



LUNDS
UNIVERSITET

INSTITUTIONEN FÖR PSYKOLOGI

***Yoga and Identity in Everyday Life -
Studying the meaning creation of nine yoga practitioners.***

Anna Cöster

Kandidatuppsats ht 2007

Handledare: Roger Sages

Abstract

The topic for this phenomenological paper is the eventual influence of yoga practice on the life and identity of nine Swedish yoga practitioners. Here yoga is an Eastern praxis being interpreted in and by Western frames of culture in a Swedish context. Illuminating one culture, in such a meeting between cultures, may enforce knowledge of the other. Therefore, the study is carried through from an intercultural point of view. Some developmental psychological aspects are also taken under consideration. The aim being to analyse the specific life-worlds of the participants and their individual ways of creating meaning concerning yoga, phenomenological methods has been chosen. Phenomenological Meaning Constitution Analysis, performed through the software MCA-Minerva, supplemented by the lexically based software Sphinx Lexica, is applied to the text materials produced by the informants. In total nine persons, three men and six women with at least 1,5 years experience of yoga, being in the ages between 16 and 60, have been interviewed. It is shown that yoga is important for all persons's identity making, although at different grades and kinds, when it comes to the aspects of societal/cultural life, working/educational life and inner/spiritual life. The findings are related to contemporary aspects of the Swedish society. In yoga the individuals seem to find, each in his/her own way, something that is lacking in society.

Keywords: Yoga, identity, phenomenology, intercultural psychology, developmental psychology

Sammanfattning

Ämnet för denna uppsats är yogapraktiserandets eventuella inflytande på liv och identitet hos nio svenska yogautövare. Yoga är här en österländsk praxis tolkad i och utifrån västerländska kulturramar i en svensk kontext. Att belysa en kultur i ett sådant möte mellan kulturer, kan framhäva kunskap om den andra. Därför utförs denna studie ur ett interkulturellt perspektiv. Det tas även hänsyn till utvecklingspsykologiska aspekter. Då syftet är att analysera deltagarnas specifika livs-världar och deras individuella sätt att skapa mening gällande yoga, har fenomenologiska metoder valts. Fenomenologisk menings konstitutions analys, utförd med mjukvaran MCA-Minerva understödd av den lexikalt baserade mjukvaran Sphinx Lexica, appliceras på textmaterialet som producerats av informanterna. Totalt sett har nio personer i åldrarna mellan 16 och 60, tre män och sex kvinnor med åtminstone 1,5 års erfarenhet av yoga, blivit intervjuade. Det visas att yoga är viktigt för alla personers identitetsskapande, men dock av olika grader och sorter, gällande samhälleligt/kulturellt liv, arbets-/studieliv samt inre/andligt liv. Rönen relateras till samtida aspekter av det svenska samhället. I yoga tycks individerna, var och en på sitt sätt, finna något som fattas i samhället.

Nyckelord: Yoga, identitet, fenomenologi, interkulturell psykologi, utvecklingspsykologi

Content

	Page
1. Introduction	5
1.1 Subject of discussion	6
1.2 Theories	6
1.2.1 Theories of Identity	7
1.2.1.1 Kegan's view on identity and development	7
1.2.1.2 Identity in the Making	9
1.2.1.3 Cultural and Religious Identity	9
1.2.1.4 The use of identity in this paper	10
1.2.2 Theories of Yoga	10
1.2.2.1 Stipulated definition	10
1.2.2.2 Research Background	11
1.2.2.3 A short history, important persons and concepts of yoga	13
1.2.3 Other Theories	15
1.2.3.1 The spiritual revolution	15
1.2.3.2 Health discourse and stress	16
1.3 Content	16
2. Method	17
2.1 Theories underlying the method	17
2.1.1 Phenomenology and MCA-Minerva	17
2.1.2 Participating observation	19
2.2 Research Design	20
2.3 Selection	20
2.4 Material	21
2.5 Procedure	21
2.5.1 Interviews	21
2.5.2 Process of analysis	22
2.5.2.1 Division into groups	23
2.5.2.2 Sphinx Lexica	25
2.5.2.3 Selection of the nine passages	26
2.5.2.4 Analysis with MCA-Minerva	27
2.5.2.5 Interpretation with MCA-Minerva	28
2.6 Discussion of Method	29
3. Outcomes I – Personal Presentations	30
3.1 Personal presentations of the informants	30
3.1.1 Nina – K1	30
3.1.2 Maria – K2	31
3.1.3 Emma – K3	31
3.1.4 Kalle – K4	32
3.1.5 Sara – K5	32
3.1.6 Johan – K6	33
3.1.7 Carina – K7	33
3.1.8 Linda – K8	34
3.1.9 Bengt – K9	34
4. Outcomes II – Analysis	35

4.1 Societal/ Cultural Life	36
<i>4.1.1 K1</i>	<i>36</i>
<i>4.1.2 K4</i>	<i>38</i>
<i>4.1.3.K7</i>	<i>40</i>
4.2 Working/Educational Life	41
<i>4.2.1 K3</i>	<i>41</i>
<i>4.2.2 K5</i>	<i>43</i>
<i>4.2.3 K9</i>	<i>45</i>
4.3 Inner/Spiritual Life	47
<i>4.3.1 K2</i>	<i>47</i>
<i>4.3.2 K6</i>	<i>49</i>
<i>4.3.3 K8</i>	<i>51</i>
5. Outcomes III - Interpretation of analysis	53
5.1 Societal/ Cultural Life	54
<i>5.1.2 Nina – K1</i>	<i>54</i>
<i>5.1.3 Kalle – K4</i>	<i>55</i>
<i>5.1.4 Carina – K7</i>	<i>56</i>
5.2 Working/Educational Life	57
<i>5.2.1 Emma – K3</i>	<i>57</i>
<i>5.2.2 Sara – K5</i>	<i>59</i>
<i>5.2.3 Bengt – K9</i>	<i>60</i>
5.3 Inner/Spiritual Life	62
<i>5.3.1 Maria – K2</i>	<i>62</i>
<i>5.3.2 Johan – K6</i>	<i>63</i>
<i>5.3.3 Linda – K8</i>	<i>64</i>
6. Discussion	65
6.1 Societal/Cultural Life	66
6.2 Working/Educational Life	68
6.3 Inner/Spiritual Life	70
6.4 Shortcomings of Society	71
6.5 Connecting Yoga and Identity	73
6.6 Discussion of the Paper	74
7. Literature	76
8. Acknowledgements	79

1. Introduction

During the past seven years yoga has been a part of my life and with time it has got more and more important until I at this very day can say that it takes an indispensable part of my everyday life and even my whole thinking. I practice yoga everyday in a room especially designed for yoga, I meet with friends who do yoga every week and have recently started participating in a yoga teacher education. You can definitely say that the yoga practice has had a great impact on my whole life. You might be questioning the scientific importance of this personal information, but it is the very background of this essay being written. Since I've noticed that yoga lately has gained in popularity in our culture, not at least among youths, I decided to write my bachelor essay in psychology about yoga from intercultural and developmental viewpoints. I'm interested in how other yoga-practicing persons of various ages perceive yoga in relation to their everyday lives and how they create meaning around the phenomenon. Because of my own fascination in yoga and its deep significance in my life-situation I wanted to meet and talk to other yoga-practising people and hereby try to understand their viewpoints in a way as free from preconceptions as possible.

Since these are typical phenomenological interests, suited for its methods, I've chosen to use the phenomenological meaning constitution analysis as a method and because of the interest in the person as a whole I'm using qualitative research. The fact that I indeed and necessarily have my own experience and comprehension of yoga is at the same time a convenience and an obstacle for my study and the consequences hereof will be further discussed later on.

Yoga is, in the context of this essay, an Eastern praxis being interpreted in and by Western frames of culture - in a Swedish context. The preconception here is that the illuminating of one culture, in such a meeting between cultures, enforces knowledge of the other. Therefore, the study will shed light on the Swedish culture and society and can advantageously be carried through from an intercultural point of view.

Here, the focus will not be on young people alone, the research including enriching interviews with people in various ages between 16 and 60 years. It has to be considered that developmental psychology, though often implicating studies of children or youths, actually is a discipline concerned with the human throughout the whole life-span. (Kegan, 2003) Just as information about one culture will tell us something about another one, the studying of one age-group will give information about another. After all we are, independent of age, all interacting in the very same society and thereby being interconnected, influencing each other. The fact that developmental psychology for most of us has come to mean the study of children/youths alone could be a symptom of our very culture, where the public interaction and company between generations due to industrialisation and individualization seems to become more and more reduced and the youth-culture

is getting more and more idealised. (Valsiner, 2000)

Despite the obvious shortcomings of this perspective – of course a 60-year old is still under development – the youth perspective may be of special interest. The young generation bears our society's, and in these days of environmental disasters perhaps even the whole mankind's, future in their hands and this is why we have to make our best to understand them and give them the very best opportunities for the demanding task being ahead of them. Yoga, in different forms, seems to be spreading among youths and in some way or other it seems to provide them with something they strive after. Information about the psychological processes of yoga could tell us something about the relation between society and the life of youths, their needs, visions and future expectations. A study of yoga practitioners could therefore be of importance to a lot of public and cultural institutions in the society, as well as to youths, parents and fellow-creatures in general.

1.1 Subject of discussion

The main question in focus here is: If, and in that case how, do the yoga practising persons interviewed in this study constitute an identity in relation to yoga? That is, how do they perceive yoga in relation to their everyday lives and how do they create meaning around the phenomena? Could yoga be considered as being important for their development? How do they perceive that their lives have been influenced due to yoga?

Since these are very broad questions I have decided to focus on mainly three aspects concerning identity and development. These are: societal/cultural life, working/educational life and inner/spiritual life. These topics could be considered being highly representative topics on the macro-, meso- and micro-level of an individual's everyday life. The reasons behind the choice are further discussed in the theory paragraph below.

One way of answering these questions is to make a description of the person's life situation as a whole, and this is what I try to do in the personal portraits presented in chapter 3. Another way is to focus on a certain passage of a person's narrative through analysis and interpretation, and here the software MCA-Minerva, supplemented by the software Sphinx Lexica, is used. Finally I do my best to relate the findings to psychological and closely related theories concerning identity, development, meaning making and yoga. An implication of this process is that a broader picture of the society to which the informants belong is drawn. This cultural aspect is also presented in the discussion.

1.2 Theories

The subject for this essay is a quite broad one. Yoga is an inter-disciplinary phenomenon that demands enlightening from different directions. Further, the aiming of this paper is to create a perspective of

whole. As a consequence of this, theories coming from other disciplines like social anthropology and history of religion will be used, even though main focus is kept on psychology. This pluralistic tendency is the reason why the section is named “Theories” in plural. It has been divided into the following parts: “Theories of identity”, “Theories of Yoga” and “Other Theories”.

1.2.1 Theories of identity

In this section I will present some theories of identity that are sorted into: “Kegan's view on identity and development”, “Identity in the Making” and “Cultural and Religious Identity”. They are different theories but anyhow fit well with each other for the purpose of this paper. In which way is being described under the heading “The use of identity in this paper”.

1.2.1.1 Kegan's view on identity and development

There are many theories of identity and development within psychology. As examples the ones presented in Kroger's *Identity in Adolescence*, that is theories of Erikson, Blos, Kohlberg, Loevinger and Kegan. (Kroger, 1996) Among these Kegan's theories have been chosen as a starting point. The reasons behind choosing Kegan's theories for this essay are many and will be motivated further on.

Kegan's holistic theory of identity, inspired by Piaget and Kohlberg as well as object relations theory, is described by Kroger as a marriage between the two traditions of cognition and affect when at the same time adding something new, attending to the process behind the constitution of these factors. (Kroger, 1996) In concordance with this essay Kegan views development as a life-long process and not only as some obligatory phase taking an end in the early twenties. (Kegan, 2003) This view on development and the phases gone through in a human life was first presented in *The Evolving Self*. (Kegan, 1982)

The phases corresponding with the ages in focus for this essay, by Kegan also referred to as stages of consciousness, are also presented in the article “Hidden Curriculum of Adult Life: An Adult Development Perspective”. (Kegan, 2003) Some time during the teenage period a person transits to the Socialized mind, characterised by ability to abstractions, mutuality/interpersonalism and inner states. He/she can then take another's point of view and be responsible for a relationship, abilities required for really becoming a part of society. To be fit for parenting, partnering and cultural diversity, though, further abilities are necessary. Those you may get by transition into the more complex Self-Authoring mind in adult life, which is further characterised by abstract systems, institutions and self-authorship. The even more complex stage, the Self-transforming mind, being dialectical, inter-institutional and self-transformational, is characterised by the capacity to create a certain distance from one's own ideologies and personal theories and being able to hold on to multiple theories and

relating opposites. As an example of a person with a Self-transforming mind Kegan mentions Gandhi, creating bridges to the enemies in his struggling for peace. The transition into the Self-authorising and the Self-transforming mind is not compulsory for all adults. There is some correlation between age and mental complexity, but it is not a one-to-one relation. Kegan has found that the mental complexity of those in the thirties could vary between the stages of the Socialized Mind and the Self-Transforming Mind. (Kegan, 2003)

According to Kegan's constructive-developmental approach on identity this consists of meaning-making. Identity is a way of creating meaning, to interpret and make the world cohere. Accordingly different persons will perceive the very same things in their unique ways. This constructive-developmental theory, fitting very well with the foundations of phenomenology, is described as “A self struggling to organise and make sense of its experience, with evolutionary constraints during each stage in this process”. (Kroger, 1996, p.145)

In his analysis of the teenager's and the adult's situation in the book *In Over Our Heads. The Mental Demands of Modern life* (2000) Kegan takes the cultural arena of our modern society very much into consideration. In this study of the relationship between one psychological phenomenon - the evolution of consciousness - and a cultural phenomenon - the “hidden curriculum”- Kegan emphasises how the mental demands of 1) private life - that is parenting and partnering, 2) of public life - that is work, diversity and self-expansion and 3) of postmodern life, fit or not fit with people's evolution of consciousness. His conclusion is that the culture of today puts very high demands on a complex order of consciousness, which are hard to meet. (Kegan 2000) According to Kegan the modern self is an arena of labour, it becomes a project as we work on ourselves. Kegan calls this “Self-expansion” and refers it to the demands of personal autonomy and authority in modern life. Self-expansion can include participating in religious and spiritual institutions, self-help groups, psycho-educational movements, but is most common in therapy and class-room learning. (Kegan, 2000)

Despite this cultural and contextual anchorage of psychology Kegan means that it is applicable on societies other than the Western: “The idea of development as liberating ourselves from that in which we are embedded, making what was subject into object so that we can 'have it' rather than 'be had' by it, peeling back layers of what we come to see are illusions – this is a way of conceptualizing the growth of mind that is as faithful to the wisdom literature of the East as to the self-psychology of the West.” (Kegan, 2003, p. 46)

All of these thoughts go hand in hand with the developmental, intercultural and phenomenological approach of this essay examining an Eastern concept in a Western cultural framework from a perspective of identity.

