analysis on qualitative dissertation sample sizes, Mason (2010) found that a sample size of twenty to thirty is most common. In this study, my final sample aligned with this guideline. I had twenty-seven respondents in total, twenty-four from Canada and three from the United States, of whom twenty-five were female and two were male. Their ages ranged from twenty to fifty-eight years old, with an average age of thirty-eight. All but three of the participants held 250-hour yoga teacher training certifications from the Yoga Alliance, a North American accrediting organization. Twenty-four taught yoga in yoga studios while two taught in gyms and fitness centers and two taught personal lessons in people's homes. The majority of participants (eighteen) taught yoga on a part-time, contractual basis in addition to their full-time work. The participants' length of time teaching yoga ranged from one to fifteen years, with the

mean being approximately three years (see Table 1 in the appendices for a detailed breakdown of the sample's demographic information). To maintain confidentiality and anonymity, I have changed all names to pseudonyms.

4.3 During the Interviews

Mishler (1986) states that interviews are speech events. They are forms of conversation that focus on questioning, listening, and answering questions (Burgess, 1984; Kvale, 1996). With semi-structured interviews, the researcher asks a series of open-ended questions with a range of probes to achieve a more in-depth understanding about what the participants have experienced (Legard et al., 2003). In contrast to structured interviews, semi-structured interviews give space for the conversation to develop and for questions to emerge based on the reactions and responses that participants provide. My aim was to use semi-structured interviews to achieve breadth of coverage across key issues and depth of coverage within each (Legard et al., 2003). The interviews were guided by a list of topics and questions that gave consistency to each interview, but the order of questioning varied, depending on how comfortable and open respondents were with me. I was aware that during the interview I had to listen to responses, keep track of subtext and themes to probe and use the respondents' answers to guide the conversation rather than determine the order of all questions in advance (Herbert & Rubin, 1995).

I conducted all interviews between June and October 2014. Respondents had the option to select the interview format that best suited them - in person, Skype, or telephone in order to accommodate their schedules and their geographical locations. Twenty-five respondents selected phone conversations, one selected Skype, and one selected an in-person interview. All

respondents provided written consent to participate in the study and for the interview to be recorded. At the beginning of each interview, respondents were once again provided with an overview of the study and were reminded that all data collected would be confidential and anonymous. Respondents were told that they could stop the interview at any time and that they would still receive the gift certificate. The interviews included questions about how respondents spent their day, what motivated them to teach yoga, as well as their own yoga practice, and more broadly, their work experiences and what the idea of career meant to them. The interview had been designed to take approximately one hour and the pilot interviews had fit this pattern; however, some interviews were closer to forty-five minutes and others were much longer, at ninety minutes, an indication of the complexity of participants' thoughts and experiences and of their engagement with the interview topics.

4.3.1 Pilot Interviews

I conducted three pilot interviews to help me address weaknesses in my interview agenda and technique (Sampson, 2004). These pilot interviews are included in the final sample. For example, I realized that after introducing myself and answering questions about my own yoga practice and research, I had been beginning with a series of questions about the participants' work and concepts of career. After listening to the pilot interview audio recordings I realized that because I had established myself as a 'career researcher' in our introductory interaction and then asked direct questions about careers, I might unintentionally have led some participants to try to professionalize their experience in a way that they might not have otherwise done. As I played the pilot interview recordings back, I realized that beyond learning about participants' experiences, the interview also served as the site for an in-situ interaction between me, as the

researcher, and the research participants. For example, when respondents were asked about their work, they spoke about teaching yoga, other employment that they had, and their families. Only once I started using the word ‘career,’ did respondents mirror my language and began using the word ‘career’ to describe their work. This is in line with Holstein (1995), who suggests that the interview is a “reality-constructing, meaning-making occasion, whether recognized or not” (p. 4). This also echoes DeVault (1990), who suggests that the researcher and participant make meaning together, with respondents bringing more to the topic than was directly asked as interviews gain momentum. Roulston (2006) on the other hand, suggests that the idea of egalitarian sharing between respondents and researcher is a rather romantic conception of the interview process. The interview is an encounter between different people with different agendas: the respondent answers questions and produces statements in relation to their experiences while the interviewer is under pressure to collect data in as neutral a fashion as possible, carry out analysis after the fact and publish it in research reports. These priorities are often at odds with each other, producing inevitable essential tensions, which require practical compromise. Mazeland and ten Have (1998) indicate that researchers are supposed to collect data in a way that permits analysis to be carried out after the fact. In other words, the pressure is to talk in the interviews in a way that prospectively will be useful towards the goal to analyze the material. With the goal of analysis in mind, the interview may be fraught with awkward efforts to get respondents to say things out loud that might be implicit in the discussion between the researcher and the respondent, for example, a head nod or grin signaling agreement is urged to be converted into a “yes” (Mazeland & ten Have, 1998). Indeed, even though I had not recognized it originally, I was not a passive listener. In fact, like many other researchers, I could be considered a selfish listener and the interview was an asymmetrical information-gathering

encounter, pivoting around my own agenda and needs, trying to tease out my respondents' sentiments into language that I could later codify and analyze.

Equally, I had tried to be neutral when I asked my questions but was unconvinced that I was not over-steering respondents' answers, and ultimately, the flow of the conversations. It was unclear to me whether participants actually did feel that teaching yoga was their career or further, their career calling, or whether they believed, from my questions, that this was what I wanted to hear. Were their working conditions better or worse than they acknowledged? Were they as health-conscious and emotionally stable as they described themselves to be? Following these pilot interviews, I attempted to revise my interview agenda. I began with surface-level conversation to ease participants and set up a non-threatening atmosphere by having them walk me through a standard day (Arthur & Nazroo, 2003). To build rapport, I shared my own experiences with yoga and yoga teacher training; asking questions that I hoped would signal that I was an insider, that I knew something about yoga and might understand their experiences. Re-ordering my questions was a first step in allowing me to effectively establish rapport with respondents and to encourage them to speak openly. I was able to demonstrate interest, respect, and empathy while trying to play down my position as the researcher. I was trying to establish that we were somehow equals as yoga practitioners (Thompson, 2000; Legard et al. 2003). Nonetheless, reworking the interview agenda was not enough for us to be seen as equals. In spite of my best efforts to set the interview up as a regular conversation, I acknowledge it was not a regular 'chat'. For example, because I was trying to be neutral and non-committal as participants answered questions, I sometimes only grunted in acknowledgment (Frankel, 1984). These continued access issues, in combination with trying to figure how to best present myself are in line with many of the insider-outsider discussions in the existing methodological literature (see

Fournillier, 2009; Oriola & Haggerty, 2012). I was living the insider-myth of “ready entrée and easy rapport” (Bischoping & Quinlan, 2013, p.1).

The final interview guide (Appendix C) was created using the study's original objective, to understand the work experiences and career callings of yoga teachers. Respondents were asked to describe their daily routine, a question that opened up a space for them to talk in a non-threatening way about their work experiences, including teaching yoga and other work and family obligations. They were specifically asked how they became interested in yoga and what inspired them to begin it.

4.4 After the Interviews

4.4.1 Data Analysis

Analysis involves organizing and interrogating data in ways that allow researchers to see patterns, identify themes, discover relationships, develop explanations, make interpretations, mount critiques, or generate theories. It often involves "synthesis, evaluation, interpretation, categorization, comparison, and pattern finding" (Hatch, 2002, p. 148). Once I began collecting data, I identified additional themes to explore and probe in subsequent interviews. Data collection and data analysis therefore occurred concurrently. All interviews were transcribed verbatim and then analyzed with the assistance of NVivo 10, a computer assisted qualitative data analysis (CAQDAS) tool that helps to manage large amounts of information (King, 1998).

In 2014, the earliest renditions of my analysis were organized in line with the original research objectives to explore career callings from the ontological and epistemological perspective of symbolic interactionism. I conducted a thematic analysis (TA), also referred to as a template analysis or thematic coding (King, 1998). This is a common technique used by

researchers operating in interactionist research traditions and more broadly qualitative approaches (King, 2004; Marshall & Rossman, 2006). TA summarizes data in relation to research questions while allowing the researcher to illustrate what respondents have said in their own words, focusing on their experiences, descriptions, feelings, thoughts and behaviours. Some codes are defined *a priori*, and others are defined as the researcher reads and interprets the data. Codes can be modified throughout the analytical process (King, 1998). A code acts like a label attached to a particular sector of text that exemplifies a theme. These codes are then organized hierarchically with similar codes grouped together to produce higher-order codes (King, 1998). I shared my template with my committee a number of times throughout data analysis because "it forces the researcher to justify the inclusion of each code, and to clearly define how it should be used" (King, 1998, p. 122). I coded the material abductively; as suggested above, some of the themes were established *a priori*, from the existing literature. These codes included themes such as 'fitness', 'health', 'helping' and 'flexible schedules,' to name a few. I also analyzed the material using 'free nodes,' or codes that were free standing and were not associated with a specific thematic or conceptual framework. This enabled me to review the interview material, informed by the existing literature, but staying open to what else the data might reveal. In total, thirty-seven free codes emerged from my thematic analysis of the interview material. Examples include 'career', 'fitness', 'family', 'passion', and 'exhaustion'. From there, I collapsed all of the initial codes into three aggregate codes, more specifically how respondents were caring for themselves (including exercise, fitness, healthy eating), how they were caring for others (their families, their students) and their working conditions (including teaching, Sanskrit, precarious work, flexible schedules). This abstraction of the thematic codes and the relationships between

them (Miles & Huberman, 1994) led to a framework anchored in both my data and the body work literature. (See Table 2 in the appendices for the data structure).

Given that the symbolic interactionist interview pivots around respondents' experiences and their interpretations, thematic analysis offers a way to unpack these in respondents' own words. As such, an advantage of this approach is that it generates interpretations richly grounded in respondents' personal accounts. A disadvantage of this approach is that these accounts are taken at face value without an attempt to resolve contradicting narratives that may arise during the interview (Aguinaldo, 2012). Instead, problematic data may be censored out of the analysis or research discussion, rather than reconciled. In addition, because symbolic interactionist analysis privileges respondents' voices, the role of the interviewer in co-constructing the data and the interviewer's own reflexive interpretations, if undertaken at all, are only acknowledged in a post-hoc procedure rather than throughout data collection or analysis (Mishler, 1986).

During the TA of the data, I observed these limitations firsthand. TA did not provide me with an avenue to unpack or discuss discrepancies in my data. Nor did it give me a way to handle conflicting meanings and experiences. I did not want to ignore these aspects of the material. It was important to me to tease out the tensions and contradictions that I was noticing as people spoke about their experiences of teaching yoga, most significantly in relation to other care roles such as motherhood. In the summer of 2015, I was still grappling with these lingering questions about what to do with problematic data. My doctoral dissertation committee was also reconfigured at this time, and the new members of the committee were raising similar questions about the use of symbolic interactionism and TA. In response, I examined what was producing the disruptions, contradictions and alternative understandings within the interview data. To

reiterate, this aligns with Duberley's (2015) acknowledgement that interviews can be analyzed with diverse questions in mind. Similarly, Mazeland and ten Have (1998) posit:

Interviews can even be analyzed from a perspective that is more or less completely at odds with the 'original' purposes of the interview... For our particular purposes, the tensions were not a problem at all, but an interesting phenomenon (p.99).

This prompted me to explore the link between epistemology and methodology by conducting different analyses of yoga teachers' career experiences from two theoretical and methodological perspectives: the original symbolic interactionist approach as well as Foucault's notions of power/knowledge and discourse.

For the second analysis of the data, I used Foucault's (1977, 1980, 1984) critique of modernity as the epistemological and ontological base for conducting a discourse analysis (DA). This enabled me to connect what respondents revealed about themselves, others, their behaviours and feelings in relation to culturally available discourses. Van Dijk (1997) asserts that there are many different versions of discourse analysis. In this study, I do not try to select just one form of discourse analysis. Rather, I integrated Fairclough's (1992, 2003) notion of 'contents of discourse,' that is, the relations and subject positions that people take within discourse, with Foucault's (1977) interrogation of power and how power and knowledge work together to reflect, reinforce and reify discourse. Fairclough (1992) himself has acknowledged Foucault as an important influence. Foucault informed his thinking about the discursive nature of modern power; the political nature of discourse and the discursive nature of social and political change (Fairclough, 1992, pp. 55-56). Yet, Fairclough diverges in several ways from Foucault's thinking on the role of power, discourse types and power-holders within discourse, subject positions, the

role of the economy, the ruling (capitalist) class, and ideology (Fairclough, 2005; Fairclough, Jessop & Sayer, 2004). Fairclough (1992) also repeats some of the criticisms provided by other commentators, about the absence in Foucault's work about how agency interacts with social structure (Thompson & Harley, 2012).

Fairclough (1992, 2003) and Foucault's (1977) thinking about discourse informed the re-reading of the material using elements of discourse analysis. For example, I acknowledge that Fairclough (1992) places a greater emphasis than Foucault does on the text itself; in my case this would be the interview transcripts. He clarifies that analysis "is not a matter of reducing social life to language, saying that everything is discourse – it isn't" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 2). This approach emphasizes the postmodern turn in which language is assumed to not simply reflect the social world but rather, that language constructs it (Aguinaldo, 2012). Fairclough states that a text-oriented discourse analysis is a strategy that can be used with other analytical tools to make sense of discourse. So he sees:

Discourses as ways of representing aspects of the world – the processes, relations and structures of the material world, the 'mental world' of thoughts, feelings, beliefs and so forth, and the social world. Particular aspects of the world may be represented differently, so we are generally in the position of having to consider the relationship between different discourses. (Fairclough, 2003, p. 133)

Foucault (1977, 1984) however, is less concerned with the detailed linguistic analysis of texts and more concerned with how texts (amongst other aspects of discourse) contain and (re)constitute rules which come to govern social conduct.

Informed by Fairclough (1992), I emphasize some of the linguistic features of the text, using them in combination with some of Foucault's (1977) notions about power, and how power

relations flow and function. In sum, my analysis views language as a social process, whereby meanings and values are articulated both institutionally (as per Fairclough's rendition of discourse analysis) as well as at a societal level (as per Foucault's conceptions of discourse). Language is converted into social practices that are framed by institutions and society, which determine the rules and positions of those involved. According to Fairclough (1995), DA is based on the idea that "a piece of discourse is embedded within sociocultural practice at a number of levels; in the immediate situation, in the wider institution or organization, and at a societal level" (p.97). On this basis, I went back to the interview material and analyzed different segments of the data. I looked for signs of power, resistance, and taken for granted assumptions, with a focus on what was said, and what could not be said. In total, my discourse analysis resulted in three overarching discourses: The Good Wife, The Good Yogi and The Good Body.

The goal of the DA analyst is to first identify discourses which may be multiple or contradictory and then explore the significance of these discourses in relation to how people relate and behave (Aguinaldo, 2012). In thematic analysis, the social is conceived through the eyes of the speaker, with a strong focus on the subject, the self, and the 'I' as an entity that can give meaning to the world through the individual's own interpretations of experiences. With DA, the social is conceived as the discursive conditions within which certain realities and experiences are made possible to apprehend while others are denied.

Thematic analysis, moreover, organizes data into themes. The focus is on what meaning participants report for their experiences. DA, on the other hand, looks beyond what participants are saying about their experiences, in order to explore the discursive practices that are shaping their experience while the analyst considers alternative interpretations. Unlike thematic analysis, which uses the respondent's experiences, feelings, thoughts and behaviours as the unit of

analysis, DA interrogates the subject position that the participant takes in relation to these discourses (Aguinaldo, 2012). From there, DA examines the political significance of these discourses.

Fairclough's (1992) three-dimensional framework for discourse analysis is a way to access assumptions embedded in language and to connect these assumptions to broader social practices. This framework analyzes 1) text, 2) discursive practice, and 3) social practice. First, analyzing 'text' involves examining the language in use, i.e. what was being stated in the interview. Text is "the written or spoken language produced in a discursive event" (Fairclough, 1993, p. 138). Second, analyzing 'discursive practice' involves investigating meanings that could be interpreted from the text and from whose voice was heard versus whose voice was rendered silent, given that "in any discourse, there is a hierarchy of power relations that influences subject positions" (Jacobs, 2004, p.821). The third, social practice, refers to everyday experiences – which can be situational, institutional or societal.

DA does address some of the issues inherent within thematic analysis but in its use, new ones surface. For example, while thematic analysis censors problematic data or conflicting accounts during the interview, DA tries to locate, identify, and then explore the multiple and competing discourses at play. While TA privileges the voice of the respondent, DA may be critiqued for its dependence on the analyst, given that the identification and interrogation of discourses may depend more on the analyst's prior understandings and theories than on the data (Wooffitt, 2005). A discourse analyst may then be overly ascriptive and suggest that there are discourses at work without convincingly providing explanation, evidence, or illustration for the basis of these claims (Widdicombe, 1995).

In sum, I conducted both TA and DA on various segments of the interview material. Multiple analyses provide an opportunity to explore the link between epistemology and methodology and, more specifically, what teaching yoga means to participants from various epistemological and ontological vantage points. This study examines what these different perspectives tell us about yoga, careers, and how participants understand themselves and others.

4.5 Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I provided an in-depth ‘decision trail’ about the various methodological and analytical decisions I made throughout this study including how I accessed participants, how data were collected using semi-structured interviews, and how data was analyzed using thematic analysis and discourse analysis. Throughout the chapter, I addressed issues regarding access, interviewing, and analysis, and discussed how I recognized and, where possible, attempted to remedy them. In the following chapter, Chapter 5, I will conduct a thematic analysis that examines how participants assign meaning to their experiences teaching yoga, when interview data are viewed from a symbolic interactionist perspective.

Chapter 5 The Self Constructed by Experiences, Actions and Interpretations

5.1 Introduction

This chapter illustrates how my yoga teacher participants construct meaning about themselves and their work from a symbolic interactionist perspective, informed in particular by the work of Mead (1934) and Blumer (1969). From this theoretical viewpoint, this chapter answers the research question: **How do people assign meaning to their experiences teaching yoga?** I explore how the self develops from social interaction, action, interpretation, and the perceptions that people believe others have of them. As outlined in Chapter 4, I conducted a thematic analysis on segments of interview material. Thematic analysis provides a way to access and unpack how participants construct their realities, using their own words. I was able to do a ‘deep dive’ into participants’ experiences, descriptions, feelings, thoughts and behaviours. I coded the material abductively. I established some of the themes *a priori*, from the existing literature. These codes included themes such as ‘fitness’, ‘health’, ‘helping’ and ‘flexible schedules,’ to name a few. I also analyzed the material using ‘free nodes,’ or codes that were freestanding and not associated with a specific thematic or conceptual framework. This enabled me to review the interview material, informed by the existing literature, but staying open to what else the data might reveal. I identified thirty-seven free codes. Examples include fitness, career, talent, helping others, and healthy lifestyle. From there, I collapsed these initial free codes into a hierarchical structure or tree of nodes. This abstraction of the thematic codes and the relationships between them (Miles & Huberman, 1994) led to a framework anchored both in my

data and the body work literature, in which three aggregate categories emerged (see Table 2 in the appendices for the data structure).

