

SALUTING THE SUN UNDER THE SHADOW OF NEOLIBERALISM:
AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY OF YOGA TEACHER TRAINING COURSE
ATTENDEES AND YOGA TEACHERS

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY

PELİN AYDINER JUCHAT

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF SCIENCE
IN
THE SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY PROGRAM

DECEMBER 2019

Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

Prof. Dr. Yaşar Kondakçı
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.

Prof. Dr. Ayşe Saktanber
Head of Department

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Eminegül Karababa
Supervisor

Examining Committee Members

Assist. Prof. Dr. Besim Can Zırh	(METU, SOC)	_____
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Eminegül Karababa	(METU, BA)	_____
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Berna Tarı Kasnakoğlu	(TOBB ETÜ, İŞL)	_____

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Name, Last name : Pelin AYDINER JUCHAT

Signature :

ABSTRACT

SALUTING THE SUN UNDER THE SHADOW OF NEOLIBERALISM: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY OF YOGA TEACHER TRAINING COURSE ATTENDEES AND YOGA TEACHERS

Aydiner Juchat, Pelin

M.S., Social Anthropology Graduate Program

Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Eminegül Karababa

December 2019, 97 pages

This study is based on a six months ethnographic research conducted in Ankara with yoga trainers and yoga teacher training course attendees. Individuals subject to the study were dreaming of creating an alternative space, adopting a new profession and a new way of life by becoming professional yoga teachers. While the neoliberal dynamics that lead to the need for such an escape were questioned, the commercialization and institutionalization of yoga and yoga teacher training programs were also analyzed. This study suggests that the process of becoming a yoga teacher and the current yoga market dynamics cause individuals to face with, and conform to the neoliberal ideologies which they were trying to escape from.

Keywords: Yoga, Yoga Teacher Training, Neoliberalism, Escapism

ÖZ

NEOLİBERALİZMİN GÖLGESİNDE GÜNEŞİ SELAMLAMAK: YOGA EĞİTMENLİK KURSU KATILIMCILARI VE YOGA EĞİTMENLERİ ÜZERİNE ETNOGRAFİK BİR ÇALIŞMA

Aydiner Juchat, Pelin

Yüksek Lisans, Sosyal Antropoloji Yüksek Lisans Programı

Tez Danışmanı: Doç. Dr. Eminegül Karababa

Aralık 2019, 97 sayfa

Bu çalışma, Ankara'da yoga eğitmenleri ve yoga öğretmeni eğitim kursu katılımcılarıyla yürütülen altı aylık bir etnografik araştırmaya dayanmaktadır. Çalışmaya konu olan bireyler, profesyonel yoga eğitmeni olarak kendilerine bir kaçış alanı yaratmayı, yeni bir meslek edinmeyi ve yeni bir yaşam tarzı oluşturmayı hayal etmektedir. Çalışma boyunca kaçış ihtiyacını doğuran neoliberal dinamikler sorgulanırken, yoga ve yoga eğitmenliği programlarının ticarileştirilmesi ve kurumsallaşması da analiz edilmiştir. Bu çalışma, yoga eğitmeni olma sürecinin ve mevcut yoga piyasası dinamiklerinin bireylerin en başta kaçmaya çalıştıkları neoliberal ideolojilerle tekrar karşılaşmalarına ve uyum sağlamalarına neden olduğunu iddia etmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Yoga, Yoga Eğitmenlik Eğitimi, Neoliberalizm, Kaçış

To my dear family and Dora

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First of all, I would like to thank my supervisor Assoc. Prof. Dr. Eminegöl Karababa for her guidance, continuous support and encouragement. Without her, I would not have been able to complete this work.

I would also like to thank examining committee members Assist. Prof. Dr. Besim Can Zırh and Assoc. Prof. Dr. Berna Tarı Kasnakoğlu for their valuable comments that helped me shape the study. I would like to take this opportunity to thank Smita Tewari Jassal, Katharina Bodirsky and all of the faculty members of METU Sociology who introduced me to the world of anthropology and sociology and inspired me throughout my years at METU.

I would like to thank Didem, Şeyma, Burçak and Simge and all of my dear friends for their continuous encouragement to finish this study. I am also thankful to yoga enthusiasts who took part in this study for inspiring and helping me.

My deepest appreciation belongs to my family and dear husband Mickaël for their patience, support and love.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PLAGIARISM	iii
ABSTRACT	iv
ÖZ.....	v
DEDICATION	vi
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....	vii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	viii
LIST OF FIGURES.....	x
LIST OF TABLES	xi
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	xii
CHAPTER	
1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1. A Brief Introduction to Yoga	3
1.2. The Eight Limbs of Yoga.....	5
2. LITERATURE REVIEW	7
2.1. Yoga as a Global Practice	8
2.2. Literature Review on Neoliberalism and Main Approaches.....	10
2.3. Literature Review on Consumer Culture: Understanding Yoga as a Market	13
3. METHODOLOGY	20
3.1. Data Collection.....	20
3.1.1. Field Notes	20
3.2. Sampling	22
3.3. In Depth Interviews.....	23
3.3.1. Sample Profile	24
3.4. Translation of Interviews	26
3.5. Data Analysis	26

3.6. Ethical Considerations and Trustworthiness.....	28
3.7. Limitations and Future Research	28
4. BECOMING A PROFESSIONAL YOGA TEACHER	30
4.1. An Overview of Yoga Alliance Standards and Yoga Teacher Training	31
4.1.1. Studio, Registered Yoga School and YACEP Explained	31
4.2. Becoming a Registered Yoga Teacher: Different Levels of Yoga Alliance Registered Yoga Teacher Certifications.....	33
4.2.1. Registered Yoga Teacher 200	33
4.2.2. Advanced RYT Titles: RYT500, E-RYT500, YACEP	36
4.3. Critiques Towards Yoga Alliance.....	38
4.4. Becoming a Yoga Teacher in Turkey and Attempts to Regulate the Turkish Yoga Market.....	42
5. RESEARCH FINDINGS	47
5.1. Escaping from the Traumas of the Neoliberal World By Practicing Yoga.....	47
5.2. The Dream of Becoming a Yoga Teacher	50
5.3. The Rites of Passages to Becoming a Yoga Teacher.....	54
5.4. Becoming a Yoga Entrepreneur	60
5.4.1. Competition Between Studios and Yoga Teachers	61
5.4.2. Hybridity of the Practice	63
5.4.3. Turning into a Yoga Entrepreneur	65
6. CONCLUSION	68
REFERENCES.....	71
APPENDICES	
A. INTERVIEW QUESTIONS	81
B. METU HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE APPROVAL	84
C. TURKISH SUMMARY/ TÜRKÇE ÖZET	85
D. THESIS PERMISSION FORM/ TEZ İZİN FORMU	97

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE 1 RYS200 Current and New 2020 Standards Comparison.....	35
FIGURE 2 Turkish Sports for All Federation’s Explanation About the Banning of Religious Symbols	44

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE 1 Informant Profile	25
TABLE 2 Categorization of Interview Responses.....	27

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CCT	Consumer Culture Theory
E-RYT	Experienced Registered Yoga Teacher
RYS	Registered Yoga School
RYT	Registered Yoga Teacher
RYT200	Registered Yoga Teacher 200
RYT300	Registered Yoga Teacher 300
RYT500	Registered Yoga Teacher 500
TT	Teacher Training
YACEP	Yoga Alliance Continuing Education Provide

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The inspiration to write this thesis came when I met a close friend of mine about a year ago. While chatting about our daily struggles and professional lives, she started to talk about her dreams of opening her own yoga studio. She was going through very tough times, both at work and at her personal life. She has been a yoga practitioner for a long time and she had just started her yoga teacher training course. It was indeed very difficult to meet her as she was spending almost all of her time outside of work hours at the yoga studio.

We were planning to attend a Yoga Teacher Training program together for years but I have kept finding excuses to not go. She, on the other hand, invested her time and money into what she calls her “transformation of both her body and soul”. It was ten years ago, during the first year of my bachelor’s degree when I met yoga. I registered to the yoga sessions held by the university. Back then, I did not know what to expect. I did not even know what yoga was. Ten years, countless yoga sessions, thousands of *asana* (body posture, poses) practices after, here I am writing my thesis on it.

Ten years ago, yoga was not a popular practice in Ankara. There were a handful of studios and just a few people around me practicing yoga. My parents and friends were shocked when they learnt that yoga was more than just sitting down and meditating. Since then, I have witnessed the growth of yoga market. The interest in yoga courses has been rising since the establishment of the first yoga studio, Masala Yoga in Ankara in 2002. The number of yoga studios, the people attending to yoga courses and certified yoga trainers have been increasing in Ankara exponentially. Many yoga courses across the city started to conduct yoga teacher training programs certified by the Yoga Alliance, the largest international yoga community in the

world. Yoga became a part of our daily conversations and I started to join outdoor yoga sessions with my friends and colleagues. As time passed, I also started to hear more and more people joining yoga teacher training programs. My friends who laughed at me when I told them that I wanted to become a certified yoga teacher started to get their own certifications. What could have changed so quickly? How did yoga boom in such a short amount of time?

Then, I realized that becoming a yoga teacher has become the new popular profession. I heard more and more white collar workers dreaming about becoming a yoga teacher. I have never got the chance to attend a yoga teacher training program myself, but many of my close friends did. They were spending all of their time outside of work hours at yoga studios, spending thousands of liras on yoga certification programs and even spending their holidays at yoga retreats. Fascinated by their passion for yoga, I started to learn more about it and take more yoga lessons myself. It did not take me long to be introduced to the famous faces of yoga community in Ankara.

After examining yoga teacher training programs, and witnessing my friend's transformation throughout her training, questions started to build up in my mind. I was dazzled by the people devoting themselves to these intensive trainings and spending months to gain expertise in yoga. The attendees of yoga teacher training courses were mostly highly educated people with promising careers and well paid jobs. What could the reasons behind their escape to yoga and desire to become a yoga trainer be?

This thesis aims to analyze the yoga teacher training programs as a tool of escape and teaching yoga as a new dream profession for the suffering people of neoliberal era. The neoliberal ideologies causing stress, precariousness, competition are analyzed as the causes of need for escape. Yoga Alliance certifications are questioned as efforts to institutionalize and globalize yoga teacher training while the creation of yoga entrepreneurs are analyzed from a neoliberal ideology standpoint. At the end

of the research, the possibility of an escape through transforming into a yoga teacher is questioned.

The first chapter following the introduction is devoted to a literature review of globalization, neoliberalism, and consumer culture theory. Third chapter is devoted to methodology of the research. In order to explain the path to becoming a yoga teacher in Ankara, Yoga Alliance certifications and government regulations of the yoga practice are presented in the fourth chapter. In the last chapter before the conclusion, research findings are categorized and presented.

Before moving on to the literature review, I would like to give a short introduction to yoga and Patanjali's Yoga Sutras to introduce the reader to the basic concepts of yoga.

1.1. A Brief Introduction to Yoga

Yoga is shortly defined as a “comprehensive system for wellbeing on all levels: physical, mental, emotional and spiritual” by Yoga Alliance ("What is Yoga? | Yoga Alliance", 2019). The word itself means “union” in Sanskrit: the union of the individual self with the universal, cosmic self (Alter, 2004). Yoga is creating a harmony between mind and body through physical activities and meditation. Yoga Alliance (2019) defines yoga as “a system, not of beliefs, but of techniques and guidance for enriched living”.

Yoga is believed to have been existing over 5000 years. The traces of yoga were found as old as from the Vedic period. Yoga has its roots in Sanskrit culture and Hinduism, Jainism and Buddhism (De Michelis, 2004). Yoga has been a complex and diversified practice in its birthplace India as well.

Although there exists many variations of the practice, there are four main schools of yoga: *karma*, *jnana*, *bhakti*, and *raja*. Karma yoga is defined as the yoga of “selfless action” (Adiswarananda, 2006). It aims to get rid of the ego and self-centric actions. Karma yoga focuses on doing the right thing with a selfless attitude. The second

path to yoga, *jnana* shortly means wisdom. Jnana yoga tries to reach a transcendental truth by using the mind. Constance A. Jones and James D. Ryan (2007) explain jnana yoga as the knowledge of the unity between the individual self and the highest reality (*brahman*). The third path of yoga is *bhakti* yoga. Bhakti translates to devotion, worship to a superior deity. Bhakti yoga aims to purify the soul and connect with and devote to God. Finally, the fourth path of yoga is *raja* (king) yoga. Raja yoga is also known as the *Patanjali Yoga* as it follows the eight-limb path defined by Patanjali. Eight limbs of yoga are explained in the following section.

Yoga is perceived and practiced in many forms today. Different yoga studios and trainers approach the yoga practice from various ways. The most commonly known yoga style in Turkey, and in the Western world is Hatha Yoga, a yoga style focusing on physical postures (*asana*) and breathing techniques (*pranayama*). Hatha Yoga, and variations of it are practiced at almost every fitness studio in Ankara. Yoga is presented as a sports activity by these fitness centers. Hatha sessions include basic poses and asana flows, such as sun salutation. The only material needed for the practice is a yoga mat. Indeed, one can practice yoga without a mat, with no equipment at all. It is recommended to have light attire for ease of practice of *asana* poses. Breathing is paired with each physical movement. The duration of the pose, or the rhythm of the session changes depending on the type of yoga practiced. Yoga sessions are usually finished with a *savasana* (dead man's pose). In this pose, all the muscles of the body are relaxed, and the mind is stabilized with a guided, or non-guided meditation.

Yoga can be practiced everywhere. Some yoga teachers hold yoga sessions at their homes. Yoga communities even gather at METU or Seğmenler Parkı to practice in public spaces, on bare grass. On the other hand, the most traditional spaces of practice are fitness studios and yoga studios. The history of yoga studios in Turkey do not go far back in time since the first yoga studio of Turkey, Yogaşala, was established in 2001. Yogaşala, Cihangir Yoga, Advaita Yoga and Yoga Academy can be listed among the most known studios in Turkey. Yoga Academy grows the number of its studios with a franchising model, and the brand currently has 109 branches, six

of them being in Ankara. As of December 2019, there are over twenty yoga studios across Ankara. For the research, YogaŞala, Cihangir Yoga, Yoga Academy, Yoga La Yoga and Atölye Yoga in Ankara were visited. Most of the interview participants consisted of students or teachers of YogaŞala, Cihangir Yoga and Atölye Yoga. For privacy of research participants, the names of yoga studios were not disclosed.

1.2. The Eight Limbs of Yoga

There used to be over one thousand eight hundred different schools of yoga that were established in India. Patanjali, a yogi raised in Hindu tradition, over 1700 years ago merged all of these teachings into Yoga Sutras. There is not much knowledge about who Patanjali was or when he lived, but he is believed to be lived in second or third century Common Era (Rosen, 2018). He defined eight limbs of yoga as a result of his studies and created a practice called ashtanga yoga. The Sanskrit words to define eight limbs of Patanjali are used frequently throughout this thesis; hence, I believe a brief introduction to these principles will be useful. The eight limbs of yoga described by Patanjali are as follows:

1. Yama (ethics): Ahimsa (non-violence), Satya (integrity), Asteya (not stealing), Brahmacharya (self-control), and Aparigraha (non-covetousness)
2. Niyama (self-discipline): Saucha (purity); Samtosa (contentment); Tapas (inner fire); Svadhyaya (self-study); Isvara Pranidhana (surrendering, dedication)
3. Asana (body posture, poses)
4. Pranayama (controlling energy through breath)
5. Pratyahara (controlling senses)
6. Dharana (concentration)
7. Dhyana (meditation)
8. Samadhi (enlightenment)

All of these terms have deep meanings and explanations behind them, thus translating them into English weakens their true definition. As the philosophy or schools

and methods of yoga are not the focal points of this study, I believe a brief introduction to these basic terms will be sufficient for the reader to grasp the interview answers and concepts of yoga.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Yoga in Turkey is studied by different disciplines especially by healthcare, religious studies, physiotherapy, sports and psychology. There is a lack of analysis of yoga in Turkey from a sociological and anthropological point of view. Only published sociology Ph.D. thesis on yoga is by Serpil Şengül Gürsoy (2019) and it approaches to yoga as a consumer good from an ontological security erosion perspective. The only anthropology master thesis on yoga has been very recently published by Gülnihal Özden. Özden (2019) analyzed the concepts of liminality and communitas among Ashtanga Yoga practitioners. As of December 2019, Özden's thesis is not publicly shared. Lastly, there is a sociology master thesis on the Turkish yoga practitioners' online representations that approaches the subject from Eric Goffman's dramaturgical perspective on self-presentation. In Turkey, there are not any academic studies focusing on yoga teacher training, and yoga as a profession from an anthropological perspective.

When talking about a practice that was specific to Indian culture that later became a global phenomenon, we need to understand the foundations of globalization. Globalization is an interdisciplinary subject to which anthropology and sociology contributed significantly. In this section, I will firstly mention about the existing literature on globalization with a specific focus on the global consumer market. Then, I will summarize the literature on yoga's spread to and re-appropriation at Western world. In the following sections, I will focus on the literature review of neoliberalism and market dynamics in the neoliberal era.

2.1. Yoga as a Global Practice

One of the earlier works on globalization was created by Eric Wolf. Wolf (1982), an Austrian anthropologist known for his Marxist approach to the discipline. In his book “Europe and People without History”, Wolf analyses the capitalism’s rise and its interconnections with micro-populations. Wolf (1982) states that world has become ecologically, demographically, economically and politically connected. As Talal Asad (1987) in his article “Are There Histories of Peoples without Europe?” states, Wolf makes two major assumptions. First, societies are not self-contained and stable, they continuously change and affect each other. Second, we need to understand production, circulation and consumption to understand dynamics of the world economies.

In the introduction of his book, Wolf refers to world as “one world” that is bounded by ecological, demographic, economic and political connections. Not only cultures, societies, economies and all other social institutions but also our past, present and future diffuse in one another. Arjun Appadurai, unlike Wolf, is against the Marxist approach when it comes to understanding global economy. In “Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy”, Appadurai states “that the Marxist, center-periphery theories are unable to explain the new complex, global economy” (Appadurai, 1990).

Arjun Appadurai (1990) uses the notion of “scape” as an attempt to theorize the disjuncture. The scapes Appadurai lists are technoscapes, mediascapes, financescapes, technoscapes and ideoscapes. He exemplifies how these “scapes” form the global economy and modern culture. In “Modernity at Large”, Appadurai (1996) focuses on the role of media and migration on creating the global world. Electronic media transforms our everyday discourse, de-territorialized the world and created unpredictability. Media, and consumption of mass media receives an agency. Media is actively used as a propaganda tool, a meeting point, and dissemination device and entertainment source every day.

Migration is another element that plays a significant role in globalization. Geographical movement of refugees, scholars, students, businessmen, workers reshape the public spheres. Students and workers disseminate ideologies. The state has to adjust itself to cultural diversity and demands and needs of immigrants constantly. Religions, ideologies, activist movements travel in the world faster than ever. Appadurai (1996) mentions a collective imagination beyond fantasy in the global world. Groups from different parts of the world feel connected to each other. They take action for similar causes as they integrate with each other. Individual imagination becomes a collective one, and collective imagination turns into collective action. When we look at how yoga started to be practiced globally and how it moved to the Western world, we can clearly see the effects of such geographical movement.

In order to analyze the foundations yoga in the Western world, we need to explore what “Modern Yoga” is. De Michelis (2004) explains the term “modern yoga” as a general term used to define various yoga types created in the last 150 years as a result of Westerners’ interactions with Indians and their interest in Indian religions. According to Joseph S. Alter (2018), “modern yoga”, a practice that focuses more on physical fitness and wellness, is a result of the twentieth-century “yoga renaissance”. De Michelis (2004) marks 1849 and 1893 as two major dates that created foundations of Modern Yoga. In 1849, Henry David Thoreau announced himself as a “yogi” to one of his friends in a letter. This is considered as the first use of the word “yoga” by a Westerner. Thoreau’s definition of yoga was heavily derived from Indian texts such as Harivamsa and he studied yoga intensively.

Swami Vivekananda’s role in yoga’s introduction to the Western world shows how the collective imagination Appadurai (1996) talks about is created in such a mobile world. Vivekananda’s speech in 1893 at Chicago during the World Parliament of Religions is accepted as the moment yoga reached a large audience in the USA (De Michelis, 2004). Another important figure in the 20th century modern yoga practice is T. Krishnamacharya, the master of very famous names in yoga such as B.K.S Iyengar, Indra Devi and T.K.V. Desikachar who also had a great impact on the modern yoga practice. He is named as the “father of the modern yoga” as he brought

a new breath to yoga by adapting the practice to the Western cultures (Singleton and Fraser, 2014). Krishnamacharya created a dynamic asana practice routine that was a combination of Hatha yoga, wrestling and gymnastics which became popular among the Indian youth ("The Ancient and Modern Roots of Yoga", 2019).

The “originality” of the yoga practice and how the basic principles of yoga are perceived and interpreted by different yoga studios came up as an issue during my research. Many of the research participants criticized other yoga schools for lacking some aspects of yoga and focusing only on *asana* practice. These tensions between yoga trainers also constitute the foundations of the competition in this newly emerging market. The criticisms against “modern yoga” is not a new argument. Ever since the emergence of yoga, it has been transformed into different practice routines (Jain, 2012). The modern yoga is often generalized as a series of physical practices (*asana*) along with breathing exercises (*pranayama*) (Jain, 2012).

2.2. Literature Review on Neoliberalism and Main Approaches

The period after the 1970s when the state intervention started to be replaced by liberalist ideology is defined as “neoliberalism” by some scholars. Saad-Filho and Johnston (2005) defined our age as the “age of neoliberalism” while Mudge (2008) defines neoliberalism as “an oft-invoked but ill-defined concept in social sciences” (Mudge, 2008).