1.2.1.2 Identity in the Making

Phenomenology also circles around the concept of meaning. What, then, does this meaning imply? According to Sages and Lundsten it's "the result of acts of consciousness constituting the object toward which they intend. Moreover, the sheer happening of acts of consciousness results in meaning. Meaning is continuously produced as long as there is conscious activity". (Sages & Lundsten, 2004, p. 194) By this follows that the individual is actively forming and constituting its object in an ever-changing process. He/she is at the same time formed by and forming his/her situation in a process always happening in and with a community. This intersubjective meaning constitution forms the shared life-world where the individuals have some pre-understanding of each other and participate in common forms of activity. From this follows that the surroundings constitute a culture which inevitably must be considered in the psychological study of an individual. (Sages & Lundsten, 2004)

Since identity, as Kegan puts it, is a way of meaning-making this implies that the aspects mentioned above have to be considered in a study of identity. If the meaning-making, actions and culture interact with each other in an inseparable way and an ever-changing process this means that identity will be influenced by culture as well as the actions undertaken, and the opposite around. All the actions and elements of everyday life help constituting a person's life-world and identity. "The Life-world originates in and through the individual's daily activity. It is anchored in the animated body, giving man its original bodily location and orientation." (Sages, 2003, p. 55) This is identity in the making. I am what I do, or rather, I am the meaning that I create around everything I do.

1.2.1.3 Cultural and Religious Identity

According to Matsumoto & Juang (2004) culture "influences the very core nature of our beings as individuals". (Matsumoto & Juang 2004, p. 319) It affects our behaviour, attitudes, feelings and experiences and also shapes our sense of self in fundamental ways. By cultural identity Matsumoto and Juang mean the "individual's psychological membership in a distinct culture". (Matsumoto & Juang 2004, p. 318) It is possible to have multicultural identities, that is to have more than one cultural identity. Wherever we are we bring our culture and our culture-bound sense of self, helping us to understand the surrounding world and the people we meet. (Matsumoto & Juang 2004) By this follows that the cultural identity affects our construction of meaning and shapes our life world.

In *Religion. The Social Context* McGuire (2002) talks about the individual's meaning system, which is learnt through the process of socialization. Just as Kegan she states that meaning and self-identity are intertwined: "People locate themselves and their personal actions in a larger social order by means of their meaning systems". (McGuire, 2002, p. 30) The applied meaning system affects the apprehension of oneself: the roles one plays, the purpose of events one is involved in and the

significance of being I. According to McGuire beliefs, just as rituals and symbols, are important for meaning making. The social dimension in this, like for example everyday conversation, is also crucial in the meaning making. The meaning system constitutes a base for interpretation, for perceiving things as ordered in time with a past, present and future and motivates individuals to participate in a larger group. (McGuire, 2002)

1.2.1.4 The use of identity in this paper

The theories above very much show that identity is closely related to one's actions. This could include everything in the everyday life from working or studying to doing yoga. Identity is also intertwined with culture and religion. As already mentioned three of these aspects are going to be further examined in this paper, that is societal/cultural life, working/educational life and inner/spiritual life. The practice of yoga lies as a foundation below all of this and is also being regarded a possible framework for perceiving one's identity.

All the theories above have one thing in common: Identity has to do with our constitution of meaning. From this follows that an investigation of the meaning making of the nine individuals, a meaning constitution analysis of descriptions of their everyday lives, their life-worlds and cultures, will inevitably involve an examination of identity. Therefore, in this paper, to study how identity is constituted in relation to yoga is equivalent with the study of the nine individual's way of making meaning and of experiencing yoga in their everyday lives.

1.2.2 Theories of yoga

To be able to understand the following analysis, containing a whole lot of preconceptions due to the informants' and the author's familiarity with yoga, it is essential to present some theories of yoga. The passage will mainly focus on a brief description of yoga and its history and on the specific yogic terms that are being mentioned by the informants in the interviews. For the case of scientific foundation a short research background within the area of yoga and psychology will also be made.

1.2.2.1 Stipulated definition

To be able to speak about yoga, it is necessary to make a stipulated definition of the term. There are many branches of yoga existing all over the world, some of the practises looking very differently. Without evaluating the different directions of yoga, saying that one is better than another, the focus in this essay will be on the classical yoga as it is taught by Swami Satyananda. Since most of the informants (seven out of nine) and also the author are practising or at least being familiar with the yoga taught by Swami Satyananda his yoga tradition and it's theory will form the theoretical basis for

the essay. By presenting this background the reader will also become aware of the author's previous familiarity with yoga which is necessary for an estimate of the achieved epoché. (Sages & Lundsten 2004)

The yoga of Swami Satyananda Saraswati, that is taught all over the world, is for example presented in his book *Asana, Pranayama, Mudra, Bandha* (Satyananda Saraswati, 2006). This is a very detailed description of various yoga exercises, their names, how to do them, their benefits and cautions to be taken. The book also includes an introduction to yoga: “Yoga is the science of right living and, as such, is intended to be incorporated in daily life. It works on all aspects of the person: the physical, vital, mental, emotional, psychic and spiritual”. (Satyananda Saraswati, 2006, p.1) The word *yoga* stems from Sanskrit *yuj*, which means to yoke or join. (Monier-Williams, 2002) Swami Satyananda explains this in spiritual terms as a union between the individual and the universal consciousness. On the practical level, though, this means the practice of asana, pranayama, mudra, bandha, shatkarma and meditation, which in most cases must be done before the higher union can take place. (Satyananda Saraswati, 2006) Asanas are the physical exercises like for example the headstand or the sun salutation which are often associated with yoga. As seen above the concept is much broader than that and also includes breathing exercises (pranayama), body-positions (mudras), locks (bandhas), cleansing practises (shatkarmas) and meditation. (Nirvikalpananda, 1999) This is also included in the concept of yoga to be used here.

1.2.2.2 Research Background

Since yoga, as you saw above, deals also with the mental, emotional and psychic aspects of personality there are texts written within the yogic tradition that deal with yoga and psychology. *Yoga Sutra* could be one example (see for example Satyananda Saraswati, 2005), but the modern psychological science is not very prominent here. Other books are more directed into both the yogic tradition and modern psychology. One example is Yoga Publication Trust's (that is Satyananda's publisher in India) *Practical Yoga Psychology*, written by the physician, psychiatrist and rishi sannyasa (a yogic initiation) Dr Rishi Vivekananda. (Vivekananda, 2005). Here the author describes a yogic view on personality and on interaction between individuals and society blended with teachings of psychology, psychiatry and other branches of Western science. (Vivekananda, 2005) In *Integral Psychology. Yoga, growth and opening the Heart* Brant Cortright, professor of psychology and director of the Integral Counselling Psychology program, connects Eastern and Western approaches to psychology and healing, describing integral psychology and psychotherapy. He describes how the branches of yoga, Karma yoga, Bhakti yoga and Jnana yoga (mindfulness), which are going to be more described later on, can be used for integral psychotherapy. (Cortright, 2007)

In the article “Ego Developmental Level and Values in a Yogic Community” (Rosén & Nordquist, 1980), 28 persons having lived for at least two years in a yogic community in California were studied through a biographical questionnaire in 1975 and 1976. Most of them were found to have a conformist level of ego development and therefore were assumed to be especially vulnerable in the society which at that time was changing to more open forms. The psychological reason for staying so long in the community could, according to Rosén and Nordquist, be that it at the same time provides a psychosocial environment suited for inward search and an ideology that can be put into practice in the daily life. (Rosén & Nordquist, 1980)

In the article “Jung's Depth Psychology and Yoga Sadhana” (2005) Mahaffey explores differences and affinities between yoga sadhana, that is yoga practice, and Jung's depth psychology. Jung has written an essay called “Yoga and the West”, which is published in *Psychology and Religion*. (Jung, 1969) According to Jung Westerners experience a conflict between faith and knowledge, which creates a split between body and mind, making yoga practice ineffectual and even dangerous due to the Western tendency to control nature. Even though regarding yoga as one of the greatest things created by human mind he therefore recommended Catholicism or psychotherapy for Westerners instead. Mahaffey, though, does not agree with this and states that yoga is here to stay as a “a viable and vital form of spiritual practice for Americans, Europeans, and others as well”. (Mahaffey, 2005, p. 406)

To find other scientific monographs of yoga you have to search outside the domain of psychology and turn to disciplines like history of religion and social anthropology. Here you find books like Eliade's *Yoga immortality and freedom*, a broad description of the roots and doctrines of yoga (Eliade, 1958) and Alter's anthropological *Yoga in modern India. The Body Between Science and Philosophy* (Alter, 2004) focusing on the Indian context. (Van Hollen, 2007) None of these falls within the subject for this paper.

As mentioned in Van Hollen's review of Alter's book there is a great interest among students in conducting research about yoga. Van Hollen, working in Syracuse University, refers this to yoga's growing global popularity. (Van Hollen, 2007) This is also my impression. While conducting this very research several meetings with persons writing bachelor or master essays about yoga have been made. Two of them are not even finished yet, one writing about yoga and cognitive abilities within psychology in Lund and another writing about social anthropological views on yoga in Lithuania. The third master thesis within the teacher's education in Malmö högskola is completed: “Yoga och elevers upplevelse av stress. Kan yogan göra stress hanterbar?” (Malmström, 2007) Here Malmström, interviewing six girls in the school-ages between secondary school and university, has made a qualitative and hermeneutical study of yoga's influence on the stress of pupils. She found that for these

individuals, who have practiced at least one semester of yoga, yoga makes the stress easier to handle, improves the ability to concentrate and influences the education positively. She therefore recommends the use of yoga as a stress-reducing tool within schools and not at least within special pedagogy. (Malmström, 2007)

Even though this latter essay focuses on a rather psychological aspect and is founded on interviews, no phenomenological text about yoga and identity or even yoga and psychology has been found. The approach for this paper is therefore considered quite new and it can be looked upon as basic research, searching rather unexplored terrains. Despite the obvious differences in scope the literature already mentioned has been of some use.

1.2.2.3 A short history and concepts of yoga

Nirvikalpandanda writes that the roots of yoga are unknown, but in her opinion probably many of India's people contributed to the development of yoga. (Nirvikalpananda, 1999) The fact that yoga traditionally has been orally transmitted makes it hard to talk about definite dates. According to Satyananda the history of yoga goes way back to a tantric civilisation existing in India more than ten thousand years ago. (Satyananda Saraswati 2006) However the historian of religion Mircea Eliade traces the tantric movement back to 400 AC. He mentions Pantanjalis *Yoga Sutras*, probably written in 200 BC, the Upanishads and Mahabharata with the *Bhagavad Gita* as important texts for yoga. Also the *Vedas* are being dealt with. (Eliade, 1958) The dating of India's older literature is very unsure and according to Martin Gansten *Bhagavad Gita* could have been composed in between the years of 500 BC and 400 AC. (Gansten, 2002)

A yogi is a serious practitioner of yoga. Initiated yoga teachers or yogic spiritual leaders are called gurus or swamis. (Nirvikalpananda 1999) Swami Satyananda met his teacher Swami Sivananda in Rikikesh in 1943 and then started his life as a yogi. Satyananda, having founded a lot of yoga schools, today leads a drawn-back life and Swami Niranjananda has taken over after him. For a more thorough presentation of them see Satyananda Saraswati (2005).