The first of these was the theme caring for one's self, primarily through rigorous fitness regimes but also, more generally, through health and well-being efforts. Here, participants discuss their own yoga practice, other forms of fitness and living a healthy lifestyle. In addition to physical health being an important aspect of teaching yoga, participants also discuss their own emotional well-being and spirituality, which they understand to be improved by their own yoga practice. A second theme that emerged was care for others. This group of yoga teachers, with the exception of two men, is female. Within this theme, I address how these female yoga teachers are at times motivated by a strong sense to serve, help and care for others in paid and non-paid domains, and at other times more reticent about and frustrated by this focus on caring. The third theme that I discuss is working conditions and, more specifically, the benefits and challenges associated with teaching yoga. It is important to note that these themes have considerable overlap and connection to one another.

This chapter is structured as follows: I commence by discussing each theme and introduce associated subthemes using interview material to flesh out each section. In keeping with the symbolic interactionist tradition, within each theme I focus on how participants construct meaning through their own actions and reactions. In doing so, I highlight salient experiences, or turning point encounters (Denzin, 1989). These experiences generate what DeGloma (2010) refers to as 'awakenings.' These situations have affected participants and have encouraged them to 'switch gears' and teach yoga. Furthermore, I focus on participants' interactions with significant others such as their family, friends, and more broadly, their community. I consider how participants interpret others' actions, intentions, and the perceptions

that they think others have of them and their work as a yoga teacher. Throughout the chapter, I also draw connections to extant literature on body work, and highlight ways in which this current study adds to this body of research. I conclude the chapter by summarizing and considering key themes and findings and reflect on their broader implications.

5.2 Care for Self

All participants in the study spoke about the importance of their own physical health, which for most was facilitated through various fitness activities including yoga. Some went from doing gym-based routines to yoga, while others, like Zooley combined the two:

Okay, so in my case, I'm a big fan of the gym so I like to work out. And I used to do workout videos in my country that I came from and when I moved to America, I started going to the gym like five to seven days a week. And one of my friends, she goes to yoga: Bikram yoga. And she asked me, "Let's go and try to see how you like it." I was not really a huge fan of yoga and finally she forced me. Kind of like "You just try once". So I tried and I really liked it. And I saw the benefits of it. And I guess I switched and now I wanted to spend more time on yoga than at the gym...I can see each activity that benefits. You cannot say, "don't do gym, go do yoga only". I see it's complementary... In the gym, I'm getting fit, muscular, form and yoga like stretching... But both of them complement each other. You keep restored and healthy.

Zooley discusses moving to America and transitioning from home-based workouts to going to the gym. Moving to America could be a catalyst or turning point that opens her up to different fitness possibilities. Denzin (1989) suggests that an epiphany story is essentially a story about discovering a 'truth.' Here, Zooley's narrated substitution of one worldview or understanding about what fitness could be (here, the home as a place to get fit, followed by the gym), for

another (the yoga studio), the figure of her friend is key. This indicates how significant others, here a friend, are implicated in the way meaning is made. Zooney discovers a ‘truth’: that these forms of exercise complement each other. Interestingly, Zooney interprets the gym and yoga as binaries: the gym is for strength, yoga is for stretching. By creating this distinction, and to ensure that she is ‘getting fit,’ she is required to do both forms of exercise.

Zooney’s account differs from other accounts in the study, which indicate that these respondents transitioned away from gym-based workouts due to their own physical limitations. Their bodies were not strong *enough* and so they started doing yoga. Vivianne, a fitness instructor-turned yoga instructor talks about yoga being better for her health:

My personal fitness endeavours have changed as I have aged. You know, we used to a, do a lot of high-impact classes, then we started maybe toning it down to low impact with some weight lifting or weight training in the gym and some classes that were a mixture of Pilates and yoga...And so it was sort of a natural progression for me to go from teaching fitness to teaching yoga because I realized how much I enjoyed yoga and how much I got out of it than I did going and you know jumping around in a class for an hour doing step and killing myself for an hour in step. Or you know BodyPump⁹ or something like that, and you know I felt the effects of step [aerobics] on my back and my knees and my ankles. And with yoga it was, I could get so much more by doing and putting in so much less effort if you know what I mean?

To highlight that yoga is better for her, Vivianne talks about her experiences with yoga in relation to previous aerobics routines. Step aerobics and BodyPump are conveyed as dangerous; she uses phrases like ‘killing myself’ to emphasize the sheer effort of these forms of exercise. To

⁹ BodyPump is a weight-based group-fitness program, created and distributed globally by Les Mills International, which is taught at gyms across North America.

position yoga as superior, rather than expand on its health benefits, she criticizes the gym. She uses exaggerative terms like ‘Killing myself’ to heighten the barrier between past activities and her present self. Tory on the other hand takes a multi-disciplinary approach to her fitness regime, combining many different forms of exercise. Rather than admit that she is not strong enough, or cannot keep up, she spins her account differently:

Well I’ve been a fitness instructor for about almost 15 years I guess and I originally did it, not because I’ve ever been athletic - I’ve never been athletic, I have a lot of health conditions - but I did it because I loved doing videos so much I wanted to meet a friend who also liked the videos and then I ended up being really good at it with this natural skill of teaching fitness. So for me, I do all, I do kickboxing, high-low step [aerobics], yoga, Pilates, Tai Chi, all of it. And I really like creating fusion workouts that incorporate all of the different aspects of exercise and I really like working with seniors in general. So it kind of morphed into something because when you go somewhere and you’re actually good at it, and you love it, people are going to request you and then it develops into its own new animal. And then it’s like, then you get bored and you’re like “oh I’m bored with step [classes], I want to do this, I want to do that”, and then because I have a situation that is bone tumours in my joints, and I can’t do the same levels of exercise that I used to. And yoga became the thing that actually kept me mobile. And then my passion for the yoga for my own health sort of transformed into helping other people get through health issues that I believe that Western medicine can never solve.

Tory’s account is full of contradictions and competing possibilities. For example, she claims she has never been athletic, but talks about having a natural skill for teaching fitness. She talks about creating fusion classes because students love them, and she gets bored easily, yet she goes on to talk about her bone tumours. Tory believes yoga has transformed her life and that acts as an important motivation for her to help others. Teaching yoga for Vivianne and Tory is not purely an altruistic motivation, to help others as suggested in the existing body work literature,

specifically concerning the work of nurses (e.g. Lawler, 1997; McMurray, 2012). Instead, teaching yoga is interpreted by these respondents as being symbiotic: yoga teachers are able to take care of themselves, as well as others.

Both Vivianne and Tory also discuss how as fitness instructors, they modified their work to curb negative effects on their own bodies. The existing body work literature has focused more on the emotional experiences or emotional management of body workers (see Hochschild, 1983), rather than the physical pressures of the work. Within this study, the body workers have had to adapt and transform their work on others' bodies as a way to protect their own. Here, doing and teaching yoga is articulated as a safe alternative in a hierarchy of health activities and contexts. There are however, unhealthy aspects within yoga. Elin, for example, draws on this notion of less healthy activities when discussing her own experience of yoga teacher training:

Yes they made us do hot yoga twice a day so we are sweating out all of our electrolytes, our sodium, our magnesium. So probably not best for the health to be doing that much during that day. That's the only thing I have to complain about.

While complaining about the intensity of the program, and acknowledging the health risks associated with such strenuous activity, Elin does not appear to offer resistance or rejection of these physical demands. She distances herself, her body from the experience. She does not personalize the effects on her health, but rather 'the' health. Elin expresses a sense of pushing herself further, keeping up with the physicality of the practice and with others, presumably in her yoga teachers' training course, as noted with the recurrent use of 'we' and 'our'. Nick, who is ex-military, also elaborates on the masochistic pleasure of pushing his body to the extreme with his military work: "Ahhh, I just enjoyed that, I enjoyed the military, I enjoyed torturing my

body.” Taken together what is salient about these excerpts is how these respondents interpret their own limitations and then respond to them: they have an optimistic view of their bodies, of their bodies’ limitations. Rather than rest, care for the body and recuperate, they push the body further. This then acts as a foundation to use this personal intelligence to help others.

The focus on self through practicing yoga and teaching yoga extends beyond the physical aspect of the practice and into an emotional or spiritual benefit. Rick discusses the meditative properties of yoga:

Well if you think about meditation, yoga is a form of meditation, right? You manipulate your body, you’re focusing on the movements, what it feels like. You’re also putting [in] physical exertion, so that’s a form of meditation: there’s a very physical practice to it. Then there’s also meditation like (pause), sitting meditation where you are watching your breath. And there’s not much physical activity going on, well I mean of course there’s physical activity, but the focus is more on intellectual activity, right? You’re just watching your breath so that would be a different variation of, you know, the ultimate goal really is to bring you closer to yourself and the present.

In this excerpt, Rick also appears to be searching for validation from me as the researcher, probing for agreement with his interpretation. He asks me to consider yoga as a form of meditation, and then asks me to verify that yoga is a form of a meditation. His excerpt is in line with key tenets of SI. He appears uncertain, noted through his use of questioning, repetition, and second person pronouns, and he uses the interview to stabilize a definition of how yoga is meditative through this exchange. His definition of yoga comes into focus through our interaction, meaning here is made through our active discussion. Mischa echoes the view that yoga is a way for one to focus on herself:

Yeah I think that, it's just that yoga allows you that time with the breath and your body to really work on things. Yin yoga¹⁰ helps so much because you have to really sit there with your discomfort and respond to it and not react and yeah. So yeah, definitely, I think it's any time that you are linking what you are doing with how you are breathing starts to teach us just how reactive we are. So it gives you that chance to slow down and respond to what is happening

Here, the emphasis is on slowing down, becoming present, more patient and introspective.

Mischa uses exaggerative words to highlight importance such as 'really' and 'so much'. She does not ask questions as a way to validate the meaning of yoga, but rather, asserts and validates with words like 'yeah' and 'definitely.' Although Mischa advises that you can 'work on things', this appears to amount to restraining physical and emotional reactions to discomfort. It is therefore not surprising that other respondents described practicing yoga as a way to cope with and accept hardship. It acts as an alternative intervention to medication and other, more Westernized forms of therapy. Here, participants take control of their emotional well-being and mental health. They are in the driver's seat, believing their previous issues need to be fixed and beyond that, they are capable of fixing these issues through this self-focus. The lines between yoga teachers doing yoga and teaching yoga blend and blur. For example:

Yeah, it's a whole other ball game now. I don't take medication any more. I just need to make sure that I do practice. I will notice [when] I miss practice for a couple of days, I notice that my anxiety levels start to go up again. So, as long as I practice regularly, I'm fine. *Mischa*

¹⁰ Yin yoga is a slower paced style of yoga where postures are held for longer periods of time. The focus is on applying moderate pressure to connective tissues in the body to increase circulation in the joints and improve flexibility.

I really liked the way that [in my own yoga teacher training], like they do a lot of spiritual work there and a lot of like study and looking into our pasts and breaking open the past and being ok with everything that we got through in our lives. I really enjoyed that because I went through a lot as a child coming from a divorced family. So, it really allowed me to open up and then heal from that and move forward. *Joyce*

These participants suggest that mind and body need to be in unison for health and happiness. It seems that both Mischa and Joyce reify and essentialize the physical practice of yoga. Yoga is a way to ‘cure’ oneself and accept the traumas that one has experienced. The responsibility for health and stability is a personal quest, and as Vair (2013) states, one is not expected to need or take assistance from others. This is an individualistic framing of health and happiness, where the ability to overcome emotional distress is understood as personal.

This individualistic framing was a salient and reoccurring finding within this theme. Yoga acts as a heuristic for health. It is what people need it to be. The interpretations are dynamic and varied, but connect to this idea of personal and individual betterment. Teresa shares,

Yeah there are many different styles and different philosophies and many people do really get into the spiritual side and the Buddhist side and really make it, you know, the whole experience. For me personally, that’s not why I do yoga, it’s not that connection to like other worldly or a spiritual type thing but at the same time, I find for me, a sort of spiritual connection. It’s more of a connection that I feel with everyone else in the room. And the community and the universe in general. Like I know the Sanskrit, I know the philosophy and I know the background of, you know, the yoga greats and for me that, that doesn’t speak to me. But, I do know that there are people who are really into that whole scene and that’s just not what I am about.

Teresa brings up the idea that there are different kinds of yoga and that yoga means something different to different people. For her, spirituality extends beyond introspection and instead emphasizes a social connection with others. Although yoga acts as a way for Teresa to form social connections with people, its self-focus and self-exploration has negative effects for others – at least temporarily. For example, Rayna shares that during this personal journey of self-development through yoga practice her relationship with her boyfriend had recently come to a halt:

We were just on different paths, with different lifestyles. I was learning so much about, you know, myself then just spirituality and who I was and what I wanted and I think that path was so consuming and took up so much of my time that I was engulfed in.

The personal journey, often denoted as spiritual work or personal development, the need to introspect and fix oneself is often exacerbated by critical turning point encounters such as illness, injuries as discussed above, and death. For example, Louisa talks about travelling to India for yoga training:

Well for yoga, I was in India and Nepal and so that is where my love of yoga really started to grow and then just taking a whole bunch of retreats and training there. But then I wanted to just get the full thing so when I came back to Canada, I was practicing and then my father passed away and yoga was always my way of kind of de-stressing and connecting back to what is important to me. And when my dad passed I really wanted to change my lifestyle and yoga was you know, my outlet so I figured I wanted to grow more, and broaden my yoga life.

Here, she uses yoga as a way to cope with her father's death. Louisa's father's death could be interpreted as an epiphany or awakening (DeGloma, 2010). This story is about how she 'woke up', realizing her beliefs and prior trajectory prior were somehow false, and her father's death

has contributed to this new and enlightened life course with yoga. Louisa undermines her previous self, her non-yoga self. In this excerpt, she literally refers to her life as a 'yoga life', almost as though her life was not full or real before she had yoga. Louisa depicts her past self as lost and unhealthy and this came into plain view as a moment of revelation (Denzin, 1989, p. 13) with her father's death. Her present truth, practicing and teaching yoga, is about living differently, not stressing and personally evolving.

The decision to practice yoga and then teach yoga is implicated in participants' own health issues and concerns but also in how their significant others view health and well-being. As established in Chapter 2, meaning emerges through relational interactions. In the study, this takes shape with Zoey being introduced to yoga by a friend and Ella being introduced by her mother:

She always has been an active person, really into like group exercise classes. And she was the one first, not dragged me but she was into yoga when I was a kid and then kind of, you know, when I started having to go [to] the gym and like work out independently whenever she took me with her [to classes] because she really loved it and because I'm very similar [to her]. She took me [to classes] and I took to [yoga] too.

Here, Ella reveals that her beliefs and interpretations about health are established and passed on through her mother. This is also witnessed firsthand as Megha discusses sharing yoga as a form of exercise with her 12-year-old daughter:

She does, intermittently - right now, she is really into volleyball, which is her strength - so, but she has expressed a huge desire to incorporate a little bit more mindfulness. Therefore, we are going to go back to some sort of more meditative and slower, I guess more brain-balanced type of yoga, as opposed to hard-core sun salutations like that. But yeah, we are going to get back into it, but she's sort of one of those things where you have to let her deviate a little bit and then she comes back to it on her own. I never

wanted to force her. So yeah, she took probably about a year and a half break and now she is coming back into it.

This suggests that while yoga may act as an independent, introspective activity, it can also be shared with friends and family. Significant others play an important role in shaping one's own meanings and interpretations. This passage does not convey that Megha's daughter really had a choice about returning to it. Phrases like "we are going to get back into it" presents a collective, rather than individual motivation, which Megha leads. She does not subscribe to forcing her daughter to do yoga, and interprets her daughter as having rejoined on her own accord. Another possibility however, is that her daughter had returned to yoga as a way to regain her mother's acceptance. This alternative would be supported by Charon (2001), who indicates that significant others, mothers, "take on importance to the individual, those whom the individual desires to impress; they might be those he or she respects, those he or she wants acceptance from, those he or she fears, or those with whom he or she identifies" (p. 76).

To summarize, within the first theme of caring for oneself, participants highlight that teaching yoga acts as a personal physical and emotional outlet. This finding is salient because it diverges from traditional explanations as to why body workers opt to work on the bodies of others – to help others emotionally and physically (as seen with nursing (Lawler, 1997) and domiciliary care workers (Twig, 2002) or to restore their bodies (as seen with homeopaths (Taylor, 2010) and massage therapists (e.g. Sullivan, 2012)). Here, the work is not done solely altruistically but is also personally rewarding and part of the participants' personal exercise and health regimes. This builds on the work of Smith Maguire (2006) who found a symbiotic relationship between fitness instructors and their clients, both benefitting physically from

working out. This first finding illustrates how yoga teachers not only physically, but also emotionally, benefit from this work. This is a self-oriented motivation to engage in body work. I will pick this discussion back up in the working conditions section, when I discuss work as a hobby, something to which many of the participants alluded.

The focus on physical and emotional health and well-being also illustrates a holistic approach to health. Many participants characterize themselves as being drawn to yoga as a way to extend their own mind, body and spirit, well-being and health practices. Participants engaged in a variety of exercise forms but highlighted the salience of yoga, suggesting a hierarchy of practices in which yoga is currently considered the best, given the limitations and boundaries of the participants' physical health. This is evidenced by their inward preoccupations with not only their physical self but also their emotional well-being. Yoga is seen as a de-stressing remedy, touted as better than Western medical or therapeutic interventions. As such, many participants spoke about the spiritual benefits of yoga, which as defined by them do not point to a connection with a higher power, but rather a deeper connection and affiliation with and to themselves and, for some, their community. Of note, many participants also spoke about the relational aspect of their yoga practice – some were introduced to yoga by friends, while others were introduced to it (and other forms of fitness) by, most notably, their mothers, and others had introduced their own children. The focus on living a healthy life, physically and emotionally often results from a turning point encounter. Denzin (1989) indicates that epiphanies are events that turn our lives around. At times, they are profound, as with many of the instances described throughout the section (illness, injury, death). At other times, they appear to be insignificant on the surface, but remain pivotal to the changes that people make in their lives, the new truths that replace old realities. Epiphanies then, are central to the stories people tell about themselves and their

motivations for why they Here, yoga acts as a response to taking one's own health seriously and simultaneously an outlet for stress and grief. In the next section, I discuss the second finding, participants' views on yoga as a way to help others.