Keynesianism was the dominant economic framework between 1945 and 1970. Thomas Palley, in “From Keynesianism to Neoliberalism: Shifting Paradigms in Economics” claims that in the mid-1970s, Keynesianism was replaced by a “revived” neoliberalism (Palley, 2005). According to Palley, the revival of neoliberalism had been enabled both by economic and cultural circumstances. Ela Veresiu and Markus Gieseler (2018) point to the Mont Pelerin Society that consisted of economists, social scientists and philosophers such as Friedrich Hayek, Frank Knight, Karl Popper, Ludwig von Mises, George Stigler and Milton Friedman as the start of

neoliberalism. Mont Pelerin Society was a think tank founded to discuss free market economies, government's role in the world systems and individual freedom.

For the last twenty years, neoliberalism has been a popular subject among anthropologists as well (Kipnis, 2007). Mathieu Hilgers (2010) states that the discipline of anthropology helps to understand subjects that economics and political science may not be enough to explain; such as how the neoliberal practices are adopted across the globe by different societies. Although there is not a consensus on the definition and foundations of neoliberalism among scholars, Hilgers (2010) summarizes the three common points of the various anthropological approaches to neoliberalism. First of all, anthropologists refer to a radical form of capitalism with reduced state intervention, flexibility of the market place, individualism as opposed to collectivism, and an emphasis on individual freedom when talking about neoliberal foundations. Secondly, scholars differentiate theoretical neoliberalism from practical neoliberalism. Lastly, according to Hilgers (2010), anthropologists try to analyze "the production and global spread of what are called neoliberal practices and representations" (Hilgers, 2010).

Mathieu Hilgers (2010) defines three main anthropological approaches to neoliberalism as the culturalism, the systemic, and an approach based on governmentality. Loic Wacquant (2012), on the other hand, considers anthropology of neoliberalism to be "polarized" between the market rule and the Foucauldian notion of governmentality. Governmentality scholars explain neoliberal mechanisms as a connected web of attributes such as body, gender, consumption, education etc. that constitute self-production (Wacquant, 2012). Foucault's theory of governmentality goes beyond the notion of state and includes all forces, institutions, measures, organizations, actors and such that regulate the individual and common administration (Slater and Tonkiss, 2001). Feeding from a Deleuzian thought, some scholars supporting the governmentality approach, such as Aihwa Ong (2007), argue that there are multiple versions of neoliberal practices, as different combinations lead to hybrid practices. To Ong, neoliberalism cannot be defined as a single concept as there are multiple versions of neoliberalism across cultures.

Wacquant presents three approaches to understand the “actually existing” neoliberalism, deriving from Bourdieu’s concept of bureaucratic field. Wacquant firstly claims that neoliberalism, like any other market ideology, is a political project rather than an economic one. Secondly, he defines the neoliberal state as a “Centaur-like” state for reinforcing the freedom at one side while taking punishing actions to protect the state at the same time. Lastly, Wacquant thinks that penalizing the poor is a result of neoliberal politics to increase market freedom (Wacquant, 2012). Henry Giroux also argues that neoliberalism creates “bio politics of disposability” where the poor minorities are left to barren in poor neighborhoods (Giroux, 2007).

The liberalization wave in the world and its effects on social life and class structures is another point that should not be missed. Bourdieu (1984)’s theory of distinction and habitus aid us to understand the reasons behind the rise of yoga among certain classes. I have adopted a Bourdieu’s cultural-structural approach to class in this study and I refer to cultural, social, and symbolic capital besides economic capital people aspire to gain.

Francis Fukuyama, in his article “Can Liberal Democracy Survive the Decline of the Middle Class?” explains the possible outcomes of liberalization in global world. Fukuyama (2012) thinks that the liberal democracy is currently a dominant ideology for being enabled by socioeconomic structures. When these structures alter, they have an effect on the economy and when economic conditions change, they impact the social ideologies and structures.

Ulrich Beck (1992) contributed to the studies of late modern societies with his idea of the “risk society”. Beck (1992) defines the post-industrial modernity as the reflexive modernity when the distribution of the risks caused by the modernization itself and their unplanned consequences becomes critical. Risks have been a part of our lives, even before the period Beck defines as the “reflexive modernity”. In that sense, Beck (1992) claims that whether the risks themselves or our knowledge of them have been intensified does not make a change as “risks in knowledge, perceptions of risks and risks are not different things” (Beck, 1992). Sørensen (2002)

thinks that instead of “risk”, “hazard” or “self-jeopardy” fits the definition of “risk society” better. In such an era of uncertainty and unforeseeable risks, Beck (1992) lists three main processes take place: redistribution of risk and wealth, de-standardization of labor and individualization.

David Harvey (2014) defines neoliberalism as a political and economic theory of practices which claim that individual welfare can be attained via liberalization of individual’s “entrepreneurial freedoms and skills” within a market distinguished by its emphasis on private property, liberalization of market and free trade. In “The Death of the Social? Re-figuring the Territory of Government” Nicholas Rose (1996) states that in the era of neoliberalism, the citizens are re-defined as self-responsible, entrepreneurial, independent beings who are responsible of surviving in the market conditions. Similarly, Heiman, Freeman and Lietchy (2012) support this idea by claiming that neoliberal policies not only boost the consumption, but they also create a new, independent, consumerist and entrepreneurial middle class.

Bauman (2000) argues that individualization which is reinforced by the postmodernity ends the traditional citizenship. The individualization also brings about “self-critique”. Individuals of the modern world have nobody else to blame other than themselves for their suffering. Thomas Lemke (2002) also highlights that in the neoliberal era, individual’s responsibility is on his own hands and he is responsible of his faith. Lemke (2002) states that the neoliberal ideology puts the moral responsibility and the responsibility to cope with risks on the individual and the collectives.

2.3. Literature Review on Consumer Culture: Understanding Yoga as a Market

People turn to consumption to liberate themselves from the struggles of the daily life. In *Liquid Modernity*, Zygmund Bauman (2000) stresses the consumption’s role in such an escape. Bauman (2000), quoting from T.H. Marshall, states that: “when many people simultaneously run in the same direction, two questions need to be asked: what are they running after and what are they running from”. He explains that the escape through consumption could be because people are after pleasurable

moments or because they are trying to run away from insecurities and uncertainties of life. The idea of questioning what people are indeed trying to escape from and what they are running after also constitutes one of the fundamentals of my research question. Throughout my interviews and observations, I tried to understand how yoga became a safe haven to the highly educated with promising careers and good living conditions while continuously questioning what might have been causing the stress and dissatisfaction to them.

According to Baudrillard (1998), consumption is beyond the exchange of goods and services and it is not an activity based on needs, joy and fulfilment. Consumption constitutes a social structure, “an order of significations” in Baudrillard’s theory. He thinks that “anything can become a consumer object” and consumption exists in every part of our lives, not only in a defined marketplace (Baudrillard, 1998).

Consumer culture theory (CCT) provides a point of view to understand the consumption’s role in the need for escape from predefined identities and class structures. CCT is a field analyzing the heterogeneity of the consumer culture and consumer identities within the globalizing market economy and consumerist system. The CCT is an interdisciplinary theory enriched with business, marketing, anthropology, sociology, social psychology, design, history and semiotic studies and it aims to unfold the deeper meanings behind consumer identities and consumption habits (Arnould and Thompson, 2005). Consumer Culture Theory is a theory that embraces multiple fields’ views and multiple research methodologies, both qualitative and quantitative.

According to Consumer Culture Theory Consortium “Consumer Culture” refers to “the system of commercially produced images, signs, discourses, experiences, and material objects that social groups use to make collective sense of their environments and to orient their identities and social experiences” (“About CCT – Consumer Culture Theory”, 2019). Arnould and Thompson (2005) in their article “Consumer Culture Theory (CCT): Twenty Years of Research” summarize the approaches to

the theory, exploring CCT's contributions to the theories of consumer research while very successfully mapping out the last twenty years of the studies in the field. Communal consumption experiences are some of the ways of escaping daily hustles and problems. People with common interests can sometimes form communities of consumption. While studying yoga communities, I could see that they were acting a lot like subcultures of consumption, and even like brand communities from time to time. The concept and characteristics of consumption communities and subcultures of consumption have been studied vastly by marketing scholars (Arnould and Price 1993; Celsi, Rose, and Leigh 1993; Holt 1995; Muniz and O'Guinn, 2001; McAlexander, Schouten and Koenig, 2002; Ouwersloot and Odekerken-Schröder, 2008). Other commonly studied field of brand communities are the online brand communities and their engagements with brands through internet and social media channels (Fischer, Bristor, and Gainer 1996; Marchi, Giachetti and de Gennaro, 2011; Wirtz et al., 2013; Dessart, Veloutsou and Morgan-Thomas, 2015; Hajli, Shanmugam, Papagiannidis, Zahay and Richard, 2017). McAlexander and Schouten (1995)'s famous ethnographic study of Harley Davidson motorcycle community, an example of a subculture of consumption, is a great example of brand community studies. They define the subculture of consumption as "a distinctive subgroup of society that self-selects on the basis of a share commitment to a particular product class, brand or consumption activity" with an "identifiable, hierarchical social structure; a unique ethos, or set of shared beliefs and values; unique jargons, rituals, and modes of symbolic expression" (McAlexander and Schouten, 1995).

McAlexander and Shouten's ethnographic study contains a lot of depth and layers. When analyzing the Harley Davidson subculture, they go beyond the traditional understanding of consumption habits and show the complex the symbolic meanings behind such a group and analyze how these people formed a subculture that liberated them from all the social norms, identities, labels and market imposed consumption patterns.

Subgroups are heavily studied by anthropologists and cultural anthropologists. Arnold van Gennep (1909)'s "Rites of Passage" is a strong analysis of rituals of pas-

sage from one group, level or stage to the other. Van Gennep defines the three stages of rites of passages as separation, liminality and incorporation. Liminal identities exist in between passages to certain groups or stages (Van Gennep, 1909). I will borrow Gennep's liminal identity and rites of passage notions to define yoga teacher training course attendees' passages to becoming professional yoga instructors.

The study of marketplace cultures is another field of CCT. Bernard Cova and Avi Shankar (2018) in *Consumption Tribes and Collective Performance* use the idea of "rites of passage" from Arnold van Gennep (1960) and Victor Turner (1974)'s interpretation of the rites of passage as periods of liminal identities when writing on consumer tribes and brand communities and their characteristics. The liminal periods create an anti-structure that is out of daily routines and everyday life (Turner, 1969). People reconstruct their identities and create symbolically meaningful experiences through communal practices (Cova and Shankar, 2018). Consumer tribes and brand communities show the significance of more complex relations between the producers and consumers than an individualistic act of purchase. Whatever the drive behind bringing these people together is, these communities can also gain the power to change the common perception of an item and alter the meanings created marketed by brands. Sandıkçı and Ger (2010)'s study of Turkish women's recreation of veil's image into a fashion garment is a perfect example of this case.

Coşkuner-Ballı and Ertimur's research on American yoga practice is an analysis of yoga as a hybrid, global practice. They aimed to explore how yoga was appropriated to American culture, how it was marketed and how the individuals adopted it. They collected articles on yoga published in the USA between 1980 and 2012 while also making participant observation in yoga classes for five years (Coşkuner-Ballı and Ertimur, 2015). Their research showed that yoga was deterritorialized and re-adopted to American culture by detaching the practice from its Hindu roots and showcasing its health and fitness benefits.

Andrea Jain (2015), in "Selling Yoga: From Counterculture to Pop Culture" aims to locate modern postural yoga within the modern consumer culture. After analyzing

how the most famous names of yoga in the Western world such as Krishnamacharya, Iyengar and Muktananda created their own yoga styles, she tries to understand how the new “entrepreneur” yogis create their own yoga brand. In the modern postural yoga system, as previously analyzed by other scholars (De Michelis 2004; Strauss 2005; Singleton 2010), the main promise is to ameliorate the individual’s overall being via physiological and spiritual changes. According to Jain, in the current market capitalism, it is critical for yoga entrepreneurs to target the individuals and find ways to personalize yoga experience for them (Jain, 2015). The “branding yoga” section correlates with my findings in the Turkish market as well. One of the outcomes of my research is that the yoga instructors need to act like entrepreneurs, even if they are working with a studio, and they are responsible from creating their own brand to attract new students.

Back in 1944, Karl Polanyi stated that a market economy needs a market society to live in (Polanyi, 1944). Many scholars refer to new citizenship in neoliberal era as “market citizenship”. In “Creating Citizen-Consumers: Changing Publics and Changing Public Services” Clarke et al (2007) compare a citizen to a consumer and by combining these two concepts, they define a new mode of citizenship: the consumer citizen. Citizen is defined as a public figure while consumer is more individualistic and more isolated; thus the citizen seeks public interest while the consumer aims for individual benefits (Clarke et al, 2007).

In “Market Society: Markets and Modern Social Theory”, Don Slater and Fran Tonkiss (2001) examine market structures and theories to analyze the social settings. Referring to Polanyi (1977), they explain how the entire society in the modern world can be interpreted as a “market society” for being deeply ingrained within the economic mechanisms. Neoliberalism aims to turn the society into a market, a “universe of aggregated transactions” (Comaroff and Comaroff, 2000). Rachel S. Turner (2008) and Slater and Tonkiss (2001) similarly claim that the market is in the center of the neoliberal thought. Slater and Tonkiss explain that the neoliberal “economic government” accepts the means and ends of the government to be based on economic foundations. They state that:

Market prosperity is seen as the surest basis for social good, while economic principles ensure that government agencies pursue market-based standards of efficiency, value for money and frugality (Slater and Tonkiss, 2001).

Slater and Tonkiss explain the main aim of “Market Society: Markets and Modern Social Theory” is exploring the theories of market and the highly variable markets themselves to find out how the market itself and market behavior contributes to “the production and the reproduction of the modern social order” (Slater and Tonkiss, 2001). The marketplace, where the transactions between buyers and sellers take place, has a unique cultural aspect with deep social meanings. Slater and Tonkiss do not refer to a place where simple commodity exchange takes place when talking about the “market”. For instance, they refer to Braudel (1982) to show how even legal contracts might be considered as creating a market for lawyers. Also, they highlight that the neoliberal, free markets are indeed still regulated by state institutions to “create, secure and control market structures” (Slater and Tonkiss, 2001). Clarke et al (2007) state that the idea of need for regulation continues in the neoliberal era although it has transformed into a “governing at a distance” via “self-regulating subject” (Clarke et al, 2007). Veresiu and Giesler state that the neoliberalism ideology altered the government’s role from “regulators to facilitators” and such approach leads to putting global problems such as global warming and poverty into the society and individual consumers and creates the notion of “responsible consumer” (Veresiu and Giesler, 2018).

In the era of market society where the pressures on the individuals increase and the promises of neoliberal ideologies fail, religion and spiritual practices started to rise (Hefner 1998; Coleman 2000; Comaroff and Comaroff 1999). Comaroff and Comaroff (1999)’s “occult economy” is a concept that explains the refuge into spiritualism, mysticism and religion from neoliberal dynamics. Doramir Rudnykyj (2009) proposes the term “spiritual economies” instead of “occult economy” and highlighting the manipulation of religious symbols for economic purposes.

Consumer Culture Theory considers individual consumers as an active participant in the formation of the market itself and analyze “consumer-produced markets” as a

result of such active interaction between consumers and the market (Karababa and Scaraboto, 2018). When consumers do not have access to their needs in the market, they can take entrepreneurial or collective actions to create their own solution (Thompson and Coşkun-Ballı, 2007). Karababa and Scaraboto (2018) give the example of Small Chapels Movement as a consumer produced market. Unlike a capitalist market, such consumer created markets might have motivations driven by common values beyond economic ones which makes the acceptance of economic activities of the organization plausible for its co-creators.

An important argument about counterculture movements towards dominant market structure is that these counterculture movements get co-opted by the dominant ideologies and norms of the marketplace. Thompson and Coşkun-Ballı (2007) argue that such co-optation by the dominant market can also receive a counteract response from the counterculture in an “attenuated” version of the anti-market arguments (Thompson and Coşkun-Ballı, 2007).

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, I will present the research methodologies used for this study, data collection methods, sampling, in-depth interviews and informant profile. I will also talk about the ethics and trustworthiness of this study as well as the limitations of the research and the potential for future research.

3.1. Data Collection

My research started in November 2018. I started by conducting a preliminary research to construct the research questions of my study. I attended yoga sessions at different yoga studios at that time to analyze yoga communities in Ankara. I took part in introduction courses of yoga teacher training programs to learn more about the curriculum of these programs and observe the attendees. Those experiences were also very useful to get familiarized with major yoga studios and famous yoga teachers in Ankara.

I am very lucky to have a close friend who was talking her advanced yoga teacher training certification during the time of my research. She introduced me to her friends who gave me wonderful ideas that shaped my research. I had a lot of occasions to get together with candidate yoga teachers to hear their stories. Before starting my in-depth interviews, I wanted to join a retreat to have a chance to do participant observation.

In May 2019, I had the perfect opportunity. I joined a meditation retreat that took two full days. It was the final chapter of the three-hundred-hours yoga teacher training program where I found myself among fifty yoga teachers. This camp was also significant for consisting of an advanced yoga teacher training group. These people

were devoted enough to pursue their yoga training after the two hundred hour basic training and get the necessary formation to become a “teacher trainer”. I devoted a section to my observations from the meditation camp. It was the perfect setting to get to know the field and witness the experience as a participant. During the camp, I also had a chance to network with people to later help me with my in-depth interviews.

Since the yoga teachers are also very active on social network sites, I also used netnography as a secondary data source besides participant observation and twelve in-depth interviews. Netnography is a method of ethnographic research which makes use of internet based technology to analyze the online communities and social networks (Kozinets, 2015). This goes beyond the mere statistical analytics of the online data and aims to unearth the context and meaning behind the shared content. I used netnographic research methodology throughout my research process.

All of the yoga teachers I have met had an Instagram page which they actively used. I started to follow yoga instructors’ and yoga studios’ Instagram pages. Later I found out that there were also some yoga instructors with personal YouTube channels. YouTube videos vary from asana flows to guided meditation sessions, and informative videos on mindfulness, yoga sutras, karma, getting over depression and such. Zeynep Aksoy, the co-founder of YogaŞala and Cihangir Yoga, has a YouTube channel with over fifteen thousand subscribers as of August 2019 and over one hundred and eighty videos. The regularly uploaded videos helped me during my research to understand basic concepts about yoga and the concepts related to it while also providing me insight about how the yoga community I focused on interprets yoga.

The Yoga Alliance website and the Turkish Sports for All Federation’s website and ordinances were used as secondary resources for the research on becoming a yoga teacher. An interview with a committee member of the Turkish Yoga Federation was conducted to analyze different approaches to yoga teacher training, teacher and studio certification in Turkey.

3.1.1. Field Notes

During the in-depth interviews, after getting the consent of the participants, a voice recording application was used to record the interview. Total recorded time of the interviews was around six hundred minutes. I have also taken notes on a notebook to write down my observations during the interviews. The facial expressions, gestures, the setting of the interview location, the way people were dressed completed the context and helped me analyze their answers better.

For participant observations, I have attended multiple yoga sessions and a meditation camp. During the meditation camp, I had enough time to take notes on the field. I was also very lucky to be granted a guidebook that included basic concepts of yoga and fundamentals of meditation. Yoga classes usually take between forty to sixty minutes. During that time, there is almost no chance to take notes. It was a challenge to note down my observations, and remember the details after a busy yoga class. I have collected all of my field notes on word files to easily transcribe and categorize them.

3.2. Sampling

The target profile was very clear from the beginning: yoga instructors and yoga teacher training course attendees. As most of the yoga studios have teacher training programs and they announce these programs online, it was easy to spot my target audience.

I have decided to focus on two of the major yoga studios in Ankara, YogaŞala and Cihangir Yoga as they are accepted as the pioneers of the yoga industry. They are also the ones that graduate the largest number of yoga teachers each year. Besides these two major studios, I also contacted relatively new and small businesses. Including these smaller studios enabled me to investigate the market dynamics better.

Firstly, I reached out to my close yoga instructor friends to be introduced to their yoga network. I have attended internship sessions where I met many future yoga teachers. The meditation camp was a golden opportunity to meet fifty yoga instructors and two of the founding partners of a major yoga studio. It was relatively easy to reach out to junior yoga teachers as I had a closer relationship with them. They spared time for in-depth interviews and were very helpful and involved during the interviews. Unfortunately, I cannot say the same for the famous yoga instructors. I tried to reach out to many of them through common friends, yoga studios and even via Instagram direct messages but I was unable to get response from many, let alone be able to book an interview. This was an unexpected challenge I faced during my research.

Snowball sampling was the sampling method I used for my research. Yoga studios create their own communities. Once I reached out to someone from the group, it was easy to reach out to rest via recommendations. I also had a chance to conduct a few on spot interviews when I visited the yoga studios. The people who were interested in my research were happy to spend time with me on the spot and answer my questions.

3.3. In Depth Interviews

In depth interviews took place between July 2019 and August 2019. I have interviewed twelve people in total, five of them being professional yoga teachers. I prepared over twenty questions to ask but the interviews turned into semi-structured ones quickly. All interviews started with a generic questions to get to know the participant. I have also asked questions to understand the motivations to start yoga, how yoga transformed their lives, and their perceptions on yoga as a profession.

I could clearly spot a difference between the responses of the professional yoga teachers and candidate yoga teachers in terms of their approach to yoga as a business and teaching yoga as a profession. I had to probe candidate teachers to get their profound answers on their motivations to start a yoga teacher training and whether

or not they were planning to pursue their career in yoga. They did not want to seem too ambitious or as if they did not internalize the basic principles of yoga. Professional yoga teachers, on the other hand, were more open in terms of expressing their opinions on yoga as a business. Being a business owner themselves, they elaborated on what it takes to be a professional yoga teacher and how the yoga business works.