As maybe already imagined by Swami Satyananda's description of yoga, this is a holistic view on life, where different aspects of the person and universe are looked upon as interconnected. The human is considered to consist of different sheaths: physical body (annamaya kosha), energy body (pranamaya kosha), mental body (manomaya kosha), wisdom body (vijnanamaya kosha) and bliss body (anandamaya kosha). These layers interact with each other and can be balanced and harmonised by various yoga practises as well as by life events. (Vivekananda, 2005)

There are various branches of yoga within the Satyananda tradition, such as raja yoga, hatha yoga, bhakti yoga, karma yoga and jnana yoga. (Nirvikalpananda, 1999) Described by Patanjali in

Yoga Sutras, which have been translated and commentated by many gurus and therefore exist in a lot of editions (see for example Brahmananda Sarasvati, 1987; Satyananda Saraswati 2005 and Legget, 1990), are the principles of Raja Yoga, the eight-fold path. Included in these are the yamas and niyamas, ten moral recommendations of how to lead your everyday life in accordance with yoga. The yamas are social rules such as: ahimsa – non-violence in thought and action towards everything living, satya – living according to and speaking the truth, asteya – honesty and non-theft, brahmacharya – continence in sex and other desires and aparigraha – lack of cravings. The niyamas are personal rules such as: schauca – purity in body and mind, santosha – contentment and a positive view on everything in life, tapas – development of a strong character, swadhyaya – studies of oneself, self-knowledge and ishvara pranidhara – total surrender to the divine. (Satyananda Saraswati, 2005; Vivekananda, 2005, Nirvikalpananda, 1999) These ten rules could be regarded as the ethics of yoga philosophy.

The word *Karma* is derived from the Sanskrit root *kr*, to do or make, (Monier-Williams, 2002) This concept, that could be translated as action, means that one should always be responsible for one's actions. The energy in every action will ultimately fall back on oneself. Therefore, not to create suffering, you must act in harmony with dharma, the world-principle or universal order. (Nirvikalpananda, 1999) Karmayoga is the yoga of meditative action and includes at least ten yogic aspects: 1) awareness is created by concentration and observation done with a witness position, that is observing without becoming emotionally involved. The result of this meditative awareness is an expansion of awareness. The next principle 2) is the one of service, the action is done in the world and for the benefit of world. Karmayoga should be done 3) without attachment, that is without being governed by attraction or repulsion, and 4) without expectation of the result. 5) Karmayoga also means awareness of one's own personal dharma (swadharma), that is one's life direction and the duty that follows it. The work should be done with 6) a positive attitude, 7) efficiency, 8) equanimity for failure and success and 9) non-ego involvement. This latter is the attitude of not being the doer but the instrument. 10) “We are the instrument of divine grace”. (Vivekananda, 2005, p. 198) By surrendering to the supreme consciousness every aspect of life becomes a sacrament and you find karmayoga everywhere in life. (Vivekananda, 2005) This is where karmayoga becomes one with bhaktiyoga. If karmayoga could be described as the path of action, bhaktiyoga is the path of devotion. “Bhakti is the means for coming closer to the essence of the highest consciousness, and eventually merging with it in oneness”. (Vivekananda, 2005, p. 199) This could be done for example by singing mantras or meditative yoga songs (kirtan), dancing, serving the world, worshipping through prayers or rituals and by associating with wise and spiritual people and learn about their lives. (Vivekananda, 2005)

Some of the principles belonging to karmayoga are also included in the yogic principle

pratyahara, which is characterised by presence, acceptance and detachment as means for drawing back the senses from the world and reaching a meditative state. This technique could be practised on every disturbance in life, like for example pain or troublesome feelings, and eventually lead to a state of peace. (Janakanada, 2000) The very same principles are being used in therapeutic techniques of Mindfulness or DBT (dialectic behaviour therapy) that has lately drawn a lot of attention. (Cortright, 2007; Nilsonne, 2004; Kåver, 2004)

While defining yoga Mahaffey mentions the by many agreed upon characteristic in aiming for expanding the awareness “from a narrow egoistic perspective to a vaster, more encompassing mode of being”. (Mahaffey, 2005, p.386) Just as yoga Eckhart Tolle, whose books are being sold in some yoga schools, talks about the importance of doing things with non-ego involvement and the drawbacks of the ego-mind that is widespread in the modern society. According to Tolle a strong ego leads to identification with things and the body, illusion of ownership, a need for more and forgetfulness of being. (Tolle, 2005)

1.2.3 Other Theories

Theories regarding the so called spiritual revolution, health discourse and stress have also been useful for this paper. Since they don't directly concern identity or yoga they are here referred to as “other theories”.

1.2.3.1 The spiritual revolution

In his articles “The Spiritual revolution” (2002) and “The Infirmary Debate: On the Viability of New Age Spiritualities of Life” (2006) Paul Heelas describes how there lately has been a shift in US and Northern Europe from religiosity to spirituality. He defines religion in terms of obedience to a transcendent God and as a tradition that brings about God's authority. Spirituality he describes as “experience of the divine as immanent in life”. (Hellas, 2002, p. 358)

Religion declines nowadays but spirituality is thriving in two spheres, firstly amongst people who are not involved with institutionalised religion - this explains why the number of agnostics and atheists is not increasing despite the decline of traditional religion - but also within traditional religion. Heelas writes that the shift from religion to spirituality appears to be connected to advanced industrial society. He also associates it with a widespread cultural concern with life, and especially with inner life. A lot of people have become disillusioned with what the institutions of the capitalistic modern society have to contribute with to the meaning of life. People want to develop and express their own lives here and now, but not the lives regulated by roles, duties and obligations of an institutional order: “Indeed it has been argued that this is a 'life' that has come into prominence

precisely because 'life as' a traditionalist Christian, family member, businessperson, or 'public man' has proved unsatisfactory." (Heelas, 2002, p.37) People are instead turning to holistic milieus, like yoga and spiritual aromatherapy, which serve as "intermediary institutions", balancing between freedom and social conformism. (Heelas, 2006) Geels (2007), even quoting Heelas, seems to agree with his view. According to him stress on personal development, either religious or psychological in nature, is characterising for the contemporary individual seeking spirituality. He also mentions individualism, egoism, and narcissism as factors motivating the modern spiritual individuals seeking for meaning in a shattered world. (Geels, 2007)

1.2.3.2 Health discourse and stress

There is no doubt about health discourse being prominent in the contemporary media. In the article "Seeking health information on the Internet: lifestyle choice or bad attack of cyberchondria?" (2006) Lewis examines health web-sites like for example RealAge.com and states it as a broader trend across the media. In media, television as well as print media, health issues are more and more talked about as an individual responsibility rather than a social or governmental one, she writes. In TV-shows about for example obesity health is treated like "a part of a broader linking of ideas of the body, self and lifestyle. Like choosing the style of furniture in one's house, the question of deciding what kind of diet to adhere to, what style of exercise to pursue and even what kinds of 'risky' behaviour one might 'choose' to indulge in, is increasingly being seen as a part of a broader 'lifestyle' package." (Lewis, 2006, p.522) This lifestyle-ization of health has made impact both on television and newspapers and here health issues are connected to other forms of consumption within the sphere of lifestyle. Lewis sees the trend of people to seek information about health on Internet as yet another sign of the public health discourse having become an individual "lifestyle" issue. (Lewis, 2006)

That stress also is a growing subject within media and the Swedish society overall is shown in Friberg's thesis *Diagnosing Burn-out. An Anthropological Study of a Social Concept in Sweden*. (Friberg, 2006) Friberg relates this increasing phenomenon to global changes and what Friberg calls "flexible capitalism", the shift from a stable social framing to extreme flexibility and expectations of self-realisation, self-confidence, self-discipline and continuous choices that recently has taken place in Sweden. Friberg also claims that Sweden is transforming into a narcissistic society with main focus on the individual and that the burn-out persons are seen as victims by this society. (Friberg, 2006)

1.3 Content

The next chapter to follow is the methodological chapter, dealing with the theory of the method, research design, selection, material and procedure. The latter describes into detail how the analysis

and interpretation were undertaken. Then there is a short discussion of method. For more extensive discussions concerning the method please go to the end of the essay. Due to explanations given in the beginning of chapter 3 the presentations of data has been called “outcomes” instead of “results”. To ease up the reading the outcomes have been spread out on chapters 3, 4 and 5. Chapter 3 consists of personal presentations of the nine informants. Chapter 4 presents the outcomes of the analysis and contains an overview of the existence and correspondence between modalities, entities and predicates. The fifth chapter accounts for the interpretations of the presented analysis. The final chapter called “Discussion” has been divided into paragraphs that are called “Societal/cultural life”, “Working/educational life”, “Inner/spiritual life”, “Shortcomings of society”, “Connecting yoga and identity” and “Discussion of the paper”. Here the findings are related to the theories in question. In an attempt to keep the pages down no appendixes have been added after the list of literature and the acknowledgements.

2. Methods

Here the theories of the method, research design, selection, material and procedure are described and the method is being discussed.

2.1 Theories underlying the method

The main theory concerning methodology in this paper is the phenomenological theory. MCA-Minerva is a tool and practical application of this theory. Participating observation has in a more indirect way influenced the study and therefore this method will also be presented shortly.

2.1.1 Phenomenology and MCA-Minerva

In phenomenology one of the fundamentals is that the method is well fit to the research object. That is, the problem will decide the method rather than the opposite. Human beings can be studied from a perspective of mere facts and from a perspective of meaning. The latter is the goal for phenomenology, which investigates how an object or situation is made conscious, that is it is examined what the perceived means for the person. According to phenomenological theory a person is not only an object, but a perceiving object. (Sages & Hensfelt Dahl, 1999) There is an important difference between what is perceived and the perceiver, since the latter is a subject with his/her way of creating meaning. (Mearleau-Ponty, 1962) A person is a whole in which will, affect, feelings, thoughts, interest, body and even social contexts are integrated. Just as in the Eastern philosophy, where the view of human is holistic, the individual is seen as a whole with a permanent place within a social unit. (Sages & Hensfelt Dahl, 1999) This means that the surrounding context will be important

for the understanding of the individual, just as the individual is important for the understanding of the whole.

To free yourself from preconceptions and to get a more holistic picture, to reach the epoche (van Brada, 1977), there is a need for a tool in the approaching of the text. In text analysis this tool can look very differently (Kvale, 1997), but the need for a tool is anyhow prominent. It will make you see the text in a different way than when first approaching it, it will enable you to dig deeper into the text providing measures for being more concrete and to observe what is actually there and to what extent. This, in turn, enables the creating of groups or themes which contribute to a more efficient overview or sorting of the text.

This work includes several different readings of the interviews. First we have the interview situation in itself. Listening to the informant talking in the very present will include the contextual situation with all of its nonverbal signals like body language, tone and so on. (Kvale, 2007) Then there is the transcribing of the interview which also can be regarded as a form of interpretation. (Kvale, 2007) The whole selection-process starting with Sphinx Lexica that is described below means many different readings of the texts, just as the MCA-Minerva analysis and interpretation. Finally the putting together of outcomes in the writing of this essay implies new interpretations and readings of the texts. This different means of reading, sometimes with a tool, sometimes with a goal in mind could be seen as many different ways leading to the same goal, the meaning conveyed in the texts. At the same time they follow on each other, in the way that the first reading constitutes the basis for the second one and so on. The process is very compatible with the hermeneutical circle and with phenomenological approach which accentuates the inevitability in examining an object from one angle, and then another one and after that yet another perspective in the never-ending search for a perspective of whole. (Kvale, 2007; Sokolowski, 2000)

As discussed earlier, to be able to systematize the readings and interpretation and to unveil and clarify preconceptions, there is a need for a more systematic analysing tool. The use of a recognized and scientifically described tool also enables other researchers to examine or even reduplicate the process, which opens up for intersubjective validity. (Sages & Lundsten, 2004) In this phenomenological essay MCA-Minerva has been chosen as the main tool and here follows a short description. For a more thorough description of the MCA-Minerva, see Sages & Lundsten (2004) or Sages & Hensfelt Dahl (1999).

The philosophical, phenomenological principles behind MCA-Minerva, such as the phenomenological reduction and its essential elements like the striving of epoche, clarifying of the natural attitude in discovering of the given, has been very concisely presented by Van Brada in "A Note on Reduction and Authenticity According to Husserl". (van Brada, 1977) With MCA-Minerva

the text is gone through into the least detail with the striving to reach epoche by eliminating and consciously criticising the preconceptions to the highest extent possible and thereby creating a room for the other, in this case the individuals interviewed. (Sages & Hensfelt Dahl, 1999)

This means that in the first step of analysis, the text is carefully read through and then divided into smaller units, meaning units, which are separated from each other whenever there is a shift in meaning. Then the meaning units are categorised into modalities, called *belief, function, time, affect, subject and will* which have under-categories. The modalities are of big importance since they open up the existential picture of the individual by describing how he/she relates to the surrounding and experiences his/her life. A more detailed presentation of each modality is found in Sages & Lundsten (2004). In the third and final step of the analysis, where the phenomenological reduction is applied by going backwards clarifying what could be taken for granted, the partial intentions are identified. This phase also contains a division of the partial intentions into entities and predicates. Entities are the objects or concepts existing for the person, the predicates are the individual's way of describing these. Together they form the noematic kernel. (Sages & Lundsten, 2004; Sages & Hensfelt Dahl, 1999)

In the interpretive phase of MCA-Minerva the analysed information is structured in three different ways: 1) synthesis from the modality point of view, where an overview of the modalities and their categories is shown; 2) synthesis from the entity point of view, where an overview of the entities with their predicates is shown and 3) synthesis of the complete noema, where the complete meaning structure of the text consisting of modalities, entities and predicates is shown. In the fourth step, formulation of horizons, the noematic structure achieved in the analysis can be put into a temporal structure, integrating meaning in its past and future dimensions. (Sages & Lundsten, 2004)

2.1.2 Participating observation

Participant observation is a dual behaviour, observing other people while participating in the events. It is divided into undisguised participant observation and disguised participant observation. In the first case the observed persons know that they are observed and from what reasons. That is not the case in disguised participant observation. (Schaugnessy et.a, 2006)

This method is not so usual within psychology as in anthropology. The history of fieldwork and participating observation within anthropology is described and discussed by Clifford (1988): “Participant observation’ serves as shorthand for a continuous tacking between the ‘inside’ and ‘outside’ of events: on the one hand grasping the sense of specific occurrences and gestures empathetically, on the other stepping back to situate these meanings in wider contexts” (Clifford, 1988, p. 34) He describes it as a dialectic of experience and interpretation.