5.3 Care for Others

In addition to focusing on one's personal physical and emotional health and well-being, caring for others was another dominant theme found when exploring the question "what does teaching yoga mean to this group of yoga teachers?" This theme has been well trodden within extant literature on body work (specifically, see Twigg, 2002 for her overview of care work as a form of body work). In this study, many respondents spoke about teaching yoga as a way to care for others and share their own healthy lifestyle with others. The following examples illustrate how different teachers emphasize different aspects of their classes and how targeting different demographics represents 'caring' in various ways.

I can't think of anything else that is so positive and so body positive and I can't think of another career that strives to increase the health and the happiness and the overall mind, body, soul, everything - the whole package. I can't think of another career that spends all of their time doing that...I mean it's something that I'm passionate about, that I've seen improvements in my life that I can feel the immediate benefits after practicing. *Sara*

Here, Sara talks about her own passion for yoga and the benefits she feels from her practice and wanting to share these things with her students. She interprets teaching yoga as a career, and unlike previous conceptions of body work, she both gives and receives these 'deep health'

(Sharma & Black, 1999) benefits. For Zooney, similarly, teaching yoga helps her feel better and helps her students feel and look better:

I love it. I love to teach students when they get in and how they, how they change, how they become stronger, better, look much better. The[y are] more healthy and I love to see that transformation. I have so many that are a project, I call them projects, people who are like, my students who came to yoga and they don't have a commitment to yoga. They're already sick with high blood pressure, [taking a] lot of medication, and I push them. I was like "Push and try to commit to the yoga and go there." Now they're out of medication, no diabetes, no high blood pressure. You know I can say that, how they become better, I feel great! I have, in my office; I have two students like that who just right now they're in great shape. They weren't completely visible, now they've become healthy, more healthy [than] they were like four years before.

Interestingly, although participants spoke about doing yoga as a way to *feel* better, none spoke about their own motivation to do or teach yoga as a way to *look* better. Yet, as Zooney speaks, she is aware that she is helping students look better. Put another way, yoga as a form of body work enables teachers to reap the same emotional and spiritual benefits that they provide to their students. However, teachers focus on their students' aesthetic appearance but do not seem motivated themselves to do yoga as a way to look better. This notion of connecting health to the way students' bodies look was also raised by Megha, who identifies as a "plus-size yoga teacher" who teaches plus-size yoga classes:

When I first started doing yoga, I couldn't touch my toes and I couldn't do certain postures. It's not because I was uncomfortable or I just wasn't bendy enough or anything like that. It was just literally because I couldn't reach my toes. I was never given any opportunity in figuring out how. And so it wasn't until I started doing things like moving my junk [stomach] to the side to grab my toe that I realized, "Hmm I can actually grab my toe. I'm probably just as bendy as most people, I just have a mass restriction, not

necessarily a range of motion restriction.” And so, I think, you know, I am uniquely blessed, in teaching plus size yoga because I’m plus-sized.

Here, Megha discusses her own struggles with being a plus-sized woman, trying to do yoga. She uses her own experience to create a class designed to help others feel comfortable and safe. Here she acknowledges her own body only through discussing her students’ bodies. While Zooney’s account suggests trying to optimize her students’ bodies, Megha interprets her students’ weight as giving her a competitive advantage because she, as a plus-size woman, has the experience to work with it.

In addition to helping students physically by sharing the health benefits and helping them look better, some of these yoga teachers also discussed helping students feel better emotionally. Rayna, for example, shares her experience with helping corporate employees during their lunch breaks:

My very first experience teaching when I had graduated was I had a corporate yoga class – it was in between like the lunch hours and just so many people are just so stressed out when they just really needed to be in a place that, like peace and love and like really affirm to themselves that they’re appreciated for the work that they do because they’re not recognized every day. And it just made me see how many people are there, are out in the world like on autopilot.

Rayna’s experience teaching corporate classes acts as an inspiration and source of motivation for her. She considers corporate workshops as a possible avenue for development for herself and her teaching repertoire, given ‘how many people are there, are out in the world like on autopilot’.

Similarly, Zooney talks about acknowledging the stress and exhaustion that her students are faced with in their everyday professional lives:

You know, you will see the success. I think students they can see this, feel it. It's a lot of energy from [the] teacher. ... You have to love people. I always love people and I thought that for some reason I have like, not like bring them too close, but I just love people. When I am in the class, you have to, have to love everyone and anyone. You have to love everyone in this room. You don't hate the guys, like "I like this guy but not this one", no; you have to love everyone as the teacher. That's I think the skills which you provide to this kind of environment. Because they come to yoga class, they want to laugh, they want to work hard, and they want to relax. They're so tired, they don't want to strain. So, when I think positive, they feel it. They feel how I love them.

In this excerpt, Zooney talks about wanting to accept and care for everyone in the class, highlighting the emotional labour involved in teaching and revealing that care is a performative act. Zooney discusses wanting to create an environment where her students are enjoying themselves, where they are having fun. She does not want to further strain her students, who she understands are tired. Instead, she materializes a positive atmosphere. She does not complain about the performative act of caring for the students. It is not a hindrance to her. In this excerpt, we see her reflecting on the power of her positive thinking and energy. This finding is in line with Gimlin (1996), who found that hairstylists used emotional labour to emphasize caring relationships with their clients to maximize their business.

In addition to talking about how they cared for their students and which students they catered to, respondents spoke about feeling a sense of recognition and affirmation from their students. For example:

I've had someone else, just yesterday, he has neck pain and at the end of the class he says "My neck feels so much better." So within that one hour being able to help people be able to deal with pain or chronic pain but also to come out of there feeling relaxed and feeling renewed and maybe even inspired, like I can't think of anything better than that. And you know, now from a studio perspective, I'm getting a lot of great feedback. People come

there and they are ready to exhale and they come there for peace and they feel fantastic as soon as they walk in the door. I hear a lot of positive energy here so being able to provide a space that is comfortable, you know people look at it as their getaway and their safe haven. I feel like kind of blessed to be able to offer that. *Sara*

I'm super excited. I got this beautiful email back that, and I'm kind of having interesting clients. One has a neurological problem so she has very poor balance and someone else has suffered from depression from the last little while. But the person who is suffering from the neurological disorder, she wrote me and she's like "Lisa, I just wanted to say how much I enjoyed the class and that I felt my hips already open right after but then at home, I just felt more and more like my hips were open and I can already feel so much of my body benefiting from it and I just wanted to thank you." I was like "Oh my god! I'm making a difference!" *Lisa*

As evidenced by these excerpts, teachers discuss directly helping students overcome physical issues. Recognition comes in the form of students directly commenting on the class, cures for their physical ailments, and also complimentary emails and discussions that highlight the difference that they are making in people's lives. Students signal their appreciation through attendance, which both Sara and Lisa interpret as positive reinforcement. Joyce, for example, talks about customizing classes to help secure commitment:

Oh, yeah, when I teach I feel so happy because I am able to guide others you know. And that's it, I feel so happy to share with them what I know as a teacher. That's it and I am happy to teach them safe classes and safe poses and happy I do not harm them. Oh my God they love my class. Most of them, like those five I students I taught last Tuesday, all of them, after teaching them, I asked them "Is it too hard or is it too fast?" and all of them said "No it's just enough." I don't know, that's what they told me, they will be coming back again next week.

Nick also talked about repeat custom from his students:

So it's a good compliment that I get from them that they are getting sore and it's the good sore it's not the "Owww my back is sore from hyperextending or my shoulders are sore from over rotating." It's the muscle soreness that they have and they can't walk for a couple [of] days because of it and it's someone who has been doing yoga for a long time and they say it [is] the exact same result. They have never experienced anything like that and it's totally amazing that, it, what they say. That they are like they can't wait to come back!

Interestingly, many teachers discussed their students commending their class for solving complex and challenging medical conditions or illnesses. Teachers are seen to be providing superior interventions and treatments to doctors. It is therefore not surprising that, at times, helping students is also met with some trepidation, anxiety and insecurity. Teachers, especially early-career yoga teachers, question whether they know enough to be teaching classes and aiding students. For example:

I was a little bit nervous so that maybe I say the wrong words or wrong instructions and it might hurt people. So I was thinking "I have to [take] more time to learn and to read. To listen to other people give the instructions. I have to listen to the teachers. I have to do more yoga myself so I have experience with lots of different teachers and their styles and their techniques and how they give instructions and that's it." And I was really nervous at the time. And I was excited at the same time. It was something new to me, something challenging, very challenging. *Joyce.*

Many teachers also talked about other things that they did or wanted to do as a way to help to serve others outside of yoga or fitness. This was of note as much of the existing literature on paid care speaks about singular helping roles or occupations. Instead, these findings suggest there may be a constellation of care roles that yoga teachers take on. Elin, a third year university student studying gerontology talks about her current focus being yoga but her future endeavours

include working in gerontology. In addition, Louisa dreams of moving to South America to run an NGO retreat with her boyfriend and Christina talks about yoga as a treatment modality within her approach to naturopathic medicine. Many of these care roles and care plans extend to the broader, macro community largely through aspirations to do healthcare and to offer alternative forms of healthcare and social support.

In addition to paid care roles, many teachers also spoke about their non-paid care work as siblings, mothers and wives as part of this constellation of care. Within my TA, caring for others, and more specifically, one's family was a prominent and important finding. This finding of having multiple care roles, specifically caring for one's family, their own bodies, and their students' bodies, had not been explored in the extant body work literature. As this finding emerged, I returned to the literature to bolster my understanding of how women were adjusting their work schedules to motherhood. This seemed particularly relevant for my sample of yoga teachers who were trying to make sense and reflect on their own career and family struggles:

Yeah for me I think, the thing that really stick[s] to me the most and calls to me is helping in some way. Nurturing - a lot of that comes from being the oldest child. So you know there was a lot of situations that I had a lot of responsibility placed on me. And so you know when you are looking after four children or minding, or looking out for them, those things are kind of innate in you as you grow. And so sharing my love of good health and good food and that kind of thing, living a healthy lifestyle and helping people find that path, I think that's, that's probably my calling. *Teresa*

My son was sick for a while so I was taking care of him and then he became healthy and he was able to get on with his life. And then my daughter, she was born, she was not quite in preschool yet and I have an elderly mother that I was taking care of, too, so yeah. I just, I was taking care of so many things that my own health I wasn't taking care of. *Shannon*

Here, both Teresa and Shannon, among others, naturalize care. Teresa discusses the responsibility of care in a positive manner – as though she has trained for it, developed, practiced and is meant to do it. Shannon speaks about her care roles in a sacrificial way. She admits to putting others’ needs ahead of her own. She naturalizes placing her family first. This resembles the account of another participant, Noori, who speaks about a sacrifice she has made. Noori recently had quit her job to care for her five-year-old autistic son when their nanny left them to return to school. Her husband encouraged her to stay home, “Listen, I never ask you for anything but I think now might be a good time for you to time stop working. Why don’t you just do it for a few years until he settles into himself?”

Noori’s account reflects her husband did not think that she could ‘balance’ work and home and should instead stay home to take on the role and responsibility as primary caregiver. Here, Noori’s account reflects Vair’s (2013) idea that the management of work and motherhood is seen as an individual responsibility, rather than a social issue. It was at this time that she started to teach yoga part-time as a way to find harmony between these competing demands. The ideology of balance is problematic; working mothers are not able to question their responsibility of care (Vair, 2013, p. 170). In Noori’s case, this is evident: how could she say no to her husband’s request?

Tory also shines light on her ‘choice’ to be a mother. She does not sugar coat or present her experiences as a mother optimistically.

What am I? I’m just a manager of projects if you give it to me. I got a degree in political science - I don’t know what that means, you know? I got a diploma in social work but the social work doesn’t respect it anyway so I don’t tell anyone about it. So I don’t know, I feel like I do what I have to do to pay the bills [as a social worker] and my kids have stunted me from any type of progression I would like to have in my life. I mean I can’t

even finish a thought if it's near 4 o'clock because I got to shut down and rush out to facilitate all of that and I can't take a course and I can't do really anything so I just don't feel like I have a career. I have a job. I don't feel pride in what I do [pause] because I think I should have done more. I think that when I was younger, I had more potential than where I am now. Yeah it kind of sucks because it's like, I would never in the world give up my kids, you know? They're the best things that ever happened to me but as a woman, you can pretty much kiss anything goodbye unless you have someone that's going to look after, you know, give you a nanny and pay all your bills and everything and let you go do what you need to do for you. You're not going to fly. You have a ball and chain and then you're going to live with frustration. Just this morning, I was talking to Luke's dad, and I was saying, "I wish I could get to the point of enjoying his company," I said "but maybe it is the fact that he just prevents me from doing anything... even to go pee. I can't do that without being harassed." You know but, and I have so many things I want to do. So many things. And I can't. Like I, I want to teach myself how to play the guitar and I have reached a certain point and I would love to put some time into practice... I can't pick it up. As soon as I pick it up, it's taken away from me. People are grabbing it, people ask me questions - I can't do anything. So I feel like I come home from work and I sit here trapped with all these things I would love to do and I can't. I'm trapped. But then if I feel like that then I'm a bad mother.

Here Tory speaks about her multiple roles as a mother. In a previous excerpt, she spoke about bringing fun and enjoyment to the students in the yoga classes she teaches. Here, we see her struggling with her responsibilities as a single mother. This excerpt does not have the same optimistic polish that Noori's account had, or those given by the women in Vair's (2013) study of the ideology of trying to balance motherhood and career seamlessly. Instead, Tory disrupts the notion that motherhood is somehow a natural way of being, comprised of sacred relationships and intense love for one's children (Nelson & England, 2002; Thurer, 1994). While she has multiple helping roles (social worker, yoga teacher, and mother) we see tensions mounting within and between these roles. Tory appears deeply resentful of these competing roles. In her

discounting of motherhood, Vair (2013) would see a reaffirmation of the undervaluing of women's care work, which is a key to women's subordination (p. 169).

The notion of putting others ahead of oneself is further articulated by Mischa, who accepts this arrangement:

I thought [teaching yoga] was something I could do. I stay at home with the kids and then when my son went back to school full time and then it was the decision of what I am going to do now. I knew I wasn't ready to finish my degree and yeah I have been practicing [yoga] for a while. Trying to figure out how to fit a teacher training in and most of them are intensives¹¹ and a lot of them are in different countries and the opportunity came up and I just yeah, thought I would try it and see if I could make it work.

Here, we see Mischa decide to take on yoga teacher training as a way to complement being a stay-at-home mother. She had begun a degree in neuroscience, which she suspended to start a family. Now her schedule is organized to support her family's needs. She adds:

Usually I spend an hour and a half in the morning getting ready, getting the kids ready for school. I try to teach more yoga classes in the night so I usually send them out the door and I leave a few minutes later because their school is a bit down the road and I head straight to the studio and I get the studio set up and I either have one or two classes. On the days that I don't teach in the morning then I will take a class then. I usually get home around 3:30 for when the kids get home from school. I try to keep things open so I try to get things a little bit busier and I have someone to watch the kids a few nights a week. If [the studio] doesn't fill the classes I will usually do a class after my husband gets home. And then we're here [for] dinner and bedtime routines and, well starting next week, I will be starting, we are adding another two or three night-time classes. So as it's getting

¹¹ Yoga teacher training programs are organized most frequently in two formats: gradual, where students attend over the weekends and weeknights to accommodate other work and family commitments and intensives, where students attend daily for a full month.

darker earlier at night I will do some more at night because my husband is home earlier.

As illustrated, the structure of Mischa's working day centers on her family's schedule and needs. Unlike Tory, a single mother, Mischa has the support of her husband to help with the children and provide additional financial support for the household. Many other participants also spoke about the multiplicity and complexity of their home and work schedules, often resulting in work intensification and increased hours. Ironically, for Francesca, who works multiple jobs like other participants, an effect is that her own yoga practice has been placed on hold:

Like life, you know, like you know, in the morning you got to get your kids ready then put them to bed and then you're exhausted and you're at work all day so it's harder to carve out that time, you know, with small children, and it's interesting because, you know, there's a lot of pressure, right? There's this like "Well if you're not practicing then how can you teach it?" and it's like, I did. And I do practice sometimes. I was being judged. But I mean I, my response is I'm completely devoted to my infant child and to me, that's my yoga practice. Like as cheesy as that sounds like I don't have time or energy to like do a physical practice right now.

Francesca's excerpt illustrates her interpretation of the criticisms that she feels are directed at her within her yoga community for choosing to focus on her family rather than her own practice or her yoga business. She uses words such as 'exhausted' and 'devoted' to describe her home life. Here, we see a juggling act that many of the participants experience between their health and well-being, family responsibilities and work identities. Respondents take an individualistic orientation to the myriad of tensions within this constellation of care work. That is, outside of Tory, few respondents questioned wider social structures, but instead focus on themselves and their own abilities to circumnavigate the challenges that the unforgiving and contradictory structures of home and work generate (Vair, 2013). Noori and Francesca see themselves as free

agents, able to shift and re-prioritize their care roles – from themselves and their paid work to their families. However, their stories suggest that they experience this transition and prioritization as emotional and challenging.

Many participants spoke about these competing demands in caring for others and themselves. The multiplicity of their roles requires flexibility in their schedules. The notion of the flexibility associated with teaching yoga will be further explored in the following section, which concerns working conditions. To summarize this section, participants revealed that teaching yoga might in part be connected to helping others. On one hand, helping others refers to sharing one's own personal fitness practice and personal ideology on health and emotional well-being. It may also mean helping students to look good and have fun. Many participants spoke about working in or aspiring to work in other occupations that involved paid care work such as medicine, alternative medicine or social work, and many others stayed at home as primary caregivers to their children. This finding speaks to the often part-time nature of teaching yoga, a theme which is also discussed in the following section, and highlights that care work may consist of a constellation of care roles, with competing priorities and tensions. Here, yoga as a form of care work is complex and the identities of yoga teachers are multiple. Teaching yoga is often connected to the notion of the necessity to care for others, which therefore has women placing their own ambitions and pursuits on hold. Put another way, because participants have had to 'back burner' their pursuits, we can perhaps suggest they have instead focused on trying to do something for themselves by teaching yoga.

5.4 Working Conditions

The third and final theme to be discussed in this chapter is participants' experiences of teaching yoga as a site of work. In this theme I address the working conditions, how the work is organized and how participants' experiences and interpretations vary based on these conditions. Specifically, I will highlight participants' sentiments towards the working hours and pay associated with teaching yoga. To begin, and building on the previous section, many participants spoke about teaching yoga as one of multiple jobs:

So I have a couple of jobs, so right now I live and work in a group home in Calgary so I am here five days a week, 40 hours a week with 6 kids and so it's usually what I'm doing. But I also work for a not-for-profit [organization] on the [group home] site, providing music lessons for kids with financial difficulties. And then on top of that, I have been teaching yoga very part-time.... I work 70 hours a week and I have little time.