Being an outsider was an advantage and a disadvantage at the same time. Yoga teacher training groups and the yoga community are closed communities in general. Each yoga instructor and yoga studio build their own community and irregular yoga session attendees or total outsiders cannot easily be a part of these groups. This did not stop me from conducting participant observation, but it definitely was an obstacle to reach out to people for in-depth interviews. On the positive side, professional yoga teachers stated that they have felt more comfortable to speak to someone totally outside of yoga circle. They were able to address their criticism frankly as they knew that I was collecting such information for research purposes.

3.3.1. Sample Profile

I conducted in-depth interviews with twelve people for the research. Five of them were professional yoga teachers while the rest was yoga teacher training attendees, the aspiring yoga teachers. All the names provided are pseudonym to respect confidentiality of the subjects. Table 1 summarizes the informant profile:

Table 1

Informant Profile

Informants	Education	Occupation/Previous Occupation	Gender	Age
Ceren	B.S.	Mechanical Engineer/-	Female	29
Zehra	B.S.	Industrial Engineer/-	Female	31
Ezgi	B.S.	Yoga Instructor/ Marketing Specialist	Female	29
Yusuf	High School/B.S Drop	Yoga Studio Owner and Yoga Instructor/-	Male	34
Savaş	B.A.	Yoga Instructor/Sales Manager	Male	43
Toprak	B.A.	Yoga Instructor/ Personal Trainer and Martial Arts Coach	Male	34
Ayla	Prof. Dr.	Professor/-	Female	63
Mine	B.S.	Advertiser/-	Female	43
Tuççe	M.S.	Marketing and Sales Specialist/-	Female	30
Duygu	B.S.	Yoga Instructor/ Operation Specialist	Female	41
Sıla	B.S.	Industrial Engineer/-	Female	30
Eda	B.A.	Chef/Kindergarten Teacher	Female	38

As it can be seen from the informant profile, yoga teachers and aspiring teachers are highly educated. Except for one, they are all university graduates. The high school graduate left Middle East Technical University after starting to earn his life on yoga courses. Informants mostly consisted of people in their late twenties and thirties. Three of the in-depth interviews were conducted with men. Yoga course attendees and yoga teacher training students observed during the research were also mostly women; however, further quantitative research is needed to make a clear statement about the gender distribution of yoga practitioners and yoga teachers in Turkey.

3.4. Translation of Interviews

All interviews were conducted and recorded in Turkish and translated into English by the researcher. The translation was used as a method to not convey the responses wrongly. As the yoga terms are in Sanskrit, many Sanskrit words were often used by the respondents. These Sanskrit words are written down as is since these words would lose their meaning when translated. Brief explanations of these terms and concepts are provided in the related chapters to help the reader understand the context better.

3.5. Data Analysis

A mass of primary data through was collected by interviews, participant observations during yoga courses. The researcher attended a meditation camp as part of the participant observation. It was critical to categorize the phenomena into common themes to create a theoretical basis for the research.

To trace the interview answers, a categorization matrix was created. Miles, Huberman and Saldana (2019)'s methodology of designing matrices and driving meanings from them by noting patterns, themes and contrasts was very helpful to categorize the research notes. In the below table, an example matrix of interview question themes and respondents' answers are provided.

Table 2

Categorization of Interview Responses

Informant	Yoga Training Level	Motivations to Attend a Yoga TT/Or Becoming a Yoga Trainer	Perceptions of Yoga	Criticized Practices
Ceren	RYT500	Monetizing experience & properly learning yoga	Transformation of mind and body	Focusing only on the appearance and asana
Zehra	RYT500	Properly learning yoga & healing	A philosophy of knowledge	Focusing only on the appearance and asana
Ezgi	RYT200 & Advanced Yin Yoga	Escaping corporate environment	A healing practice	Manipulation of students, mystification of practice
Yusuf	Thought by a mentor, no certification	Escaping corporate environment & healing	A practice of self-discovery, transformation of lifestyle	Lack of practice and knowledge, easiness of becoming a certified trainer
Savaş	RYT500	Escaping corporate environment	A tool of self-actualization and discovery	Lack of practice, and knowledge
Toprak	RYT200 & Advanced Yin Yoga	Deepening & disseminating knowledge	Transformation of body & healing	Yoga as a sport, lack of anatomy knowledge
Ayla	Certified by Yoga Federation	Deepening & disseminating knowledge	A healing practice	Manipulation, acting as a cult
Mine	RYT500	Escaping corporate environment	A philosophy of knowledge	Focusing only on the appearance and asana
Tuğçe	RYT200	Healing	Transformation of mind and body	-
Duygu	RYT500	Escaping corporate environment & Self Actualization	Self-discovery	Lack of personal dedication and passion
Sıla	RYT500	Properly learning yoga	Methodology to transform body and mind	-
Eda	RYT500	Escaping corporate environment	Self-discovery	Commercialization of yoga

3.6. Ethical Considerations and Trustworthiness

Even though this study does not involve any elements that would harm participants physically or physiologically, to ensure ethical trustworthiness, necessary approvals were taken from the Middle East Technical University's Human Research Ethics Committee. The aim and the details of the study were shared with the participants prior to research and their oral and written consent was taken. All participants were also informed that their names were not going to be used in the research. I have used pseudonyms to ensure participant privacy.

In order to ensure the trustworthiness of the research, several methodologies defined by Belk and Wallendorf (1989) were utilized. First of all, as I have been a yoga practitioner for over ten years, I had the opportunity to collect my interpretations from a prolonged engagement with the phenomena. Such familiarity with the phenomena can also lead to observer's bias or taking the phenomena for granted (Wirth, 1964). In order to eliminate such bias, observations and interpretations were cross checked with the research group. Member checks (Belk and Wallendorf, 1989) allowed the researcher to re-analyze misinterpretations and my preconceptions of the phenomena. The primary data was supported with secondary data sources to strengthen the creditability and reliability of observations from primary data sources.

3.7. Limitations and Future Research

Yoga is a very complex subject to study. Although there is a lack of studies in anthropology and sociology focusing on yoga, it has been studied by many disciplines from various angles. While analyzing this complex topic, religion and gender aspects of the context were not questioned due to the nature of the research methodology and theoretical framework chosen to approach to the subject.

In order to create a coherent piece, the focus of the thesis is on yoga as a profession in the neoliberal era in Ankara. Lack of quantitative data and qualitative researches

in the research subject limited the secondary resources of the study. The research participants consisted of only three men which limited the ability of this research to evaluate the subject from a gender perspective.

Although gender and religious dynamics are closely tied with the elements shaping the yoga market, they were not questioned as a part of this research. Studying yoga market from a gender perspective, and a new religious movement perspective are potentials for future research. Also, different yoga schools and communities can be questioned as forms of new religious movements to understand their significance and reasons of emergence in the Turkish culture.

CHAPTER 4

BECOMING A PROFESSIONAL YOGA TEACHER

As a way of becoming a yoga teacher, Yoga Alliance certification programs are quite popular among yoga practitioners in Ankara. Being an American non-profit organization shaping the yoga certification fundamentals around the world, it gives us an interesting example of an Indian practice can become institutionalized and globalized by an American institution. When we analyze the basic principles, curriculum and standards of the Yoga Alliance certifications, we also get an idea on how the neoliberalist ideologies shape the yoga practice.

Yoga defined by Patanjali is a set of practices and teachings that need to be internalized by individuals. Every individual needs to go through his/her own journey of self-discovery. In the traditional master-student teaching methodology, masters watch their students closely and monitor their development one by one. There is not a certain timeframe or milestone to define one as a master or mark their level. By defining the necessary hours or learning and practicing and a curriculum, setting the standards for “levels” of yoga teachers, Yoga Alliance fits yoga and yoga teacher training into a condensed, standardized methodology. Major yoga studios in Ankara attract new students with an internationally valid Yoga Alliance certification course program and graduate up to fifty students every six months. Every person meeting the requirements of the course can get a certification and level their way up by getting more advanced Yoga Alliance certifications. It is similar to a corporate job where you have clearly defined performance objectives and goals to get a promotion. Yoga Alliance standards also empower individuals by providing a measurement tool to define their experience and expertise as yoga trainers. Even though it is not solely enough to be certified by Yoga Alliance to prove the quality of teaching to yoga market and gain customers, Yoga Alliance still does bring a basis for proving individual success and expertise.

In this section, I will briefly define the Yoga Alliance certifications to show how they create a career path for a spiritual practice, their membership policies to uncover how they create a marketplace for yoga community and dominate global yoga teaching standards. Main aims are to show how Yoga Alliance's ideologies parallel with the neoliberalist ideologies, and how it contributes to capitalization of yoga and re-definition of yoga teaching. I will also talk about the regulations in Turkey since this study focuses on the yoga community in Ankara.

4.1. An Overview of Yoga Alliance Standards and Yoga Teacher Training

The Yoga Alliance is an American non-profit yoga organization. It is the largest yoga organization in the world and its standards and certification programs are widely accepted worldwide. As of August 2019, there are 225 yoga alliance registered yoga teachers in Turkey ("Directory-Registrants | Yoga Alliance", 2019).

Yoga Alliance was formed to set nationwide standards for yoga teachers and yoga studios. The idea to set standards for yoga teacher trainings was discussed during Yoga Journal conference in 1997. Yoga trainers and practitioners gathered under a group called "Yoga Dialogue" which later formed the Yoga Alliance in order to set standards for yoga teachers and studios. Since there is not a governing body for yoga, non-governmental alliances and communities like Yoga Alliance try to prescribe the foundations of yoga.

There are now over 9,700 yoga teachers and 380 yoga schools registered to the Yoga Alliance. The numbers of registered yoga teachers have significantly increased after the enablement of online registration in 2010 ("History | Yoga Alliance", 2019).

4.1.1. Studio, Registered Yoga School and YACEP Explained

Yoga courses are commonly held at yoga studios. In this thesis, I use studio as a general term to define physical places where yoga courses take place. To the Yoga

Alliance, all studios that are not registered with the Yoga Alliance are considered as regular studios while the ones registered are classified as Registered Yoga Schools, shortly RYS. Registered Yoga Schools are eligible to offer yoga teacher training courses. Both yoga studios and RYSs are businesses run by an individual or a group.

The Yoga Alliance introduced a new concept in 2016: Yoga Alliance Continuing Education Provider (YACEP, in short). YACEPs are individual yoga experts that are able to teach at multiple locations who can also offer remote courses. YACEP is a title given only to the individuals who have advanced teaching expertise in yoga. RYS owners can also become a YACEP but the registered yoga school itself cannot become a YACEP ("What's the difference between a yoga studio, an RYS and a YACEP? | Yoga Alliance", 2019). One also needs to become an Experienced Registered Yoga Teacher (E-RYT) to be eligible for a YACEP. Becoming a YACEP is defined as an opportunity for experienced yoga teachers to “share their knowledge and reach new students” ("Are You Eligible to be a YACEP®? | Yoga Alliance", 2019). This can be interpreted as Yoga Alliance’s attempt to support individuals to grow their business and create more yoga entrepreneurs. As discussed in the previous chapter, neoliberalism highly encourages individualism and entrepreneurship.). David Harvey (2014) underlines the rise of individual freedoms and entrepreneurship in the neoliberal market. Supporting this idea, Heiman, Freeman and Lietchy (2012) state that neoliberal policies lead to creation of an independent, and entrepreneurial middle class. Paralleling with the theories on increase of entrepreneurship in the neoliberal markets, “yoga entrepreneurs” are created and supported by an international organization, Yoga Alliance. With programs like YACEP, people are encouraged to create their own businesses rather than becoming a full time instructor at a studio. Yoga Alliance also helps these yoga entrepreneurs to have access to a database of “potential customers” without the need to be associated with a yoga studio. Yoga Alliance defines YACEP as a prestigious, advanced level for yoga teachers and encourages experienced individuals to build up their reputation with the help of a Yoga Alliance approved title.

4.2. Becoming a Registered Yoga Teacher: Different Levels of Yoga Alliance Registered Yoga Teacher Certifications

4.2.1. Registered Yoga Teacher 200

The most basic Yoga Alliance certification for yoga teachers is the Registered Yoga Teacher 200, RYT200 in short. RYT200 is a two hundred hours long program offered by registered yoga schools to enable and certificate individuals who want to become yoga teachers. RYT200 training programs are offered by many yoga studios in Turkey as well.

Curriculum of the RYT200 and all other RYT programs are outlined by Yoga Alliance. 200 Hours Yoga Teacher programs usually take six to nine months. The meeting dates are set and announced with the announcement of the program. The RYT200 and all other yoga specialization programs finish with a retreat which is also compulsory. Retreats take place in popular holiday locations in Turkey such as Kaş, Olimpos and Bodrum. Average fee for an RYT200 program in Ankara is around 7500-8000 Turkish Liras, excluding the transportation and accommodation costs of the compulsory retreat. Attendees are also granted with unlimited access to all yoga courses offered by the yoga studio during the RYT program period. The two biggest yoga studios in Ankara, YogaŞala and Cihangir Yoga hold two RYT200 programs per year and accept fifty attendees to each program.

Yoga Alliance defines the current RYT200 certification program's 200 hours roughly designated into compulsory categories as follows:

- Techniques, Training and Practice (*Asanas, pranayamas*, meditation, chanting, mantra and similar yoga techniques):100 hours
- Teaching Methodology (Fundamentals of yoga teaching, communication, demonstration, addressing individuals' needs during a session, business aspects of yoga): 25 hours
- Anatomy and physiology: 20 hours

- Yoga Philosophy, Lifestyle and Ethics for Yoga Teachers: 30 hours
- Practicum (Practicing being the lead instructor, observing others lead a session, assisting someone to teach): 10 hours

RYT200 programs currently need to include at least 180 hours of “contact hours” held in physical presence and may offer 20 hours of non-contact hours which can be all types of online and offline resources that can be integrated into the curriculum via tests, assignments, presentations and such (“200-Hour Standards | Yoga Alliance” 2019). More detailed information about the curriculum and explanations of required trainings can be found on Yoga Alliance website.

As the standards set by Yoga Alliance create a global framework for yoga teacher training, all RYT200 programs offered in Turkey have a similar curriculum. 200 hours are deployed into weeks and meetings are usually held bi-weekly. Attendees need to allocate weekends and Friday evenings to the training to finalize the program. Most yoga studios also require RYT200 attendees to regularly join yoga sessions offered by the studio to complete extra hours. The RYT200 program can take up to nine months. Besides regular meetings, RYT200 attendees also have weekly and daily assignments to fulfil. The RYT200 training is an intensive program and require high level of involvement and dedication to be completed.

Yoga Alliance recently updated the RYS200 standards in June 2019 and these new standards will be effective by February 2020. All existing RYSs need to upgrade to these new standards latest by 31 December 2021. Yoga Alliance currently allows up to 40 hours of online courses. Yoga Alliance’s agenda shows that in the following years, internet based courses will increase. Yoga practitioners already heavily utilize internet as a mean of learning, disseminating knowledge and networking with other practitioners. Yoga Alliance is trying to keep up with the fundamental changes Web 2.0 brought into our lives by including online courses into teacher training curriculum. The organization also started to increase the minimum hours of teaching for the lead trainers significantly from 65 hours to 200 hours since lack of teaching practice was one of the main points of criticism. As can be seen from the below fig-

ure, the Yoga Alliance increased the necessary minimum hours of practice. Detailed comparison between the current and the new RYS200 standards can be seen in the below image:

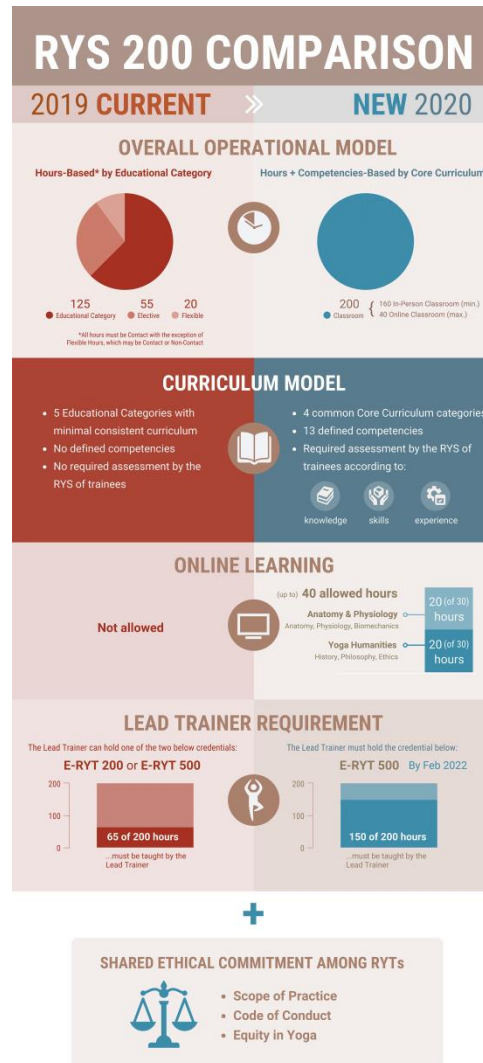


Figure 1. RYS200 Current and New 2020 Standards Comparison

Retrieved from:

https://www.yogaalliance.org/New_RYS_Standards/Current_v_s_New_RYS_200_Comparison

4.2.2. Advanced RYT Titles: RYT500, E-RYT500, YACEP

Yoga teachers who have successfully completed the RYT200 certification program are eligible to apply for a more advanced training certification: RYT300. Individuals can also register directly to RYT500 training programs in order to get the RYT500 title.

Different from the RYT200 curriculum, yoga teachers focus on their mentorship and assistantship skills during RYT300 training. They become yoga teacher trainers at the end of the 500 hours. RYT300 trainings are also finalized with a compulsory retreat. During my thesis studies, I had a chance to attend the final module and graduation of a RYT300 program. I will reflect my observations of the meditation retreat in the following chapter.

Becoming an Experienced Yoga Teacher, an E-RYT500 has more requirements than attending courses. Yoga teachers are expected to have at least 2,000 hours of teaching experience, 500 hours of which need to be completed after the RYS 300 or RYS 500 training. Yoga teachers can also be eligible for an E-RYT if they have four years of teaching experience after RYS 200 or RYS 500 training ("E-RYT500 | Yoga Alliance", 2019).

Yoga Alliance recently announced a new level for yoga teachers: Yoga Alliance Continuing Education Provider, YACEP in short. Being an E-RYT is a prerequisite to apply for a YACEP title. Yoga Alliance presents becoming a YACEP as an opportunity for experienced yoga teachers to disseminate their knowledge and expertise, reach out to a potential market of 85,500 RYTs, advertise themselves in the yoga community and increase their income as a result. The presentation of the yoga teacher database turns Yoga Alliance portal as a potential market for experienced teachers. Yoga Alliance can also be considered as a marketplace for entrepreneurs since YACEP members can offer their courses on Yoga Alliance platform and market their courses to the member community.

All of these yoga teacher and studio titles are marketed as opportunities to becoming a well-known yoga teacher. Yoga Alliance members also receive exclusive discounts for popular yoga attire, equipment and wellness and wellbeing related brands, travel and leisure reward programs, and special offers for online courses. Attending a RYT program in an approved RYS is not sufficient to become a member of Yoga Alliance. Individuals need to pay membership fees to be a member of the largest yoga community. Application fees for individuals (RYT) cost up to 115\$ and while yoga schools (RYS) need to pay 400\$ for application and 240\$ for yearly renewal.

After becoming a Yoga Alliance member, yoga professionals are encouraged to set up their profiles and create their brand page on the Yoga Alliance portal. Yoga Alliance promises its members the largest yoga professional database, opportunities to reach out to yoga teachers all around the globe to receive and give courses, to grow their business and personal brand. They have found a perfect way to regulate and monetize the yoga teacher training market. Yoga Alliance approaches to yoga as an industry with a big growth potential and searches for ways to grow the market while also growing with it.

As Appadurai (1990), media and technology enables globalization of practices and thoughts. Yoga Alliance takes part in the globalization of yoga in a few ways. Firstly, Yoga Alliance's website acts as a mediascape for yoga teacher community. It provides a platform of discussion and a meeting place for yoga enthusiasts from all over the world. By doing so, Yoga Alliance creates a "yogascape" facilitating the globalization of the practice. Secondly, the standardization of yoga teacher training and defining a curriculum for yoga can be interpreted as deterritorialization of the practice. Lastly, yoga teacher training, as internationally certified by Yoga Alliance, extends the global reach of the practice. With the latest level of YACEP, yoga teachers become even more mobilized and get a chance to teach at workshops all around the world.

4.3. Critiques Towards Yoga Alliance

Yoga Alliance is proudly presenting itself as the largest non-profit organization of yoga teachers in the world. Even though they are not a regulatory, licensing and accreditation body, Yoga Alliance's certifications are widely accepted by institutions around the world. That is why many individuals who are eager to earn their life on yoga follow Yoga Alliance's path to build their career and credibility.

This does not mean that Yoga Alliance does not receive any criticism. Although it creates a space of discussion and a collective discourse platform for practitioners who work to ameliorate teaching and ethics of yoga, its modernized, homogenized, descriptive methodologies are often criticized. Traditional yoga teaching takes place between a yoga guru and its limited number of students. The guru works with the students over the years, following Patanjali's yoga sutras and accepts only a few to the following steps. The guru also observes the students' behavior and he/she has a chance to monitor if the person is embracing the yoga teachings. Other yoga teacher training certification programs can take a few years to complete. For instance, Iyengar's yoga teacher program takes up to three years to complete.

The criticisms towards Yoga Alliance were collected from yoga forums, blogposts and newspaper articles. Yoga practitioners and teachers also raised their criticisms towards Yoga Alliance's certification model during the in-depth interviews. Two of the main points Yoga Alliance is criticized for are the length and depth of the teacher training programs. Yoga Alliance's most basic certification, the 200-hour teacher training program which can be fulfilled within a few weeks. This is considered to be a very short time to decide if one has adopted yoga's basic principles. Tasha Eichenseher (2016) wrote on this topic on Yoga Journal in an article called "Is 200 Hours Enough to Teach Yoga". Eichenseher stated that 200 hours is not enough to pass on the "ancient wisdom" to a class full of people with diverse needs and physical problems. She also underlines the fact that even though Yoga Alliance has never claimed to be an authority to regulate or audit yoga standards, they need to take re-

sponsibility of ensuring the quality of the teaching as the biggest yoga community in the world.