In the investigation for this essay participating observation has not been carried through in the

strict sense of the word, the main method is the phenomenological one. But the experiences and preconceptions due to previous experience with yoga could be explained as disguised participating observation. Also the possible visits in the informant's homes or yoga schools during the interviews can be seen as some kind of observation.

2.2 Research design

The research design being used here is an emergent design case study approach. This means that the forming of methods and analysis has been developed throughout the process, depending on informants available, information revealed by the informants and enhanced knowledge of the analysing tools. Another implication is the possibility of taking into consideration the ideas of the informants, that from a phenomenological point of view should be seen as equal individuals with at least as much information in the area as the researcher. (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994)

The process started off with the intention to investigate yoga and identity regarding teenagers or youths. During the process, though, the scope was changed to include yoga practitioners of various ages and the final selection contains people of various ages, genders and occupations. The topics regarding identity being analysed here have also been chosen along the way, one interview opening up for aspects to follow up in the next. The concepts of yoga to be presented in this essay are also dependent on the development of the conversations taking place in the interviews.

2.3 Selection

Nine yoga practising persons in the age between 16 and 60 years have been interviewed. Even though most of the informants have been selected through convenience, that is a personal contact net has been used for the procedure, the group is heterogeneous in many aspects. Three of the informants are men, three are studying either in high school or university, three are working within the university and three have jobs outside the academic world. Two of the informants are teaching yoga at this very moment and two have just started a teacher's education within yoga. Their experience with and engagement in yoga varies but no one has practised for less than one and a half year. The oldest person has been doing yoga for 35 years. This is convenient since the focus is on the impact of yoga on their everyday life and to experience that you need to have more than just a beginner's experience. It's natural that the youngest informant is the one with least years within yoga. Seven out of nine of the informants practise or have practised yoga from the Satyananda tradition. Most of the persons have been to more than one yoga school/teacher, though, and their main influence comes from all together seven different schools and four yogic traditions. The variation of experience amongst the informants is an advantage when examining yoga's influence on their lives.

2.4 Material

The length of the interviews have varied between 40 and 110 minutes and totally the material covers eight recorded hours and approximately 90 transcribed pages. This material has taken around 50 hours work to transcribe. The interviews constitute solid background information of the informants and are also describing their relation to yoga in numerous ways. Within the frames of this essay it is not possible to examine the whole material into detail and therefore a selection of shorter passages has been made, which is being analysed more thoroughly. For the principles behind these choices see next paragraph.

2.5 Procedure

Here follows a description of the procedure for the essay, describing the conducting of interviews and the process of analysis.

2.5.1 Interviews

As already presented a phenomenological approach has been followed. Since it aims for describing the life-worlds and meaning-constitution of the participants, from their own point of views and in their own terms and expressions, the semi-structured interview was used. The aim was to give as much space and freedom for the participants to talk quite freely on the subject of yoga and its impact on their lives. (Sages & Lundsten 2004). The face-to-face interview was preferred before the written presentations since it creates a personal meeting with the informants and in most of the cases with their natural environment. (Kvale, 2007)

The semi-structured interviews have been recorded and performed between four eyes. The settings are dependent of the circumstances: in two cases the informant was interviewed in my home, one has been interviewed on her yoga school, two on a longer yoga retreat and the five remaining were interviewed in their own homes. The informants have been able to influence where the interviews should take place. The phenomenological aspects of creating a true feeling of participating among the informants and an environment where they feel as safe and natural as possible support this choice and creates greater validity. (Sages, 2003)

Participating observation has also been a part of the method since I have been visiting five of the seven yoga schools in question and am familiar with their yoga practises and terms concerning yoga. The two remaining informants, whose yoga schools I didn't visit, were interviewed in their homes, which also gives some insight. The advantages with the author being the same person as the observer, that is the practicing of fieldwork, are being discussed in the article "I-witnessing. Malinowskis children". (Geertz, 1988)

The chosen interview method also gives the opportunity for more detailed information due to follow-up questions, the chance of asking improvised or exclusive questions and conscious and unconscious registration of body language and way of speaking. (Kvale, 2007) The interviews have been treated as a conversation between two persons rather than a mere questioning, but there is anyway an unequal dimension of this conversation that distinguishes it from an ordinary everyday conversation. It is integrated in the very form of scientific interview where the interviewer has the right to ask questions and even lead the subject. (Kvale, 2007)

As a starting point all informants were asked to describe when and how they first came into contact with yoga. With exception of some directions into certain domains like yoga and working life, yoga and society, yoga and youths, the informants were encouraged to speak quite freely and to lead the conversation themselves. Sometimes they even seemed to forget that they were recorded, starting to ask me questions or to refer to some previous experience, conversation or topic we had in common. I judge this as a proof of intimacy and relaxation and even as a proof of validity. (Sages, 2003)

The informants have told about yoga's influence on their daily life, on self-apprehension, inner life, values and working life/studies. They have also discussed yoga in relation to the contemporary society and to youths.

2.5.2 Process of analysis

From a phenomenological point of view it would have been relevant to analyse the whole material, that is all the nine interviews, very thoroughly. Everything that a person tells you can open up for a greater understanding of his or her life-world and that even if the statements don't seem to touch the subject of the scientific report. In this way you also reduce the chance for unnecessary preconceptions. (Sages & Lundsten, 2004)

According to this reasoning every text should have been analysed in its whole with both Sphinx and MCA-Minerva. In this essay though it has been necessary to do a demarcation with regards to the premises of time and space. Therefore a much smaller material have been selected for the MCA-Minerva analyses. This means that from a strictly phenomenological viewpoint the circumstances are not optimal, there is danger both of missing some important information and of being misled by preconceptions. But here it has been a conscious choice motivated by the practical conditions. The essay should be seen as an explorative study with the possibilities of more detailed and extensive follow-ups, of which one is already initiated.¹ The extensive material can be used for a

¹ As a follow-up of this paper I will be writing an article for the eleventh International ISSWOV Conference to be held in Singapore, June 22-25, 2008. The topic for the accepted abstract is: How can the characteristics of *karma yoga* contribute to work ideals of an industrialized and individualised society, in other words, what are the advantages of this yoga philosophy for the individual and society?

lot of topics concerning yoga and psychology and could also form a base for a master-thesis.

However in this case one passage per person has been selected. This selection can be done with the help of Sphinx Lexica. Therefore the whole material has initially been analysed with this lexically and statistically based software, with the aim to choose nine smaller passages, one for each person. Afterwards these smaller selections have been analysed with the more deep going MCA-Minerva.

As told earlier three themes concerning identity have been chosen as focus-points for this essay. Each interview has opened up for considering each and every one of the three aspects as well as other topics, which could be done in a paper later on. This is shown by the initial selection which contains several passages per individual in most cases concerning every one of the three identity-aspects.² At the final stage for this very essay, though, only a few representative passages were selected. In this way there is less chance of meaningless repetition of similar statements, something that according to Kvale should be carefully avoided when writing interview-reports. (Kvale, 2007)

By dividing the informants into heterogeneous groups the topic can be illustrated from various angles, satisfying the aims for a holistic perspective. By dealing with three different aspects of identity and not only one, the various aspects of identity are stressed. This also means that mainly one aspect of the person's identity is examined, but since the whole material has been analysed with the Sphinx Lexica the idea of a totality can tentatively be formed. By completing the nine thoroughly made MCA-analyses with shorter quotations this broader picture can be described even better and is hereby strengthened.

From a phenomenological viewpoint there is never a complete possibility of describing or analysing an individual from every angle possible. (Sokolowski 2000) The researcher is always limited by his/her own worldview and the very unique premises of the study. Despite this, in a hermeneutical and phenomenological way of looking the information of one aspect gives us a key to the rest of the dimensions of that person, to his or her context or Life-world. This can open up for a perspective of whole and suggest how the surrounding world is constructed for and experienced by the individual. (Sages & Lundsten 2004, Kvale 1997)

To sum up, the selection of nine passages, one from each person, and three concerning each of the three chosen aspect of identity has been made for the following two reasons: 1) Time- and space demarcation and 2) the aiming for a perspective of whole.

2.5.2.1 Division into groups

The reasons mentioned above are of course also connected to the division into groups. Two other

² This material, which will form the base for follow-ups, can be requested from the author.

advantages with the groupings, which will be described below, are: 1) representativeness and 2) diversity.

Since there are nine persons and three categories the persons could be divided into three groups with three persons in each. Thanks to the width of the selection of informants when it comes to age, gender, occupation and experience with and engagement in yoga (see table 1 below) three heterogeneous groups could be formed. (See table 2 below) The three different age-groups were formed so that the three youngest belonged to one, the next three to another and the three oldest to yet another group, called 1, 2 and 3. The categories concerning yoga were made in the same way so that the three least experienced were categorised A, the next three B and those with most years of yoga were named C. The occupation-groups X, Y and Z stand for people studying in school or university (X), people working in the university (Y) and finally for people working in another place (Z). The last three have very different jobs such as computer designer, special pedagogue in a public school and designer of computer games. The persons in occupation-group Y work as associate professor, doctorate and free-lance, but they all share the academic working-environment.³ Due to secrecy aspects the belonging to yoga schools are not accounted for here.

Table 1

Person	Gender	Age	Years with yoga	Occupation	Yoga-occupation
K1	F	16 1	1,5 A	Studies X	Practitioner
K2	F	21 1	5 A	Studies X	Practitioner
K3	F	21 1	5,5 B	Studies X	Teacher
K4	M	31 2	10 B	Work Z	Education
K5	F	39 2	7 B	Uni. work Y	Education
K6	M	39 2	3 A	Uni. work Y	Practitioner
K7	F	41 3	28 C	Uni. work Y	Practitioner
K8	F	50 3	25 C	Work Z	Teacher
K9	M	60 3	35 C	Work Z	Practitioner

By separating the persons belonging to the same groups of categorization as far as possible the following three groups of informants were formed. (See table 2 below which also contains their fictitious names.)

Table 2

Group 1	Group 2	Group 3
K1 - Nina	K3 - Emma	K2 - Maria
K4 - Kalle	K5 - Sara	K6 - Johan
K7 - Carina	K9 - Bengt	K8 - Linda

³ For more information see the presentation of the individuals in chapter 3.

There are other alternatives to this division into groups. The informants could for example have been divided into homogeneous groups, with the aim to compare for example different age groups. It would though demand a bigger sample and also the examining of all three themes for each individual. Considering the extent of this paper this was not possible to carry through. From a phenomenological point of view these statistical comparisons are also not as central as the aim to treat every person as an unique individual with personal background. Hermeneutically that creates very specific contextual influences not only concerning factors such as age or gender et.c but also factors as personality, life situation, experiences and so on.

Opening up for both representative and diversity aspects each group has been made heterogeneous and complex in every aspect possible. That is the men were divided into different groups, the people belonging to the same age group (1, 2 and 3) were separated. So also the persons sharing the same type of occupation (X, Y or Z). It was also made sure that the two yoga teachers were in different groups, as well as the two persons doing their yoga teacher education. The only aspect not really taken care of is the one concerning number of years of yoga practice. Here K2 and K6 were placed in the same group as well as K3 and K5.

Considering the six factors in the table above, each group, though far from being exactly like the others, could be seen as a representation of the bigger group of nine yoga practitioners.

2.5.2.2 Sphinx Lexica

Sphinx Lexica, although bringing a lot of opportunities, has, due to the demarcation need, solely served as a tool of text selection.

Sphinx Lexica presents you with a register of all the used words and their frequencies. By going through this list with 5104 different words, many of them occurring more than once, (in total the corpus contains 76761 words) and carefully reading it, I've been able to select words related to the topic of this essay.

As already mentioned three aspects of identity being dealt with in the interviews have been chosen as focus points. Although there is the possibility to use the interviews for considering further aspects concerning identity, for example social life or self confidence, but with regards to the limited extent of this paper I've decided to focus on only three aspects, that is: societal/cultural life, working/educational life and inner/spiritual life. Please note that the topics indeed have been chosen of a theoretical interest. (See the theory passage) But then also the interviews themselves formed a base of knowledge and a background which made it possible to distinguish these three themes. The confirmation of this intuitive mapping can be found in the many words concerning these aspects found in the Sphinx- Lexica analysis.

For each of these categories representative words were selected.⁴ Examples of these are for the societal/cultural life: words concerning society, culture, politics and persons (e.g. life-style, parents, the left, individualism); for the working/educational life: words concerning school, university, work and colleagues (e.g. essay, pedagogue, intellectual, research, working-place, colleague, part-time job) and for the inner/spiritual life: words concerning religions and belief (e.g. atheist, religion, Buddhism, Hinduism, spiritual).

Additionally one more category was formed, containing words concerning yoga and meditation (e.g. yoga-texts, yoga-exercises, the yoga mattress, the yoga-world, the meditation, meditation-table).

The Sphinx Lexica searches the whole text material and marks the chosen words. Since the words are selected through the software's automatic observations and not by a manually reading of the interviews some of the selected words can and do concern other topics or aspects than those aimed for. Because of this reason the next step of the process, the selection, also achieved with the help of the software, demands awareness in manually reading the passages through and sorting out misleading words. By this examination of the result some shorter passages could be chosen.