Louisa

Ok, it's kind of a very crazy day I have all the time but I have a full-time job so I wake up around five or six in the morning. If I wake up at five, I go to yoga class at six to practice and I finish probably like ten minutes before the class because I have to leave a little bit early to get ready and go to my office. I start at eight but it's flexible... so that gives me time to drive and not be stressed. So I come to work... I leave the office at like 3:30, 3:45 and then I go and I teach a 4:30 class and I teach a 6:30 class sometimes, like twice a week... And I go home. I live in San Francisco so I have to drive like 30-40 minutes from the studio and I come home by nine pm. *Zoey*

Louisa and Zoey both speak about different jobs and the hours that they have to work in order to balance competing responsibilities. Neither is attempting to work as a full-time yoga teacher. They highlight the volume of their work, their days stretched by long commutes and hectic schedules. These excerpts reveal that participants are straddling multiple roles simultaneously

and, in these cases, enjoying the multiplicity. They do not appear to be moonlighting as yoga teachers while awaiting ‘their big break.’ Instead, teaching yoga is part of a broader series of professional and leisure activities. As articulated by Nick, “It’s a full dance card... when I have stuff to do, yah.”

Within this theme, there was a recurrent oscillation between people not having enough work or people having too much work. This may in part be due to the contractual nature of teaching yoga. All participants are employed as independent contractors, a studio and gym-based model where teachers invoice for the hours that they teach. Harvey et al.’s (2016) study on fitness instructors corroborates this flexible employment arrangement: they highlight how fitness instructors have zero hours contracts where the employee is not guaranteed work or pay and the employer has full control over scheduling. As such, when yoga teachers are scheduled to teach, they may endure long hours. For example, in the interview Shannon noted a crunch period of intensive teaching, “It was for 16 days straight so yeah it was, it started at 7 in the morning and the end time was anywhere from about 7 pm to 9:30 so... yeah it was pretty intense.” In the following example, Julie talks about her workday. She does not talk about a sustained crunch as Shannon does, but does indicate her current workload:

I teach about, anywhere from zero to two or three classes a day. I recently made the switch to try and teach full time so I have anywhere from six to nine classes a week depending if I’m subbing or picking up classes. I also network with other teachers to try to pick up more classes wherever I can.

When asked how they feel about their employment status as an independent contractor, participants like Joyce revealed, “I prefer to be a contractor. I think it gives me a little more leeway in things. Like my teaching style and my responsibilities.” However, because of this

working arrangement, many participants also spoke about the consequences of their long working hours:

I don't eat dinner usually if I'm teaching. So when my kids on Monday and Wednesday have soccer, we usually eat together when we are home together, otherwise everybody eats on their own and I just pick up dinner for them and will leave it for them to heat it up when I'm not around. *Pamela*

Pamela's excerpt is ironic given her comments as discussed under the previous two themes. First, she is caring for herself; second, she is helping to care for others. Her role as a yoga teacher helps to restore health, yet in this excerpt, her own health is arguably affected by skipping dinner on nights where she is teaching. Further, there is concern for sustaining an injury connected to long hours teaching yoga. Ella shares:

Risk of injury, I think more and more teachers have had their fair share of work injuries. Repetitive stress injuries - you're using your body a lot. Not quick [or] as remarkable as an athlete or dancer, but when you use your body so frequently you really have to be careful and if you get into a bike accident, you get doored [by a passenger getting out of a car], your knee is out of commission, you're out of commission. I think that physical aspect of it is difficult.

In spite of these risks and consequences, many of my participants remain motivated to straddle multiple roles and intensify their workload because of the personal satisfaction and fulfilment that they seem to take from these roles. For example,

It gets tiring for sure. I don't really feel it until Friday night, Saturday and Sunday morning; during the week, I don't mind the long nights. It's what I was meant to do so when I come to the studio every evening I can just kind of exhale and relax and

everything feels right. So, in that sense, I don't really mind and it's also a catalyst for change for me. When I look at the difference between what I do during the day [administration] and what I do in the evening [teaching yoga] and how both of those things make me feel, it just reinforces the fact that [teaching yoga is] what I was meant to do. And it encourages me to continue to push to grow the [yoga] business so I can do that all the time. *Sara*

Umm, I would say not 100%, I do enjoy my job but if I could only do my job and that was it, I would not be a happy person. But I think so. I'm more fulfilled with what I do outside of my job and my job allows me to do those things. *Francesca*.

Others like Zooley work multiple jobs and sustain long working hours as a way to combat job insecurity and ensure that they have a steady stream of income. From one perspective, having multiple jobs while teaching yoga may be part of the 'gig economy', a metaphor used to describe the flexible yet inconsistent work of musicians (Harvey et al., 2016). Some musicians have to work multiple jobs in between paid performances. Other workers within the 'gig economy' may not consider the 'gig' or performance to be their work. Instead, they may position it as a hobby or leisure activity. Zooley uses the notion of a hobby to describe why she started to teach yoga:

Actually, I have my education but yoga is my hobby and I started in 2009. I thought I'd start teaching because I was worried I'd lose [my] job or something unexpected [would] happen so at least I had some income coming in and I love teaching.

Zooley's aspirations were not to 'make it' as a full-time yoga teacher; instead it is a hobby with the potential to help her support herself. Many respondents shared this view that teaching yoga was not 'real work' but rather, a hobby. For example, Pamela, a biomedical engineer states, "I'm a scientist, so I'm not a yoga instructor. Yoga is a hobby for me." Here, we see a clear distinction between what she interprets as work and what leisure is. In addition, we also see

Pamela emphasize that as a scientist, she could not also be a yoga instructor; this runs counter to previous accounts of multiple roles and identities. Similarly, Louisa suggests, “I like to have a little bit of some hobby stuff. Like the yoga is, I just enjoy it; it’s not really a job for me” and Ida reiterates these claims, adding, “It’s just a hobby or something I like to do, right now. I am talking about the present. You never know, maybe later.” Here, Ida keeps the door open to consider yoga being framed as a job. These respondents do not deny the economic component to teaching yoga but also do not depict it as their main driver or motivation. This leisure framing of work highlights that hobbies can be productive and that they can become associated with a work ethic and skills in periods of economic risk (Gebler, 1991). Real jobs might disappear, as respondents indicated. Hobbies, on the other hand, are jobs that cannot be lost: one is able to quit a hobby but will never be made redundant from one. Further, people who do not have paid employment may take on hobbies to give structure to their lives, while those in paid employment may use hobbies to balance their competing demands and priorities and help them to recharge (Gelber, 1991). Hobbies reflect and perpetuate socially sanctioned values. In the case of this study, the blurring of work and play affirms the centrality of work and perhaps denotes a shift from previous discussions about balance: the myth that women can have it all has dissipated and teaching yoga as a hobby may be an indication that women realize the ‘magic trick’ (Vair, 2013) of keeping work and family in the air has collapsed.

Through their hobby framing of work, respondents spoke about teaching yoga as an escape from work, rather than as being more work. They spoke about teaching yoga in an optimistic way with few complaints about their job security or pay coming to the fore. As a hobby, respondents have different expectations of what their extrinsic benefits and conditions should be. While no participants shared concerns about the cost of training and certification,

some did indicate that their families were concerned and questioned their decisions, as illustrated with Joyce:

I wasn't that concerned because I'm pretty good with money and I do make a good salary. So I wasn't concerned about it. But I think especially my parents were. They were like "Oh it costs \$5,000 and you are only going to make \$40 a class, that's not worth it". So they were worried about it being a money scam, but that really is not why I'm teaching.

Others discussed threats of burnout and financial insecurity. For example, Pamela shares:

So they have this thing they call yoga teacher burnout because it is a lot of physical activity, like a gym teacher, right. So I think I'll be able to teach six classes a day and I think it's also in the pay, right. Different studios pay you differently so it ranges from \$25 to \$50 or \$60 max per class and so regardless of if the class is 105 degrees or it's not, it's a power class, you still have to put a lot into it, you have to show people what to do, it's hard work. So I don't think at my age now, I would be doing only that.

Others, like Ella are less concerned about the financial aspect of teaching yoga because they have different financial expectations and experience of earning less than they do currently:

No, my parents were always very thrifty growing up. We didn't have a lot of money and I've learned how to budget according to the lessons I've grown up with. I have been surviving on less than \$30,000 a year now.

Taken together, the theme of working conditions has covered a wide variety of subthemes. First, all participants worked multiple jobs, some within fitness at different gyms and studios under the contractor model, but also many others in jobs outside of the fitness industry. The work intensification associated with working multiple jobs and an increase of hours did not

lead any participants to display outward resentment. Many had different expectations, suggesting that teaching yoga is more of a hobby than a job and they do it for their own personal satisfaction. Interestingly, it did appear paradoxical that, while yoga teachers focus on restoring their own health and the health of burnt out, stressed students, they themselves had similar overwork afflictions. Furthermore, as illustrated, teaching yoga was met with generous support from friends and family, with some participants' families concerned about the return on investment for the certification. Here, happiness, or doing something that one is passionate about, is justified as being worth the tangible costs of training and less tangible costs of work intensification.

5.5 Chapter Summary

This chapter has explored how yoga teachers construct meaning about their work and home lives, answering the question: **How do people assign meaning to their experiences teaching yoga?** Thematic analysis is a way to unpack participants' experiences, descriptions, thoughts, feelings and behaviours. This analytical approach provided me with a way to examine and understand themes within the data. Further, this approach provided a way to understand the linkages between themes using first order and second ordering codes. As discussed throughout the chapter, three main themes were presented. First, I explored yoga teachers' primary concern with caring for themselves, their bodies, and well-being. With this theme I explored and illustrated how teaching yoga acts as a physical and emotional outlet for teachers, often where the lines between their own physical practice of yoga and their work as a yoga teacher are blurred. Here, yoga teachers are focused on themselves, their own personal development, health,

and well-being. Interestingly, yoga teachers discussed a hierarchy of health and fitness practices in which yoga was touted as being superior. Within this theme I also explored how yoga teachers were first introduced to yoga, based on turning point encounters (Denzin, 1989), where they were ‘awakened’ (DeGloma, 2010) and learnt about a better way of being and living. These epiphanies were influenced by their own and others’ aging or ill or injured bodies, often through their social networks at times of stress, grief, or illness.

The second theme that emerged in the material was care for others, a central topic within the existing body work literature. Within this theme, this group of yoga teachers felt a strong connection to serving others in paid and non-paid domains such as the home. This theme touches on salient gender issues. Given that almost the entire sample was female, we saw tensions within the dynamic and overlapping domains of care. Many yoga teachers expressed wanting to care for themselves, their clients, and their families, often placing their own ambitions and pursuits on hold so that they could focus on other care roles, namely in the family. In this section, yoga acted as a form of paid care work, often to relieve the stress and burden of the non-paid care work of family.

Finally, within the last theme of the chapter I discussed how yoga teachers interpreted their working conditions including the benefits and challenges associated with the work. Notably participants tended not to identify teaching yoga as their job, though it contributed to long working hours and provided an income. Instead, most participants interpreted it as a hobby, something that they enjoyed doing and felt a sense of satisfaction and fulfillment from. As noted by Gelber (1991), the hobby framing of work provided a way for some yoga teachers, sometimes unemployed or underemployed, to understand how they were filling the hours that they once devoted to paid work. Furthermore, by framing teaching yoga as a hobby, my respondents held

their work experiences to different standards and many overlooked challenges such as either under or over-employment, poor pay and few organizational benefits.

In the following chapter, I shift my analytical focus and present findings from my re-analysis of the material by answering the question: **What discourses shape and are shaped by yoga?** I present findings from my discourse analysis of the interview material, using Foucault's (1979, 1989) work as a foundation for how meaning is made by power/knowledge and the positions that a subject takes within discourses.

Chapter 6 The Self as a Product of Discourses

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I employ Foucault's (1977, 1984) ideas about power/ knowledge and discourse as a way to specify the discursive practices that make subjectivity possible. This chapter answers the research question: **What discourses surround teaching yoga in North America?** I explore how my participants construct a social identity in relation to discourses that shape yoga in North America. Foucault (1977) explains that the subject is constituted through discourse, yet the individual is not repressed into implicit expectations of a discourse. Rather, as Allen (2000) denotes in her reading of Foucault, power "does not function by repressing, prohibiting, censoring, and restricting; it incites, produces, provokes, and induces; and it prohibits by producing just as it produces by prohibiting" (p. 123). Power, then, produces the subject. In this chapter, I explore how subjects are progressively and materially constituted through discursive practices. I focus on how individuals become particular kinds of subject by way of normalizing disciplinary practices. Disciplinary power constrains a subject's choices, desires, and actions. It also enables the constitution of the subject; individuals are able to locate themselves in various subject positions within a discourse. I look for examples of this disciplinary power within the interviews and analyze how my respondents locate themselves, that is, the subject positions that they take within these various discourses.

To briefly reiterate my methodology, the findings presented in this chapter come from having conducted a discourse analysis (DA) on the interview material. DA focuses on the ways that discourses "enact, confirm, legitimate, reproduce, or challenge relations of power and dominance in society" (Van Dijk, 2001, p. 353). DA attempts to theoretically bridge the gap

between micro experiences and macro structures. In this chapter, I illustrate how participants' everyday, mundane experiences and interactions reflect their subject positions and discursive practices. The objective of this chapter is to analyze additional segments of the same interview material discussed in Chapter 5 to glean additional insights and perspectives about what it means to teach yoga. In Chapter 5, I examined themes prevalent within yoga teachers' experiences using TA. In this chapter, I explore different forms of power, subject positions, and subjectivities that emerge in these discussions about teaching yoga.

To conduct this analysis, I returned to the transcripts, which I had abductively coded for Chapter 5's analysis by using *a priori* codes informed by literature on body work, fitness, yoga, career, spirituality, and family. Although all of the material was coded thematically, I did not use all of the excerpts in Chapter 5. Instead, for this chapter and the DA, I re-coded the interview material for signs of power, agency and resistance. Again, not all of the re-analyzed material will appear in this chapter. I recognized that participants were discussing their experiences in a systematic way, which could be grouped into three main discourses that I identify in this chapter as: The Good Wife, The Good Body, and The Good Yogi. Within each section of this chapter, I try to identify which discourses are being presented and how power flows. Having established that these three discourses shape how my respondents construct their subjectivity, I also looked for signs in the data about how participants situated themselves within these prevailing discourses. To do so, I focused in on their personal memories, knowledge, and opinions as a way into what they may consider socially acceptable or required of them. I also looked for signs of where they strayed from or resisted these expectations, and how they understand having done so.

This chapter is structured similarly to Chapter 5: First, I begin by discussing each discourse. I locate how participants position themselves and the subject positions that they take

within these discourses. I try to unravel and expose what seems to have been normalized and reified within teaching yoga. Beyond that, I consider how participants accept and reject these expectations, how their subjectivity is constituted by these discourses. Throughout the chapter, I draw connections back to the existing literature on body work and highlight ways in which the current study adds to the literature.

6.2 The Good Wife

This section, on the discourse of The Good Wife, looks primarily at the idealized notions of being *a good wife, a good mother and a good woman* according to gendered norms and cultural assumptions in both paid and non-paid domains. For example, there was evidence that some women thought they could have it all – strong professional lives and marriage and children. Many, however, realized that this idea was unrealistic for them and they needed to pick either a career or their family. Some made the decision to focus on their family, which enabled their spouses to continue working. For example, when I asked Noori if she had ever thought about quitting her job to stay home, she responded with:

I was always like “I am going to work forever”. I wanted to do it all. But you know, even with all the help that I had, working and having a nanny and everything, it was kind of really freaking hard. Because I think that if I had a normal kid it would have been ok but because my son has so many needs, like having an autistic kid, I don’t know if you know any[one] with an autistic child. We work with specialists with him four days a week in our home. Remember, as a mom and dad we have to stay on top of this stuff. I feel like I’m always waiting there for and educating myself on half of this stuff. I am freaking exhausted and it was just a lot. It’s probably just right because I’m having a really hard time doing it all and doing all of it and that.

Here, Noori's account depicts her as a good wife and mother, accommodating the needs and priorities of her family. She shares this story as a way to signal what she has given up, what she has sacrificed to care for her autistic son: her professional identity. Within this excerpt, she positions her son as abnormal because he is sick - a theme I will pick up in the next section about *The Good Body*, touching on notions of illness, disease, and mental illness. Noori talks about the care work and responsibility that her and her husband share, speaking as 'a mom and dad' team, both responsible for staying 'on top' of being educated about their son's condition. However, her husband is largely absent from the excerpt, from her coping. This excerpt reads as though Noori is going it alone. She considers how 'freaking' hard it is for her to stay abreast of everything. She uses the word 'freaking' twice, the repetition underscoring the challenges she is facing in trying to balance everything. She further explains,

So I was like, you know, "[staying home is] fine". It was the right thing for my son; I had only been working in the new role for about five months and all that kind of stuff and you know what I'm not that deep into [it] and "it will be fine and it is the right thing to do" and I decided that I would put my son and kind of the whole family first.

Although Noori claims that it is fine that she is staying at home, she quickly reminds herself and me that it is the 'right' thing to do. This gives the impression that it is fine because it has to be fine. She has had to put her family first, leaving a new role in a company she had been with for many years. Noori had already completed yoga teacher training. Now faced with staying home with her son, she is more closely identifying with being a yoga teacher. From this perspective, teaching yoga remains something that she is doing for herself. Her account also feels emotionally

loaded and lacks closure, although she has tried to reassure me that it is fine. Although Noori uses words and phrases that emphasize how hard and exhausting being at home is, she does not question why she had to quit her job. She does not elaborate on missing the work or the professional challenges. She naturalizes the decision to stay home with her son. This decision was not made because she loved the idea of teaching yoga, forfeiting a corporate rat race to live a simpler life. Instead, Noori reminds herself that it is right to put her son first, to put the family first. Here, the message seems to be that good wives take care of their sick children. Good wives stay at home so that their husbands can continue to work. However, what isn't talked about in this excerpt is what Noori's husband has compromised on. It is left unsaid whether he has made any career accommodations. It appears that her husband has more control, a bigger say in how the household operates. He asked her to quit her job, as suggested in Chapter 5, presumably acting as the primary breadwinner and financially supporting the family. Noori here is positioned as a good wife (listening to her husband's wishes) and a good mother (nurturing her sick child). However, within these ideals and expectations that reify gender roles and inequality, she is not completely passive. She has opted to focus instead on teaching yoga. It is a way to do something in the light of her current circumstances

Marriage was a prominent theme in the accounts of many of the participants, including women who are married, considering marriage, and coping with divorce or separation. Rayna claims:

So ultimately like, you're the only person that's going to be with you for the rest of your life, as much as you're going to get married and have friends and family, like people come and go, people move, people die like you're going to be the only one with you at all times. So, you have to know that you are living for yourself because if you're not fulfilled with that, then you have nothing to offer.