In another article on Yoga Journal by Jennifer D'Angelo Friedman (2015) Eddie Modestini, a student of famous K. Pattabhi Jois and B.K.S. Iyengar, states: “If you're not teaching, you're not learning how to teach”. Practicum is needed both in RYT200 and RYT500 trainings, but the yoga teacher training students do not get enough chance to lead yoga courses before graduating. These trainings give an introduction to fundamentals of yoga. At the end of the day individuals are responsible from seeking a way to improve themselves either by working with a mentor, a guru or simply by creating their own opportunities to practice teaching.

In 2014, James Brown, a RYS owner and a yoga teacher, published a blog post named “Yoga Alliance Is Ruining Yoga”. This post received a lot of attention and support and Yoga Alliance felt the need to publish a public response to James Brown on their website. In his critique of Yoga Alliance, Brown (2014) mostly stresses out the dangers of insufficiently education people and “certifying” them to teach to people. Quoting from William Broad (2013)’s book “The Science of Yoga: The Risks and the Rewards” he states that yoga poses are very risky and cause problems “ranged from relatively mild injuries to permanent disabilities”. He blames Yoga Alliance for manufacturing insufficient yoga teachers who do not know how to teach an “authentic and safe yoga practice”.

Brown (2014) criticizes Yoga Alliance’s social credentialing system as well. Social credentialing is basically a system to enable yoga teacher training attendees to reflect on and rate their training experience on Yoga Alliance website. Brown (2014) thinks that instead of creating a “Yelp-like” social credentialing system, Yoga Alliance needs to work on improving and monitoring teaching standards to increase yoga teachers’ skills. Brown (2014) questions the quality of the largest yoga community’s services and wonders where they spend their millions of dollars’ worth membership fees to. One of the yoga studio owners I spoke to also told that being a Yoga

Alliance member studio does not have any advantages. They do not add any value to the individuals or studios besides giving them a paper with a stamp on it.

In their response to James Brown, Yoga Alliance starts by openly saying that “Yoga Alliance is far from perfect” (“A Response to James Brown | Yoga Alliance”, 2014). They claimed that the social credentialing system was an attempt to empower members and make them their “investigators” of yoga schools’ quality. Yoga Alliance also defends itself by saying that “creating great yoga teachers” was never their mission. They were just formed to set minimum standards for teaching. This is yet another example of a way Yoga Alliance puts the responsibility of self-development on the shoulders of yoga trainers as individuals. By claiming that their mission is not creating great yoga teachers, Yoga Alliance raises questions about the quality and reliability of its teaching standards and methodologies. Disagreeing with Brown (2014) and Broad (2013)’s concerns towards the increase in the interest in yoga and the number of yoga teachers and studios, Yoga Alliance finishes up by saying that the explosion of the popularity of yoga is an opportunity to bring the beauty and health benefits of yoga into more people’s lives.

The efforts to categorize levels of yoga trainers and define a learning path for yoga trainers create a descriptive image of yoga and yoga teaching. One of the main problems with Yoga Alliance’s approach is that they are unable to audit even the quantitative measures such as teaching hours since they do not have the resources to do so. Yoga Alliance itself also supports this idea by stating that they are not a regulatory body for yoga teaching standards.

Yoga Alliance updates the content and standards of the trainings regularly, and adds new standards to live up to people’s expectations. They conduct surveys to get feedback to constantly evolve their standards and to get an insight of the yoga market. They announced the results of the latest survey conducted with Edge Research on “Attitudes and Beliefs of Yoga Professionals and Practitioners Worldwide”. Yoga Alliance conducted and funded the research. The survey was conducted in seven languages and received answers from over 12,000 individuals from more than 90

countries. The result of this study showed that nine over ten yoga professionals think that a minimum number of training hours are needed to qualify a yoga teacher. 50% of the participants who supported the idea of minimum hours to become a yoga teacher think that 200 hours is sufficient (*Attitudes and Beliefs of Yoga Professionals and Practitioners Worldwide*, 2018). Yoga Alliance's efforts to improve its standards by continuously getting feedback from members and analyzing the market needs showcase the "self-regulating" (Clarke et al, 2007) aspect of neoliberal markets.

When I started my research, I had the common misconception that it was compulsory to have a Yoga Alliance approved certification to become a yoga teacher. While conducting my in-depth interviews, I realized that many yoga teachers did not even go through a Yoga Alliance approved training. Most of the new graduates of RYT200 or RYT500 did not also have an active membership as the membership fees are extremely high. One of the yoga studio owners who have been teaching over five years explained his thoughts on Yoga Alliance certifications as follows:

I think what is essential to become a yoga teacher is to find a mentor that you consider as a master and follow in his/her path...and get your master's approval to start actively teaching people. I think yoga needs to be learnt and thought in a "master-student" manner. Unfortunately, the system forces people to get these certifications in their "yoga career paths"... Certification is a part of the "game" but nobody really audits the curriculum of the trainings or yoga teacher's quality (Savaş).

Yoga Alliance standards portray a picture of self-development discourse within the neoliberal market system. Yoga Alliance certifications are not mandatory neither in Turkey nor in the USA. Individuals invest in such self-development courses to differentiate themselves from other yoga trainers in the market. As Bourdieu (1998) states, the flexibility of the professional life and "individualized career paths" leading to a tough competition cause individuals to set their own performance goals, and develop self-control mechanisms. Yoga Alliance provides individuals a commercialized version of proof of yoga expertise. By promising a "standard" and institutionalized framework of yoga teaching, Yoga Alliance also creates a reliable-choice for

consumers. Baudrillard (1998) suggests that anything can be a consumer object in the current market system. Paralleling with this theory, Yoga Alliance transforms yoga teacher training into a consumption object ready to be easily consumed and presented in the market. In the absence of a regulatory body and a collective agreement on the foundations of teaching, Yoga Alliance is able to dominate the yoga teacher training and increase its member count.

4.4. Becoming a Yoga Teacher in Turkey and Attempts to Regulate the Turkish Yoga Market

Attending a Yoga Alliance approved teacher training program or teaching at a yoga studio are not the only ways of becoming a yoga teacher. Learning from the masters is considered as a credible way to rationalize one's training quality. The master-student teaching methodology is still accepted as a respected way of improving yoga mastery skills.

What is important to me is who the person looks up to and learns from. Teaching experience is also crucial, but cannot be gained through a 200, 500 hours of training. I find it quite brave and naive of people who go out and start teaching just after getting their Yoga Alliance certification (Yusuf).

Another informant openly told me: "I have given many courses in Turkey and abroad, and honestly nobody asked me to show my yoga teacher certification". Ironically, even the yoga studio owners who do not hold a Yoga Alliance certification themselves still register their studios to be able to give RYT trainings. Getting an internationally valid certification from the biggest yoga organization in the world is a drive for people to start a yoga teacher training program. People demand a certification to prove their training and they perceive these certifications as milestones of their yoga career. The consumers demand the certifications, and yoga studios provide the supply.

There are a few ways of becoming a professional yoga teacher. The most common way, as explained before, is to attend a yoga teacher training certification program. Yoga studios prefer to hire their teacher training students after they complete their

education as they pursue the studio's teaching methodology and philosophy. It is not; however, easy to get a full time job at a yoga studio, especially at the popular ones. I will explain the dynamics and politics of this process in the following chapter.

Second option is getting mentorship from a known yoga teacher to master the practice. Developing oneself through continuous education and working with other masters are important either way. The most common places to teach and learn yoga are the yoga studios and fitness centers. All fitness centers in Ankara have incorporated yoga into their schedule. The instructors who give yoga courses at fitness centers also give regular courses at yoga studios or at home. I will also elaborate on how individuals can become regular yoga teachers at studios or how they can build a student base for themselves to teach independently in the following chapter.

Teaching at home, however; it is not always the most convenient option. After 2015, since the establishment of the Turkish Sport for All Federation, it became very difficult for yoga teachers to continue teaching at their homes. Turkish Sport for All Federation has regulations for yoga studios, mostly for physical conditions of yoga studios. According to the federation's ordinance, yoga studios are classified into three main categories: 1st Class Studios (Over 300 square meters); 2nd Class Studios (Between 151 and 300 square meters); and 3rd Class Studios (Less than 151 square meters). Having a waiting room not less than ten square meters, two separate changing rooms and toilets if there are mixed gender sessions, and firefighting equipment and fire escape ladder are some of the attributes a yoga studio needs to have to be licensed. Most homes do not meet these criteria so if people still want to continue to teach at their homes, they do it unofficially.

In 2015, Turkish Sport for All Federation (Herkes İçin Spor Federasyonu) became a governing body of yoga and mindfulness courses. The intervention of government received a lot of backlash from yoga community. Yoga professionals criticized the federation's approach to yoga and considered it to be a part of dominant government ideology to suppress yoga. One of the first and most controversial ordinances' an-

nounced by the federation was on banning the “religious symbols and music” from the yoga studios. The ordinance’s fourteenth article’s 1 and 1 paragraphs state the following:

“1) Religious objects, pictures and sculptures cannot be presented (at yoga studios)

i) Chants particular to other religions shall not be used. “(Türkiye Herkes İçin Spor Federasyonu Özel Herkes İçin Spor ve Yoga Salonları Talimatı, 2015)

Federation’s technical committee chair Süleyman Gönülateş stated that they have prepared the ordinance and the Republic of Turkey Ministry of Youth and Sports approved it. He explained the rationalization behind these bans as “efforts to stop missionary activities”. The “other religions” statement was one of the points that caused controversy. On this topic, Süleyman Gönülateş stated “what we mean by other religions is all religions including Islam. If yoga is a sport, there must be nothing related to religion in it. We do not want to see evident religious objects such as a cross”.

'Maksat misyonerlik yapılmasın'

Yoga merkezleriyle ilgili ilk kez talimatname hazırlandığını belirten HİS Teknik Kurul Başkanı Süleyman Gönülateş ise, misyonerliğe karşı önlem aldıklarını savundu. Tüm spor salonlarında olduğu gibi yoga merkezlerinde de dinsel simgelerin olmaması gerektiğini söyleyen Gönülateş, şöyle konuştu: “Talimatı biz hazırladık, Gençlik ve Spor Bakanlığı onayladı. Farklı dinlerden kastımız, İslamiyet dahil tüm dinler. Dini semboller salonlara girdiğinde misyonerlik, siyaset başlıyor. Yoga da spor ise dinle ilişkili hiçbir şey bulunmamalı. Haç gibi belirgin objeleri görmek istemiyoruz.”

Figure 2. Turkish Sports for All Federation’s Explanation About the Banning of Religious Symbols (Retrieved from: <https://t24.com.tr/haber/yoga-merkezlerinde-heykel-tutsu-ve-farkli-dinlerin-muzikleri-yasaklandi,309145>)

The federation defines yoga as yet another sport to alienate it from any religious or ideological connections. In order to be legally authorized to offer courses, studios need to pass the Turkish Sport for All Federation's audits and yoga teachers need to get a "coaching certification" from the federation. According to their ideology, yoga is just another sport and yoga teachers are not different from basketball coaches. The discussions around government's sanctions towards yoga as a "religion" was mentioned by Hande Gür (2018) as a part of her master's thesis on new religious movements in Turkey focusing on the Contemporary Mevleviye.

The Turkish Sport for All Federation is not the only yoga federation in Turkey. The other dominant yoga organization in Turkey is Yoga Federation. Unlike the Turkish Sport for All Federation, the Yoga Federation is a part of Ministry of Education. This, clearly shows how the yoga community in Turkey and the government itself does not yet know how to approach to yoga. Yoga Federation also has the authority to audit and certify yoga studios and yoga teachers.

I interviewed one of the committee members of the Yoga Federation to understand how these two organizations were differentiating from each other. She told me in terms of certifying studios and teachers, both federations are authorized. The main difference between the studio certifications, she explained, is that the Yoga Federation mandates studios to have windows while having a ventilation system is enough to be licensed by the Turkish Sport for All Federation. The Yoga Federation considers yoga studios as any other school or course contrary to Turkish Sport for All Federation that openly label yoga as a sport.

The Yoga Federation was founded in 2013 by members who left Turkish Sport for All Federation who believed that they were not representing yoga correctly. The committee member I interviewed told me that Yoga Federation perceives yoga as a "science of healing" and "*definitely* not a sport or a religion". The main of the federation, she continued, is to educate people about yoga and give thoughtful courses and seminars to yoga professionals to teach yoga correctly. She criticized the Turk-

ish Sport for All Federation for titling yoga as a sport without even understanding the philosophy behind it.

Besides yoga teacher training courses, prenatal and children yoga teacher training courses, the federation arranges yoga festivals to bring members and yoga community together. Masters from India and all around the world are invited to these festivals. The committee member underlined the importance they give to improving people's yoga knowledge and teaching it correctly.

Yoga's rising popularity might be the reason behind the formation of these organizations. The government and organizations like Yoga Alliance are not only to regulate the curriculum yoga courses and ensure the quality of teaching, but they are also trying to some extent regulate the market itself. The government's attempts to regulate yoga should be understood more like an attempt to create an institutional framework. Yoga, all in all, is another industry in the free market economy and as David Harvey (2005) explains, the government's role is to provide an institutional framework and take regulatory precautions to ensure quality of the market. The compulsory certifications require people to register to either Turkish Sport for All Federation or Yoga Federation to turn yoga into their profession. The government bodies also receive registration fees through these federations. Even though the Turkish government does not have a clear idea about how yoga should be performed professionally and what it stands for, the efforts to control the market pursues as the market continues to grow.

CHAPTER 5

RESEARCH FINDINGS

The idea of, and the need for “escape” is at the hearth of this research. Why people want to escape from their lives and whether or not turning yoga into a profession could free them from the neoliberal burdens and traumas were the main points questioned throughout the research. The research results on the need for escape, the risk, competition, and precariousness of work environments in neoliberal era are presented at the first section. In the same section, the yoga’s role in this escape is also analyzed. Following the first section, how yoga becomes a dream job for the frustrated is presented in the second section.

After that, the yoga teacher training students’ and aspiring teachers’ transitions into becoming self-acclaimed yoga teachers are presented by utilizing Van Gennep (1960)’s model of rites of passages and Turner (1969)’s analysis of the liminal phases.

The last section is devoted to the conceptualization of the profession of yoga teaching as entrepreneurship. The competition in the research scape, and the increasing hybridity of practice and entrepreneurship in Ankara yogascape are presented results of the professionalization of yoga.

5.1. Escaping from the Traumas of the Neoliberal World by Practicing Yoga

The research group of this study consisted of highly educated individuals with promising careers. As pointed out by many social scientists (Beck 1992; Bauman 2000; Harvey 2014; Rose 1996; Lemke 2002), neoliberalism has boosted individualism and entrepreneurship while also creating precariousness, stress and risks. Richard Sennett (1998) in the “Corrosion of Character” defines failure as the biggest ta-

boo of the neoliberal times. We are living in a world of competition, stress, chaos, and uncertainty.

Traumatic experiences at professional and personal life cause people to search for a solution. There have been some studies from anthropological perspective (Bar, 2013; Şengün Gürsoy, 2019) focusing on yoga as a way of relieving stress and getting over traumatic experiences. Neta Bar, in her Ph.D. dissertation thesis, focuses on the women Silicon Valley employees and their suffering. She shows how yoga becomes an escape from the “crush of modern life” for those suffering privileged women (Bar, 2013). She underlines the insecurity, stress and demanding circumstances of the neoliberal world and conceptualizes yoga as a brief escape from all of these hurdles. She aims to show that the precariousness of the neoliberal today affect not only the unprivileged lower classes, but it also crashes those who seem to be the most privileged.

Bar (2013)’s research group and the research group of this study parallel in terms of the education level and social status. Far away from the Silicon Valley, the yoga teachers and aspiring yoga teachers of Ankara were similarly searching for a space to escape from the agonies of their struggles. Research subjects of this study frequently talked about the problems they face at their professional careers and explained how yoga aided them to get over those problems. They mentioned yoga as a path of their soul search to get back on their feet after traumatic experiences. Below are some examples from the in-depth interviews:

I was going through very rough times because of my dad’s illness and my problems at work. Just after I started yoga, he passed away. Without yoga, I do not think I would be able to get over his loss. I feel like I was destined to commit myself to yoga at this period of my life (Ceren, 29).

I used to loathe Ankara. When I had to come back to Ankara after a year abroad, I was crying my eyes out inside the airport with my luggage and begging not to go outside. It is yoga that made me like this city (...) After that, I spent two years in Iskenderun where I went through a traumatic entrepreneurship experience and a heartbreaking relationship. Then again, I came back to the city I hated. At that time I was reading Mevlana and I realized

that all this time I had been searching for the problem outside. My interest in Mevlana led me to Kundalini yoga. I found my current studio when I was searching for Kundalini yoga courses (...) Yoga is much more than a physical activity for me. It saved me at my darkest times (Eda).

Yoga provides a brief physical and spiritual escape from the struggles of modern times. Yoga practice rituals aim to make one focus on the moment and leave all other thoughts outside. Most yoga teachers start their session by saying “leave the outer world *outside of your practice* and focus on *now*”. Complete silence is required during some parts of the session, such as the *savasana* (dead man pose) at the end of the practice. Meditation is performed for such escape and focus. Yoga retreats also include silence challenges where attendees are not allowed to talk to each other for a day or two. A physical and psychological barrier between self and other beings is aimed to reach full concentration. In the era of what Beck (1992) calls as a “risk society”, it is a luxury to have an opportunity to detach from the outside world full of uncertainties and risks. During the meditation camp I attended as a part of my research, I remember the teacher, Zeynep, whispering these words to guide us:

Now, sit in a comfortable position and close your eyes. Focus on your breathing. Your body will want to move, your mind will start to wander. When your legs start to tingle ask yourself: what even is my leg? Why does my mind and body try to stick to my limits and stop me from seeing the truth? Why do you still not open your eyes and see the truth that we all belong to something bigger? (Zeynep)

Zeynep explained that meditation was all about “being”, becoming *neutral* and passive. The conscious mind is considered to be in a different time and space but never in the “moment”. Meditation is, in a way, an escape from one’s consciousness and material body to be in the moment. Yoga studios create an isolated experience for individuals to get away from the trouble of their daily lives with serene meditation spaces. The importance of creating space for oneself and focusing on the self and detaching from the outer forces and worries were mentioned throughout the courses of the meditation camp. In that sense, as similarly pointed out by Bar (2013), yoga aids people create space to run away to from what Bar (2013) calls as the crush of the modern world.

5.2. The Dream of Becoming a Yoga Teacher

All of the informants of this study were professionals in other fields or trained in other subjects at which they could pursue their careers. How the idea of becoming a yoga trainer becomes an appealing option for these people searching for an escape is a critical point to be analyzed. In this section, I will touch upon the reasons people try to escape from their current careers to show why teaching yoga professionally becomes a plausible option for them.

Precariousness at work place and risk of unemployment continue to put pressure on individuals. Even the highly educated, white collar workers are not immune to those risks. Jeremy Rifkin (2004), in “The End of Work” points to automatization of processes with computing technologies, advancements in production technologies as potential threats to the global workforce. Rifkin (2004) claims that all kinds of industries, and all types of human labor are at risk. The industrial revolution started to replace physical human labor with industrial machines. Today, we are in the era of “Industry 4.0” where all types of human labor can eventually be replaced by machines. The fourth industrial revolution is enabled by advanced computing technologies such as machine learning and artificial intelligence. Similar to Rifkin (2004)’s hypothesis, Carl Benedikt Frey (2019) in his recent book “The Technology Trap: Capital, Labor, and Power in the Age of Automation” claims that these revolutionary computing technologies poses a big threat to the white collar jobs. Frey (2019) argues that new technologies have already started to shrink middle class job markets.

Aksu Bora, Necmi Erdogan, Tanil Bora and Ilknur Ustun (2017) in their book “Boşuna mı Okuduk?: Türkiye’de Beyaz Yakalı İşsizliği” touch upon the unemployment of educated people in Turkey. Bora et al (2017) state that the young white collar employees’ risk of unemployment and the precariousness they face in their work life brings them closer to the blue collar workers. However; since the younger generations still work with older white collar generations who widely benefitted

from having a prestigious work, they still feel the need to commit to their current jobs with the hope of elevating their living standards (Bora et al, 2017).

Bora and Erdogan (2017) also point out to the constant pressure and necessity of self-improvement white collar workers face as sources of stress. The competition for qualified jobs also increases as the individuals continue to improve themselves. Such pressure pushes over qualified people to have average jobs and these people end up having job dissatisfaction. Individuals develop themselves so that they can “market themselves” better for a promising career. The need to escape from, and the fear of the savage competition in the job market was mentioned by Yusuf as a motivation to turn yoga into his profession:

I have never pictured myself working at a corporate environment. Anyway, I never stood out among other students. They were motivated to fight for a job and working towards that goal. I do not think I would be able to last at such a competitive environment (Yusuf).

The flexibility of jobs and the blurring of work and personal time in the neoliberal era is another point to be taken into consideration when analyzing current work conditions. Bourdieu (1998) points out to the flexibility of labor and market as a dominant neoliberal ideology. Since work conditions become more flexible, the work and daily life start to diffuse into one another and work satisfaction starts to define the overall well-being of one (Bora and Erdogan, 2017). As can be seen from Eda’s below comments, being available 24/7 has become a part of the job norm. Rubin and Brody (2005) worked on the effects of the new flexible working conditions and listed time pressure, decrease in organizational commitment and insecurity among the possible outcomes of it. In between our discussions, informants from different professions (chef, engineers, and advertiser) compared their jobs to slavery to underline the loss of self-control over work conditions.