2.5.2.3 Selection of the nine passages

In the selection process attention was being paid to the frequency of the word categories in combination with the frequency of the yoga and meditation words. Only those passages containing at least one word from any of the three different word categories and at the same time at least one word from the yoga/meditation category were considered. The reason for this is the wish that the selected passages should reflect the topics in relation to yoga, and not just touch some of the three aspects independently. As already discussed a longer passage concerning for example information about the work situation alone could indeed be of interest to the topic, even though not mentioning yoga, but that demands more of a context and explanation than possible here and due to its representativeness the first alternative was being chosen.

Some of the words covered in the lists constitute synonyms or have various connotations. By reading the passages through it was therefore ensured that the texts really dealt with the topic in question, otherwise the passage was put off. Longer passages were given higher priority than shorter ones. Only texts produced by the informants were selected, that is statements from the interviewer were sorted out.

The reason behind the decision to let the computer analyse the whole text material, including the interviewer's statements, is that there has to be a possibility for the analyser to regard the context

⁴ On request this material can be provided by author.

of the informants' statements. As mentioned earlier according to phenomenology, which withholds that even seemingly objective questionnaires are influenced by a certain amount of subjectivity (Sages, 2003), the interviews are considered as free conversations rather than totally objective questionings. By this reasoning the context and the two speakers' (that is the interviewer's and the informant's) statements can shed light on each other. (Kvale, 1997) In the selection, though, it was decided to concentrate mainly on the informant's speech rather than on the interviewer's comments and all of the interviewer's statements including small commentary like “Yes” and “um-hm” were sorted out.

After this step of the selection there were several passages per individual left, in most cases containing words from all three groups.⁵ This initially selected material was gone through once again on the same premises - this time with the aim to choose only nine passages, one for each person. Here attention was also being paid to the diversity of the group, that is, each group should deal with one subject each. The result was that each group was given one topic in accordance to table 3 below.

Table 3

Group 1	Group 2	Group 3
Societal/Cultural life	Working/Educational life	Inner/Spiritual life

The totality of the last selection of nine interview passages, dealing with the three chosen aspects of identity, can be provided by the author. In this version, that must be fit for an analysis with the MCA-Minerva, some small adjustments have been made. A transcription of an interview can look very differently. (Kvale 2007) In this case the very first manuscript contains small conversation markers such as “yes”, “mm” and “aha”. Laughters have also been documented just as half pronounced words. Before the nine passages were inserted into MCA-Minerva these kind of comments were taken away, since they are not considered to add anything to the analysis. Instead they form the very context of the conversation which can be considered and being dealt with in other ways. Repetition of words and small empty statements such as “kind of”, “maybe”, “so to speak” et.c. have been kept, but are in those cases where they obviously don't mean anything - that is where they are empty of meaning, being ignored in the analysis.

2.5.2.4 Analysis with MCA-Minerva

In the next phase of the analysis the semantically based software MCA-Minerva has been used on the nine selected passages. MCA Minerva has been developed by Roger B. Sages with Husserl's phenomenological psychology as a base. (Sages & Lundsten, 2004; Sages & Hensfelt Dahl, 1999)

⁵ This initial selection can be requested of the author.

In this essay the directions of the Sages & Lundsten's article (2004) have been followed⁶ with a few additions. In the categorization concerning modalities some extra categories have been added, that is: to the modality "Belief" a category "exclamation" was added, describing the situation when something is really being stressed or exclaimed and also a category "Doubt", illustrating the uncertainty or hesitation of the person. To the modality "Time" a category "Stability" was added, being used as an alternative in between the "Present" and the "Always-recurrent" categories. "Stability" describes when something is taking place over a longer period, or rather it is more precisely a state which will last for a longer time, without being unending or ever-occurring. One example from the interview of K2 when talking about karmayoga is: "That's a very nice thing not only working here". The situation described is regarded to be more stable than something just happening in the present. This is also the case with the statement from K4: "When one meditates, then you maybe see further".

To the modality "Affect" the categories "Positive-now" and "Negative-now" have been added, not describing the positive or negative attitude to the past or the future but to the very now or a more stable situation. K4 says the following in the same context as the statement above: "You kind of see the whole". This positive thing is not restricted to the past or future, but actually taking place right now and during a longer period. The categories "Engagement" and "Aspiration" in the modality "Will" are considered to be loaded with a positive attitude and their negative or negated equivalents have therefore been added under the labels "Engagement Neg" and "Aspiration Neg."

Finally the category "One-I" have been added to the modality "Subject". This categorization is used when the informant use the impersonal pronoun "one/you" as subject in the sentence. This word, "man" (Swedish) found in the following example coming from informant K5: "And I guess that is how I feel more and more, especially when *one* has been here for a week" is in Swedish often being used as a way to talk about oneself in a somewhat impersonal manner. It is not absolutely sure, though, that the own person is being aimed at, since it also can refer to people in general. But when this, as in the example above, is likely it is categorised as "One-I", otherwise it falls into the category "One-all".

2.5.2.5 Interpretation with MCA-Minerva

The process described above is the analysis-phase with MCA-Minerva. The software also helps in the interpretation of the analysis, offering various possibilities to view the material over and to get descriptive statistics and illustrations of the various meaning units, modalities, entities, predicates and their combination. (Sages & Hensfelt, 1999) By using these possibilities there is a better chance to

⁶ Since it's more recent than the Sages & Hensfelt Dahl (1999) article Sages and Lundsten (2004) was chosen.

present the material systematically.

The interpretation phase of MCA-Minerva started off with an overview of the achieved modalities. Next step was to examine the entities with their corresponding predicates. In the result paragraph all nine persons will be presented separately. As was told earlier the persons are treated as separate individuals and not just as product of their outer characteristics or as representatives for their groups. In creating an understanding of the persons' life-worlds all details are interesting, but the focus will be on those modalities, entities and predicates that are differing or even unique. This is an attempt to highlight the diversity among the informants and to analyse the extremes of each person.

The MCA-Minerva data for each person will be presented in the fourth chapter as follows: 1) a statistical report for the most and second most used categories of modalities, 2) a statistical report for the total amount of entities and predicates and a report of the most frequent entities. 3) A more thorough examination of the most frequent entities. Here those entities that are very common (as for example "I", "One" and "It" who exist in most of the reports) and that have very few and empty predicates (such as "which exist") are looked upon more briefly. The focus lies rather on frequent entities with more unusual meaning and varying predicates. That is, the amount of well differentiated information will decide which entities that are dealt with. This is more important than the exact frequency of the word, what is a high frequency of entities will actually vary among the different subjects. In some cases additionally entities that very obviously touch yoga and meditation (as for example meditation, yoga, karmayoga) or the topic (as for example society, work, religion) are studied, even if not occurring to any large extent.

In this examination of the entities the involved meaning units are presented as well as the touched predicates. Then a report of the more spectacular modality categories is made. This means that for example the cases of doxa affirmation, which are the most common ones for everybody, are left out but if there for example is a more unusual exclamation this is being presented. The same counts for signitive respectively perceptive function and so on. In some cases more than one word, coming from the same word-stem, has been grouped together, as in the case of "work" where the following three words are treated together: "work" (2), "to work" (1) and "work on it" (2).⁷

2.6 Discussion of method

In the text above some drawbacks with this very method have been presented, discussed and even motivated. The biggest motives have been the demarcation need due to time and space demands. For a further discussion, please turn to the paragraph "Discussion of the paper", which is found in the end of the essay.

⁷ The number given within parentheses gives the number of occurrences for each entity.

3. Outcomes I – Personal presentations

In this chapter I will give a brief description of each of the informants, presenting age, occupation and over-all relation to yoga. In the next chapter, Outcomes II, I will present the result of the MCA-Minerva interpretation that has been described in chapter 2.

To gain full validity it would have been preferable to give all quotations both in English and Swedish, since the Swedish words were the original ones and a translation always brings about an interpretation. However to simplify the reading and to cut down the extent of the text the quotations are given in English only, even though the interviews were performed in Swedish. Of the same reason the meaning units are only given once in their full form, after that they are referred to MU1 et.c. The original texts can be provided in Swedish by the author.

From a phenomenological point of view there can never be any presentation without an interpretation. In all of the steps of this qualitative research there is room and a demand for a personal selection process which in itself will be a kind of interpretation. This is also the case with positivistic research, being dependent on for example the more or less subjective choice of variables, tests and levels of significance. By being as concrete and aware of this as possible the subjective influence can be diminished, but there will always be an amount of judgement in the researcher's presentation. (Kvale, 1997; Sages, 2003)

This qualitative research will not be based solely on statistical presentations. The informant's way of creating meaning that is aimed for in the phenomenological analysis is in itself both a result and a discussion, and this is the case also without any references to existing theories. Inspired by Maykut & Morehouse (1994), this and the following two chapters are therefore named outcomes.

3.1 Personal presentation of the informants

The presentations start off with a quotation from the informant. The striving with these excerpts taken from the interviews as whole, are to give a clear picture of the person's relationship to yoga or any nearby things. They have been selected from the intuitive, spontaneous understanding of the text on the basis of several different kinds of readings made throughout the analysis process. They are not analysed by the MCA-Minerva, but have consciously been selected from other parts of the interviews to create a holistic picture of the person. Following the quotations are the presentations of the individuals containing personal data and information. All names used in this essay are fictitious.

3.1.1 Nina - K1

I actually think or it feels like you have quite much in school all the time. Like that, it's pretty hard and then there's pretty much all the time, all around like in school, it is a lot

of noise and so on. And then I can think that it's nice to come there on Fridays and just calm down, relax and well be free in the week-end without needing to worry about anything. So, but well relax and meet friends who you like. Yes, it's very fun to go there.

Nina is 16 years old, attending the programme of natural sciences at high school. She first tried yoga in 2006 and at this time attended poweryoga-classes with people from various ages. After having moved to another town she did a pause in attending classes, practising yoga on her own in the difficult transition period of changing schools when she had problems with sleeping. Then yoga gave her relaxation, relief and opportunity to sleep. Since half a year she is attending yoga classes once a week in a yoga group for people between 13 and 18 years. This gives her relaxation and provides a good opportunity for meeting her friends who also attend the classes. Nina does not practise yoga on her own anymore, it's enough for her to attend class once a week. She acknowledges that yoga could be a lifestyle for other people, containing healthy ideals concerning eating, exercising and relaxing, but to her it's more of an activity than a life-style. Nina wants to continue her yoga practice in the future.

3.1.2 Maria – K2

In the beginning I guess it was a little like that, that yoga, there was nobody else doing yoga, so I thought it was kind of cool to do then. But now when I have started on university it feels, well actually in.... It has really helped before an exam, before you (unclear)⁸ get this exam-anxiety and then I think that the yoga has made you being able to relax some.

Maria is 21 years old, studying philosophy of religion at the university. She started attending yoga-classes at the age of 16 as an alternative to doing some sport. Before that she had tried some yoga postures from a book which her parents had. It was kind of cool, she says, because nobody else that she knew was doing it then. After a semester she found a teacher who she liked and she has continued with the very same teacher since then because she finds yoga relaxing. It also helps her through pressuring situations at school. Yoga has made her more open for spirituality, even if she wouldn't call herself a religious person. Maria is not doing yoga at home. Once a week at the classes is enough, she says, but those lessons have become an important part of her everyday life.

3.1.3 Emma – K3

And then one day I dared to come here and since then I just felt wow, this I want to try more, because it was...! I had to test myself so very much and that was what was, that there was nothing else in society that challenged me as much as here, because after that I have really not been able to blame anything in my life on anybody else than myself. It

8 Here it was not possible to perceive what was being said and the transcription is therefore marked with “(unclear)”.

was kind of really feeling like taking more responsibility for my life and... everything like that. No, so it was... very inspiring because it was like, there was so much knowledge so that was what I was fascinated by how there was really so much you got to learn and so different things that school never taught you and that you don't know. Like, wow, there is so much knowledge! And why has somebody withheld this for me, like that. That it was a triggering thing, so to speak.

Emma is 21 years old, she's studying science of public health at university and also teaches yoga and Oriental dance. She started with yoga five and a half year ago and has been investigating it and deepened her practice ever since. Emma spends a lot of time doing voluntary work, karmayoga, at her yoga school. This could be teaching, doing administrative chores and attending meetings at the yoga school, and since it gives her energy and a chance for development she is determined to continue. She describes yoga as the biggest challenge in her life, wonders how it could have been withheld for her for so long, and is considering to use her yoga experience for some research in her future work as a health pedagogue.

3.1.4 Kalle - K4

Like writing a book about my own journey could maybe be like a way to show, well what could you say, a rather Svensson-Swedish Swede who kind of, well, discovers that and how, how it has been for me, like how it works. It would maybe have been comic to read about, so well. I hope that one will be able to write it in an amusing way, and at the same time get the chance to be so that it feels down to earth. Then I think it could be like, even if it feels like it's kind of entertaining it could be something that people get like this, wow, that it kind of reaches them. That it's different in some way, that it not gets, how could one say, so very serious but that it's somehow easy-going.

Kalle is 32 years old, working as a designer of computer games. He started yoga approximately ten years ago when he was still studying, and at that time he had a lot of time to investigate yoga on his own, reading instructions from books. He has also attended yoga courses, the longest being a retreat lasting for three months. In the beginning Kalle experienced his working situation and his yoga practising as separate worlds, but with time they have become more and more integrated. Now Kalle has just started a yoga-teacher education and he believes that he through the teaching of yoga can help many people, not at least youths. Yoga helped Kalle to go through one of his major life crises without, as he puts it, taking to drugs. He now wants to write a book about his life with yoga, to be able to share his experiences of yoga with other people.