Here, Rayna uses second-person narration to describe trying to develop healthy habits such as yoga and other alternative health practices. This illustrates what she thinks a reasonable person would do and she tries to find consensus with me, the interviewer, as though this is a shared sentiment between us. Rayna talks about marriage as though it were inevitable. She admits that her last relationship suffered from the amount of time that she was putting into her yoga practice as discussed in Chapter 5. Here, the norm, the center, is being there for one's partner, which we see as Rayna discusses her own self-development. From this perspective, Rayna's story in part resembles Noori's: both see a critical aspect of their existence as accommodating and giving to others.

Although the institution of marriage was discussed in nearly every interview, only ten out of the twenty-seven participants were actually married. Eight participants were divorced and the remaining ten were single. Stories that had the strongest sense of agency and resistance came from respondents who were divorced. Their stories depict illustrations of breaking away from these gendered assumptions. For example, although many married women had turned to teaching yoga as a way to accommodate their family's needs, respondents who were divorced spoke about turning to yoga as a way to break free of the gendered ideals of being patient, submissive, selfless, and family-focused. For example, Vivianne described her divorce as emotionally draining and traumatic. Her life had centered on her husband and their marriage, and when she ended it, she was deeply affected:

There were some many things going on [when I decided to become a yoga teacher] but the main thing I guess is about four years ago and I guess when I say trauma, this can be awful, I got divorced, I split up with my husband, we had been together for twenty one years and so I just sort of fell apart for a few years. I was unable to maintain any level of higher education or anything like that so it probably set me back. But I set out and I knew

I wanted to do yoga teacher training but I know I just couldn't do it then because it, it was intense and I know how I am. I was just doing other stuff to avoid it.

In this excerpt, Vivianne describes her divorce as a 'trauma', invoking images of an accident, though it was twenty-one years in the making. The emotional turmoil that she encountered distracted her from pursuing her education and skills training. We see her struggling to be single, struggling to care for herself and be on her own. Her struggle reifies marriage, highlighting that to be married is 'normal'; to be alone suddenly is traumatic, highlighting feminine norms of weakness, emotionality, and neediness. Susanne's story about divorce is quite the converse. It builds on Vivianne's notion of trauma; Susanne positions herself as a strong survivor, handling not only a divorce but also breast cancer in the same year.

I hadn't been seriously thinking about [divorce]. I mean, it had been crossing my mind. I had been considering how unhappy I was but I did not have the courage to do something about it until one day I literally lost my temper and asked him to pack up. I was going to go for a walk and didn't want him to be there until I got home, or after I got home. I told him "you have an hour, go." So I mean he was shocked but it was his kick in the pants of reality. And then afterwards, I thought that maybe I shocked him enough that maybe he is going to start working on himself and working on our relationship and the referral that I had [from the hospital] was specifically for couples' counselling. So that was a breast cancer for young women program and they mentioned that they had the counsellors and they mentioned that they had this one particular one who specialized in couples. I was still hopeful at that point that we would work through things but as I had to wait for probably two or three months for my referral to her I made the decision that I was done with him. I found another [lover], well I guess that you would call him my rebound guy and I realized that "oh my God, there are so many better people out there for me!" If there is this [guy] that was so easy to find he may not be 'the one' but the one that I needed at that time.

Susanne breaks away from the representation of The Good Wife with this illustration: with haste and certainty, she kicks her husband out. She finds the courage, she loses her temper, and she makes the decision for him to leave. She subverts the dominant discourse, which might be to stay and be the Good Wife. Yet following on from her initial certainty, she talks about considering couples' counselling as a way to remedy the marriage. When that does not come through quickly, she talks about taking on a lover whom she suggests may not be marriage material so much as what she needs at the time. Still, marriage remains an anchor in Susanne's story. Although her first marriage did not work, she does not abandon it as an institution. Rather, she abandons her husband and instead considers that she might be happier with someone else. What is left unsaid here is that women need to be married to be happy. The ideal subject, then, is someone who is compliant with this discourse or, someone who leaves one marriage but, like Susanne, tries to find a better one. In the interview, she also revealed that she wanted children but did not want to have them with her current partner.

Another salient theme in The Good Wife discourse was that women who had opted to get divorced then adjusted to their lives as single women through focusing on themselves. There is the notion that divorce created a space for more self-development and self-love, that somehow the short-term sacrifice of their marriage in order to set themselves up professionally was worth it. Pamela discusses focusing on establishing her business as a yoga teacher after her divorce:

You know, I'm by myself. I guess I'm divorced so it was solely my decision to do it, I love to do it. I didn't consult with anyone. In the beginning, you know, I was teaching at a, sometimes I was teaching like almost every day after work and my kids were like "mommy, so much yoga, so much yoga" and, but they just, they were missing me basically so everything like fell into place and you know, it worked out fine. In the

beginning I was taking all of the classes that I was able to take or able basically. At the beginning you really want to establish yourself.

Here, Pamela mixes first-person narration with second-person narration, pulling the reader into her everyday, her choices and simultaneously positioning what she is doing against what appears to be an objective stance of establishing oneself professionally. We see her children questioning her commitment to yoga and the amount of time that they were away from her. My reading of Pamela's interview passage is that she is coming to terms with the idea that, at that time in her life, she was focused on herself. It appears that she is justifying her focus on her work, which is taking time away from being with her children. This illustrates the tensions and complications in straying from gendered ideals yet being swept up in defending your position.

As these interview excerpts have aptly captured, many participants used yoga as a way to start over – either embracing a new life as a single woman or single parent or embracing a career change sparked by necessity and the demands of family. Along similar lines, Francesca expresses why she is starting at ground zero, building a new yoga practice in another city:

[We moved to Hamilton] to buy a house. Basically, we were renting a house in Toronto for eight years. We started renting it when we first starting dating. It was a great neighbourhood and then we had our daughter and then we realized that if we wanted to have any more kids, we couldn't really do that in our apartment that we were in. And then we started to look at rental prices in Toronto and then realized that we might as well just have a mortgage and not in Toronto so we found a nice house in Hamilton. My husband is commuting to Toronto on the go train and I'm, and then I just kind of started over here.

It is unclear why Francesca would not have been able to have more children if she and her husband had stayed in their apartment, whether the space was too small to accommodate their

growing family or if their own ideals about where and how to raise children prompted the move to the suburbs. However, with this excerpt we learn that Francesca's husband is able to commute to his job. Francesca, on the other hand, has to start over, build a new practice and find new students to teach. What is the cost of compromising within a marriage? Who is expected to bear this cost? Francesca's account demonstrates how she puts her marriage and motherhood first, above all other priorities. It is unclear why she positions her husband and his work above hers. In doing so, it does not appear that Francesca is taking her own work as a yoga teacher as seriously as being a wife and mother. Yet teaching yoga is a way for her to have it all: the husband, the children, and the home and also work.

Mischa describes putting her degree in neuroscience on hold once she got pregnant. Instead, she stayed home with the children until they went to school and then made the decision to pursue teaching yoga:

[Teaching yoga] was just something that I thought would actually work. I thought it was something I could make with the kids and stay at home with them and then when my son went back to school full time and then it was the decision of what I am going to do now. I knew I wasn't ready to finish my degree and yeah I have been practicing for a while. Trying to figure out how to fit a teacher training in and most of them are intensives and a lot of them are in different countries and the opportunity came up and I just yeah, thought I would try it and see if I could make it work.

Mischa's experience reveals the hardships of trying to balance it all – being pregnant, trying to get a degree, and come up with an alternative means of employment. Mischa's excerpt highlights the structural challenges that some women with families encounter. Mischa, like others, made the decision to focus on her family instead of her career, unable to continue the 'magic act' (Vair, 2013) of juggling full participation in a career and motherhood. Yet, as some of their children got

to be of school age, these women then had to try to find work that accommodated their lack of education, work experience and a work schedule dictated by school schedules. Mischa's decision to teach yoga appears to be born out of lack of alternatives or options. Here, yoga teaching is positioned as a form of hyper-flexible service work (Harvey et al., 2016). It does not require specialized skills, appears easy to learn, and can accommodate her schedule. Mischa's interview does not invoke a sense of love or passion for yoga. Rather, it is work that fits into other, competing demands in her life. Put another way, teaching yoga complements her other care role as a mother. As Mischa depicts it, nobody had asked her to forfeit a career in neuroscience. It appears that she has done it on her own, or at least is taking responsibility for her choices in this excerpt. She has found a viable solution to balance these competing demands.

Tory is a single mother who believes that she has also had to side step her own career endeavours because of her children. Unlike Mischa, Tory represents herself as having diminished agency in this decision. The following excerpt is the only one that I use as an exemplar across both Chapter 5 and 6 because it highlights the dependency that her children have on her and how she is not able to achieve her own ambitions (including leisure or relaxation) but not place the blame squarely on herself and her choices, but instead hints at the failings of the system. Her story is one of regret and frustration. She is tangled and trapped by having children:

Yeah it kind of sucks because it's like, I would never in the world give up my kids, you know? They're the best things that ever happened to me but as a woman, you can pretty much kiss anything goodbye unless you have someone that's going to look after, you know, give you a nanny and pay all your bills and everything and let you go do what you need to do for you. You're not going to fly. You have a ball and chain and then you're going to live with frustration. The kids prevent me from doing anything... I can't even go pee. I can't do that without being harassed, [it doesn't really] fall into the definition of harassment, you know? You know but, and I have so many things I want to do. So many

things. And I can't. Like I want to teach myself how to play the guitar and I have reached a certain point and I would love to put some time into practice... I can't pick it up. As soon as I pick it up, it's taken away from me. People are grabbing it, people ask me questions - I can't do anything. So I feel like I come home from work and I sit here trapped with all these things I would love to do and I can't.

A close reading of Tory's excerpt reveals how trapped she feels by having children and yet, as stated in the first sentence, she feels the need to highlight that her kids are the best thing to happen to her. This is at odds with the remainder of the excerpt. She clarifies what she wants to do – to fly (to succeed), and to pick up the guitar (freedom, leisure). In both cases, there is a sense of lightness and desire. This is contrasted with other language that depicts heaviness (ball and chain, trapped, constrained, harassed). She blames her experience on being a woman, one with limited resources. She claims that unless a woman has additional resources – a nanny in her example - and someone to help financially (a spouse presumably), she will be trapped by her children. This excerpt veers from many of the other accounts throughout this chapter, yet simultaneously resonates with Noori's narrative. Noori has the very resources (the financial support of a spouse) that Tory is proclaiming are not available to her. Tory is angry that she is expected to give up so much of herself. She does not present herself as having volunteered to sacrifice her time and ambition, but as forced into doing this. She feels oppressed by the expectations of motherhood. She recognizes that everyone does not share her views. She is hesitant to admit that she feels trapped because “if I feel like that than I'm a bad mother.” Although Tory challenges many normative ideas and expectations about being a mother, her acknowledgement of what society ‘expects’ equally reproduces the notion that women are dependent on male spouses based on gendered stereotypes.

Throughout this first section, I have discussed the notion of The Good Wife as a way to capture gendered norms that encourage or support women to teach yoga, or confirm their decision to do so. Behind the veil of choosing to be a yoga teacher are multiple accounts of women trying to balance the separate spheres of work and home. To date, the existing literature on body work has examined the gendered nature of the work itself and how work tasks are organized and executed to ensure emotional labour and care in nursing for example (Lawler, 1997) or domiciliary care (Twigg, 2000). In this chapter, I have attempted to bridge work and home domains within the body work literature, highlighting a spillover of care roles between paid and non-paid domains. Respondents in this study use yoga as a way to harmonize these competing roles (Vair, 2013). My findings suggest that teaching yoga may enable women to position themselves as good women, good wives, and good mothers. This suggests a congruence of gender norms across a variety of work-home roles beyond just the body work occupation where these women teach yoga. Yoga, then, acts as one expression of the idealized Good Wife, what a woman should be and should do: being for others, being patient, being accommodating, etc. Here, marriage and family is a powerful discourse. Even women who are single or divorced are using yoga as a way to prime themselves, further develop and prepare for an eventual family or be better equipped to care for the one they have. Teaching yoga acts as a way to do something for themselves and make do with demands and expectations that are placed on them. It is a way for these women to opt back into the workforce and have schedules that accommodate the demands of their families. In these examples, respondents have internalized a disciplinary gaze (Foucault, 1977, p. 2002) as a form of self-surveillance, reinforcing their complicity in gendered norms and ideals.

6.3 The Good Body

In this section, I present various depictions of the ways in which the body is expected to look, act, react and behave as my participants discuss bodies, both their own and their students', in relation to teaching yoga. Participants discuss what one is supposed to know about the body, their understanding of anatomy, of disease, and of treatment options for an array of ailments. To date, much of the existing body work literature has focused on how people try to manipulate, control, and discipline their own bodies to meet reified norms and ideals of Western beauty, or to do the same with others' bodies (e.g. Bordo, 1993; Markula, 2003; Smith Maguire, 2008). In this section, I build on the discourse of The Good Body and highlight how controlling, disciplining and fixing others' bodies may be used as a way to focus on one's own body, and vice versa. Further, although much of the literature has focused on controlling the physical body, my findings suggest yoga teachers may also be working to achieve and maintain good mental health. Taken together, in these data one's general knowledge about the body acts as a signal of one's commitment to health and in some cases, capability as a yoga teacher. The yoga teacher's body becomes a billboard of sorts (Harvey et al. 2016; Smith Maguire, 2006, 2008; Zeithaml & Bitner, 1996). Another common theme that is presented here is that to teach yoga one needs to have encountered a disruption to their health, come out the other side of it stronger, and willing to share this knowledge, this transformation, with others.

Participants spoke about the need for their body to be healthy but simultaneously told stories about their bodies encountering poor health. For example, Susanne talks about having breast cancer:

So last summer I was thirty-nine, and the mammogram showed questionable stuff and they wanted to do an MRI follow-up. This also showed some questionable stuff. I had a series of biopsies on both sides and then they decided they wanted to do a surgical biopsy which means you're under general anaesthetic and you are going to have pathology to read and they are going to tell you if you are good or not. So essentially, I am having breast cancer surgery and what they suspected from the biopsies was what came back after the major surgery as well. Thank goodness it was something very small called DCIS, which means DCIS — Ductal Carcinoma In Situ. Not metastasized, not spread, only covered a zone that was probably less than 2 mm large and everything around it was clear.

What is striking about Susanne's excerpt is the heavy use of medical jargon and the professionalized account of her experience. Susanne, like other yoga teachers within the study, had an exceptional working knowledge of biology and anatomy. This is similar to the working knowledge of nurses, domiciliary care workers, funeral directors, massage therapists, and other body workers (Lawler, 1997; Sullivan, 2014; Twigg, 2000). I had to probe for more information about how *she* felt about the diagnosis and the impact on her life. She responded by revealing:

Emotionally, [the breast cancer diagnosis] was traumatic. My mom died of cancer eight years ago. I've lost lots of other family members to cancer as well. Her younger sister passed away years before that, her brother as well. And it was quite shocking to get a diagnosis like that when I was, you know, 39. So it was I think pretty traumatic. I didn't realize how traumatic until I started talking about it. I think I was kind of the big catalyst, to me, breaking up with my spouse was that event and so that event kind of overshadowed my own health concerns because I was dealing with this guy leaving my life who I had been with for eleven years. Yeah I kind of had the crossroad revelation that I was 40 almost and I was not happy in my marriage and I did not have kids and I did not want to have kids with this person and I needed to move on and try and figure out how to move forward.

Here, we see Susanne's expectations about how bodies should function, how they should work, and what happens when they don't. The norm is not for them to 'break' at the age of thirty-nine with a disease like breast cancer. Herein, we see Susanne's account of her divorce align with that of her diagnosis and recovery. Her illness narrative concerns her breasts and is tightly wound up with her presentation of being feminine, a good wife, a good woman. She mentions her disease and then circles back to connotations of family and motherhood. Although she mentions that other people in her life have had cancer (and succumbed to the disease), she is stoic about both the disease and diagnosis. Being a yoga teacher does not shield her from disease but does, it appears, bolster her with the ability to rationalize the disease, professionalize the diagnosis and outcome, and spark further self-development and action in other areas of her life. This adds to existing literature on the body and body work as we see Susanne turning her medical issue into a catalyst for change and lifestyle upheaval. Although the body is expected to 'work', broken bodies, as revealed by Susanne, can be good for business: her emotional resiliency and transformation act as important aspects of how she positions herself as a yoga teacher. Similarly, Tory uses her health experiences as a platform to promote yoga:

I guess I don't believe in Western medicine because I don't even know much about it but I just feel like, "okay I have an issue, you give me a pill, I go away. It doesn't solve why the issue... like for example, these bone tumours. You can give me a painkiller or you can give me, I just got an injection in there today. You're not doing anything to find out why are you actually developing this and maybe what can we do to stop that?" Where, I feel like yoga is sort of addressing that piece like naturally I'm trying to help my body sort of eliminate certain things that I feel like I go to specialists, I've been to almost all of them in the city. I go to them, I waste half my day for nothing. Nothing, they don't even, "I have a broken hip and I walk with a limp for like two years and you don't even offer me a cane, nothing." Every person I go to, I go to physio, they say well "we can physio you until you're fixed." Well the surgeon, the surgeon says, "you're too young. I'm not

going to fix you yet, you go to the doctor and well I'm not going to give you drugs because you will get addicted." And nobody wants to help because they can't figure out why someone under 40 has this issue. It's supposed to be an 80 year old issue.

Here, Tory describes how Western medicine has in many ways failed her. She thinks of herself as being someone whom others do not want to help, rather than someone for whom others do not have the answers and therefore cannot help. She does not want to have to depend on drugs and physical therapy. She does not feel helped or cured. The body breaks, she realizes, but not in this way, not at forty years of age. With Western medicine's solutions having proved disappointing, Tory turns to yoga. She does not state that yoga is an Eastern medical tradition, nor does she essentialize Eastern medical traditions. Rather, Tory describes how yoga is used as a way to remedy her health issues. Yoga is a way for her body to eliminate the disease, one that nobody else seems to be able to manage or appears to want to fix. This echoes Susanne's excerpt - the body will break, perhaps not at the age we expect it might. Tory has the capacity and capability to fix her broken body. Similarly, Shannon talks about her body and using it to guide others and how she uses yoga to cleanse her body:

It's what I do in everything; just to keep a balance in myself. Taking care of myself so I can, you know, look after my daughter, I can be a role model and I can go out and teach other people. And also with the eating, it goes back to just mindfulness, mindful eating. Taking stock of what I'm putting in my body and why I'm doing that. Just healthy foods and it's everything. It's all encompassing. With the meditation and just being grounded and a lot of breath work because of the lung infection I had, I was really filling up my lung capacity. I do a lot of fire breathing¹², you know, cleansing my body.

¹² Fire breathing is done by pumping the navel point in and out although breathing rapidly through the nose with the mouth closed. It is believed to release toxins and deposits from the lungs, mucous linings, blood vessels and other cells.