I was in an endless loop. I quit my first job to pursue my dreams to become a chef (...). After working in famous restaurants and hotels in Turkey, I moved to Egypt and worked in very harsh conditions for seven months. I was in an exile (...) I was the only woman among a group of 150 men most of whom were Arabs. I was barely speaking Arabic (...). I really was living in good

conditions. They gave me a very luxurious room to stay in but at the end of the day, I was just a regular chef. They would call me in the middle of the night to work. I realized that I was their *slave*. Yes, I was earning a lot of money and all but when I asked myself if this was the life I wanted, I knew deep in my heart that I did not want to be a slave (Eda).

All of these pressures and troubles faced at work life gives rise to the search for an alternative career. Being unable to take a collective action, people start searching for a way out by themselves. When we were talking about job dissatisfaction, one of the white collar informants who quit her job to become a yoga teacher told me: “If you do not like where you are, change it. You are not a tree”. This idea of taking individual actions to change unsatisfactory conditions has become common. Bauman (2000) argues that the individualization brought about by neoliberalism reinforces also “self-critique”. Lemke (2002) similarly underlines the individuals’ self-responsibility to better their life conditions in the neoliberal era. In a world of endless possibilities, individuals end up blaming nobody but themselves for the missed chances. As argued by scholars (Hefner 1998; Coleman 2000; Comaroff and Comaroff 1999), the failure of neoliberal ideologies to keep their promises increases the popularity of spiritual practices. In that sense, yoga and yoga communities create a space to breathe for disappointed individuals.

With the advancements in the technology, increase in the speed of dissemination of knowledge via new technologies as also pointed out by Appadurai (1996), we are highly exposed to the promises of the modern world, new trends and ideologies. Individuals contribute to the creation of a shiny image of the possibility of an alternative profession and lifestyle and influence their network. Presentation of self as a healthy, fit yoga instructor away from all the troubles of the corporate life not only attracts more people to yoga, but also creates a new dream job for unhappy corporate employees. As Byung Chul Han (2015) describes, we are living in the “transparency society” where every detail of our daily lives are displayed on the internet almost in a pornographic manner (Han, 2015). Being exposed to such images of a “better life” increases the self-blame and causes people to search for an alternative career path. The research group of this study went through a similar journey. They

described becoming a yoga teacher and earning money by doing something meaningful and enjoyable as a “dream job”.

I had a well-paying, nine to five corporate job at that time, but things were starting to change in the company and I did not want to be a part of such organization anymore. With the changes in the management, people supporting government ideologies started to take over the company. I knew that I was going to be replaced soon (...) Being a business administration graduate, I sat down and searched for trending jobs. Opening a coffee shop or such things did not interest me. When I saw yoga teaching on the list, an idea sparked in my mind. It was something close to my heart, and I thought, why not earn my life on yoga? I did not quit my job right away but it was my dream to professionally teach yoga from the beginning. (Ezgi).

One day, I will open my own yoga studio that I have been dreaming about for years. Looking at other people opening their studios and becoming full time yoga teachers, I felt like I could have done the same earlier. I have much more expertise in yoga than most of these new famous yoga instructors (...) but for now, I have to continue to work as a mechanical engineer locked in the shop floor until I collect enough money. The dream is what makes me stand my job (Ceren).

On the other hand, people felt the need to pursue their current careers and have a backup saving before opening a yoga studio or becoming a full time yoga teacher. All the informants I spoke to, except for Eda, pursued their current careers or studies until they started earning enough from teaching yoga. On the career changes, struggles of being a white collar worker and taking a leap of faith to have a meaningful life, I had an interesting discussion with Mine. Mine was in her mid-forties, and she was a very energetic and talkative lady. When I introduced myself and started talking about my thesis, I asked her some questions such as how she started yoga and what else she was doing in her life. That is when Mine told me about how she decided to quit her job at a famous advertisement agency:

I have always had a successful career. I was working full time at my agency when I started yoga. One day, during our retreat at the end of the two hundred hour program, we had a “walking meditation” session. This type of meditation is done barefoot in the nature in complete silence. You just walk for kilometers in silence, trying to feel all the little things in the nature and sense the tiniest pebbles under your feet. At that completely pure moment of being with myself in the nature, I asked myself what I was doing with my life. Was I supposed to let my job control my life? Was I allowing it to de-

fine me? I quit right after the camp. Everyone was shocked including my co-workers and my family (Mine).

This was, indeed, a radical decision in her life. She told me that she no longer cared about having a successful career, to earn more or to be promoted. What seemed like a definite decision changed when her company reached out to her to bring her back. At first, she refused them without even hearing their offer. Later, she asked for pre-sumptuous conditions to find an excuse to not go back. Her company accepted all of her terms and she thought it would be complete madness to refuse such an offer. She thought that rejecting such an offer would be pushing the limits of her destiny and luck too much. “I felt like I had to quit my job during my walking meditation it really was a strong sensation. I also just knew that I had to accept the offer. I knew that it was a part of my destiny as well” she said to explain the rationale behind her decision. She tried to search for opportunities to turn yoga into her profession during that time, but going back to a well-paying, secure job seemed like the most plausible option at that time of her life.

My time will come. One day I know I will quit my job. I am a new graduate, and it does not make sense for me to leave all behind to become a teacher yet, but I have learnt to accept my life as it is, and make the most of it with my yoga practice (...) Yoga gave me the inspiration to quit, yes, but it is also giving me the strength to bear with the difficulties I face at my job (Mine).

I repetitively heard people utilize “destiny” and “waiting for the right time” to explain their decisions and desires during my in depth interviews. The strong belief in faith was common among the yoga teacher training students, especially among Zeynep’s students. This strong belief in faith, on the other hand, should not be mistakenly interpreted as a blind fatalism. According to karma, individual’s actions have consequences hence doing good deed and having a moral awareness becomes a personal responsibility (Keyes and Daniel, 1983). As we could see from Mine’s experience of quitting her job and going back to it in a few months, the notion of karma and doing the right thing in the right moment are used to rationalize the radical actions. Yoga was the reason behind the questioning of the satisfaction and meaning of her life. She later stated that yoga also helped her accept her current conditions and obligations. Becoming a yoga teacher, running away from the corporate life re-

mains as the ultimate dream for these people. When they cannot pursue this dream, they again get help from yoga to make the most out of their situation.

5.3. The Rites of Passages to Becoming a Yoga Teacher

Van Gennep (1960)'s model of rites of passage is used to theorize various kinds of transitions from one group or role to the other. Van Gennep (1960) found similarities across cultures among the ceremonies of birth, adolescence, marriage, funeral and similar events that have a significance in human life. According to Van Gennep (1960), transitions consist of separation, transition and integration phases. The separation might be triggered by traumatic events, or a physiological need that causes one to search for a more meaningful life and a new self (Shouten, 1991). Victor Turner (1969) elaborated on the liminal aspect of the transition stage. As those rites mark one's belonging to one group or the other, they act like thresholds and they are the moments of anti-structure (Turner, 1969). The liminal periods cause letting go of, or liberating oneself from the previous role (Turner, 1969).

Van Gennep (1960)'s model of rites of passages and Turner (1969)'s concept of liminality have been used to describe occupational role changes by some scholars (Lewin 1947; Hughes 1958; Hall 1976; Shein 1978; Trice and Morand 1989). Trice and Morand (1989) state that the rites of passages, or the three phases defined by Van Gennep, might be difficult to spot at modern organizations. They think that such difficulty might be due to the newness of the organizations and ambiguities in their internal processes. Separation, transition and incorporation phases exist in occupational rites of passage; however these phases might be vague, diffused into one another or they might not be properly ceremonialized (Trice and Morand, 1989).

The separation process for yoga teachers begins with the yoga teacher training courses. After they start their yoga teacher training program, they are no longer a part of yoga studio customers who occasionally or regularly visit to attend sessions. During the teacher training courses, attendees are separated from their occupational and social habitus and they slowly enter into the yoga community. Letting go of the

past self, leaving ego and other roles, status outside are crucial parts of the separation phase in yoga training. As defined by Shouten (1991) and Van Gennep (1960), separation is the phase of “disposition of identity”. Aspiring yoga teachers I was in contact with have been going through a physiologically challenging training which required them to humble their ego, get rid of their ambitions. During that process, they were trying to redefine themselves and create a new self through yoga teachings.

Mines’s story of quitting her job after questioning what to do with her life explained in the previous section can be interpreted as the separation and disposition of her identity. In terms of committing to yoga to redefine herself, Eda’s story was one of the most impressive ones. She quit her job, changed her city and left everything behind to dedicate herself to yoga.

I had to travel all the way from my home at Batıkent to go to the studio at Gaziosmanpaşa. I had to take subway and change two busses and then walk for twenty-thirty minutes to reach to the studio. I was also working part time at a Subway restaurant to earn my course money. Even though I am a chef, I did not care about working at a fast food restaurant since it helped me get my yoga training (...) I had to quit my job there after joining mentorship group. 300 hour teacher training plus the mentorship was like a full time job (...) My parents are happy to support me throughout this journey, and I have a little bit of savings left in my bank account which is almost running out. Financially, it is becoming very difficult for me this year. The course fees, mentorship, and all those meetings we have to attend - it is a never ending workload. The transportation fees, all the money I spent on taxis really started to add up. Some people think that I am too naive or stupid to do all this work and get nothing in return, but I consider it like a way to thank my yoga teachers for all the beautiful change I went through since two years. When I started the 300 hour teacher training program, I was not expecting anything in return, I just wanted to learn more. Doing things without expecting anything in return is something so freeing and rewarding. The universe pays you back in a beautiful way in the most unexpected times (Eda)

After a long chat about yoga, her life, and her struggles, I finally asked if she was not considering to professionally teach yoga. That is when she opened up to me:

Well, I feel like I am again in that two-year vicious cycle. I keep asking myself why I went back to the start again. No matter how much I want to turn it into my full time job, no matter how much I searched, I could not find any

opportunity. I am also hesitant to ask for such thing from my teachers but that is the way to do it. People just go ahead and promote themselves to get a job. I need to put myself out there. It is something that hurts me deeply to not be able to show others that I am worthy of it (Eda).

Later I learnt that many people were facing a similar problem. The two biggest yoga studios in Ankara, YogaŞala and Cihangir Yoga hold yoga teacher training programs twice a year. For each program, fifty people are accepted. Around two hundred people

graduate and become certified yoga teachers from these two studios alone. There are of course many other courses that certify new yoga teachers. The new graduates often cannot get the chance to practice their theoretical knowledge. That is why, being a part of a group and being close to the studio teachers become critical for the students. The fact that you need to be close with the teacher to book your own session at the studio was stated by all of the interviewees. Building up what Bourdieu (1992) calls “social capital” which is explained as “a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition” is as important as having cultural capital to build a career in yoga.

I was lucky to have met the owner of my current studio during my teacher training. He did not want to follow Zeynep’s path so he decided to open a studio by himself. He was our assistant back when I was taking my teacher training. He was also questioning Zeynep and other teachers’ teachings and when he finally opened this studio, he recruited me since we shared the same belief and perception of yoga (Ezgi).

Many studios started to hold internship sessions to create an on the job training opportunity to these new teachers. The interesting part is that they request a certain amount of money from the new graduates to ensure a session. In return, not only they do not pay anything to the yoga teachers, but they also charge their customers a low amount to fill the sessions. New graduates often do not have another option but to accept such “voluntary” work to gain expertise with the hope of building their own network and building up their career. This sadly exhibits the exploitation of work in the yoga industry.

There are also mentorship groups at yoga studios. Mentors are chosen among yoga teacher training students who want to practice their teaching skills. The mentorship program is completely voluntary. These people agree to do extracurricular activities such as assisting classes, arranging camps, collecting retreat fees, evaluating exam papers and homework of two hundred hour training students. All of this intensive extra effort and voluntary work is to be able to get a regular teaching hour at the studio. Most of the students who started to teach at the studio were chosen among the mentorship groups as they devoted themselves more than the others did, one group member explained.

The mentorship group I met during the meditation camp was spending almost every weekend and at least three work day evenings at the studio. They were all wearing “*mala*”s (string of wooden prayer beads) which their teacher brought from India. It was easy to spot them in the classroom as they were sitting closest to the teacher in a circle, wearing the same malas around their wrists. This gift exchange took my attention as the teacher felt the need to bring gifts only to the mentorship group. As Ludwig Wittgenstein famously quoted: “What you are regarding as a gift is a problem for you to solve”. This gift exchange ritual also reminded me of Marcel Mauss’s analysis of gift exchange. In his famous book “The Gift”, Mauss claims that a gift is never free and there is no such thing as “pure gift” in any society (Mauss, 1925). Mauss, after analyzing the Maori and Indian gift exchange rituals underlines the symbolic value transmitted via gifts. In the Indian gift exchange ritual *danadharma*, when you offer someone a gift, you offer a part of your soul along with the object (Mauss, 1925). Georg Simmel stated in his short essay “Adornment”, adornments can signify belonging to a group (Simmel, 1957). As Simmel explained, the mala they are wearing is also a symbol of differentiation, a mark of belonging to Zeynep’s inner circle. The existence of such mentorship groups is critical for both the students and the studios. The studios, or the yoga teachers build a committed student base while students get a chance to get closer to the yoga teacher. Being a part of such mentorship groups, or building a close relationship with yoga studio teachers are considered as crucial parts of building a career in yoga.

Well, you need to find a way to be closer to the teachers. Of course they pay attention to those who devote themselves to their practice. Although it consumes all my free time, I am happy to help my studio back. I also wanted to be selected as a mentor to higher my chances of becoming a teacher at my studio. They usually select new teachers from these mentorship groups (Ceren).

The initiation to mentorship group, or getting an internship at a famous yoga studio can be interpreted as the transition period of yoga teachers. The fact that they search for teaching opportunities can indicate their willingness to pursue their path to becoming an acclaimed yoga teacher. During the transition phase, they are slowly moving away from their prior roles. Van Gennep (1960) and Turner (1969) defined this stage as the liminal phase to explain the state of being in between the old self and the new one. This liminoid state causes people to present a different version of themselves in different social settings. For the research group of the study, it is a phase of being in between, a period of constructing a new identity and finding their space within the yoga community. This does not necessarily mean a drastic career change such as quitting the previous job to become a yoga teacher. It can also be about figuring out how to interpret yoga, how to practice and teach it, and how to apply yoga teachings into daily life.

The yoga teachers I interviewed were all university graduates except for one. The only high school graduate interviewee quit his bachelor's degree after starting to earn enough money to support his life from yoga alone. One of the interviewees stated that she would be earning at least the double of what she is earning from yoga if she were to pursue her previous career. When I asked how the yoga instructors turned it into their full time job, I realized that it was not an impulsive decision. Some received backlash from their families and close friends who thought that yoga could never be a full time job. Below quotes from Ezgi exemplifies the strenuous process she went through during her transition phase:

I did not quit right away. First, I arranged a weekend session at the studio so that I would be able to work during the week. After, I started to accept sessions during lunch hour. I would travel all the way from Altındağ to Ayrancı, finish my session and go back to work. I could not just quit, I did not know if

I would be able to support myself by just giving yoga courses. Well, finally here I am, but I really had to claw my way (Ezgi).

My mom and dad had a panic attack when I told them that I was going to quit my job to become a yoga instructor. We had a flaming argument on it. I knew that they were going to oppose me harshly, so I told them right away that if they were not going to support me on this journey, I was not going to talk to them anymore. I explained them that I was as worried as they were since I did not know how it was going to go. They gave me the typical mom and dad argument: “Have we wasted all our time and money on your education so that you would become a yoga teacher!” (...) They actually had a point: why would you leave your corporate job and career for such a vague adventure? I did not even know if I was going to have life insurance as a yoga trainer. It was a really difficult time of my life. My parents finally got used to it, not because they still approve this as my profession. It is because I do not ask for any financial support from anyone and also because I got married and they had to shut up and leave me alone to make my decisions by myself (Ezgi).

At the end of the yoga teacher training courses, yoga studios hold a camp to finalize the training and celebrate the graduation of students. Certifications are granted to students, as if it is a university diploma ceremony. The graduation rites complete the trainee’s passage to getting the yoga teacher title. The graduation ceremonies for advanced certifications such as RYT300 are hold almost as initiation ceremonies of becoming acclaimed yoga teachers. On the other hand, yoga is an endless journey, a lifelong exploration. Yoga practitioners continue to develop their knowledge, experience and expertise; hence the milestones such as graduation are not definite rites of passages.

5.4. Becoming a Yoga Entrepreneur

After the individuals complete their transition and become yoga teachers, they are welcomed with new challenges. The increasing competition in the market and difficulties of becoming a self-sufficient entrepreneur create new sources of stress for the yoga teachers. This section aims to show how the yoga teachers need to turn themselves into yoga entrepreneurs by explaining the dynamics of the competition in the market and being a professional teacher in Ankara. Firstly, a snapshot of the competition between studios and yoga teachers in the research scape will be presented. Af-

ter, new hybrid practices of yoga in Ankara will be analyzed as a result of rise of yoga entrepreneurialism and competition. Lastly, the transformation of yoga teachers into yoga entrepreneurs will be presented while the possibility of escaping the neoliberal market dynamics are simultaneously questioned.

5.4.1. Competition Between Studios and Yoga Teachers

There are over twenty yoga studios, each with different styles in Ankara. Besides these studios which are mostly located around Gaziosmanpaşa, Ayrancı and Çayyolu, there are also many freelancer teachers and fitness studios that offer yoga courses. The increase in the number of yoga courses also increases the competition in the market. The inability of the big studios to employ all of the graduates causes resentment in their devoted students. Some of these students get together to open their own studio and start competing against the studios they are certified from. Even though the number of yoga studios and yoga teachers may seem a lot, a handful of yoga teachers were listed as respectful yoga teachers by the interviewees.

The entry of big yoga studios, like Cihangir Yoga, to the Ankara yoga market effected smaller yoga studios. Cihangir Yoga, being one of the first and most known yoga studios in Ankara, employed famous teachers and stole customers from other studios. These big yoga brands effect the freelancers the most. In such a competitive market, it is becoming harder for studios and freelancers to keep their customers. The disruption of the market by well-known brands was highlighted by other studio teachers and owners:

The entry of Cihangir Yoga in the Ankara market disrupted the competition in the market. Many small studios were shut down. I myself decided to open a studio as it was getting harder for me to keep my customers just by teaching at home (Yusuf).

Cihangir Yoga is in another league. They are in the business for over 20 years. They fill their sessions even in the middle of summer. The experience in the business is also very important. I see that some studios make funny efforts to fight against this tough competition, like in the “Yoga with Coffee” example I gave you (Toprak).

As yoga can be interpreted and practiced in many forms, the discussions around the “originality” of yoga took place during the interviews. People criticize other studios and teachers for misinterpreting yoga as an asana based, physical practice, for being manipulative, for teaching with inexperienced teachers or risking the health of people with heavy, ambitious and presumptuous practices. Such disagreements often lead to alternative teaching methodologies and opening of alternative yoga studios. Below are statements of yoga instructors from my interviews:

I got badly injured during a yoga session. That day, I knew there was something wrong with the way we were told to practice yoga. Yoga should have been a healing practice, not a harming one. That is when I decided to learn human anatomy and yoga anatomy by myself. After long researches and practices, I healed myself. I put the healing aspect of yoga in the center of my practice and decided to teach people the right way of doing yoga. Unfortunately, there are many teachers who do not know or care about such important aspects of yoga (...) I try to encourage my students not to blindly follow my teachings. They should learn from different masters and develop their own styles (Ayla).

One day, during my yoga teacher training, we had a discussion on belief. I have been questioning the existence of a higher being for years and now I was supposed to fully surrender myself to this idea. When I opened up about my thoughts on this, ten people attacked me in the class. It was a difficult period for me. After investigating myself, I do believe some of the teachings are true such as meridian system, but I cannot build a system just based on a radical idea like that. I need to have a solid basis to be able to teach such ideas to my students (Ezgi).

Nowadays, people teach yoga as if it only consists of asana and pranayama. How can you practice yoga without internalizing all principles defined by Patanjali? What difference does just practicing asanas have from doing plates? (Zeynep)

This competition even turns into rivalry from time to time. I have heard stories from yoga teachers about how some studios and yoga teachers file complaints against others to the Turkish Sports for All Federation. The federation conducts investigations and shut down studios if they fail to meet the criteria. Yusuf faced many inquiries while he was teaching at his home. He finally decided to move to a studio. Another studio was shut down in 2017 and the teachers had to sign contracts with other studios.

We know who is doing such things against us, I have faced many interrogations myself. They shut down some famous studios as well or interrogated people teaching at home. (Yusuf).

5.4.2. Hybridity of the Practice

As we could see from the Krishnamacharya and Iyengar's yoga styles that became very popular in the West, instead of practicing and teaching yoga in a traditional way, yoga teachers started to create their own style and westernize the practice (Singleton and Fraser, 2014). They create a hybrid yoga practice enriched with different styles, philosophies and even with other sports from time to time. The globalization of the practice also plays a role in the increasing hybridity of yoga practices. Coşkuner-Ballı and Ertimur (2015) analyzed how yoga was de-territorialized and appropriated to American culture in their article "Creating Hybridity: the Case of American Yoga". Coşkuner-Ballı and Ertimur (2015) discuss that an "American yoga" is created to suit to the American consumers' tastes and needs. The positive effects of yoga on health is highlighted, and the spiritual aspects of the practice are toned down to attract more consumers. They also argue that institutions, such as Yoga Journal, contribute to the creation of this new, hybrid practice of yoga in America. As argued by Coşkuner-Ballı and Ertimur (2015), yoga is re-appropriated by different cultures. Similarly in Turkey, new versions of the practice are created. In Chapter 4, we have seen the ideological aspect of the toning down of the practice. The government institution's attempts to strip yoga down from its religious roots, and regulate it as another sports activity present a picture of Turkish yoga. Although yoga teachers argued against defining yoga as a sport, they also refrained from defining it as a religious practice.