3.1.5 Sara – K5

There is so much more to discover on your own. So it feels like it's not something that I will get tired of. I see before me that hopefully I will live a long and healthy and happy

life, well like you kind of will stand on your head when you're 90, like that. It's not so that I think that: "Well yoga is something that I will do now for a while". No it's something that I will hold on to, so it is as it feels now. Then maybe you change work and change life and so on, but the yoga feels like something good to fasten it on in any case, some continuity.

Sara is 39 years old, working as an associate professor at university. She has been doing yoga for seven years and has attended courses regularly most of that period. After some time she started doing yoga on her own every day and now she compares it to everyday hygiene activities like clothing or brushing her teeth. Sara experiences her profession as very stressful and demanding and yoga is a useful help for her to handle her life. She has recently started a yoga teacher education and sees that as a confirmation for herself and others that yoga has a very important role in her life. She is also considering to one day combine teaching of yoga with teaching and doing research at university. In yoga, which has become a need for her, Sara finds a combination of fitness and spiritual searching.

3.1.6 Johan – K6

But anyhow I felt a, a beginning uncomfotability, huh. And... at the same time, I could feel. Yes, yoga is maybe a complement to handle this with and that I felt that, no, they does not at all complete each other. No, it's rather like, yoga is on it's own, or yoga, meditation, kirtan later on then, are on their own and university is over here. There was no connection at all for me there, it may exist for others, I'm sure it does, but not for me. So I felt that, or started feeling, and that I still feel, that yes, what could I say... That it became almost two competing opposite poles in some way.

Johan is 39 years old, doing his PhD at university. He first got into yoga in 2004, when his wife brought him to a testing-class. They immediately decided to take the course. At first yoga was nothing more than just physical exercise for Johan, but pretty soon it deepened into spirituality. He also hoped that it would be a help for him mastering the difficult working-situation which had led him into psychological illness and half a year's liberation from work. Today Johan is finishing his PhD and finds great comfort and strength in above all kirtan, yogic mantra singing, but also in yoga, which he sees as a more emotional and spiritual complement to the academic world.

3.1.7 Carina – K7

Yes, I might think that you, I feel that it's such a big part of me that I kind of can not be without it without losing myself. So that, and then I can also feel that, the fact that I so to speak, so to speak did not live or practice yoga for a period has almost... I have experienced so to speak how it is to give it up so to speak. And that is also an experience, that to kind of feel that, you felt, well exactly this that you felt that you kind of became a very hollow person.

Carina is now 41 years old, guarding exams and working as a freelancing journalist. Recently she finished her bachelor-thesis in philosophy. Carina has been practicing yoga since she was 12 or 13 years old. She first tried yoga by reading from a book which her mother had. It was a good alternative to school gymnastics, she thought. Later on a friend of hers introduced her to meditation. She describes yoga and meditation as a psychological process helping her facing herself. It is a part of her everyday life, a way of living. Carina associates yoga with vegetarianism and left-politics. When starting to study philosophy in the nineties, Carina stopped doing yoga, but she took it up again in 2004 and since then she has attended courses regularly and tries her best to do yoga on her own every day. Carina describes the pause as a useful experience, learning what it means to give up yoga. Today she says that living without yoga would mean losing an important part of herself. If she has to choose she rather lives without the academic world than living without yoga.

3.1.8 Linda – K8

Yes and then it is like that for a while, for a good while, but then you get into new phases, when the pleasure of the novel has evened out and then I think that you are forced to the truth about yourself, which not always is very pleasant. That you, that it is hard to lie to oneself if you are doing yoga, it actually is like that. And you can not hide behind conventions either, I'm not very conventional. I can not hide in that and think that it will sort itself out by conventional solutions, if you see what I mean. No I think that the yoga forces you to be true, and truth is not always... The truth can be very painful.

Linda is 51 years old, working halftime as special pedagogue in secondary school and as a massage therapist and yoga teacher. She started yoga when she was around 25 years old and she immediately fell in love with yoga, though it took some time before she deepened the practice. In 1990 she was initiated into Yogananda meditation (see Paramahansa Yogananda, 1959) and in 1994 she started teaching yoga. The formal education she got later on, and today she is still teaching yoga part-time. Linda has three children, the youngest being in his teens. Her husband is also into yoga. For her yoga is definitely a part of everyday life. She says that she has no idea what her life would have looked like without yoga. Yoga helps her living, choosing her own path, and her thinking is very influenced by yoga philosophy. She is however not tempted to live a life with only yoga. For her the interaction with society and the surrounding world which she gets through her work in school is very important.

3.1.9 Bengt – K9

To me it has become like that, well, that all the persons I regard as my idols are those who unite, who are successful both in, in their spiritual inner life and, and in the world. Well they don't have to be famous, but that they kind of live a two hundred percent life. They live both a material life that is justifiable and a spiritual life and a preferable a

social life. People like Gandhi, Dalai Lama, Dag Hammarskjöld. Mandela, I would also say. He has, he has not announced his spirituality I think, but he has to have some kind of deep morality and kind of contact with his inner to be able to... have done what he did. That is people who unite an inner and outer life, those, those I think are my role models.

Bengt is 60 years old, working very creatively with music and theatre, and is since many years the informal leader of a meditation- and chanting group. He got introduced to TM at the age of 25 and since then yoga has more or less been a part of his every day life. Bengt has both grown-up and younger children. Because of that and his work he can't focus entirely on meditation. His ideal is though, as he himself puts it, actually to live 200 percent, to lead a rich spiritual life and at the same time take actively part of the outer world. Yoga, and especially meditation, has influenced all aspects of his everyday life: habits, work, relations, musical taste and cultural preferences. Though facing problems like egoism, materialism and environment damage, Bengt thinks that the contemporary society has much to provide the young generations regarding all aspects of life.

4. Outcomes II – Analysis

This chapter, which due to a lot of enumerations can be experienced as monotonous, should be seen as a preparation and a way towards the more comprehensible interpretation, which will be given in chapter five. The danger of precomprehension, not at least because of the author's familiarity with yoga, has already been mentioned. To open up possibilities for intersubjective validity it was decided to make a presentation of the material as free from interpretation as possible before forming a bigger picture and speculating about the meaning of the individual's statements. Since it's mostly textual data that is accounted for this narrative form of presentation was preferred before tables.

To open up the informants' existential worlds the interpretation phase of MCA-Minerva, which is actually included in the analysis, started off with an overview of the modalities. An overview shows that the most frequent modality categories were the same for every person in a lot of cases, see the diagrams 1-9, which show the mostly used category within each modality for each person. All nine persons used the neutral affect, the doxa-affirmation, signitive function and not stated property the most. Two exceptions are K4 who used positive prospective to the same extent as neutral affect and K5 who used present now to the same extent as the neutral.

The most interesting modalitie categories, though, are those who differ from the common pattern. When it comes to the modality of time everyone except K2 and K8 used the present form to the highest extent. K2, though, spoke mostly in past and K8 used the stability form. The most used form of subject was the unspecified one. K3, K6, K7 and K9 got this result. Three persons (K1, K2 and K8) used I the most. Yet another two (K4 and K5) used the one-I form, that is they spoke about

themselves in third person, using the Swedish word “man” (one). When it comes to the modality will none engagement was used by four persons (K1, K2, K7, K8). Four other persons (K3, K4, K6, and K9) spoke mostly with (positive) engagement and one person used the negative engagement together with none engagement the most (K5).

In the next step the entities with their corresponding predicates were examined. Below all nine persons will be presented separately, sorted by the topic groups and a comparison between modalities, entities and predicates will be made. In the method you will find the guidelines for the treating of entities, whose frequencies are given within parenthesis, for example “I” (37) means that “I” occur as an entity 37 times. The meaning units concerned are referred to as MU1, MU2 et.c.

4.1 Societal/Cultural Life

4.1.1 K1

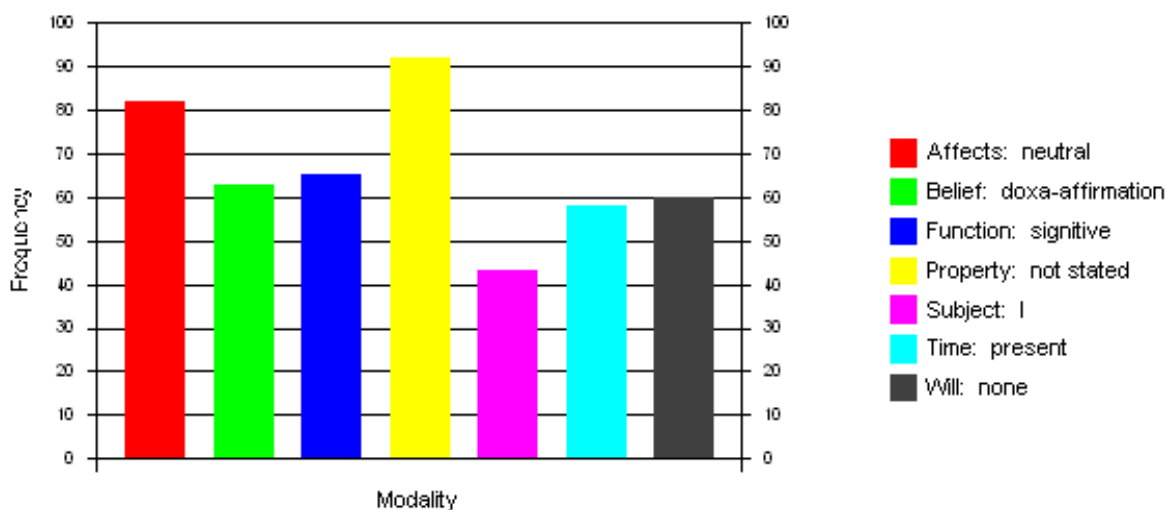


Diagram 1. Mostly used modality categories of K1.

For K1 the mostly used modalities are: neutral affect (83%), doxa-affirmations (63%), signitive function (66%), not stated property (93%), I-subject (44%), present time (59%) and none will (61%). The second most usual forms are: positive now affect (10%), doxa-negation (17%), perceptive (29%), unspecified subject (27%), future and empty time (5% each).

K1 uses 112 different entities and 78 different predicates. The most occurring entities are: “I” (21), “one” (12), “think” (11), “be” (10), ”like this” (7), “know” (6), and “life-style” (6).

”I” have these predicates: ”who exist” (17), ”who maybe don’t do it” (1), ”who don’t know” (1) and ”who don't can” (1) and ”who thinks it’s like that anyway” (1). For ”one” the only predicate is ”who exist”.

To the entities concerning “think” (11), that is also “thinks” (3), “think more” (1) and “think of it” (1) these predicates belong: ”which you can” (10), “which I can” (1), “which you can do of

something” (1), ”which you can do a lot” (1), ”which a lot of people do” (1), ”which you don’t do like this that they sit there eating candy” (1) and ”which you do more of kind of healthy things from the countries where yoga comes from” (1). You find them in the following meaning units: ”But it’s kind of, you have to think of that the body anyway needs” (MU7), ”and then I can think that it’s good, for the workout” (MU10), ”then you maybe should thing a little more of what you eat” (MU20), ”Yes, it’s nothing I think a lot of” (MU28), ”but I have heard that a lot of people thing in that way” (MU29), ”you think like this young girls doing yoga” (MU31), ”young girls usually are more like this that they think about the figure and make-up and such things” (MU33), ”It’s, yes you don’t think like this that they are sitting eating candy” (MU36) and ”but you think of these healthy things from the countries where yoga comes from” (MU37). The entities concerning ”think” belong to the following modality categories: Doxa-affirmations (9), doxa-negations (3), probability (2) and possibility (2). Perceptive is being used for nine entities, signitive for five and perc/sig for two. Stability counts for nine entities, present time is used five times and future two. The affect is mostly neutral except for four cases where it’s positive now. They come from the meaning units MU10 and MU37. Eight of the entities are marked by engagement and two by unengagement. Six entities belong to none. Property is others (3) or not stated (13). The subject mostly used is I (7), followed by one-I (6) and one-all (1).

”Be” have the predicates: ”which it can” (6), ”which you can” (2) and ”which you usually are” (2). ”Like this” have these predicates: ”as it can be” (1), ”as it is” (2), ”as exist” (1), ”as you can be” (1), ”as you can think” (1) and ”as you don’t think” (1). They exist in the meaning units: ”It’s, yes you don’t think like this that there are sitting there eating candy” (MU1), ”It’s like this” (MU30), MU31, ”yes, it’s like this, yes young girls usually are” (MU32), MU33 and MU36. The word ”like this” doesn’t seem to really mean anything, but is more a way of expressing oneself, a kind of slang. Therefore it’s not looked further upon.

The two entities ”know” (6) and ”knows” (4) occur in the following meaning units: ”Because it is, I don’t know” (MU15), ”I don’t know” (MU17), ”and I don’t know” (MU22), ”Yes I don’t know, what do you say” (MU24), ” I don’t know, so, yes” (MU34), ”And yes, I don’t know” (MU35). They have the predicates: ”which you can” (6) and ”which I don’t” (4). Here is one question: ”Yes I don’t know, what do you say?” (MU24). All entities are expressed with signitive, present, with neutral affect not stated property and I-subject. Two entities are expressed with unengagement and the rest without will.