Here, the discourse of The Good Body is being exercised, practiced, and performed with a variety of different tactics and techniques. The discourse of The Good Body is supported by practices such as healthy eating, meditation and yoga. The Good Body is about the capacity to individualize one's own health solutions as a way to curb illness and disease, here a lung infection. Shannon positions herself as an expert, someone capable of acting as a role model to others, someone so well versed as to be able to teach others.

What also differentiates yoga teachers from fitness or personal trainers, as discussed in the existing body work literature, is not only the notion that one can and should work on one's own body, and the bodies of others, but that this body work includes working on one's physical *and* mental health. It is not enough to be physically healthy as seen in previous fitness instructors' accounts (George, 2008; Smith Maguire, 2006, 2008). Yoga acts as a discursive resource to not only prime the body, but also resolve mental health concerns:

It was really, really hard for a long time. I went through some pretty bad depression and it took me a while to stop blaming myself and there were some really hard times between all four of us, like my parents, myself and my brother. So that took a lot of getting used to and a lot of acceptance and a lot of hours with the therapist and I've been on anti-depressants every day since. But I'm really at peace with it now. *Ella*

I was supervising a health club. That was what I did before when I was having a lot of stress. Like supervising a health club, it's a lot of people, that's where I was having all these panic attacks but you know right now I think when I started having, when I started doing my meditation and my yoga practices they all disappeared. In class, I changed myself. *Joyce*

Both Ella and Joyce talk about struggles with mental health issues, ranging from anxiety to depression. Here, both had turned to medication. For Ella, medication and therapy sufficed, for Joyce, medication and her yoga practice are what helped. What is normalized within these two excerpts is not only the prevalence of mental health issues and concerns, and a readiness to talk about them. Noori also presents yoga as having helped to calm her and cure her migraines, which were exacerbated by the stress of her son's autism:

So then I guess it was when I found out about my son's autism everything was just crazy in my life so I've always had migraines and they just kind of like, they were so bad and everything changed for me where I was getting them like once a week and my neurologist[s] were putting me on this crazy medicine and I was like "I don't want to be on medicine every day for the rest of my life" and they were like "try yoga, a lot of people find that yoga and meditation helps." And then I found that I loved [it]. And so then I found this little studio and it was different. Because I found that I was addicted to arm postures and all the crazy shit. So I was like "this is so much fun" and the more I got into [it] I found that it calms me and sorted me out and what I found was that it applied to my life and the way that there were so many things initially that I couldn't do, that I had to be modest and patient.

Respondents openly discussed their use of prescription medication and how when they practiced yoga, they noticed a major effect on their symptoms. For some, practicing yoga regularly meant that they could relinquish the need for medicinal intervention. This sample of yoga teachers, then, use their physical and emotional problems (and their transformation in overcoming these issues) as necessities or pre-requisites for their work as yoga teachers. Their afflictions are used as badges of their deep understanding of good health. Health concerns along with medical jargon, anatomy, and a diverse understanding of Western and Eastern medical practices act as

important elements of how they construct and enact their professional identities. Unlike previous body work studies on nursing and care work (e.g., McMurray, 2012; Twigg, 2000), this knowledge is beyond their professional credentials. Instead, their endorsement is deeply personal. Yoga worked for them and they want to share this with their students.

Within the discourse of The Good Body, these yoga teachers discuss their bodies – both mind-and-body, which have endured medical traumas, diseases, illnesses and stresses. Interestingly, none of the participants had *current* health concerns. Each spoke about overcoming and persevering through their previous health conditions. The Good Body discourse for North American yoga teachers perhaps indicates that bodies are supposed to ‘work’, and if they stop working your job is to overcome and fix the troubles and return to having a fit, slim and strong body:

This week we have been focusing a lot on our arms and shoulder girdle and my God, I have accessed muscles that have been squeezing their whole lives. My triceps burn and everything I lift. But I know it’s because the muscles are getting stronger and I feel strong and even though if there is a seat on the subway I don’t always have to take it because it’s not that kind of exhaustion. *Ella*

Knowing the proper alignments, understanding why you’re doing the poses can also really engage your body in a wonderful way. And I don’t mean like, I don’t mean like a crazy workout. I mean like you’re working with your body to, to I feel like remember its natural state. Like you know, a baby, a baby has open hips. Like if you ever see a toddler they can do the splits because there’s no tension. So it’s kind of like learning how to find your way back there and how to free your spine and your body and how to engage your body energetically and you know, through muscles and gravity. To kind of just make it feel more and more alive. I think if you use your head so much, a lot of times we turn off different parts of our body. *Lisa*

I think predominantly females are more enticed to do yoga. I think, maybe, it seems like it's flexibility and things that a women would like, like spirituality and inner focus. Men are more into, it seems in general, to be into body building and strength training. You get a little of that from yoga but people don't go into it thinking that they are going to build muscle. You are toning. *Monica*

These three excerpts also highlight bodily perceptions, expectations and ideals. The 'natural state' of the body is temporarily exhausted after yoga practice but ultimately energetic, and youthful. The body should not hold tension, but be flexible and strong according to gendered assumptions of how muscles should be defined: men built and strong, women toned, flexible - and spiritually enlightened. It is also viewed as common sense, or taken for granted that bodies should be slim, though only two participants spoke explicitly about their weight. Here, Megha describes her ideal of a yoga body:

Like, you know, like I've always said, a Lululemon body is a privilege, not a right. You know, if you have the body to wear it, do. And if you don't, then maybe don't wear it. You know? That's my humble opinion. I think we have to be confident of our beautiful shapes and honour those appropriately. I'm certainly not going to shove myself in a pair of Lululemon pants but I think that there's just, there's a commercialized standard norm, right? So that sort of size zero to size maybe ten ... you know maybe muscular. We're not talking skinny, anorexic model, runway model, but we're talking almost fitness model type body shape. I think that's what most people expect. *Megha*

Megha represents herself as accepting of different body sizes. Yet, with different body sizes comes different practices. She suggests that if one's body is different it should not be entitled to certain things: e.g. wearing Lululemon workout clothing. The Lululemon body, she asserts, is a privilege, thus reinforcing it as the dominant body type, the idealized type. However, she also shows a sense of responsibility as a yoga teacher to help change the perception of what one's

body should look like with yoga but further of what yoga is. This takes us now to the third section and discourse within this chapter, The Good Yogi.

6.4 The Good Yogi

Respondents described yoga meant to them, what they thought it should be and many went so far as to share some tensions and contradictions. Many respondents equated yoga to wellness and meditation, rather than just the physical practice of postures. Ella, for example, suggests, “I think more and more people are turning to yoga and meditation for not just exercise but wellness.” There are multiple contradictions present here about the relationship between yoga as a physical practice and yoga as something more. The ‘something more’ is always contingent on the physical practice. This is demonstrated in the following excerpts:

For me, yoga is about getting in touch with my spiritual body. I believe that we have our physical body and we know our physical bodies so well. We know every, you know, inch of our body, but we don't know our spiritual body very well and so when we connect to within, like, when you sort of shut off and you turn off then that's what I love about mediation because it basically allows you to shut off and it lets you focus within and have a divine connection to your true being, right? *Veronica*

I find it really unfortunate because I think that yoga is so multifaceted. I mean there are various elements to yoga and a traditional yoga culture, so it's unfortunate that in a mainstream studio, we practice one part of that and that's asana, the postural movements. And asana is only 5% of yoga. There is so much more depth to yoga that we don't explore in studios and the whole purpose of asana is that, is that through physical motion and movement we break up certain build up and blockages in our cellular memory. So certain traumas, certain karmas, certain past experiences, whatever, whatever your belief

system is but the reality is, is it doesn't matter if you're going for a run, or you're doing sun salutation, you are breaking up some negativity in your cellular memory. *Megha*

Although respondents spoke at length about their bodies and their health, when asked about yoga's purpose, as we have seen, they declared it was not just about the movements or postures but about the meditative elements. Veronica, for example, talks about her 'spiritual body.' Although Sointu (2006) talks of the deep connection between mind and body, we see Veronica continuing to clearly demarcate her physical practice from her emotions. It is this separation of mind from body that may enable respondents to regard yoga as a coping mechanism, an escape. Megha does not spell out what the remaining 95% of yoga is, if it is not about the physical exercise. She and the others elevate yoga as having a transcendental aspect, and positions it as being more impactful than other forms of body maintenance or exercise regimes. Further, respondents used the notion of yoga as a form of meditation, a way to focus on and work on themselves. To be focused on yourself is equated with 'traditional yoga culture.' Megha explains that yoga practice can produce a certain self-focus and tries to clarify the distinction between self-focus and selfishness:

If you don't do anything with that, it gets accumulated back into yourself. And I think that's why we have this sort of empty culture of yoga is that, and then this sort of huge seeking in the yoga culture too, where people are like "something is missing!" Because they are stirring all of this stuff up with the physical work but they are not doing the meditation and they're not doing the moving forward spiritually really that should come with the asana and so I think that we are creating a lot of egotistical, self-centered yogis. Yoga is meant to be self-reflective and not self-centered. So yes, it is a singular, it is

supposed to be within the self, it is supposed to be selfish but with the intention of moving past that into something more.

Megha suggests that focusing on herself, being 'selfish', is the only way to move beyond herself to something else, spirituality, and a closer connection with a divine source. Within this space, we see the competing tensions: on one hand, there is an emphasis on self-development and personal discovery, which fits with the North American fixation on developing one's self (Woodhead & Heelas, 2005). There is emphasis on diverse styles of yoga and ways to do postures, there is no 'right way' in spite of the credentialisation that many respondents flaunted. On the other hand, there is a notion of an 'authentic', 'traditional', or 'spiritual' Indian yogic culture, which does specify a 'right' way to do it. Quinn explains the different kinds of yoga and how each may be used:

So yin, which we recommend for a lot of people who are desk jockeys, teach stretching and how to stretch the hip, to stretch your back, it stretches out your shoulders. It helps to open up the chest. You hold poses for three to five minutes, you don't need to hold them for as long as that but it just lets the body sink into whatever is going on with it and help the body to open up. Restorative classes, most people like those, because it is about the relaxing poses. So after we have done all the stretching and moving and staying, we don't take the time to chill out. And a lot of restorative classes depending on who's teaching them, you are holding poses for five minutes sometimes but your body is able to sink into itself or fold over a bolster or open your heart up because you have your chest open and your arms out beside you. It's a great way to end your night; if you are moving and moving and moving all day it is a great way to finish everything. Ashtanga is a very moving practice. It is a very set series of poses that you do one after the other. We offer classes for 75 and 90 minutes and you can't cover the whole series in that time frame. But it is a very moving class; people do like it, you do sweat. It is very, very structured. There's no deviation from what the poses do. We also have Hatha classes, which are very slow moving classes. You can get creative with Hatha classes because there is not a set

series of poses that you are going to do. Everything is very gentle. It is good for people who haven't practiced in a while or for people who have never done yoga before because they can understand what the poses are and they can understand how to breathe properly.

Quinn's account details different styles of yoga performed in mainstream studios. Yoga teachers are expected to have a working knowledge of each style and to teach various classes depending on the time of day, level of the students, and demands of the studio. Within these different mainstream styles, there are different ways to do postures that connect back to how yoga teachers have been taught to do them, often by other North American teachers:

There are so many different ways to teach yoga, so many different styles! So many different ways there are to do a pose. In every pose, you are going to get a million teachers telling you a million different ways to do it. Some yoga teachers tell you to feel your heels [when you are doing the pose] and some want you to feel your arch [of your feet], that doesn't fucking matter. There are seven billion of us on this planet and there are 7 billion ways to do tree pose¹³ because of that and I find that very empowering. *Ella*

Ella's excerpt highlights another contradiction: there is no one way to do yoga, but it is still deeply rooted in sentiments of 'tradition' and cultural portrayals of what 'India' is like. Further, although she claims that there is no one way to do the tree pose, she neither contests that the tree pose exists nor questions the genealogy of the posture. Notably, of the participants interviewed, only one, Veronica was of Indian descent. Five others had traveled to India, some for their yoga teacher training. The remaining participants learned about the 'Indian yogic tradition' from their North American yoga teacher training courses. This point is made to highlight that 'authentic'

¹³ Tree pose is a standing posture whereby you stand on one leg, bend your knee and rest your heel on your standing leg. It is believed to increase balance, flexibility, memory and concentration, while strengthening the ankles and knees.

experiences with yogic traditions are deeply filtered through North American conjectures (Jain, 2014).

So the first time I went to India because I was in the yoga center and then I was in the meditation center, and I went home and I was like “India’s great”, but I didn’t really see India until I went back. It was very stressful, and there are a lot of people and many of them were missing limbs and babies begging and it’s like to get through my day I just had to stop listening to people. I had to stop looking at things. I just like, numbed and it was, I felt myself like go cold and I would get frustrated and stressed and it was so, so hard. And when I came home from that trip, I remember just being so disappointed in myself because I felt like I wasn’t as compassionate as I thought I was before. And I, I was disappointed but it was also a good learning experience because I mean you realize that, you know, this is why people go cold like in a way you have to survive. *Doris*

Here, Doris’ account presents two visits to India: one a spiritual trip to an ashram, and the other to an under-developed, tumultuous, poverty-stricken country where the people are deserving of her compassion, yet is too difficult and numbing to take in. This paints India as a place and a space to teach her compassion and tolerance, which she is lacking. Depicting ‘authentic’ Indian culture in a North American yoga class is further articulated by Candace, who tells a tale of frustration as she tries to figure out what ‘yoga music’ is:

At three different studios that I have taught at, they are like, “Oh, you can bring music”, and I’m like, “What are your restrictions on music?” because like I feel like everyone’s version of music is very different and every single time people said to me, “Oh, you can play whatever you want,” and then I would bring in music and they would be like, “That’s not appropriate.” They were like, “Well we expected you to bring yoga music” and I was like, “What is yoga music?”

Here, we see Candace being asked to provide an authentic experience, but she does not know how. “Yoga music” is an example of a cultural appropriation that perpetuates stereotypes and cultural misrepresentations of Indian spiritual traditions. Other respondents echo the sentiment of trying to authentically represent aspects of Indian culture that they do not inherently understand. For example, respondents discuss using Sanskrit, an ancient Indian language, to identify postures in class. Participants spoke about trying to use the Sanskrit names and their reasons for it:

Sometimes when I am in class, I think “oh gosh I can’t remember what all the Sanskrit means”, and I’m like that’s ok because I don’t make the effort to try and remember them so that’s fine. *Vivianne*

Sanskrit is just, it’s another way, it adds colour, it gives us another kind of sounding board as a way to get into some of those deeper conversations and meaning about what yoga is. It’s just another part of the practice really. *Ella*

I do use some Sanskrit terminology when I am talking about the pose and what it is, and, you know, the name. Only because that comes from my training. I think it’s sometimes a nice thing for people to hear that there’s a different name for things. But as far as speaking the whole class in Sanskrit I am not really sure why some people like to do that. Maybe they do it to feel that deeper connection spiritually than what I do. Or maybe, for some people it’s just, they feel they have to do that because yoga is all of it. *Teresa*

Here, we see the association between yoga and Sanskrit and teachers struggling to figure out how to incorporate aspects of the language into their classes because ‘that’s what yoga is’. When prompted about why Sanskrit is used to identify postures in class, participants made the following comments:

I think it gives a huge part of where yoga came from. So for a practitioner to know, sort of the root of where this all started the practice of yoga. I think that is really important.

Joyce

I don't know what it contributes honestly. Except for I know there is a certain thing about people like, like I know the Sanskrit because we were force[d] to learn it, like we were taught everything Sanskrit and then English and all our testing was done in Sanskrit so I like that I know it, I feel a certain pride about it and that doesn't sound very yogic but I do like that I know it. But I don't know that it benefits the class except for maybe it gives a certain consistent language because sometimes I find that when you start giving it English names people will call it different things or people will stare at you until you demo it. *Noori*

To be honest not very much any more, many teachers don't even use half of the words they will just use the Westernized words. However, depends o[n] the teacher, they no longer use Sanskrit or they use both and I just feel that as much as yoga is not going to be pure as it once was and I have to let go of that, unless I go to India and learn it that way, I am in a contemporary society. *Vivianne*

From these excerpts, we see that yoga teachers are not just teaching postures, they are – to some extent at least - teaching philosophy, history, language and culture. Vivianne's account is striking in that she reifies the purity of Indian tradition, while implicitly denouncing India for not being “a contemporary society”, not being as advanced as the West, where she is from. She is simultaneously appropriating and slighting a culture. Further, in these excerpts we see language used as a way to differentiate teachers from their students, to flex their knowledge and authority.

The idea that there are many versions of yoga in North America and also one true yoga in India exist simultaneously and are in tension with one another. Here are different accounts of how the participants deal with these competing expectations:

Because the perception of what yoga is supposed to be is so different for everybody and as an instructor, what I always want is the opportunity to push past my max. And what happens is, I very rarely get really advanced people who want to push it to the max. What I get are people who think yoga is stretching, come into the class and get frustrated because their body won't do it and think it's [because] you're a bad teacher. *Tory*

What I have been learning over the years is that there are lots of yoga teachers that can't do all the pretzel poses and this and that. But I think I'm still a little bit nervous about thinking about well "how would I teach this posture if I can't even achieve it myself?"
Vivianne

Both Tory and Vivianne seem to struggle to adjust to the multiple needs and expectations that they think their students have of them. They don't identify with being 'authentic' – they are concerned that they are not 'good yoga teachers' because they are not flexible enough, not proficient enough with the postures, and continue to trip over Sanskrit terminology, as other respondents also indicated. Within this discourse, performing the acts and striving to render 'authentic yoga', they, like some of the other participants, appear to be suffering from bouts of imposter syndrome, in which they are unconvinced by their own renditions.

6.5 Chapter Summary

This chapter has explored which discourses shape and are shaped by yoga, answering the question: "What discourses surround teaching yoga in North America?" Discourse analysis is an analytical tool that enables us to examine social inequality and how it is enacted, reproduced and resisted. By drawing on this analytical approach, I was able to explore how my participants construct a social identity in relation to discourses that shape yoga in North America, connecting participants' actions and interpretations to various power effects. Throughout the chapter, I

looked for the taken for granted, the assumed, the common sense aspects associated with what women are supposed to be and do, what bodies are supposed to be and do, and what yoga means. I illustrated how participants located themselves with these different discourses and surfaced some of the tensions and contradictions at play.