In terms of hybridity of the practice, we can see many examples in Ankara such as acro-yoga, antigravity yoga, *yogalates* (a combination of yoga and pilates). During the research, new examples of hybrid practices such as yoga with techno music and yoga with coffee were observed at famous studios of Ankara. These alternative practices and approaches often receive criticism from yoga teachers.

The other day, I saw a flier of another studio. They were having a “Yoga with Coffee” session. They made up a weird idea which makes no sense to me whatsoever. Why do such practices exist? It is just to market themselves and stand out amongst other studios (Toprak).

The way yoga teachers differentiate themselves from others and brand themselves is not always through alternative asana practices. Some teachers enrich their teachings with alternative medicine practices, yoga philosophies and spiritualist approaches. Some portray a more “spiritualist” picture. Some studios, such as the one Tuğçe attended, create an anti-capitalist and rebellious portray of the studio. The partners of the studio defined their separation from Zeynep’s studio as an act of protest as their perceptions of yoga and life contradicted with hers. They thought the big yoga studios were betraying the basic principles of yoga and over-commercializing it.

The reason this studio was opened at the first place was to create an alternative to existing approaches to yoga and yoga business. The owners of this studio do not have the ego other famous yoga trainers have (Tuğçe).

I have researched all other big yoga studios in Ankara when I decided to practice yoga. One of the studios had an emphasis on physical appearance and fitness while I felt like the other one was trying to dictate certain ideas to me. I feel happy that my path led me here (...) Did you know that one of these famous studios have an agreement with a private hospital? Why on earth would you risk people’s health and push them to do extreme asanas like hand stands? For me, this is not yoga. I call them “sportsmen” not yogis. It is not different from an expensive and fancy meal: it will not feed you or do any good to you. You will just have a cool pose to post on Instagram (...) (Toprak).

Bora et al (2017) argue that “capitalization of self” has become a part of finding or pursuing a job in the neoliberal era. In order to continue giving classes, yoga teachers have to build their own brand and customer base. Yoga teachers thought that being different than other teachers, creating their own practice style were important to stand out. Marketing themselves and their yoga style is a part of the job. In addition to Coşkuner-Ballı and Ertimur (2015)’s analysis of the hybrid practice of yoga as a result of cultural re-appropriation and targeting for consumer taste, this thesis suggests that the individual responsibility of yoga teachers to increase their customer

base, in other words capitalizing themselves as yoga instructors, is another factor contributing to the increasing hybridity of yoga in Turkey.

5.4.3. Turning into a Yoga Entrepreneur

Michel Foucault (2008) defines the neoliberal “homo economicus” as “an entrepreneur of himself being for himself his own capital, being for himself his own producer, being for himself the source of earnings” (p.266). The individuals constantly aim to create a surplus value, maximize the individual benefit and make the choices accordingly to do so (Lemke, 2001). As suggested by the human capital theory, one becomes an entrepreneur of himself to realize his desires in the neoliberal market.

While positioning yoga as a life long journey and a practice for self-actualization, the research group also talked about the fact that managing a yoga studio or becoming a freelancer yoga teacher are not different than running another businesses. All of the professional yoga teacher interviewees thought that a basic business knowledge was needed to open and run a yoga studio. They define an ethical, trustworthy model for yoga business but still do not deny the commercial aspects of and the professionalization and institutionalization of the practice. A few of the interviewees thought that the root cause of the high number failing businesses was the lack of business expertise and profit oriented attitude:

To manage a yoga studio is not the most complex business in the world, but you still need a basic business knowledge to have a successful yoga business. Being a great teacher or having the most yoga expertise are not always enough. Yoga schools keep going out of business and the real reason behind this is the lack of their business knowledge (Ezgi).

There are many examples of yoga studios appearing and disappearing at a glance of time and I think the main reasons for that are their unsuccessful business plans and lack of business skills (Yusuf).

Some of the teacher training attendees were not feeling ready to become professionals for lacking the necessary management and marketing knowledge.

Well, I do not know if I will ever open my own studio. The idea sounds tempting, but being an engineer myself, I do not think I have the necessary business knowledge to run a business (Zehra).

Yoga studios are, all in all, brick and mortar spaces with taxes and bills to pay, supplies to purchase and books to keep. Yoga professionals, especially studio owners and partners need to take part in the daily management of the business even though it is not the most desired or appealing part of the job. Managing a yoga studio, or earning money by teaching yoga may seem controversial to some people. Yoga practitioners' approach to turning yoga into a business was also questioned during the interviews. The majority of the research group thought that turning yoga into a commercial activity was acceptable, providing that yoga is not used to manipulate people. They also stressed out the importance of dissemination of yoga ideology and practice to larger communities and thought that commercialization and professionalization of the practice played a role in doing such service to the society. As we could see from Karababa and Scaraboto (2018)'s analysis of Small Chapels Movement, people rationalize commercial activities involved in yoga by underlining the "valuable" and positive sides of yoga. Turning yoga into a business is acceptable as it helps disseminate yoga virtue to non-practitioners, as long as the business is run fairly and does not corrupt the yoga principles. The criticisms towards commercialization of yoga are attenuated by yoga professionals and re-appropriated by highlighting the benefits of the practice.

Yoga principles can be applied to all aspects of our lives. Commercial activities, or earning money over teaching yoga are a part of life as well. As long as people internalize yoga principles, especially yama and niyama, and reflect those to their business practices, I do not see any harm in making a living from yoga (Ayla).

Being a yoga instructor is not an average job with a fixed salary. One of the points highlighted by yoga teachers during the interviews was that they were responsible for attracting students to their sessions. In a way, yoga teachers need to act like entrepreneurs even when they are working for a studio. Yoga instructors' payments are calculated based on the number of people attending to their session and the studio takes its commission. The studio can easily cancel a teacher's session if it does not attract enough attention. Research subjects mentioned their need to "build their own

customer base” to not depend on a yoga studio brand to pursue their lives as a yoga teacher. As the freelancer teachers have to create their customer base by themselves and teach to smaller groups of people, their costs are usually higher and income is much lower than big brands. Word of the mouth is also critical for them; hence freelancers prefer to work at a studio at the beginning of their career or give voluntary courses to build their network.

I started teaching yoga by giving free courses to university students to build my network. I had to be sure that I could turn yoga into my profession and make a market research before jumping in and opening a studio (Yusuf).

As can be seen from participant comments, the research group often referred to yoga as a “business”. The importance of knowing the market dynamics, having a basic business knowledge, making a market research and building a network within the yoga community were stressed out by the interviewees when talking about yoga as a profession. The very same people previously mentioned escaping to yoga to create a space within the competitive, risky, capitalist world. On the contrary, becoming a professional yoga teacher does not make them immune to competition and risks. As it is an entrepreneurial job, it comes with unreliable work conditions, harsh competition and earnings. Individuals have to constantly find ways to capitalize their knowledge, their practice. They end up attenuating their pure dreams of disseminating the knowledge of yoga and try to find themselves a space in the yoga community.

When I decided to become a full time yoga teacher, I just wanted to do what I love, and earn just enough to make a living. After years of working as a sales manager, I was tired of stressful, competitive corporate environment. I dreamt of a job where I could take a holiday whenever I wanted, work whenever I wanted, where I did not have to compete against others. Now I work even more than I did at my corporate job. Do not get me wrong, I love what I do but let us say that this was not what I exactly expected (...) After becoming a yoga instructor, at first I did not care about the number of students attending to my sessions or making a name in Ankara, but soon I realized that I had to do something to stand among other teachers. Tens of people became yoga teachers after I became a full time instructor (...) You never know if you will be able to continue to teach at your current studio, or if your studio can survive next year (Savaş).

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

This thesis focused on the desire to escape from the neoliberal world and create an alternative life by becoming a yoga teacher. Research group of the study consisted of yoga teachers from popular studios in Ankara, and yoga teacher training attendees of Yoga Alliance RYT200 and RYT300 certification programs. Besides in depth interviews, the observations from yoga sessions and meditation camp which I attended as a part of participant observation were used. Details of the methodology used for the study were explained in the third chapter, after the literature review chapter.

The inspiration to focus on escapism came from observations over the years on the rising popularity of yoga teacher training courses. What people were trying to escape from, their struggles at professional and personal lives were questioned throughout the research. As pointed out by scholars (Bauman 2000; Harvey 2014; Rose 1996), neoliberal politics led to the redefinition of citizens as independent, entrepreneurial, self-responsible individuals. Comaroff and Comaroff (1992) argue that the boost of individualism and the precarious environment of what Beck (1992) calls as “risk society” causes people to turn to spiritualism, mysticism and religion. The research group of this study were suffering from what we shortly call as neoliberal agonies and searching for a way out. Yoga presents a safe escape, and creates a space within the chaotic lives of highly educated, stressful individuals.

Re-appropriation of yoga and institutionalization of yoga teacher training were interesting findings of the study. In the fourth chapter, it was argued that Yoga Alliance, an American non-profit organization, was defining a globally acceptable curriculum for yoga teacher training and institutionalizing it. It was argued that the platform provided by Yoga Alliance brought yoga practitioners from all around the

world together, enabling the globalization of the practice and creation of a “yogascap””. In the fourth chapter, the government regulations in Turkey to re-appropriate the practice to government ideologies were also argued.

The research findings section focused on why people dream of becoming a yoga teacher, their transition to becoming yoga teachers, and an analysis of entrepreneurial dynamics of teaching yoga professionally. It was argued that the precariousness, flexible work conditions (Bourdieu 1998; Rubin and Brody 2005) and dissatisfaction due to increased competition and risk of unemployment (Bora et al 2017) caused people to search for an alternative. A possibility of earning a life over what they love, and disseminating the divine knowledge of yoga becomes an appealing option for unsatisfied individuals. The transition to a yoga teacher process was analyzed with Van Gennep (1960) model of rites of passages and Turner (1974)’s analysis of liminality. Juggling between corporate lives, prior roles, the aspiring teachers were going through, or had gone through a transition phase. This period of re-defining a self through yoga teachings and occupational transition were analyzed as liminal periods.

This thesis argues that being a yoga teacher is not immune to neoliberal forces which people were trying to escape from. Earning a life on yoga requires building social capital (Bourdieu, 1998) by becoming a part of mentorship groups or other yoga communities, personal branding, entrepreneurial skills (Rose 1996; Heiman, Freeman and Lietchy 2012; Harvey 2014) and a basic business knowledge. These criteria were thought to be more even more important than having a solid dedication to practice or internalizing yoga philosophy. Although competition, ambition, stress, envy contradict with yoga ideology, especially with yama and niyama principles, individuals have to go through certain stages that come with such feelings throughout their journey to becoming professionals in yoga.

The entrepreneurial aspects of professionally teaching yoga have been analyzed in the last section. In addition to Coşkuner-Ballı and Ertimur (2015)’s analysis of the hybrid practice of yoga as a result of cultural re-appropriation and targeting for con-

sumer taste, this research argues that the increasing entrepreneurialism and need for capitalization of self (Bora et al, 2017) also plays a role in the increasing hybridity of practice.

Even though yoga seems to be surrendering to neoliberalist system, it looks like the demand for yoga courses and the number of new yoga teachers will continue to increase and yoga will continue to be a getaway for suffering, oppressed souls. Searching for our true selves, inner peace and meaning of live, we will continue *to salute the sun, under the shadows of neoliberalism.*

REFERENCES

A Response to James Brown | Yoga Alliance. (2014). Retrieved 4 August 2019, from https://www.yogaalliance.org/Home/A_Response_to_James_Brown

About CCT–Consumer Culture Theory. (2019). Retrieved from <http://cctweb.org/about>

Alter, J. (2004). *Yoga in Modern India. The Body Between Science and Philosophy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Alter, J. (2018). Modern Medical Yoga: Struggling With a History of Magic, Alchemy and Sex. *Asian Medicine*, 1(1), 119-146. doi: 10.1163/157342105777996818

Appadurai, A. (1990). Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy. *Public Culture*, 2(2), 1-24. doi: 10.1215/08992363-2-2-1

Are You Eligible to be a YACEP®? | Yoga Alliance. (2019). Retrieved 1 August 2019, from <https://www.yogaalliance.org/YACEP/Eligibility>

Arnould, E., and Price, L. (1993). River Magic: Extraordinary Experience and the Extended Service Encounter. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 20(1), 24.

Arnould, E., and Thompson, C. (2005). Consumer Culture Theory (CCT): Twenty Years of Research. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 31(4), 868-882.

Arnould, E., and Thompson, C. (2018). Introduction: What is Consumer Culture Theory?. In *Consumer Culture Theory*. Sage.

Arthur, M., Hall, D., & Lawrence, B. (1989). *Handbook of Career Theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/CBO9780511625459

Asad, T. (1987). Are There Histories of Peoples Without Europe? A Review Article. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 29(3), 594-607. doi: 10.1017/s0010417500014742

Attitudes and Beliefs of Yoga Professionals and Practitioners Worldwide. (2018). Retrieved from <https://yastandards.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/Attitudes-and-Beliefs-of-Yoga-Professionals-and-Practitioners-Survey-Results-2018-1.pdf>

Bar, N. (2013). *Tightrope Walkers: An Ethnography of Yoga, Precariousness, and Privilege in California's Silicon Valley* (Ph.D.). Duke University.

Baudrillard, J. (1998). *The consumer society: Myths and structures*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Bauman, Z. (2000). *Liquid Modernity*. Blackwell Publishers Inc.

Belk, R. (1982). Effects of Gift-Giving Involvement on Gift Selection Strategies. *Advances In Consumer Research*, 9, 408-4012.

Belk, R. and Wallendorf, M. (1989). Assessing Trustworthiness in Naturalistic Consumer Research. *Association for Consumer Research*, pp.69-84.

Bora, T., Bora, A., Erdoğan, N., & Üstün, İ. (2017). *"Boşuna mı Okuduk?" Türkiye'de Beyaz Yakalı İşsizliği*. Çağaloğlu, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.

Bora, T., & Erdoğan, N. (2017). "Cüppenin, Kılıcın ve Kalemin Mahcup Yoksulları": Yeni Kapitalizm, Yeni İşsizlik ve Beyaz Yakalılar. In T. Bora, A. Bora, N. Erdoğan & İ. Üstün, *"Boşuna mı Okuduk?" Türkiye'de Beyaz Yakalı İşsizliği*. Çağaloğlu, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.

Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Bourdieu, P. and Wacquant, L. (1992). *An invitation to reflexive sociology*. University of Chicago Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1998). *Practical Reason: On the Theory of Action*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1998). The essence of neoliberalism. *Le Monde*.

Braudel, F. (1982). *Civilization and capitalism: 15th-18th century*. Berkeley, CA: Univ. of California Press.

Broad, W. (2012). How Yoga Can Wreck Your Body. *New York Times*. Retrieved from https://www.nytimes.com/2012/01/08/magazine/how-yoga-can-wreck-your-body.html?_r=0

Brown, J. (2014). Yoga Alliance Is Ruining Yoga [Blog]. Retrieved from <https://americanyoga.school/yoga-alliance-ruining-yoga/>

Bryant, E. (2009). *The Yoga Sutras of Patanjali: A New Edition, Translation, and Commentary*. North Point Press.

Celsi, R., Rose, R., and Leigh, T. (1993). An Exploration of High-Risk Leisure Consumption Through Skydiving. *Journal Of Consumer Research*, 20(1), 1.

Clarke, J., Newman, J., Smith, N., Vidler, E. and Westmarland, L. (2007). *Creating citizen-consumers: Changing publics and changing public services*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Coleman, S. (2000). *The globalization of charismatic Christianity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Comaroff, J., and Comaroff, J. (1999). Occult Economies and the Violence of Abstraction: Notes from the South African Postcolony. *American Ethnologist*, 26(2), 279-303. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/647285>

Coşkuner-Ballı, G., and Ertimur, B. (2015). Creating Hybridity: the Case of American Yoga. *Advances in Consumer Research* (43), 494-497.

De Michelis, E. (2004). *History of Modern Yoga*.

Dessart, L., Veloutsou, C., and Morgan-Thomas, A. (2015). Consumer engagement in online brand communities: a social media perspective. *Journal of Product and Brand Management*, 24(1), 28-42.

Directory-Registrants | Yoga Alliance. (2019). Retrieved 1 August 2019, from <https://www.yogaalliance.org/Directory-Registrants?type=Teacherandlocation=Turkey>

E-RYT500 | Yoga Alliance. (2019). Retrieved 2 August 2019, from https://www.yogaalliance.org/Credentialing/For_Teachers/E-RYT_500

Foucault, M., Senellart, M., Burchell, G., & Collège de France. (2008). *The birth of biopolitics: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1978-79*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Featherstone, M., and Frisby, D. (2006). *Simmel on Culture*. London: Sage Publ.

Frey, C. (2019). *The Technology Trap: Capital, Labor, and Power in the Age of Automation*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Friedman, D., J. (2015). Why a 200-Hour Yoga Teacher Training Isn't Enough. *Yoga Journal*. Retrieved from <https://www.yogajournal.com/teach/200-hour-yoga-teacher-training-program-may-enough>

Fukuyama, F. (2012). The Future of History: Can Liberal Democracy Survive the Decline of the Middle Class? *Foreign Affairs*, 91(1), 53-61. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23217147>

Gennep, A. (1960). *The Rites of Passage*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Giroux, H. (2007). Violence, Katrina, and the Biopolitics of Disposability. *Theory, Culture and Society*, 24(7-8), 305-309. doi: 10.1177/02632764070240072510

Gölge, A. (2017). *Online Presentation of Self on Instagram: A Case Study of Yoga Practitioners in Turkey* (Master Thesis). İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University.

Gür, H. (2018). *Contemporary Mevleviye in Turkey From the Perspective of New Religious Movements: "New Mevlevis" of İstanbul and Konya*. Master of Science. Middle East Technical University.

Hajli, N., Shanmugam, M., Papagiannidis, S., Zahay, D., and Richard, M. (2017). Branding co-creation with members of online brand communities. *Journal Of Business Research*, 70, 136-144.

Hall, E. (1976). *Beyond Culture*. Anchor Books.

Han, B.C. (2015). *The Transparency Society*.

Harvey, D. (2014). A Brief History of Neoliberalism. In F. Lechner and J. Boli, *The Globalization Reader*.

Hefner, R. (1998). MULTIPLE MODERNITIES: Christianity, Islam, and Hinduism in a Globalizing Age. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 27(1), 83-104. doi: 10.1146/annurev.anthro.27.1.83

Heiman, R., Freeman, C., and Liechty, M. (2012). *The Global Middle Classes: Theorizing through Ethnography*. Santa Fe, N.M.: SAR Press.

Hilgers, M. (2010). The three anthropological approaches to neoliberalism*. *International Social Science Journal*, 61(202), 351-364. doi: 10.1111/j.1468-2451.2011.01776.x

History | Yoga Alliance. (2019). Retrieved 1 August 2019, from https://www.yogaalliance.org/About_Us/Our_History

Holt, D. (1995). How Consumers Consume: A Typology of Consumption Practices. *Journal Of Consumer Research*, 22(1), 1.

Hughes, E. (1958). *Men and Their Work*. Free Press.

Jain, A. (2015). *Selling yoga: from counterculture to pop culture*. New York: Oxford Univ. Press.

Karababa, E. and Scaraboto, D. (2018). Consumer Produced, Emergent and Hybrid Markets. In E. Arnould and C. Thompson, *Consumer Culture Theory*. SAGE Publications Ltd.

Keyes, C., and Daniel, E. (1983). *Karma, an anthropological inquiry*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Kipnis, A. (2007). Neoliberalism reified: suzhi discourse and tropes of neoliberalism in the People's Republic of China. *Journal Of The Royal Anthropological Institute*, 13(2), 383-400. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-9655.2007.00432.x

Kolcu, G. (2015). Devlet tasdikli yoga. *Hürriyet*. Retrieved from <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/devlet-tasdikli-yoga-30022259>

Kozinets, R. (2015). *Netnography*. London: SAGE.

Lemke, T. (2001). 'The birth of bio-politics': Michel Foucault's lecture at the Collège de France on neo-liberal governmentality. *Economy And Society*, 30(2), 190-207. doi: 10.1080/03085140122085

Lemke, T. (2002). Foucault, Governmentality, and Critique. *Rethinking Marxism*, 14(3), 49-64. doi: 10.1080/089356902101242288

Lewin, K. (1947). Frontiers in Group Dynamics: Concept, Method and Reality in Social Science; Social Equilibria and Social Change. *Human Relations*, 1(1), 5-41. doi: 10.1177/001872674700100103

Marchi, G., Giachetti, C., and de Gennaro, P. (2011). Extending lead-user theory to online brand communities: The case of the community Ducati. *Technovation*, 31(8), 350-361.

Mauss, M. (2011). *The Gift*. Mansfield Centre, Conn.: Martino.

McAlexander, J., Schouten, J., and Koenig, H. (2002). Building Brand Community. *Journal Of Marketing*, 66(1), 38-54.

Miles, M., Huberman, A. and Saldaña, J. (2019). *Qualitative data analysis*. Sage Publications.

Mudge, S. (2008). What is neo-liberalism?. *Socio-Economic Review*, 6(4), 703-731. doi: 10.1093/ser/mwn016

Muniz, A., and O'Guinn, T. (1996), Brand Community and the Sociology of Brands. *Advances in Consumer Research*, 23.

Muniz, A., and O'Guinn, T. (2001). Brand Community. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 27(4), 412-432.

Ouwersloot, H., and Odekerken-Schröder, G. (2008). Who's who in brand communities – and why? *European Journal Of Marketing*, 42(5/6), 571-585.

Özdener, G. (2019). *Concepts of Liminality and Communitas Among Ashtanga Yoga Practitioners* (MA). Yeditepe University.