”Life-style” (6), ”life-style with yoga” (1) and ”that I have it as a life-style” (1) belong to these meaning units: ”if you should have a life-style with yoga” (MU19), ”but it’s more like this kind of life-style that you apply” (MU25) and ”I don’t have it like... no, like that, like a life-style” (MU41). Their predicates are: ”which exist” (3), ”which you can have” (1), ”which you can apply” (1), ”which

you apply is it more like this” (1) and ”which you can have it as” (1). They are all expressed with signitive and in neutral affect. Four of them have unengagement and the others have non will. Property is not stated in four cases which have the subject I and in three cases the property is my and the subject one-all (MU41).

The following meaning unit have probability as belief: “Well, I think it’s a little like that” (MU1) and these possibility: ”that is, I think it’s a little like that” (MU3), ”and what could be good for you” (MU5) and ”it will maybe disturb your stomach or something” (MU16).

4.1.2 K4

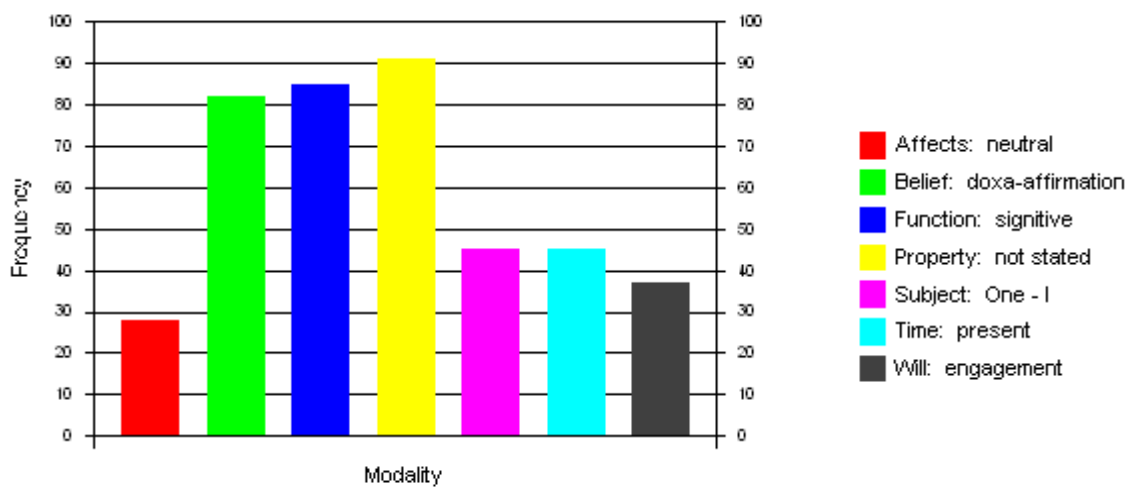


Diagram 2. Mostly used modality categories of K4.

The mostly used modality categories for K4 are: neutral and positive-prospective affect (29% each), doxa-affirmation (83%), signitive function (86%), not stated property (91%), one-I subject (46%), present time 46%) and engagement (37%). The second most common ones are: negative-retrospective (17%), doubt and doxa-negation (3% each), perceptive (11%), my property (6%), I-subject (31%), past (26%) and none will (23%).

K4 uses 105 different entities and 80 different predicates. The most common entities are: “one” (man) (17), “I” (11), “so” (5), “sad” (6), “see” (6), “easy” (5) and “good” (5).”One” have only the predicate: ”who exist”. It’s the same with “I”.

“So” have the predicates: “which you can feel” (1), “which I felt” (1), “which I felt during a period of my yoga practice” (1), “which you can know” (1) and “which you can” (1). They exist in the meaning units: ”So I felt during a period of my yoga practice” (MU1) and: ”so you can” (MU17). They are all expressed with doxa-affirmation, signitive and not stated property. For the three entities in MU1 there is neutral affect, non will and I-subject. For the other two there is one-I subject, engagement and present time.

The following entities are treated together: “sad” (6), “Sad about everything that has happened to me” (1), “sad and emotional” (2) and “very sad” (2). They occur in the following meaning units: ”and was very sad about that” (MU5), ”and was sad about everything that has happened to me” (MU6), ”which you could get sad of” (MU7) and “that you are sad and emotional about that” (MU10). The predicates are: ”which you can be” (4), ”which you can be about that” (1), ”which I can be” (3), ”which you can get” (1), ”which you could get” (1), ”which you can be about that” (1) and ”which you are about that” (1). Two of the entities belong to the possibility modality (MU7). They are all signitive, have negative-retrospective affect and negative engagement. Property is never stated and the subject is I (6) or one-I (5).

”See” (6), ”see it” (1), ”see further” (1), ”see like that” (1), ”You can see” (1) and ”you see” (1) are grouped together. These expressions you find in the following contexts: ”that you kind of have to see beyond the feeling sometimes” (MU13), ”that you see like this what is it actually that should be done” (MU14), ”anymore by me seeing it around me” (MU25), ”that you, that you get better in seeing the bigger perspectives in some way” (MU31), “you see the whole somewhat” (MU32), ”you kind of see, get an overview” (MU33) and ”but it feels like you maybe, when you meditate then you maybe see longer” (MU35). They have the predicates: ”which you can” (6), ”which I can” (1), ”which I can’t around me anymore” (1) and ”which you can when you meditate” (1). The entity belonging to MU35 is expressed with probability. Three entities are perceptive, the rest signitive. The time-categories are: present (8), stability (2) and present-future (1). The four entities belonging to MU32, MU33 and MU35 are positive-present, the very last also being wish-positive. In three cases there is engagement (MU14 and MU33).

”Easy” has the predicates: “as it can be” and “as it can be to act”, you find them in meaning unit 24: “that you maybe, it’s not as easy to act I think” (MU24). They are expressed with doubt, signitive present, neutral affect not will, no stated property and I-subject.

”Good” (5), “better” (2), “a better” (1) are grouped together. They occur here: ”that it really becomes a better” (MU28), “that people get it better” (MU29) and in MU31. The entities have the predicates: ”as it can be” (1), ”as it can get” (2), ”as people can have it” (1), ”as people can get” (2), ”as one can be” (1) and ”as one can get” (1). All are signitive, wish-positive doxa-affirmations. Two are expressed in present (MU31) with positive-present affect and the rest in present with positive prospective affect. The subject is either unspecified (3), one-all (3) or one-I (2). In the text you find these unusual beliefs: Exclamation: ”It was kind of like this: oh, I cried about it” (MU4), possibility: MU7, doubt: MU24 and probability: ”I really think yoga has done that” (MU30) and MU35.

4.1.3 K7

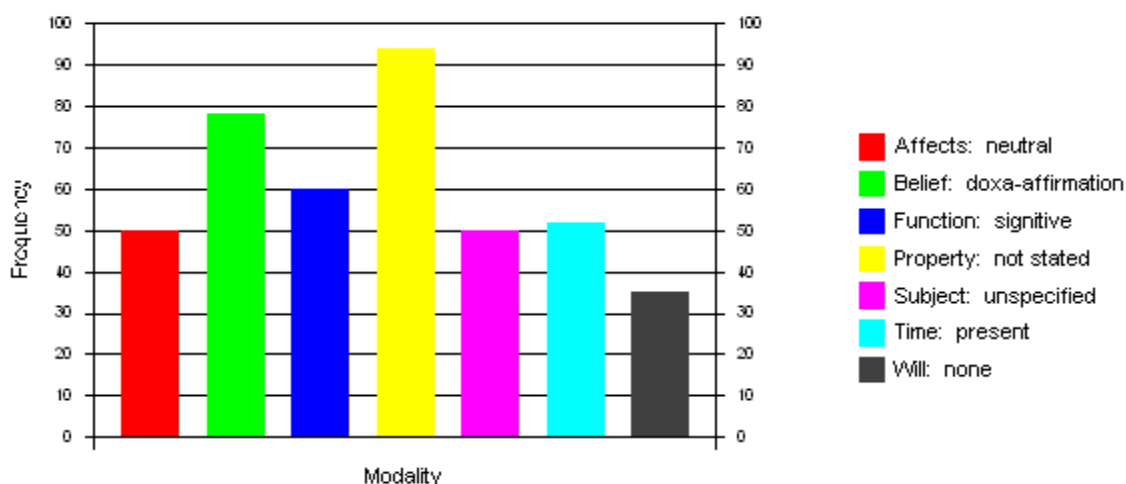


Diagram 3. Mostly used modality categories of K7.

K7's most common modality categories are: neutral affect (51%), doxa-affirmation (78%), signitive function (61%), not stated property (94%), unspecified subject (51%), present time (53%) and none will (35%). The second most used ones are: negative present (20%), exclamation (10%), perceptive (31%), others property (4%), I-subject (24%), stability (30%) and engagement (27%).

K7 uses 143 different entities and 83 different predicates. The most common entities are: "I" (12), "think, consider" (11), "one" (10), "yoga" (7), "a kind of" (7), "thinks, considers" (6).

"I" have the predicates "who exist" (11) with one exception that is "who think that" (1). "One" only have the predicate "who exist" (10).

"Think" (11), "thinks" (6) and "thinks that" (1) are treated together. They have the predicates "which you can" (10), "which I do" (6), "which I do anyway" (1) and "which you can that" (1). They belong to the following meaning units: "That is yoga becomes, I think, some kind of" (MU1), "and there, just there I think it is about a kind of" (MU7), "then I think it, it" (MU10), "but yoga I anyway think is" (MU14), "but it has some kind of, I think, political resonance" (MU27), "that is, it is so to speak a counter-force to the new liberal processes that work in society, I think" (MU28), "but I think that..." (MU38), "but I think anyway" (MU42), "and, and that I think is very" (MU46) and "and, as told, I think that it" (MU47). All of the entities are expressed with an I-subject and lack stated property. Two of them have the possibility belief and 16 are doxa-affirmation. Most of them are expressed with (12) signitive, four are perceptive and two sign/perc. The dominating time is present (14), which is followed by stability (4). The dominating affect is neutral (14) and four entities have positive present affect. They belong to the meaning unit MU27. There is a lot of engagement (13) among these entities.

"Yoga" (7), "yoga is" (1) and "the yoga" (2) are treated together. They are found in the

meaning units: "that is yoga becomes, I think some kind of" (MU1), "about what yoga is doing for me" (MU12), "but yoga I anyhow think is" (MU13) and "so the yoga, it is really capable of creating an alternative" (MU43). Their predicates are "which exist" (4), "which can become some kind of" (1), "which I think become some kind of" (1), "which can do for somebody" (1), "which is doing for me" (1), "which I think" (1) and "which is really capable of creating an alternative" (1). There are two entities belonging to the exclamation in MU 43, the rest are doxa-affirmations. These are the only two entities expressed in perceptive and positive present with engagement. Five entities have stability the others present time.

"A kind of cultural criticism" (3) and "cultural criticism" (1) exist in the following meaning unit "That is it becomes some kind of cultural criticism" (MU2). The previous meaning unit is "that is yoga becomes, I think, some kind of" (MU1). The entities have the predicates "which exist" (2), "which it can become" (1) and "which it becomes" (1). They are all expressed in signitive, present, with neutral affects and engagement. Property is not stated and subject unspecified.

The exclamations of K7 are: "cause there is such a great flow of information in our time that makes" (MU3), and "The yoga then, it is capable to kind of, really creating an alternative" (MU43), "It has a society critical strength, really" (MU48) and "just not eating meat is in some way a very strong society criticism" (MU51). The passage also contains two questions: "And how are you going to find an other model?" (MU34) and "And how are you supposed to find something else?" (MU35)

4.2 Working/educational life

4.2.1 K3

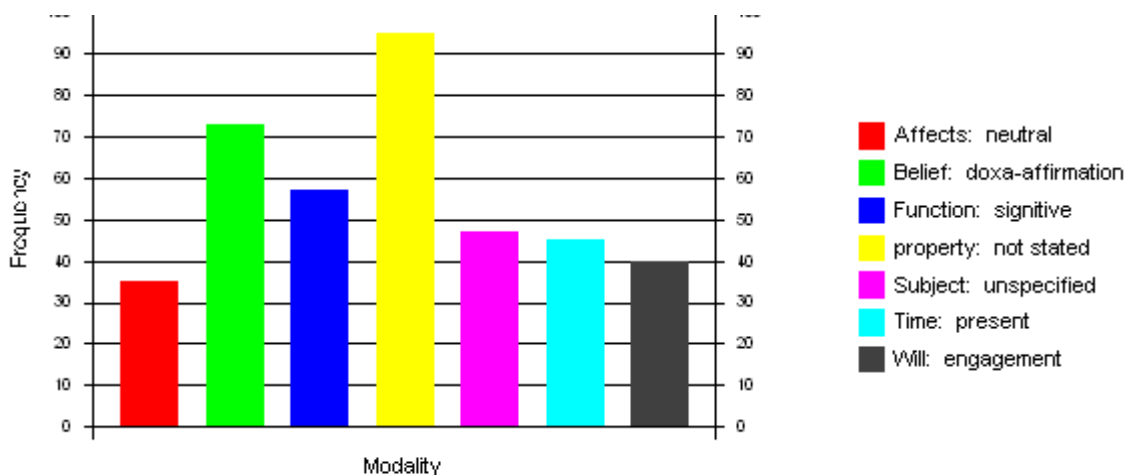


Diagram 4. Mostly used modality categories of K3.

The most common categories of modality for K3 were: neutral affect (36 %), doxa-affirmation (74 %), signitive function (57 %), not stated property (95 %), unspecified subject (48%), present time (45 %) and engagement (40%). The second most used categories are: positive present (21 %), doxa-negation

(10%), perceptive (38%), my property (2 %), one-I (21%), stability (24%) and none engagement (26%). 114 different entities and 86 different predicates belong to the excerpt of K3. The most common entities are: "it" (15), "karmayoga" (14), "I" (13), "one" (11), "tired" (6), "help" (6), "a possibility" (5).