Three overarching discourses were discussed. In the first section, 'The Good Wife,' I highlighted how participants' experiences are largely impacted by being married or divorced, or having children, and turning to yoga as a way to opt back in to work with these competing priorities and demands. Here, I discussed gendered and heteronormative assumptions and expectations about what it means to be a woman, what it means to work, what it means to have a family and what it means to be a wife in relation to teaching yoga. Within this section I illustrated different tensions and paradoxes; on one hand these women are constrained by expectations of being nurturing, caring, kind and other-oriented, and on the other, rather than be oppressed by these gendered stereotypes, they have found a way to build professional identities that work within these gendered expectations. This exemplifies what Foucault (1988) refers to as docility-utility, whereby discipline produces agency rather than total subjected and practiced bodies (p. 138).

Following on from there, I discussed 'The Good Body' and revealed practices that support the way that bodies are supposed to perform, what they are supposed to look like, what they are supposed to do, and how they can be healed. Here, I showed the interplay and dialogue about able bodies and diseased bodies and incorporated into this discussion the importance of control and discipline over one's emotional health and well-being. Here, emotional health, as if it were a muscle, is treated as something that can be flexed, practiced, and even fixed or

strengthened. In addition, I showed how yoga teachers use their now-restored bodies and minds as a way to market their own ‘journeys’ and emotional transformations to their students.

Third, I discussed ‘The Good Yogi’ and discourses of New Age health practices. I illustrated how yoga teachers meld together aspects of Western medicine and infuse these with their own cultural appropriations of the Indian yogic tradition including some evidence of an exoticization and essentialization of non-Western health practices. Taken together, throughout this chapter I explored who yoga teachers are ‘supposed’ to be and how they locate their own social identities within these three broad discourses. Although I separate out these discourses, they are in fact interconnected, complex, and complicated by themes of gender, socio-economic status, race and culture.

The next chapter provides a discussion based on the findings presented in Chapter 5 and 6 to consider how yoga teachers identify with teaching yoga in North America, what their experiences are, how their interactions have shaped their sense of self but beyond that, the web of discourses that surround teaching yoga and how my participants locate themselves within these discourses. I provide a detailed discussion that acknowledges, rather than reconciles the similarities and differences pertaining to the identity construction of yoga teachers that these different ontological, epistemological and methodological framings from SI and Foucault surface.

Chapter 7 Discussion and Conclusion

7.1 Introduction

The objective of this study was to explore the work and identities of yoga teachers using different ontological, epistemological and methodological lenses. I was able to generate different insights by anchoring the analysis around various perspectives on the self (modernist views of the self and identity from a symbolic interactionist perspective and Foucault's critique of modernity and identity). At times, these insights were complementary. The notion of constructing different interpretations explaining the same events based on different philosophical frameworks is not new in management literature (Honan et al., 2000; Mordhorst, 2008). However, this approach is a novel way to investigate body work, the category within which yoga teaching belongs. Duberley (2015) contends that epistemology is always contained within methodology. On that basis, she calls for more work to explore how different framings are possible, even within similar methodologies. She recommends that "All of those involved in undertaking, judging, and publishing research need to show increased awareness of the philosophical assumptions which underpin their judgements of research quality and a willingness to accept difference" (Duberley, 2015, p. 342). Duberley encourages researchers to critically reflect on the philosophical underpinnings that frame all aspects of their research, from objectives to design to analysis. I acknowledge the complexity of insights gleaned from the two philosophical perspectives. When applied to my interview material, these suggest that the identities of my sample of yoga teachers are bounded social constructs, in which the degree of the yoga teachers' agency and control over their choices varies depending on the perspective taken. When viewed from the symbolic interactionist perspective in Chapter 5, sometimes how

respondents imagine their circumstances and choices and, then, how they react and respond, depends on their interpretations and comparisons to others and to past events. At other times, my respondents' agency and control can be read in a way that is more consistent with Foucault, the notion of power/knowledge and the discursive practices, ideals and assumptions that I discussed in Chapter 6. These readings, however, are also in part due to the co-production of the interview material by the respondents and me and, further, my ability to craft a convincing story to make sense of the interview material.

The purpose of this final chapter is to draw the study to a close. To do so, first, I remind the reader of key findings from Chapters 5 and 6. Rather than continue to separate out these ideas, I layer these findings in relation to the existing body work literature and highlight the key contributions that this study makes to that literature. From there, I discuss the practical implications of the study for both body workers and qualitative researchers. I go on to discuss the limitations of the study and to recommend areas of future research.

7.2 Main Findings and Contributions

This study has addressed Wolkowitz's (2002) assertion that teaching yoga remains an under-researched body work occupation. I have responded to this call in order to advance our understanding of what it means to teach yoga in North America, including what motivates people to teach, the benefits of teaching, and the challenges associated with teaching. I first considered my respondents' identities using a symbolic interactionist theoretical perspective on the self and consequently used thematic analysis to unpick the data. In Chapter 5, I drew on the work of Mead (1934) and Blumer (1969) among others to answer the research question: **How do people**

assign meaning to their experiences teaching yoga? Thematic analysis provided me with a way to look at respondents' experiences, descriptions, thoughts, feelings, and behaviours to get a sense of the meanings that they assigned accordingly. From this perspective, the main findings focused on caring for oneself, caring for others, and working conditions.

In Chapter 6, I analyzed other segments of the same interview material using Foucault's (1977, 1980, 1984) notions of power/knowledge and subjectivity. I used discourse analysis to explore how yoga teachers constructed a social identity in relation to discourses that shape yoga in North America. This chapter addressed the research question: **What discourses surround teaching yoga in North America?** From this perspective, I explored three broad and interconnected discourses: the Good Wife, The Good Body, and The Good Yogi. This provided me with a way to analyze my respondents' experiences and make sense of the subject positions that they took in relation to these discourses. Both SI and Foucault's notions of the self reveal who we can be, our possibilities, and how we operate in relation to the broader society of which we are members. Both perspectives take the view that identity is unstable, multiple and emergent. Both approaches also emphasize that ways of 'knowing' are accessible through an analysis of the empirical world, exploring people's experiences and everyday, mundane practices. SI however, indicates that meaning is shaped by individuals' experiences and social interactions, as seen in Chapter 5. Here, the subject is at the center of how the world is experienced. Chapter 6 takes a Foucauldian framing of yoga teachers' experiences to highlight how power relations and discourse shape identity. From this view, individuals are agentic in that they become self-aware through the powerful effects of discourses and are able to choose how to act within discourses.

One of the main findings that emerged from my analyses in both these chapters was how teaching yoga might be seen to reconfigure existing notions of body work and indeed care work as a subset of it. What I found was that my respondents spoke about teaching as a form of caring for others, but also, and more surprisingly, gave a deep emphasis to caring for themselves and their own bodies through their body work on others. Much of the existing body work literature has emphasized the altruistic nature of body work and care work (specifically, as indicated in the nursing and care work studies by Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999; Ashforth et al., 2007; Davies, 1995; Lawler, 1991, 1997; Twigg, 2000). With these studies, the motivation to participate in many of the restoring and sustaining body work occupations is the prosocial reason of helping others. Respondents in my study exhibited more self-oriented motivations to teach yoga, based on either their own health and wellbeing or their family responsibilities.

In regards to teaching yoga as a way to focus on their own health, yoga teachers illustrated how they teach as a way to practice yoga, where teaching becomes a way of maintaining their own exercise and wellness regimes. Yoga was not the only form of physical exercise that my respondents participated in. Rather, they spoke of yoga as a complementary form of exercise, often done in combination with other forms of physical activity such as going to the gym, paddle boarding, and Tai Chi. Respondents revealed that some of these physical activities were in fact injuring their bodies and yet, rather than stop, they added other activities such as yoga. This illustrates a possible paradox implicit within body work, and perhaps New Age capitalism more broadly, along the lines of ‘be calmer but add more things.’ More specifically, this highlights potential contradictions inherent within the practice of yoga: trying to restore the body and emphasizing holistic health and wellbeing, while at the same time disregarding the body’s limitations and struggling to keep up with the physical and emotional

demands of exercise and wellness regimes. So my data suggest that yoga teachers, as body workers, can struggle in regards to their physical body, trying to strike a balance between how much is good for their body versus what in fact is too much, all the while teaching students how to achieve the same balance.

The emphasis on personal development and fitness also affects the nature of the service transaction. Here, yoga teachers as body workers and yoga students as clients share benefits or effects of the work, which is not the case in the body work occupations explored in the existing literature. The existing body work literature has also emphasized power imbalances and inequalities, largely based on gender and race. For example, Wolkowitz's (2002) study focuses on the racialization of domestic care workers, and Kang's (2003) study examines the work experiences of immigrant women working in nail salons in different New York neighbourhoods. These studies have highlighted the distance between the service provider (the body worker) and the recipient, or client and the implications of these imbalances on the workers' experiences.

In the current study, both yoga teachers and their students benefit from the transaction, the class. As suggested above, many of the yoga teachers taught as a way to get their own exercise practice in. Their own bodies were restored, sustained, and beautified at the same time that they were working to a similar end on the bodies of their clients.

In this study, I found that yoga teachers also engage in emotional and spiritual work-for-labour practices. This highlights that rather than hiding one's emotions or hardships as seen with other forms of emotional labour (Hochschild, 1983), yoga teachers may showcase emotional strength and transformation based on the physical or emotional hardships which they have had to endure, which yoga helped them to cope with. The notion of emotional labour is especially salient within the existing body work literature. Various studies and examples were discussed in

the literature review, Chapter 3. Examples include Abbott's (1994) study on female home care workers, where emotional labour enabled them to highlight the interpersonal aspects of their work that they found to be most enjoyable; Gimlin's (1996) work on hairstylists who used emotional labour to appear more professional; and Sullivan's (2014) work on how female massage therapists can engage in emotional labour practices to express sexuality in a professional way.

In this study, yoga teachers perform a different kind of emotional labour; they do not shy away from their physical or emotional crises and put on a brave face in front of clients. Rather, they incorporate these crises and their subsequent transformation as a way to attract students and market their services. This contributes to our understanding of yoga teachers as like other fitness workers (e.g. Smith Maguire, 2006; George, 2008; Harvey et al., 2016), as being hyper-flexible and most often self-employed. Yoga teachers, like fitness instructors, use their bodies as billboards (Zeithaml & Bitner, 1996, p. 304), representing their qualifications and skills in achieving a certain physical aesthetic. The notion of doing non-paid work in order to secure paid work is referred to by Standing (2011) as work-for-labour. This activity is not financially rewarded but is required to get paid work. Yoga teachers have the same physical and aesthetic demands as other fitness workers who must stay fit as part of their work-for-labour (Harvey et al., 2016).

What I found here was that many of my respondents spoke about their lives before they were teaching yoga, which were often marred by illness, bereavement, or toxic romantic relationships. The respondents discussed their pre-yoga teaching lives in relation to their current lifestyles and identities, which were marked by better health, happiness and more love. None of my respondents spoke about current turmoil in their life, but framed their pre-yoga lives as being

tumultuous. From this perspective, what they say about teaching yoga may be framed in the same terms as what DeGloma (2010) has called awakening narratives, or narratives about a turning point encounter (Denzin, 1989), as discussed in Chapter 5. Having found yoga with a deep commitment to their own practice, highlighted by their dedication to teaching it, respondents situate their prior experiences as false, deluded, or inadequate and their new and improved lifestyles, anchored by yoga, as “true and enlightened” (DeGloma, 2010, p. 519). In sum, an expectation to be in control of their body and physical health has now expanded to include the expectation of being able to control their emotional or mental health, and beyond that, of using their body and emotional transformation as ways to mark their credentials and qualifications.

In speaking about doing and teaching yoga for their own health and wellbeing and helping their students look and feel better, my respondents’ bodies were used as props for their work in a different way. In Chapter 6 specifically, I detail respondents’ views about how the body is supposed to work and what it is supposed to look like, based on ideals and expectations associated with The Good Body. These comparisons and differentiations illustrate Foucault’s (1983) ideas about how an individual is rendered an object of knowledge through the examination, specifically through external comparisons with other people’s bodies (individualization), as well as internal comparisons with themselves and their own body (individuation). Here, their pre-yogic bodies are considered sick, weak, and broken. Yoga is used as a way to fix, restore and beautify the body. The body, in relation to yoga, is positioned as being in its natural state: tired after practice but ultimately energetic, exhausted but healthy. Within this discourse is a strong sense of individualization and a DIY attitude. Respondents discuss their personal abilities to overcome health issues and disease, in ways that Western

medicine alone could not achieve. Respondents spoke about teaching yoga to develop themselves and also about teaching yoga to help others look and feel better. Here, we see distinctions in body work within the existing literature - such as between occupations which restore declining bodies (e.g. nursing in Lawler, 1997; McMurray, 2012 or care work in Twigg, 2002; Huang et al., 2012), sustain the body (e.g. homeopaths in Taylor, 2010; fitness instructors Smith Maguire, 2008; Harvey et al., 2016) and beautify the body (e.g. salon workers in Kang, 2003; Shortt, 2015), converge together.

Moving on, previous body work literature has emphasized the roles and status of body workers, how their tasks are distributed and assigned with more junior workers having the most involvement with disgusting aspects of patients' or clients' bodies (e.g. Lawler, 1997; Davis, 2002; McMurray, 2012; Twigg, 2002). Within this body of literature, the theme of professionalization and credibility is discussed. Lawler (1997) for example has talked about how professionalism is established through distancing techniques from the body, using nursing as the occupational focus. Here, work is organized hierarchically and varies depending on the status and tenure of the worker with the most junior workers doing the grunt work tasks which involve skin- to-skin contact and dealing with human waste. Additionally, Twigg (2000) found that nurses used uniforms, gloves, and humour to distance themselves from the bodies that they were working on and other difficult aspects of the job.

Additionally, the location of the work has also been explored as a distancing technique within the body work literature. Some studies have examined work that is done in public (as seen with Gimlin's (1996, 2007) work on hairstylists). Others have explored work done in private, as seen with Oerton's (2004) work on the private, dim rooms where massage therapists perform their work. In addition, the liminal or in between spaces of hallways and broom closets as work

spaces have been examined (see Shortt's 2015 study on salon workers). In this study, work is performed in public gyms and yoga studios, similar to the work of fitness instructors (Smith Maguire, 2006; Harvey et al., 2016). Many of the yoga teachers within this study reported that they were employed by multiple studios. In this line of work, there are multiple work sites, including their homes where they do personal yoga practice as a form of work-for-labour (Standing, 2011). Their work sites then also include the transitional or liminal spaces of being in the car or in transit, en route to these different studios, and also their homes as sites of care.

Taken together, these studies have emphasized that what body work consists of and where it occurs impacts the professional identity of the worker. The findings of this study are rather different from those in previous research. For example, teaching yoga is not stigmatized or hidden like the work of massage therapists or nurses; rather, within North American culture, it is trendy. Teaching yoga also helps to restore the body, beautifying it and sustaining it, but does not involve dealing with disgusting aspects of bodies or bodily waste. None of the respondents interviewed in my study spoke about having difficulty dealing with their students' bodies. Although yoga involves sweat, flesh and farts, this is because yoga teachers' work involves a certain distancing from the students' physical bodies. Yoga teachers perform their work on others' bodies primarily through verbal cues, rather than directly.

This study also contributes to existing literature on body work by highlighting a highly gendered (Gimlin, 1996, 2007; Taylor, 2010) yet de-sexualized (Oerton, 2014) body work occupation. The de-sexualisation of yoga as a form of body work is a surprising finding given the cultural cachet of yoga, the historical association with tantric yoga, and stereotypical images of yoga teachers as fit and flexible, spandex-wearing, bohemian beauties. Further, this de-sexualisation is surprising given the deeply gendered aspects of teaching yoga. As a form of

body work, teaching yoga tends to involve less physical contact than other forms, although some yoga teachers do provide hands-on adjustments to move students gently into the correct postures. I suspect that the desexualisation occurs because yoga is done more often in more public spaces (gyms and yoga studios) than in the kind of dark, private spaces in which massage therapists work one-on-one.

In this study, yoga teachers are also concerned with conveying their legitimacy to me as the researcher and a fellow yoga teacher, as well as their students. My respondents did not consider yoga to be their profession, yet legitimacy and authenticity remained important considerations. They established and conveyed a sense of legitimacy by incorporating a strong focus on biology, anatomy, and Western notions of health, recognizing that their classes are helping students overcome physical strains and stresses that Westernized medicine has not been able to remedy (Hancock et al., 2000). On the other hand, yoga teachers also discuss their deep knowledge of holistic alternatives and yogic philosophy and tradition, such as using Sanskrit in their classes as a signifier of authenticity and cultural expertise. These themes are covered in Chapter 6 within the Good Yogi discourse, in which respondents expand on the importance of personal wellness and spirituality, which they describe as a relationship with themselves. This builds on the previous notion of the self-oriented motivations to do this type of body work. Findings indicate that yoga teachers within this study also placed strong emphasis on authenticity, portraying India as the epicenter of ‘authentic yoga.’ Displaying their own physical and emotional transformations and highlighting their own cultural understanding of Indian yogic traditions were practices that helped to situate these teachers as legitimate and credible. Here, yoga teachers shape interpretations and understandings of contemporary North American and Indian culture and the past, in this case pre-modern yoga (Olick, 1999). These social memories

of India and pre-modern yoga are projected collective memories (Lebow, 2008), through which yoga teachers participate in constructing an appropriated historical interpretation of India and yoga alike. Respondents construct ideas about authentic pre-modern yoga in India that they go on to make visible in their classes with practices such as the use of Sanskrit terminology, chanting, and Indian philosophy.

Unique to this study – and again differentiating yoga teachers from other service workers, including fitness instructors – is the multiplicity of their care work. Many yoga teachers were also health care workers, wives, and mothers. Teaching yoga was a way to help their students to look and feel better, but also supported adjacent needs associated with their other care roles. Within the theme of caring for others, we saw yoga teachers openly discuss the burden of care, specifically within the non-paid domain of family. Nonetheless, rather than rejecting caring for others, instead respondents intensified their commitment to and involvement with care in teaching yoga. While some spoke about pausing their career ambitions because of family obligations, they took to yoga, another form of care work, as a way to do something for themselves.

In Chapter 6, these themes of care roles in paid and non-paid domains were explored within The Good Wife discourse. Here, I sought to understand the ideals and expectations that these female respondents were reacting to or supporting. Many of their accounts indicated that they were aware of social expectations to be selfless, other-oriented and submissive. Many of the participants spoke about having to accommodate the needs of their families and having to opt out of their careers to do so. From this perspective, they turned to yoga as a form of flexible service work in which they could accommodate these responsibilities, while planning to opt back into more full-time work when their children were of school age. Herein lie tensions and

contradictions: on one hand teaching yoga enables women to focus on themselves, and on the other hand, it provides them with a way to continue supporting others. This study considers care work as a constellation in which respondents are engaged in different power relations at different sites, in different care roles.