Palley, T. (2005). From Keynesianism to Neoliberalism: Shifting Paradigms in Economics. In Saad-Filho A. and Johnston D. (Eds.), *Neoliberalism: A Critical Reader* (pp. 20-29). LONDON; ANN ARBOR, MI: Pluto Press. doi:10.2307/j.ctt18fs4hp.6

Polanyi, K. (1944). *The great transformation: The political and economic origins of our time*.

Polanyi, Karl. And Pearson, Harry W. (1977). *The livelihood of man*. New York: Academic Press

Rifkin, J. (2004). *The End of Work: The Decline of the Global Labor Force and the Dawn of the Post-Market Era*. New York: Jeremy P. Tarcher/Penguin.

Rose, N. (1996). The death of the social? Re-figuring the territory of government. *Economy and Society*, 25(3), 327-356. doi: 10.1080/03085149600000018

Rubin, B., & Brody, C. (2005). Contradictions of commitment in the new economy: Insecurity, time, and technology. *Social Science Research*, 34(4), 843-861. doi: 10.1016/j.ssresearch.2005.02.002

Saad-Filho, A., and Johnston, D. (Eds.). (2005). *Neoliberalism: A Critical Reader*. LONDON; ANN ARBOR, MI: Pluto Press. doi:10.2307/j.ctt18fs4hp

Schau, H. (2018). Identity Projects and the Marketplace. In *Consumer Culture Theory*. Sage.

Schein, E. (1978). The Role of the Consultant: Content Expert or Process Facilitator? *The Personnel and Guidance Journal*, 56(6), 339-343. doi: 10.1002/j.2164-4918.1978.tb04644.x

Schouten, J. (1991). Selves in Transition: Symbolic Consumption in Personal Rites of Passage and Identity Reconstruction. *Journal Of Consumer Research*, 17(4), 412. doi: 10.1086/208567

Schouten, J., and McAlexander, J. (1995). Subcultures of Consumption: An Ethnography of the New Bikers. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 22(1), 43.

Simmel, G. (1957). Fashion. *American Journal of Sociology*, 62(6), 541-558. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2773129>

Sennett, R. (1998). *The corrosion of character*. New York: W.W. Norton.

Singleton, M. (2010). *Yoga Body: The Origins of Modern Posture Practice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Singleton, M., and Fraser, T. (2014). T. Krishnamacharya, Father of Modern Yoga. In M. Singleton and E. Goldberg, *Gurus of Modern Yoga*.

Sørensen, M. P. (2002) 'Interview med Ulrich Beck, *Slagmark: Tidsskrift for idehistorie*, 34, 125-144.

Sørensen, M. P. and Christiansen, A. (2013). *Ulrich Beck: An introduction to the theory of second modernity and the risk society*. Abingdon, Oxon; New York: Routledge

Slater, D., and Tonkiss, F. (2001). *Market Society: Markets and Modern Social Theory*. Polity.

Strauss, S. (2005). *Positioning Yoga: Balancing Acts Across Cultures*. Oxford: Berg.

Şengün Gürsoy, s. (2019). *Tüketim Toplumu ve Ontolojik Güvenlik Erozyonu Dahilinde Yükselen Akım “Yoga”* (Ph.D.). Hacettepe Üniversitesi.

T24. (2015). Yoga merkezlerinde heykel, tütsü ve farklı dinlerin müzikleri yasaklandı! Retrieved from <https://t24.com.tr/haber/yoga-merkezlerinde-heykel-tutsu-ve-farkli-dinlerin-muzikleri-yasaklandi,309145>

The Ancient and Modern Roots of Yoga. (2019). Retrieved 15 August 2019, from <https://www.yogajournal.com/yoga-101/yoga-s-greater-truth>

Thompson, C., and Coşkun-Ballı, G. (2007). Countervailing Market Responses to Corporate Co-optation and the Ideological Recruitment of Consumption Communities. *Journal Of Consumer Research*, 34(2), 135-152. doi: 10.1086/519143

Trice, H., & Morand, D. (1989). Rites of passage in work careers. In M. Arthur, D. Hall, & B. Lawrence (Eds.), *Handbook of Career Theory* (pp. 397-416). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/CBO9780511625459.022

Türkiye Herkes İçin Spor Federasyonu Özel Herkes İçin Spor ve Yoga Salonları Talimatı (2015).

Turner, V. (1969). *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure the Ritual Process*.

Veresiu, E., and Giesler, M. (2018). Neoliberalism and Consumption. In E. Arnould and C. Thompson, *Consumer Culture Theory*. SAGE Publications Ltd.

Wacquant, L. (2012). Three steps to a historical anthropology of actually existing neoliberalism. *Social Anthropology*, 20(1), 66-79. doi:10.1111/j.1469-8676.2011.00189.x

What's the difference between a yoga studio, an RYS and a YACEP? | Yoga Alliance. (2019). Retrieved 1 August 2019, from https://www.yogaalliance.org/Studio_RYS_YACEP

Wirth, L. (1964), *On Cities and Social Life*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Wirtz, J., den Ambtman, A., Bloemer, J., Horváth, C., Ramaseshan, B., and van de Klundert, J. et al. (2013). Managing brands and customer engagement in online brand communities. *Journal Of Service Management*, 24(3), 223-244.

Wolf, E. (1982). *Europe and People without History*.

Yogaalliance.org. (2019). *Current v/s New RYS 200 Comparison / Yoga Alliance*. [online] Available at: https://www.yogaalliance.org/New_RYS_Standards/Current_v_s_New_RYS_200_Comparison [Accessed 25 Aug. 2019].

Yogaalliance.org. (2019). *Fees for Teachers / Yoga Alliance*. [online] Available at: https://www.yogaalliance.org/Designations/Fees/Fees_for_Teachers [Accessed 25 Aug. 2019].

Yogaalliance.org. (2019). *Fees for Schools / Yoga Alliance*. [online] Available at: https://www.yogaalliance.org/Designations/Fees/Fees_for_Schools [Accessed 25 Aug. 2019].

APPENDICES

A. INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1) Interviewee Profile

- a. Would you please tell me about yourself? What is your age, occupation and education degree?
- b. Do you have another job besides teaching yoga?
- c. Would you please tell me about your personal and professional life besides yoga?

2) Practicing Yoga

- a. How did you first meet yoga?
- b. Were you practicing yoga prior to joining a yoga teacher training course?
- c. How often and where do you practice yoga?
- d. Do the principles and practices you learnt at yoga have an impact on your daily life?
- e. How did your life change after starting to regularly practice yoga? Would you please tell me about your life before and after yoga?

3) Perceptions of Yoga

- a. What does yoga mean to you?
- b. According to you, what are the basics and basic principles of yoga?
- c. How did your lifestyle, expectations and career plans change after attending the yoga teacher training program?
- d. How did your friends and family react to your decision to practice yoga?

4) Yoga Teacher Training

- a. How did you decide to join a yoga teacher training course?

- b. How did you choose the yoga studio you got your certification from? Did you research about other institutions or yoga trainers before choosing your teacher training program?
- c. Would you recommend your yoga studio to others? Did you attract any new students to your studio?
- d. Would you please tell me about the scope and curriculum of the yoga teacher training you attended?
- e. Do you have to attend other courses, retreats or workshops besides the defined curriculum of the teacher training program? Do you prepare such workshops or events yourself?
- f. What was the most difficult part of your yoga teacher training?
- g. Are there any areas of yoga you are planning to excel at?

5) Dedication and Investment to Training

- a. What was the approximate budget you allocated for your training?
- b. Did you purchase any other equipment for your training?
- c. Did you have to make any sacrifices to allocate your time and budget to attend your training such as changing or quitting your job, giving up your holidays?
- d. How did your friends and family react when you decided to become a full time yoga teacher?

6) Professionalization

- a. If you are not already a professional yoga teacher, do you plan to become a full time or part time trainer at a yoga studio after completing your training? Are you planning to quit your current job to become a full time yoga teacher?
- b. Which studios would you want to teach at?
- c. What is necessary to turn yoga into your only profession? How can you sign a contract with a major studio?
- d. Where do you teach yoga at? Have you taught at a different studio, fitness center or at your home before?

- e. Do you think it would be possible to make a living as a yoga trainer?
- f. How is your current income from yoga compared to your previous income? How would you compare your current & previous quality of life?
- g. Are there any other people or resources you follow to develop your yoga knowledge?

7) Community & Network

- a. Do you get together with your training group outside of training hours? Did you make any friends at yoga?
- b. Do you think it is necessary to have a network to build your student base?
- c. Do you think it is necessary to have close relationships with studio teachers to get your own session at the studio?
- d. How do you reach out to your potential students? What do you do to sustain your student base?

B. METU HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE APPROVAL

UYGULAMALI ETİK ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ
APPLIED ETHICS RESEARCH CENTER



ORTA DOĞU TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

OLUMLUPINAR BULVARI 06800
ÇANKAYA ANKARA/TÜRKİYİ
T: +90 312 210 22 33
F: +90 312 210 79 59

Sayı: 28620816 / 303

28 Haziran 2019

Konu: Değerlendirme Sonucu

Gönderen: ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (İAEK)

İlişi: İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başvurusu

Sayın Eminogül KARABABA

Danışmanlığımı yaptığınız Pelin Aydıner JUCKAT'ın "Neoliberalizmin Gölgesinde Güneşi Selamlamak: Yoga Eğitimci Kursu Katılımcıları ve Yoga Eğitimcileri Üzerine Etnografik Bir Çalışma" başlıklı araştırması İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülmüş ve 284-ODTÜ-2019 protokol numarası ile onaylanmıştır.

Saygılarımızla bilgilerinize sunarız.


Prof. Dr. Tulin GENÇÖZ

Başkan

Prof. Dr. Tolga CAN

Üye



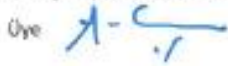
Doç. Dr. Pınar KAYGAN

Üye



Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Ali Emre TURGUT

Üye



Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Şerife SEVİNÇ

Üye



Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Müge GÜNDÜZ

Üye



Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Süreyya Özcan KABASAKAL

Üye



C. TURKISH SUMMARY / TRKE ZET

Bu alıřma Ankara'daki yoga eęitmenleri ve yoga eęitmenlik kursu katılımcılarıyla yrtlen altı ay sren bir etnografik arařtırmaya dayanmaktadır. Yksekęretim Kurulu Bařkanlıęı tarafından yayınlanan tez alıřmalarına bakıldıęında yoganın aęırlıklı olarak spor, hemřirelik, fizyoterapi ve rehabilitasyon, psikoloji alanlarındaki tez alıřmalarına konu olduęu grlmřtr. Trkiye'de yogayı konu alan biri doktora tezi olmak zere yalnızca iki tez alıřması bulunmaktadır. Antropoloji alanında ise Ashtanga Yoga uygulayıcılarını konu alan bir yksek lisans tez alıřması bulunmaktadır. Benim alıřmamda ise, yoga pratięinin ve yoga eęitmenlięinin poplerleřmesini kaıř teması zerinden ele almakta ve bireylerin arayıřa geme ve yogaya sıęınma srelerinin arkasındaki neoliberal dinamikleri incelenmektedir. alıřmada bireyleri yoga eęitmeni olmaya iten nedenlerin yanı sıra yoga eęitmenlięinin de neoliberal market dzeninde gittike kurumsallařan ve ticarileřen yapısı irdelenmiřtir.

alıřma kapsamında beři profesyonel yoga eęitmeni, yedisi yoga eęitmenlik kursu katılımcısı olmak zere toplam oniki kiřiyle mlakat yapılmıřtır. Katılımcıların  erkek, dokuzu kadındır. Cinsiyet daęılımı konusunda yorum yapabilmek iin detaylı bir sayısal arařtırmaya ihtiya duyulduęu yorumu yapılmıřtır. Katılımcılardan biri hari hepsi en az lisans derecesine sahiptir. alıřma sırasında katılımcıların mahremiyeti iin katılımcı isimleri yerine takma isimler kullanılmıř, mensubu oldukları yoga stdyolarının isimlerine de yer verilmemiřtir. Arařtırma iin oniki kiřilik rnekleme gerekleřtirilen mlakatlara ek olarak farklı stdyolardaki yoga derslerinde ve iki tam gn sren bir meditasyon kampında katılımcı gzlemi yapılmıřtır. İkincil kaynak olarak Yoga Alliance ve yoga federasyonlarının internet sayfalarından, Yoga Alliance'ın 2018 yılında Edge Research ile birlikte dnya genelinde yoga uygulayıcılarıyla yrttę "Yoga Uzmanlarının ve Dnyadaki Uygulayıcıların Tutum ve İnanları" anketinin sonularından faydalanılmıřtır. Kullanılan bir bařka arařtırma metodu da netnografidir. Netnografi, evrimii

toplulukları ve sosyal ağıları analiz etmek için internet tabanlı teknolojiyi kullanan etnografik bir araştırma yöntemidir (Kozinets, 2015). Bu araştırma yönetimi, çevrimiçi verilerin yalnızca istatistiksel analizinin ötesine geçer ve paylaşılan içeriğin arkasındaki bağlamı ve anlamı ortaya çıkarmayı amaçlar.

Sanskritçe bir kelime olan yoga “birleştirme, bir araya getirme” anlamını taşımaktadır. Bu birleşme bireyin evrenle, kozmik bir varolma biçimiyle birleşmesi olarak da tanımlanabilir (Alter, 2004). Yoganın kökenlerine ilişkin elimizde kesin bilgiler olmasa da 5000 yıl kadar önceye dayanan bir pratik olduğu kabul edilmektedir. Yoganın modernleşme ve batıya yayılma sürecini araştıran Elizabeth De Michelis (2004), yoganın köklerinin Hinduizm, Jainizm ve Budizm’e dayandığını belirtmektedir. Bu denli köklü bir pratik olan yoga, yıllar içinde farklı ekoller ve inanışlara göre binlerce farklı şekilde uygulanmıştır (Jain 2012); ancak *karma*, *jnana*, *bhakti*, ve *raja* yoga olmak üzere dört ana yoga akımı olduğu kabul edilmektedir. Hindusit öğretisi ile yetişmiş bir yogi olan Patanjali tarafından yazılan Yoga Sutra’da tanımlanan yoganın sekiz basamağı yoganın sistematik bir şekilde öğrenilmesi için temel olarak kabul edilmektedir. Araştırma katılımcıları tarafından da Patanjali’nin sekiz basamağına sıklıkla atıfta bulunulduğu için çalışmanın giriş bölümünde Yoga Sutra’da yer alan yoganın sekiz basamağı kısaca tanımlanmıştır.

Yoganın batıya yayılma sürecini anlamak, yoganın globalleşmesini ve bugün Türkiye’de de yaygın olarak uygulanış biçimlerini analiz edebilmek için önemlidir. 1849 yılında Henry David Thoreau’nun bir mektubunda kendini bir “yogi” olarak tanımlaması, bir batılı tarafından yoga kelimesinin ilk kez kullanılışı olarak kabul edilmektedir. Swami Vivekananda’nın 1893 yılında Chicago’da düzenlenen Dünya Dinler Parlementosu’nda yoga üzerine yaptığı konuşma da yoganın Amerika kıtasında geniş bir kitle tarafından duyulmasını sağladığı için önemlidir. Batı toplumları tarafından tanınması sonrası yoga farklı şekillerde uygulanmaya başlamıştır. De Michelis (2004), son yüz elli yıldır yoganın batıya açılması ile ortaya çıkmış yoga türlerini tanımlamak için “modern yoga” terimini kullanmaktadır. Yirminci yüzyılda B.K.S Iyengar, Indra Devi ve T.K.V. Desikachar gibi ünlü yogiler, temel yoga öğretilerine ek olarak kendi pratiklerini geliştirmiş ve

yoganın hem Hindistan’da, hem de batıda popülerleşmesinin önünü açmıştır (Singleton ve Fraser, 2014). Jimnastik, güreş gibi farklı sporlardan ilham alan ve daha dinamik *asana* (yogada uygulanan duruşlar) akışlarına yer veren hibrit yoga pratikleri daha geniş kitlelerce benimsenmiştir. Coşkuner-Ballı ve Ertimur (2015)’un “Amerikan yoga”yı ele alan çalışması yoganın globalleşmesi ve hibrit bir pratik olarak incelenmesi açısından önemli bir çalışmadır. Coşkuner-Ballı ve Ertimur (2015), 1980-2012 yılları arasında yürüttükleri araştırmada Amerika’da yoga üzerine yapılan yayınları ve yoganın pazarlanma stratejilerini incelemiş, gözlemci olarak yoga derslerine katılmıştır. Bu araştırmalar sonrası Coşkuner Ballı ve Ertimur (2015) yoganın Amerikan kültürü tarafından benimsenebilmesi için dini temellerinden sıyrılıp, Hindistan kültürüne dayanan öğretilerinin yersiz yurtsuzlaştırılıp, bir spor ve sağlık aktivitesi olarak pazarlandığı sonucuna varmıştır.

Bu çalışmada Yoga Alliance’ın da yoganın globalleşmesi ve kurumsallaşmasında önemli rol oynadığı öne sürülmektedir. Amerikan, kar amacı gütmeyen bir kuruluş olan Yoga Alliance tarafından uluslararası geçerli olarak verilen yoga eğitmenlik sertifikaları Türkiye’de de popüler hale gelmiştir. Yoga eğitmeni olmak isteyen bireyler, hem sertifikalı eğitmen olabilmek, hem de belli prensiplere ve müfredata göre eğitim alabilmek için Yoga Alliance sertifikalı eğitmenlik programlarına katılmaktadır. Özünde usta-çırak ilişkisine göre aktarılan bir öğreti olan yoga, Yoga Alliance tarafından ikiyüz saatten başlayan sertifika programları ile paket programlar halinde bireyleri sertifikalı yoga eğitmeni haline getirmektedir. Yoga Alliance en temel yoga eğitmenlik seviyesi olan RYT200’ün yanı sıra, RYT300, YACEP gibi daha ileri seviye yoga eğitmenlik sertifika programları ile yoga eğitmenleri için bir nevi kariyer haritası da çizmektedir. Sertifika programlarının yanı sıra Yoga Alliance dünyadaki en büyük yoga eğitmen veritabanına sahip olmasıyla da övünmekte, daha çok yoga uygulayıcısını Yoga Alliance platformuna çekmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Yoga Alliance platformu üzerinden eğitmenler de kendi sayfalarını oluşturarak tanıtımlarını yapabilirken, potansiyel öğrencilere de ulaşabilmektedir. Yoga Alliance’a üye olabilmek için hem yoga eğitmenlerinin hem de kayıtlı stüdyoların düzenli olarak üyelik ücretleri ödemesi gerekmektedir.

Türkiye’de yoga eğitmeni olabilmek ve yoga stüdyosu açabilmek için uluslararası sertifikalar geçerli değildir. 2015 yılında Gençlik ve Spor Bakanlığı bünyesinde kurulan Herkes İçin Spor Federasyonu (HİS) yoga kursları için denetleyici düzenleyici kuruluş konumundadır. Federasyon yogayı bir spor olarak tanımlamakta, yoga eğitmenlerine de “antrenörlük” sertifikası vermektedir. Herkes İçin Spor Federasyonu’nun yoga merkezlerine ilişkin yayınladığı yönetmelikle yoga merkezlerinde kullanılan dini semboller de yasaklanmıştır. Federasyon heykel, mantra ve benzeri “farklı dinlere” ait objelerin ve müziklerin kullanımını yasaklamasının arkasındaki nedeni misyonerlik faaliyetlerinin önüne geçmek olarak açıklamıştır. Yönetmelikte geçen “farklı din” ibaresi yoga eğitmenleri ve uygulayıcılarından tepki çekmiş, yapılan düzenlemeler devletin yogaya el koyma çabası olarak algılanmıştır.

Türkiye’de yoga alanında faaliyet gösteren bir başka kuruluş da 2013 yılında kurulan Yoga Federasyonu’dur. Araştırmanın bir parçası olarak Herkes İçin Spor Federasyonu ve Yoga Federasyonu’nun kuruluş amaçlarını ve yetkili alanlarını anlayabilmek için Ağustos 2019’da Yoga Federasyonu’ndan bir yetkili ile de görüşme gerçekleştirdim. Yoga Federasyonu yetkilisi, federasyonun amacının yoganın doğru tanıtımı ve eğitiminin sağlanması olduğunu, bunun için de seminerler, festivaller ve eğitim programları düzenlediklerini belirtti. Bu iki federasyon arasındaki temel farkın da Herkes İçin Spor Federasyonu’nun yoga merkezlerini spor salonları statüsünde değerlendirirken, Yoga Federasyonu’nun yoga merkezlerine eğitim kurumu olarak yaklaşması olduğunu ilettili.

Ankara’da bazı yoga eğitmenleri yoga merkezi işletmek yerine evlerinde yoga dersleri vermektedir. Ancak son yıllarda Herkes İçin Spor Federasyonu’nun devreye girmesiyle yoga uygulaması yapılacak mekanlara da kısıtlamalar getirildi. Herkes İçin Spor Federasyonu, yoga merkezlerinde kadınlar ve erkekler için iki ayrı soyunma odası ve tuvalet bulunması, binada yangın merdiveni bulunması gibi yoga merkezlerinin fiziksel şartlarına ilişkin düzenlemeler de getirmiştir. Gelen şikayetler üzerine düzenlenen denetimler bazı yoga merkezlerinin kapatılmasıyla bile sonuçlanmıştır. Yoga merkezi işleten yoga eğitmenleri federasyonun

gerçekleştirdiği denetimlerin kimi zaman rakip yoga merkezi ve yoga eğitmenleri tarafından talep edildiğini, artan denetimlerin nedenlerinden birinin yoga pazarında rekabetin artması olduğunu dile getirmiştir.