The theme of working conditions was highlighted in Chapter 5 as respondents shared accounts of the intrinsic benefits and challenges associated with teaching. Elsewhere in the care work scholarship, studies exploring nursing have examined whether its intrinsic satisfaction, personal satisfaction and shared values are enough to overcome poor extrinsic rewards including low pay, poor benefits and other negative job qualities (Berg & Frost, 2005; Decker et al., 2009; Macdonald & Merrill, 2002; Mittal et al., 2009). This study contributes to the existing literature by showcasing how yoga teachers work as self-employed, independent contractors who are employed at multiple sites simultaneously, like other fitness workers (Smith Maguire, 2006; Harvey et al., 2016), salon workers (Gimlin, 2006; Kang, 2003) and massage therapists (Oerton, 2004; Sullivan, 2012, 2014). Respondents in this study often teach classes alone. Consequently, tasks are not delegated or delineated as in other body work occupations based on gender, class, or race as seen with other nursing (Lawler, 1997) or domiciliary care (Twigg, 2002). Yoga classes are, however, most frequently assigned based on seniority. This means that many of the junior teachers have to teach at various studios simultaneously or teach in conjunction with other jobs in order to make ends meet. In addition, there is little way for a yoga teacher's career to advance. Many participants opted to teach yoga given the flexibility that such work offered. Here, they could choose their own hours, many bookending other forms of work with classes in accordance with their children's schedules.

Two additional discoveries were made in this regard that further differentiate this study from previous studies about body work and working conditions, much of which concerns nurses (e.g. Ashforth et al., 2007; Twigg, 2000). First, we see contradictions concerning health and wellbeing: on one hand yoga teachers speak about the salience of good health, on the other hand they are over-worked, skipping meals and coping with a multitude of demands. This contradiction has not been picked up in other studies of fitness workers and their health regimes (Smith Maguire 2006; Harvey et al., 2016). Second, respondents spoke about their days being long, their ‘crazy’ schedules, trying to fit in their own fitness, other jobs, and family responsibilities. And yet many spoke at length about yoga not really being their work, but more a hobby for them. This leisure framing of work reconfigures what they come to expect or need from yoga as a form of employment. Unlike a job framing, the hobby framing eliminates the possibility that it might be taken away. A hobby can be abandoned, but one can never be laid off from it (Gebler, 1991). Here, yoga teachers appear to be ‘safe’ with this ongoing, steady form of ‘work’. There is therefore a perception of permanence about the precarious role of a yoga teacher.

Yoga teachers are able to shift perceptions of control from an employer onto themselves – they perceive themselves as being in control, a continuation of the previous notion of DIY healthcare. Equally, because the teachers individualize their employment relationships, they absolve their employers (studios and gyms) of many responsibilities and obligations. In this study, respondents expected very little from their employers. In not expecting much from work, and highlighting that it is being done for fun, notions of job satisfaction were also augmented. None of my respondents were disappointed or frustrated by teaching yoga and they suggested they were also not overly affected by financial insecurity, work intensification, or burnout.

7.3 Practical Implications

The findings presented in this study also provide important practical considerations for yoga teachers as body workers and studio and gym owners as employers. Specifically, the study illustrates that motivations for and experiences of teaching yoga differ from those reported in other body work occupations. When thinking about how to organize employment relations with self-employed yoga teachers, employers such as gyms and yoga studios should be aware that yoga teachers might be working in multiple care roles that may require flexible schedules. This consideration highlights that employers seeking to employ hyper-flexible workers such as yoga teachers may need to configure work arrangements that work in favour of the workers' other roles and constraints. Respondents in this study spoke about the burden of care, highlighting the pressures they experience with their family obligations, other care work roles, and caring for their own health and wellbeing. This study has provided a platform for them to voice their concerns and frustrations, but also receive recognition for their efforts and how they are positioning themselves in spite of their hardships. Yoga teachers may also wish to reconsider their own needs, even within what appears to be a leisure orientation to their occupation, to ensure that they are earning a fair market wage and not putting their own bodies and their own health at risk in their chosen employment.

7.4 Limitations and Areas for Future Research

As outlined above, this study provides new and useful insights into teaching yoga as a form of body work, but it is not without limitations. My analysis has concentrated on unpacking

yoga teachers' experiences and identities, and the discourses that surround and shape teaching yoga in North America, using a modernist SI view of identity as well as a critique of these modernist views using Foucault. It is important to note that the original objective of the study was in fact to investigate yoga teachers' identity from only the symbolic interactionist perspective. As such, the interview guide was not established with this dual analysis in mind. Although I would have liked to incorporate more questions in my interview agenda that were in line with Foucault's critique of modernity, I had decided to explore teaching yoga using these different philosophical lenses only once the transcription was complete. Future research that aims to explore the link between epistemology and methodology by analyzing data in different ways should incorporate these perspectives into all aspects of the research design, including data collection.

Another possible limitation regards how I recruited respondents. I had identified with being a yoga teacher in my recruitment call to yoga studios as well as in my response to advertisements posted on Kijiji and Craigslist. My rationale for doing so was to establish a common interest in teaching yoga and rapport with my respondents. In some ways, my insider knowledge acted as a strength of the study, helping me attract respondents and establish a connection early on in the interviews. During many of the interviews, this insider knowledge also allowed me to get to the point where respondents were able to talk openly about very personal issues including health, relationships, and their families. For example, had I identified only as a researcher with an interest in yoga, respondents would have had to work harder at explaining yoga to me, including taken for granted aspects of yoga like posture, breathing techniques, and physical aspects of the studio spaces. Instead, because they knew I was also a yoga teacher, they may have been 'light' on certain details, assuming that I already knew about them. This

limitation is aligned with the work of Bischooping and Quinlan (2013), who explore the effects of insider and outside perspectives on qualitative research about theatre workers. In addition, Brewis (2014) contends that another risk of positioning oneself as an insider is that by emphasizing shared interests and common knowledge, one may push respondents to be more open than they would otherwise comfortably be. Future research on yoga teachers may wish to have both the insider and outsider perspectives present within the research team; one researcher to help establish rapport as well as an outsider, someone with less knowledge, so that respondents incorporate anecdotes and details otherwise excluded from the interviewing process.

An additional limitation is that although I had intended to create an even distribution of male and female respondents, in the end, twenty-five of respondents were female. I did not intend on having such a high concentration of women, nor did I intend to focus on gender and body work, though these themes emerged from the data. Future research should explore male yoga teachers' experiences and investigate whether they experience stigma and inequality that their female counterparts experience. In addition, future studies can explore teaching yoga and gender norms, probing whether male yoga teachers in fact experience more backlash regarding their decision to engage in work more commonly done by women (see Hancock et al., 2015 on their work on the gender norms of male massage therapists). In regards to gender norms, future studies should also more explicitly focus on the de-sexualisation of the male and female body in yoga, a theme that Sullivan (2014) had commented on with regard to massage therapists. This is a theme – or rather an absence of a theme – only briefly acknowledged here, as it is not very prominent in my data.

Further, the role of geography in yoga teaching should be examined. I made the decision to include three US-based yoga teachers and the majority of participants were from Canada. This

study did not account for differences in experiences in urban, suburban or rural contexts as my study spanned both Canada and the United States, with teachers working and living in both urban and rural contexts. The ways in which yoga as a product is generated, marketed, and consumed may very well be different as it develops in different contexts. Consequently, how yoga teachers identify with teaching in these different geographies may also be distinctive. With this in mind, there is also an opportunity to explore teaching yoga in relation to yoga tourism as many respondents in my study spoke about learning to teach or doing workshops in yoga institutes and training facilities in India and South America. Such studies could also continue to explore the cultural appropriation and construction of Indian culture via yoga teaching both within India and abroad (see Askegaard & Eckhardt, 2012, for work on global/ local experiences of yoga in India).

Finally, this study has focused on the work of yoga teachers, not studio or gym owners. Only two respondents, Megha and Sara worked as both studio owners and yoga teachers. Future research on teaching yoga as a form of body work should attend more to how the work experiences and identities of these intermediaries may facilitate body work or connect to themes such as distancing, legitimacy, gender, etc. Finally, in relation to working conditions, I think possible areas for further investigation include a concentrated focus on the complicity of yoga teachers in enduring work intensification, burnout and low wages in relation to New Age capitalism and spirituality.

7.5 Conclusion

In this study, I have examined the work experiences of yoga teachers from different ontological, epistemological and methodological perspectives. I have highlighted the link between epistemology and methodology or, put another way, the researcher's hand in generating the phenomenon under investigation. I have also addressed increased demands for innovation and imagination within qualitative methodology as well as the deep-seated concern for efficiency, rigor, and top-tier publications. In this study, by offering a pluralist perspective to illustrate how different interpretations of the same data set are possible, I underscore innovation. By arguing that multiple interpretations may be feasible, I empirically expose the contradictions and different perspectives within qualitative methodology. Moreover, although it is widely acknowledged that qualitative research is inherently messy, it is quite another thing to work with the mess. Cunliffe (2003) stresses the role of reflexivity in qualitative methods, yet it remains unclear what to *do* with that reflexivity, with that mess. It is uncomfortable to sit with plurality, alternatives, and fragmentation, but perhaps it is necessary. Identity has also been long described as a social construction that results from repeated interactions with others (Cooley, 1902; Gergen & Davis, 1985). In this study I juggle the social construction of yoga teachers' identities simultaneously with my own identity as a qualitative researcher. A study about identity therefore shifts to reflect *identities*, in the plural, including my own. As such, I have tried to present the contested, conflicted, contradictory yet also complementary aspects of yoga teaching as body work without trying to reconcile these approaches. I have illustrated various snapshots of this occupation while opening up new avenues within the body work literature for future investigation.

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Appendices

Appendix A – Recruitment Letter

RESEARCH INVITATION TEACHING YOGA*

Hello and congratulations on your recent decision to embark on a career as a yoga teacher! This letter acts as an invitation to participate in a research study about your experiences in yoga teach-training and/or in your new role as a yoga teacher. Below, I describe the study and share some information about myself. If you are interested in participating (and I hope you are!) please email me directly.

About the Study

This doctoral research is a qualitative project that explores your experiences of learning to teach and teaching yoga. Although yoga is a traditional Indian philosophy and practice dating back to 2000 C.E., and the physical and psychological benefits of yoga have been well documented, there is currently little research that explores yoga as a career option, from learning to teaching and everything in between. As the primary researcher, I will be listening to stories and experiences of men and women in yoga teacher training programs and studios similar to yours. The interview questions will focus on your inspirations, motivations, expectations and experiences as a yoga teacher. In this study we will discuss your experiences for approximately 30-45 minutes. The interview is designed to work with your schedule and can be done over the phone, over Skype, or in-person at your convenience and with your preference in mind. All participants who complete the interview will receive a \$15 e-gift certificate for Lululemon immediately following the interview.

With permission, the interview will be audio recorded which will give me time to listen and analyze it independent of our time together. This study will be used as my doctoral dissertation. The findings may be published in academic journals and presented at international academic conferences. The results of this study will be available in 2015. If you are interested in receiving a copy please email me.

Confidentiality

All information you supply during the research will be held in strict confidence and unless you specifically indicate your consent, your name will not appear in any report or publication of the research. Given the topics covered and

the measures we are taking to ensure confidentiality, your participation in the project should not result in any adverse effects on you. You are in no way obliged to take part in the study. You may refuse to answer one or more questions, or you may withdraw from the interview or study at any time, without explanation and without suffering any adverse consequences. Your decision not to withdraw will not influence the nature of your relationship with York University either now, or in the future. In the event you withdraw from the study, all associated data collected will be immediately destroyed wherever possible.

About the Lead Researcher

I am in the final stages of my doctorate with the School of Human Resources Management at York University. I teach human resources management at York University and George Brown College. I have over 10 years of professional experience in senior leadership positions in industries such as IT consulting, luxury retail, advertising, and hospitality. My research examines the sociology of work and focuses on the work experiences and everyday lives of people. My work has been published in the *Journal of Business Ethics* and *Journal of Management Development*. Yoga is dear to my heart and a vital part of my life. I enrolled in yoga teacher training in 2013 and presently teach yoga to seniors.

Thank you for the consideration and I do hope you are in touch soon!

Namaste,

Amanda Peticca-Harris,

PhD Candidate, ABD School of Human Resources Management, York University

Appendix B – Kijiji Message

Hi there, I came across this posting because in addition to practicing yoga (and having just done yoga teacher training myself) I am finishing my PhD at York University in Toronto. I study careers and my dissertation is actually on the career experience of yoga teachers. If possible, I would love to involve your perspectives in my dissertation research. I am doing a qualitative study where I am interviewing yoga teachers. The interviews are a quick 30 minute phone chat and can be scheduled at your convenience. Anyone who participates receives a \$15 e-gift card for Lululemon (and helps me out tremendously as I try desperately to wrap up this PhD!).

Thanks in advance for considering and hoping to hear from you soon to set something up!

Cheers, Amanda

Appendix C – Interview Guide

Interview Questions	Probing Questions
Tell me about how you spend your time, what's a typical day look like?	<p>Outside of yoga, how do you spend your time?</p> <p>Are you working - what does your job entail?</p> <p>Do you enjoy your work?</p>
How did you first get introduced to yoga? How long have you been practicing yoga for?	<p>When do you practice?</p> <p>Where do you practice?</p> <p>What role does yoga play in your life?</p>
How did you decide that you wanted to become a yoga teacher?	<p>Did you do yoga teacher training, if so where?</p> <p>What did your family and friends think?</p>
<i>(If training completed)</i> What was learning to teach yoga like?	<p>What did you want to do with the certification? Teach?</p> <p>Were there any aspects of the training that you were particularly excited or anxious about?</p> <p>Did you know anyone in the program? What were the people in the program like?</p>
What does the word career mean to you?	<p>Where do you think these views of career came from?</p> <p>Do you consider yoga to be part of your career? Do you want it to be?</p>
Have you heard of the term career calling?	<p>What does this mean to you?</p> <p>Do you think you have a career calling? What is it?</p> <p>Do you think a career calling can change? Do you have any experiences that reflect this?</p>

Table 1: Demographic Chart

Pseudonym	Gender	Age	Marital Status	Children	Location	Education	Occupation	Household income	Number of yrs practicing yoga	Yoga Alliance Certified?	Teaching Yoga FT or PT	Years Teaching Yoga	Interview Format
Tory	Female	39	Divorced	2	Ontario	BA uncompleted	Fitness Instructor/ Yoga	\$31-50k	3	No	FT	1	Phone
Ella	Female	25	Common Law	0	Ontario	BA completed	Waitress	Below \$30k	7	Yes	PT	1	Phone
Mischa	Female	35	Married	2	Ontario	BA uncompleted	Yoga Instructor	\$81-90k	6	Yes	PT	9	Phone
Megha	Female	35	Married	1	Alberta	BA completed	Yoga Studio Owner	\$100k+	5	Yes	FT	2	Phone
Veronica	Female	39	Single	0	Ontario	High school	Yoga, meditation, psychic, singer	Below \$30k	10	No	PT	1	Phone
Teresa	Female	58	common law	1	Ontario	High school	dental administrator	\$81-90k	4	Yes	PT	0	Phone
Candace	Female	37	Married	0	Ontario	BA completing	Student	\$100k+	14	Yes	PT	2	Phone
Lisa	Female	28	Single	0	Ontario	BA completed	Yoga Instructor, Actress	\$31-50k	5	Yes	PT	1	Skype
Shannon	Female	43	Married	2	Alberta	Degree	Yoga Instructor	\$100k+	6	Yes	PT	1	Phone
Elin	Female	20	Single	0	Ontario	BA completed	Yoga Instructor	Below \$30k	3	Yes	FT	1	Phone
Sara	Female	30	Married	0	Ontario	BA completed	Yoga Instructor	\$51-60k	6	Yes	FT	4	Phone
Rick	Male	38	Single	0	Ontario	BA completed	Yoga Instructor, Arts Instructor	Below \$30k	10	Yes	PT	6	Phone
Doris	Female	42	Single	0	California	BA completed	Yoga Instructor	\$51-60k	10	Yes	FT	6	Phone
Fransceca	Female	40	Divorced	0	Ontario	High school	Yoga Instructor	\$51-60k	7	Yes	FT	2	Phone
Joyce	Female	26	Common Law	0	Ontario	BA uncompleted	Public Service Agent	\$100k+	4	Yes	PT	2	Phone
Ida	Female	40	Married	0	Ontario	Masters	Underwriter assistant	\$31-50k	7	Yes	PT	1	Phone
Katie	Female	30	Single	0	Ontario	BA completed	Yoga Studio Owner	\$61-70k	5	Yes	FT	1	Phone
Louisa	Female	23	Common Law	0	Alberta	BA completing	Teaching Parent, group home	\$31-50k	6	Yes	PT	2	Phone
Monica	Female	30	Single	0	Alberta	BA completed	Judicial Clerk	\$31-50k	5	Yes	PT	2	Phone
Noori	Female	43	Married	1	Massachusetts	BA completed	Mom and Yoga Teacher	\$100k+	10	Yes	PT	1	Phone
Pamela	Female	48	Divorced	3	California	Masters	Biologist	\$71-80k	7	Yes	PT	4	Phone
Nick	Male	36	Single	0	Nova Scotia	Highschool	Fitness Center Owner	\$61-70k	2	No	FT	4	Phone
Quinn	Female	44	Single	0	Ontario	BA completed	Yoga Studio Manager	\$31-50k	16	Yes	FT	1	Phone
Rayna	Female	21	Single	0	Ontario	College Completed	Lululemon Retail	Below \$30k	2	Yes	PT	0	Phone
Susanne	Female	40	Separated	0	Ontario	BA completed	Yoga Instructor	\$31-50k	16	Yes	PT	14	In-Person
Vivianne	Female	43	Divorced	0	British Columbia	High school	Bodywork & Massage Therapist	Below \$30k	10	Yes	PT	1	Phone
Zoey	Female	44	Divorced	0	California	MA Completed	Sr Data Analytic Engineer, Insurance	\$71-80k	6	Yes	PT	4	Phone

Table 2: Data Structure

Data	Preliminary Codes	Ontological, Epistemological & Methodological Approaches	
27 Interviews from yoga teachers in North America	Flexible Work Stress Sanskrit Instability Precarity Multitask Education/ Training Part-time Work Helping Others Pain Illness Yoga Tourism Strength Career Calling Weight Talent Economic Insecurity Exhaustion Enjoyment	Reading 1	Reading 2
		Modern Self constructed with meaning, action & interpretation Thematic Analysis (themes)	Critique of Modernity Self constituent of discourses - power/knowledge Discourse Analysis (discourses)
		Care for Self Leisure Health Focus Career Lifestyle Personal Development Independence Coping Care for Others Helping Others Family Frustration Teaching Working Conditions Economic Insecurity Exhaustion Flexible Work Stress Sanskrit	The Good Body Emotional & Physical Health Femininity Beauty The Good Wife Femininity Motherhood Professional Identity The Good Yogi Sanskrit Economic Insecurity Teaching Lifestyle