Görüldüğü üzere, Türkiye’de yogayı profesyonel olarak yapmak isteyen bireyler Herkes İçin Spor Federasyonu veya Yoga Federasyonu'na kaydolarak ilgili sertifikaları almak ve denetimlerden geçmek zorundadır. Bu çalışmada hükümetin yoga merkezlerini ve eğitmenlik kurslarını düzenleme girişimleri, yogaya kurumsal bir çerçeve oluşturma çabası olarak yorumlanmıştır. Sonuçta yoga, serbest piyasa ekonomisinin parçası bir endüstridir ve David Harvey'in (2005) açıkladığı gibi, hükümetin rolü yogaya kurumsal bir çerçeve sağlamak ve pazarın kalitesini sağlamak için gerekli yasal önlemleri almaktır. Türk hükümeti, yoganın profesyonelce nasıl uygulanması gerektiği konusunda henüz net bir çerçeve çizmese de, yoga pazarı büyüdükçe pazarı kontrol çabalarına yeni oluşturulan bu kuruluşlarla devam etmektedir.

Bu çalışmanın araştırma grubu, ümit vaat eden kariyere sahip, yüksek eğitilmiş bireylerden oluşmaktadır. Birçok sosyal bilimcinin (Beck 1992; Bauman 2000; Harvey 2014; Rose 1996; Lemke 2002) işaret ettiği gibi, neoliberalizm bireyselliği, girişimciliği ve güvencesizliği artırırken, bireylerin maruz kaldığı stresin artmasına ve yeni risklerin ortaya çıkmasına neden oldu. Richard Sennett (1998) “Karakter Aşınması”nda başarısızlığı neoliberal zamanların en büyük tabusu olarak tanımlar. Günümüzde rekabet, stres, kaos ve belirsizlik dünyasında yaşıyoruz.

Mesleki ve kişisel yaşamdaki tüm bu travmatik deneyimler, bireylerde neoliberal baskılardan kaçma isteğinin ortaya çıkmasına neden olmaktadır. Günlük hayatta gittikçe daha fazla hissedilen stresi azaltmak için yogaya yönelen bireyler üzerine çalışmalar bulunmaktadır (Bar, 2013; Şengün Gürsoy, 2019). Neta Bar (2013), doktora tez çalışmalarını Silikon Vadisi’nde çalışan, üst sınıfa mensup kadınların yoga uygulayıcıları ile yürütmüştür. Bar (2013) bu çalışması ile ayrıcalıklı görünen ancak neoliberal düzenin yarattığı güvensiz, stres, rekabet ortamından etkilenen bu sınıfın kaçış için yogaya sığınışını ve yoga ile kendilerine alan yaratma çabasını göstermiştir. Bar (2013)’ın tezi, neoliberal düzenin yarattığı istikrarsızlık ortamının

yalnızca imtiyazsız alt sınıfları değil, en ayrıcalıklı görünen sınıfları da çökerttiğini göstermeyi hedeflemektedir.

Silikon Vadisi'nden çok uzaklarda, Ankara'daki yoga eğitmenleri ve eğitmenlik kursu katılımcıları da Neta Bar (2013)'ın araştırma grubunda olduğu gibi baskılardan ve stresten kaçış arama, kendilerine nefes alabilecek bir alan yaratma çabasındalardı. Katılımcılar, mülakatlar ve görüşmeler sırasında profesyonel ve kişisel hayatlarında karşılaştıkları baskılardan ve problemlerden kaçarken yoganın onlara nasıl yardım ettiğini sıklıkla dile getirdiler. Yoga, özellikle de meditasyon, bireylerin dış dünyayla olan bağlantılarını koparıp, ana odaklanmalarını sağlamayı hedefler. Meditasyon, Beck (1992)'in “risk toplumu” olarak tanımladığı modern yaşamın belirsizliklerinden bireylerin pasif bir oluş haline geçerek anlık olarak da olsa uzaklaşmalarına olanak sağlar.

Araştırmaya konu olan eğitimli ve farklı alanlarda kariyer sahibi bireylere yoga eğitmeni olma fikrinin nasıl ve neden çekici hale geldiğini anlamak çalışmanın ana sorularındandır. İşyerinde güvencesizlik ve işsizlik riski bireyler üzerinde baskı kurmaya devam ediyor. Günümüzde yüksek eğitimli beyaz yakalı çalışanlar bile bu risklerle karşı karşıya kalmaktadır. Jeremy Rifkin (2004), “The End of Work” eserinde bilgisayar teknolojileri ile işlemlerin otomatik hale getirilmesine ve üretim teknolojilerindeki gelişmelere küresel işgücüne karşı potansiyel tehditler olarak işaret etmektedir. Rifkin (2004), her türlü sanayinin ve her çeşit insan emeğinin risk altında olduğunu belirtir. Sanayi devrimi, fiziksel insan emeğinin yerini endüstriyel makinelerle değişmesine yol açtı. Bugün ise maddi olmayan insan emeğinin de makinelerle değiştirilebileceği “Endüstri 4.0” çağındayız. Geçirdiğimiz dördüncü sanayi devriminin önü makine öğrenimi ve yapay zeka gibi gelişmiş bilgisayar teknolojileri ile açılıyor. Rifkin (2004)'in hipotezine benzer şekilde, Carl Benedikt Frey (2019) “Otomasyon Çağında Teknoloji Tuzağı: Sermaye, Emek ve Güç” adlı kitabında yenilikçi bilgisayar teknolojilerinin beyaz yakalı iş gücüne karşı büyük bir tehdit oluşturduğunu, yeni teknolojilerin orta sınıf iş piyasalarını şimdiden küçültmeye başladığını savunur. Aksu Bora, Necmi Erdoğan, Tanil Bora ve İlknur Üstün (2017) de “Boşuna mı Okuduk?: Türkiye'nin Beyaz Yakalı İşsizliği” adlı

eserde Türkiye'de eğitimli bireylerin işsizliği konusunu incelemiştir. Bora, Erdoğan, Bora ve Üstün (2017), genç beyaz yakalı çalışanların işsizlik riskinin ve çalışma yaşamında karşı karşıya kaldıkları güvencesiz ortamın onları mavi yakalı çalışanlara yaklaştırdığını belirtmektedir. Genç nesiller ise hâlâ prestijli bir işe sahip olmanın getirdiği avantajlardan faydalanan eski beyaz yakalı nesiller ile birlikte çalıştıklarından, yaşam standartlarını yükseltmek umuduyla gittikçe değersizleşen mevcut işlerine bağlı kalma gereksinimi duymaktadır (Bora ve ark. 2017).

Bora ve Erdoğan (2017), yeni iş yaşamı normları olarak beyaz yakalı işçilerin sürekli strese maruz kalmaları ve kendilerini geliştirme zorunluluğuna da işaret etmektedir. Bireyler kendilerini daha iyi “pazarlayabilmek”, daha iyi bir kariyere sahip olabilmek için sürekli kendilerine ve eğitimlerine yatırım yapmaktadır (Bora ve Erdoğan, 2017). Ancak; bireyler kendilerini geliştirdikçe nitelikli işler için rekabet de artar. Bu baskılar nitelikli insanları yetkinliklerinin altında işleri yapmaya itmekte ve bu durum nitelikli çalışanların iş tatminsizliği yaşamasına neden olmaktadır (Bora ve Erdoğan, 2017). Kurumsal hayattan kaçma ihtiyacı ve iş piyasasındaki vahşi rekabet korkusu mülakatlar sırasında katılımcılar tarafından da sıkça dile getirildi.

Çalışma koşullarının esnekliği, işin ve kişisel zamanın iç içe geçmesi neoliberal çalışma hayatını analiz ederken göz önünde bulundurulması gereken diğer noktalardır. Bourdieu (1998), baskın bir neoliberal ideoloji olarak esneklik kavramına işaret etmektedir. Çalışma koşulları daha esnek hale geldikçe iş ve günlük yaşam birbirine geçmeye, iş tatmini bireylerin genel refahını tanımlamaya başlar (Bora ve Erdoğan, 2017). Rubin ve Brody (2005) yeni esnek çalışma koşulları üzerinde çalışmış, artan zaman baskısı, örgütsel bağlılıkta azalma ve güvensizliği esnekliğin olası sonuçları olarak listelemiştir. Mülakatlar sırasında şef, mühendis, pazarlamacı gibi farklı meslek sahibi bireyler, profesyonel hayatta artan baskıları ve sürekli erişilebilir olma zorunluluğunu anlatırken yaptıkları işi kölelikle dahi kıyaslamıştır.

İş hayatında karşılaşılan tüm bu baskı ve sıkıntılar bireylerin alternatif bir kariyer aramalarına neden olmaktadır. Tatmin edici olmayan koşulları değiştirmek için bireysel eylemlerde bulunma fikri yaygınlaşmaktadır. Bauman (2000), neoliberal ideolojilerin neden olduğu bireyselleşmenin “özeleştiriyi” de arttırdığını savunur. Lemke (2002) de benzer şekilde bireylerin neoliberal dönemde yaşam koşullarını iyileştirmek için kişisel sorumluluk almak zorunda olduğunu belirtir. Akademisyenlerin (Hefner 1998; Coleman 2000; Comaroff ve Comaroff 1999) de belirttiği gibi, neoliberal ideolojilerin vaatlerini yerine getirememesi manevi pratiklerin popülaritesini arttırmaktadır. Bu anlamda, yoga ve yoga toplulukları neoliberal düzende hayal kırıklığına uğramış bireyler için nefes almak için bir alan yaratmaktadır. Bunun ötesinde, bir meslek olarak yoga eğitmenliği de kariyerlerinde başarılı olamamış, iş tatminsizliği yaşayan bireyler için kendilerini gerçekleştirebilecekleri, vahşi kurumsal hayattan uzak bir alternatifte dönüşmüştür.

Yoga Alliance onaylı sertifika programları kayıtlı stüdyolar tarafından yılda birkaç kez düzenlenmektedir. Ankara'daki en büyük iki yoga stüdyosu, Yoga Şala ve Cihangir Yoga, her RYT200 eğitiminde elli yeni yoga eğitmeni olmak üzere yılda ortalama ikiyüz sertifikalı yoga eğitmeni mezun etmektedir. Ankara'daki stüdyolar her yıl katlanarak artan yeni yoga eğitmenine kendi seanslarını sağlayacak kadar pozisyon açamamakta, yeni mezun yoga eğitmenleri eğitim aldıkları stüdyolarda eğitmen olarak çalışmaya başlayabilmek için gönüllü derslerde, ileri düzey eğitimlerde, mentorlük gruplarında çaba göstermeye devam etmektedir. Mülakatlar sırasında yoga camiasında tanınır olmanın, stüdyo eğitmenlerinin yakın çevresinin bir parçası olabilmenin yoga eğitmenlik kariyerinde ilerleyebilmeleri için elzem olduğu dile getirilmiştir. Bu nedenle yogada uzmanlaşmak isteyen bireyler kursların dışında gönüllü olarak mentorlük gruplarında veya eğitmenlerin asistanı olarak ekstra derslerde yer almaktadır. Yoga stüdyo işletmecileri ve yoga eğitmenleri de bu tür gönüllü gruplarda yer alan, stüdyo tarafından tanınan öğrencilere açılan pozisyonlarda öncelik verdiklerini dile getirmiştir.

Araştırma sonuçlarının sunulduğu bölümde yoga eğitmenlik kursu öğrencilerinin profesyonel yoga eğitmenlerine dönüşme süreci Van Gennep(1960)'in geçiş

ritüelleri konseptine göre incelenmiştir. Yoga eğitimlik kursuna başlama süreci bireylerin “*seperation*” (ayrılma) süreci olarak yorumlanmıştır. Bu süreçte bireyler artık yoga stüdyosunun sıradan müşterilerinden ayrışıp, stüdyo eğitim topluluğunun bir parçası olmaya başlarlar. Eğitimlik kursu boyunca katılımcılar mesleki ve diğer kimliklerinden farklı bir yogi personası oluşturmaya da başlarlar. Shouten (1991) ve Van Gennep (1960)’in de belirttiği gibi, ayrılma evresi aynı zamanda mevcut kimliğin dispozisyon evresidir. Yoga eğitimlik kursu boyunca da katılımcılar yoğun şekilde maruz kaldıkları yoga öğretilerini benimsemeye çalışırken, hayatlarındaki diğer rolleri de sorgulamaya başlarlar.

Çalışmada, katılımcıların ileri seviye yoga eğitimlik kurslarına devam etmeleri, mentorluk gruplarına, asistanlık programlarına ve staj eğitimlik seanslarına katılmaları “*transition*” yani geçiş evresi olarak analiz edilmiştir. Bu süreçte bireyler yoga çevreleriyle daha yakından haşır neşir olmaya başlamış, yavaş yavaş “öğrenci” kimliklerinden sıyrılıp, profesyonel bir yoga eğitmeni olarak da yeni kimliklerini oluşturmaya başlamışlardır. Van Gennep (1960) ve Turner (1969) geçiş sürecini “liminal” yani eşikte olma, arafta kalma durumu olarak açıklarlar. Geçiş sürecinde yoga eğitmeni olmak isteyen bireyler bir taraftan eski rollerine tutunmaya devam ederken; diğer yandan yoga çevresinde bir yer edinmeye, deneyimlerini kanıtlamaya, eğitimlik becerilerini de pekiştirmeye çalışırlar. Katılımcıların bir çoğu, yoga eğitmenliği yaparak geçimini sağlayıp sağlayamayacaklarından ve sürekli bir iş haline getirip getiremeyeceklerinden emin olmadıkları için bu süreçte yavaş yavaş ders vermeye başlarken, mevcut mesleklerinden hemen kopmadıklarını aktarmıştır.

Yoga eğitimlik programlarının sonunda genelde zorunlu bir kamp programı da bulunur. Bu kamplar sırasında kursta başarılı olan katılımcılara Yoga Alliance onaylı sertifikaları bir mezuniyet seramonisi şeklinde sunulur. Özellikle de ileri seviye sertifikaların sunuluş seramonileri bir anlamda bireylerin yoga stüdyosuna ve yoga eğitimlik topluluğuna da kabul ediliş ritüelidir. Her ne kadar bu mezuniyet seramonileri kabul ediliş törenleri gibi yorumlanabilirse de, yoganın sürekli bir

öğrenme yolculuğu olduğu ve bireylerin yoga eğitmenlik serüvenlerinde sürekli yeni geçiş törenleri ve eşik noktalarıyla karşı karşıya olduğu unutulmamalıdır.

Çalışmada yapılan bir diğer tespit yoga eğitmenliğinin girişimcilik gerektirdiği ve profesyonel yoga eğitmeni olabilmenin bir nevi yoga girişimcisi olmak anlamına geldiğidir. Ankara’da yogaya olan ilgi, yoga merkezlerinin ve yoga eğitmenlerinin sayısı arttıkça, yoga merkezleri ve eğitmenleri arasındaki rekabet de kızışmaya başlamıştır. Cihangir Yoga gibi bilindik yoga markalarının Ankara pazarına girişinin daha küçük yoga merkezlerini etkilediği yoga eğitmenleri ve yoga merkezi işletmecileri tarafından belirtilmiştir. Yoga ve girişimcilik arasındaki bir diğer ilişki de yoga eğitmenlerinin stüdyolarla olan anlaşmaları üzerinden irdelenmiştir. Yoga eğitmenleri genellikle stüdyolardan seanslarına gelen müşteri sayısı üzerinden ödeme almaktadır. Her ne kadar yoga stüdyosunun marka ismini kullanmak bir avantaj sağlasa da, kendi seanslarına müşteri çekme sorumluluğu da yoga eğitmenleri üzerindedir. Yoga uygulayıcılar da stüdyo seçmenin yanı sıra stilini beğendikleri eğitmenlerden ders almayı tercih etmektedir. Bu nedenle hem kendi yoga anlayışlarını ve öğretilerini aktarabilmek, hem de kendi stillerini oluşturarak farklı tüketici beklentilerine hitap edebilmek için yoga eğitmenleri kendilerine has bir pratik geliştirmeye başlar. Singleton ve Fraser (2014), yoganın popülerleşmesin öncüsü olan Krishnamacharya ve Iyengar gibi yogilerin kendi yoga pratiklerini yaratma sürecini incelemiştir.

Coşkuner-Ballı ve Ertimur (2015) da Amerika’daki yoga uygulamalarını analiz ederken, Amerikan tüketicilerin ihtiyaçlarına yönelik, yoganın sağlık üzerindeki olumlu etkileri gibi yoganın farklı özelliklerinin parlatılıp pazarlandığı, Hindistanda’ki köklerinden sıyrılıp yeni bir “Amerikan yoga” pratiğinin oluşturulduğunu belirtir. Bu çalışma Coşkuner-Ballı ve Ertimur (2015)’un çıkarımlarına ek olarak yoga eğitmenlerinin kendilerini pazarlama, kendi müşteri kitlesini oluşturma zorunluluklarını da yoga uygulamalarının artan hibriditesinin olası bir nedeni olarak sunmaktadır.

Michel Foucault (2008), neoliberal bireyleri “homo economicus”, yani “kendisinin girişimcisi, kendisinin sermayesi, kendi kendinin üreticisi, kendisi için kazanç

kaynağı” olarak tanımlamaktadır (s.266). Bireyler sürekli bir artı değer yaratmayı, bireysel faydalarını en üst düzeye çıkarmayı ve seçimleri buna göre yapmayı amaçlamaktadır (Lemke, 2001). İnsan sermayesi teorisinin önerdiği gibi, bireyler neoliberal pazarda arzularını gerçekleştirmek için birer girişimciye dönüşürler. Yoga, uygulayıcıları tarafından genellikle bir tür kendini gerçekleştirme pratiği olarak tanımlansa da araştırma katılımcıları bir yoga stüdyosu işletmenin ya da serbest çalışan bir yoga eğitmeni olmanın bir işletmeyi yönetmekten pek de farklı olmadığını aktarmıştır. Profesyonel yoga eğitmenleriyle yapılan görüşmelerde tüm katılımcılar yoga stüdyosu açmak ve işletmek için temel bir işletme bilgisinin elzem olduğunu belirtmiştir. Katılımcılar yoganın profesyonelleştirilmesi, kurumsallaşması ve ticarileştirilmesinin mevcut pazar düzeninin doğal bir sonucu olarak görmektedir. Yogadan ekonomik bir fayda elde etmek yoganın temel değerlerine bağlı kalarak yapıldığı sürece kabul edilebilirdir görüşü yoga uygulayıcıları arasında yaygındı. Yoganın ticarileştirilmesi ve kurumsallaştırılmasının, yoga ideolojisini daha büyük kitlelere ulaştırılarak daha fazla insana şifa olma düşüncesiyle dengelendiği de çalışmanın başka bir bulgusudur. Bu çıkarım Karababa ve Scaraboto (2018)’nın Small Chapels Movement hakkındaki analizleriyle de örtüşmektedir. Bu tür organizasyonların ekonomik faaliyetleri ve gelir elde etme kaygısı organizasyonun “değerli” yanları öne çıkarılarak dengelenmektedir. Bireyler ekonomik fayda elde etmeyi hedefleyen faaliyetleri yoga öğretisini yayma ideolojisi ile rasyonelleştirmeye çalışmaktadır.

Bu tezde, bireylerin en başta kaçmaya çalışıp, yoga eğitmeni olmaya iten çalışma hayatındaki neoliberal etkilerin yogada profesyonelleşme süreçlerinde de etkili olduğunu göstermeyi amaçlamaktadır. Yoga üzerinden hayatını kazanabilmek, mentorluk gruplarının veya diğer yoga topluluklarının parçası olarak Bourdieu’nun bahsettiği “sosyal kapital”ın geliştirilmesini; Rose (1996), Heiman, Freeman ve Lietchy (2012) ve Harvey (2014)’nin öne sürdüğü neoliberal düzende öne çıkarılan girişimcilik becerilerine sahip olmayı; Bora ve Erdoğan(2017)’in bahsettiği gibi “kendini pazarlayabilmeyi” gerektirir. Araştırma katılımcıları bu meziyetlere sahip olmanın kimi zaman yoga felsefesini benimsemek, yoga uygulamalarında uzmanlaşmaktan önemli olduğunu dile getirmiştir. Rekabet, hırs, stres, kıskançlık

yoga ideolojisine, özellikle *yama* ve *niyama* ilkelerine aykırı olsa da, bireyler yoga konusunda profesyonel olma yolunda bu duyguları beraberinde getiren süreçlerden geçmek zorunda kalmaktadır. Sonuç olarak yoga bir taraftan neoliberalizmin kurbanı olan bireylerin vahası olurken, bir yandan da neoliberal düzenden etkilenerек kurumsallaşmaktadır.

D. THESIS PERMISSION FORM / TEZ İZİN FORMU

ENSTİTÜ / INSTITUTE

- Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü** / Graduate School of Natural and Applied Sciences ☐
- Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü** / Graduate School of Social Sciences ☒
- Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü** / Graduate School of Applied Mathematics ☐
- Enformatik Enstitüsü** / Graduate School of Informatics ☐
- Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü** / Graduate School of Marine Sciences ☐

YAZARIN / AUTHOR

Soyadı / Surname : AYDINER JUCHAT
Adı / Name : PELİN
Bölümü / Department : SOSYAL ANTROPOLOJİ / SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY.

TEZİN ADI / TITLE OF THE THESIS (**İngilizce / English**) : Saluting The Sun Under The Shadow Of Neoliberalism: An Ethnographic Study Of Yoga Teacher Training Course Attendees And Yoga Teachers

TEZİN TÜRÜ / DEGREE: **Yüksek Lisans / Master** ☒ **Doktora / PhD** ☐

1. **Tezin tamamı dünya çapında erişime açılacaktır.** / Release the entire work immediately for access worldwide. ☒
2. **Tez iki yıl süreyle erişime kapalı olacaktır.** / Secure the entire work for patent and/or proprietary purposes for a period of **two years**. * ☐
3. **Tez altı ay süreyle erişime kapalı olacaktır.** / Secure the entire work for period of **six months**. * ☐

** Enstitü Yönetim Kurulu kararının basılı kopyası tezle birlikte kütüphaneye teslim edilecektir. A copy of the decision of the Institute Administrative Committee will be delivered to the library together with the printed thesis.*

Yazarın imzası / Signature.....

Tarih / Date