"I" has the predicate "who exist" with one exception and that is the similar "who can be". "One" has eleven predicates, all of them are "who exist". These words are not examined any further. "It" has mostly the predicate "which exist" (11). The other predicates are: "which I can regard as a possibility for me", "which is a very nice thing that works not only here", "which is the difficult thing" och "which can be needed to be done". In the first to cases the word "it" refers to karmayoga.

There are as many as 14 entities named "karmayoga". They will be treated together with the entities: "Principals behind karmayoga" (1) and "The principals behind karmayoga" (2). The words exist in the following meaning units: "That's what you refer to when you distinguish karmayoga from unpaid work" (MU6), "When you feel that you get tired of karmayoga" (MU7), "then it's not karmayoga" (MU8), "and you really understand the principles of karmayoga and so on" (MU11), "because then it's not karmayoga" (17). The predicates belonging to the entities with karmayoga are: "which exist" (7), "which you can become tired by" (1), "which it can be" (2), "which it is not" (1), "which it's not then" (2), "which you can understand" (1), "which you understand" (1), "which exist in one's life" (1), "which exists everywhere in one's life" (1). The corresponding modalities are either doxa-affirmations or doxa- negations. Perceptive is being used in most cases (12), perceptive-signitive in one case (1) and signitive in only four cases. If not empty (3) the time is present (10) or stable (4). The affect is in twelve cases neutral and in five cases negative present. The dominating will is engagement (7), followed by negative engagement (5) and none (5). In most cases (10) the subject is unspecified. One-I is being used six times and one-all once.

The entities "tired" (6) are being dealt with together with the entities "tiring" (2). They exist in the following meaning units: MU7, "Then, then it won't be tiring" (MU12) and "or I become tired" (MU15). The predicates are: "that you can be" (2), "that you can become" (1), "that I can be" (1), "that I can become" (1), "that I become" (1), "that it can be" (1), "that it can become" (1). All the entities are expressed in perceptive and in present time. The affects are: negative present (2), positive present (2) and negative retrospective (4). Negative engagement is being used in six cases and positive engagement twice.

The following entities are grouped together: "help" (6), "help all people" (1), "help somebody" (3). They have these predicates: "which you can" (6), "which you can your friends" (1), "which you can as much as you can" (2), "which you can for egoistic reasons" (1) and exist in the meaning units below: "and help your friends" (MU26), "help all people to the extent you are able"

(MU27), "And really distinguish from when you help somebody because of egoistic reasons" (MU28), "and when you help somebody just because it becomes something spontaneous" (MU29). The modality functions are: signitive (8) and perceptive (2). Time is empty in all cases but two, which are spoken in present. The affects for the entities are: positive-prospective in six cases, positive-present in two cases and neutral in two cases. In half of the cases the will is wish-positive (5) and the subject unspecified (5), and the other half is marked by engagement (5) and one-I subject (5).

The entities "a possibility" (5), "possibility" (1), "a possibility for me to develop" (1) are being found in the following meaning units: "Yes, I regard it a possibility for me to develop" (MU18), "So for me it has been, an, a possibility" (MU35). The predicates are: "which exist" (2), "which it can be" (2), "which I regard it" (1), "which it can be for me" (1) and "which it has been for me" (1). All the entities have the belief possibility and the only function here is the signitive one. Everyone is marked by positive affects, four are retrospective, expressed in the past and marked by engagement and unspecified subject and the other three are prospective, expressed in the present tense with I-subject and spoken with wish-positive will.

The following entities: "work" (1), "unpaid work" (2) and "job" (1) are expressed without will or affects. The modality belief is perceptive (3) and perc/sign (1). The time is present in every case but one which has stability and a one-all subject. The rest of the subjects are unspecified. They are found in the following meaning units: MU6, "then it's just unpaid work" (MU9). "A yogi" (2) is found in the following meaning unit: "A yogi has eight weekdays" (MU3). Both entities are marked by stability, positive present affect and engagement. This text contains the exclamations: "It's a very nice thing that not only works here" (MU24) and "No, I don't want that because". (MU40)

4.2.2 K5

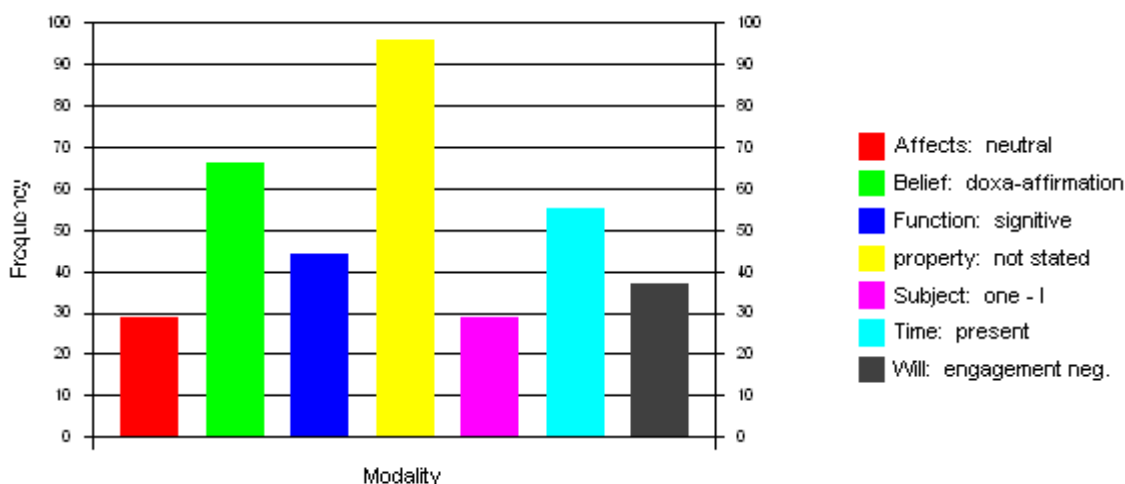


Diagram 5. Mostly used modality categories of K5.

The modality categories being most used by K5 are: neutral and positive present affect which are being used to the same extent (30 %), doxa-affirmation (67%), signitive function (44%), not stated property (96%), one-I subject (30%), present time (56%) and negative and none engagement, which were used just as much (37%). The second most common categories are: negative present (22 %), doxa-negation and exclamation which are mentioned to the same extent (11%), perceptive/signitive (11%), my property (4%), I-subject (26%), always recurrent time (11%) and engagement (19%).

K5 has used 72 different entities and 60 different predicates. The most common entities are: “one” (9), “I” (8), “Feel” (6), “It” (5), ”There” (5), “Karmayoga” (4) and “We” (4).

The only predicates dealing with the entity “one”(9) is “that exist”. This is also the case for the entity “I”, with one exception, the predicate “who can thing that karmayoga is that important”. “It” has three different predicates: “that exist” (3), ”which I can feel” (1) and “which you can do” (1). “We” has the predicates: “who exist” (3) and “who can have” (1).

The entities concerned with “feel” are: “feel” (6), “really feel” (2), “feels” (1) and “get to feel” (1). These entities exist in the following four meaning units: ”And that’s what I feel more and more” (MU1), ”When you kind of get to really feel” (MU3), ”But I feel, for me it’s rather that” (MU11) and ”that you get the opportunity to feel” (MU12). The corresponding predicates are ”which you can” (4), ”which I can” (2), ”which you can get to” (2), ”which you get to” (1) and ”which I do” (1). All of these entities are expressed in the present form. The affect is positive-present in eight cases of ten. Engagement is characterising four of the entities, the rest are neutral. In six cases the subject one-I is being used and in the other for she uses I.

To the entity “there” (5) these different predicates belong: “where you can be involved/present”, “where you actually are more involved/present”, “where I can be”, “Where I’m not”, “Where I’m not yet”. The meaning units are: “where you actually are more involved/present” (MU14) and “I guess I’m not there yet” (MU17). The last meaning unit is expressed with doubt and the first one as a doxa-affirmation. The time is present for all entities. The first two are marked by positive present affect and engagement and the latter three with negative present affect and negative engagement. The subject for the first meaning unit is one-I and for the second one I.

“Karmayoga” (4) is found in these two meaning units: “So that’s why I find karmayoga so important” (MU6), “Yes, but it’s way too much karmayoga” (MU8). The corresponding predicates are: ”that exist” (2), ”that is so important” (1) and ”that is way to much” (1). All of these are characterised by the exclamation modality and by perceptive/signitive function. The time is in half of the cases (2) present and in the other two stable. The first statement has a positive-present affect and engagement whereas the second one is marked by negative present affect and negative engagement. In the first two entities the subject I is used and in the second one one-all.

The five entities concerning work”, that is, “work” (2), “to work” (1) and “work on it” (2) belong to the following meaning units: ”Why should we work for free?” (MU9), “How it can be to work in another way” (MU13) and “But I work on it” (MU18). The predicates are: ”which we can” (1), ”that exist” (1), “that I can” (2) and “that I do” (1). In one case there is a possibility and in another a question. The present time is used all the way. Affects and will are: in one case negative present and negative engagement (MU9), in one case positive present and engagement (MU13) and in three cases positive-prospective and wish-positive (MU18).

This passage contain the exclamations: “So that’s why I find karmayoga so important” (MU6) and “So we have to put down”. (MU23)

4.2.3 K9

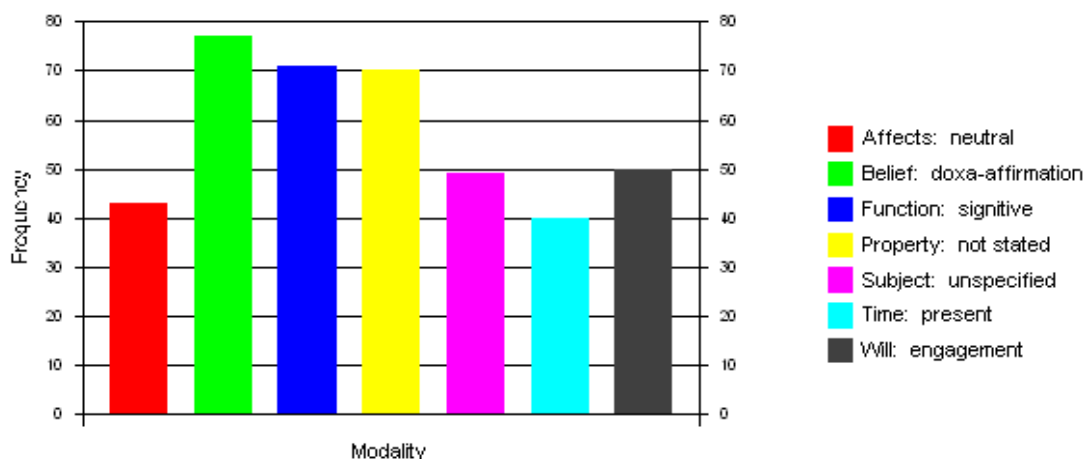


Diagram 6. Mostly used modality categories of K9.

The most common categories of modality for K9 were: neutral affect (44 %), doxa-affirmation (77 %), signitive function (72 %), not stated property (70 %), unspecified subject (49 %), present time (40 %) and engagement (51 %). The second most used categories were: Positive present (30 %), exclamation (9 %), perceptive (25%), other property (26%), I-subject (25%), stability (26%), and non-engagement (23%).

K9 used 151 different entities and 114 different predicates. Five of the entities were named “ideas”. When reading through all the entities containing this word in one way or another, following entities were found: “ideas” (5), “lots of ideas” (3), “the ideas” (3), “the ideas themselves” (1), “Very surprised by the ideas” (1) and “a lot of fun ideas” (1). Totally the word is found in 14 different entities.

The only entities used more frequently are: “I” (17), “one” (11), ”it” (13), “to come” (10), “they” (8), “that” (6) and ”exist” (5). Since the words “I”, “one” and “exist” are common words in every text they are not further looked upon. It could be interesting though to see what “It”, “that” and

“they” refer to. When looking upon the entity “They” you see that all eight have the predicate “that exist”. In some cases the word refers to the ideas, as in the following meaning unit: “They just, they just come totally” (MU13) and “You have to write them down urgently” (MU8). But because of the non varying predicates they are not examined more deeply.

“It” and “that” have in 14 out of 19 cases “that exist” as predicate. Other predicates are: “which you can learn to live with”, “which I probably have learnt to live with”, “which I believe”, “which the meditation can open up for” and “which I can do”. The most used categories here are: present time (7), neutral affect (12), engagement (10), and I-subject (8). Wish-positive was used once, positive-prospective (1), positive-retrospective (1) and positive present (4) formed altogether six positive entities.

Since the word “ideas” appeared so much among the entities they will now be further examined. The words exist in the following five meaning units: “That is a lot of ideas appear when I meditate” (MU2), “that ideas come very quickly” (MU6), “But the ideas themselves come very, very quickly and many times totally unannounced” (MU12), “A lot of times I get very surprised by the ideas” (MU14), “And then a lot of fun ideas come” (MU55). The 13 different predicates belonging to these entities are: “that exist” (5), “that one can have” (1), “that I can have” (1), “that one can have when one meditates” (1), “that I can have when I meditate” (1), “that many times can come totally unannounced” (1), “that come very, very quickly and many times totally unannounced” (1), “that I get many times” (1) and “that come then” (1).

When looking upon the modalities corresponding to the entities containing the word “ideas” it’s shown that all entities belong to signitive doxa-affirmations. The most used time here is stability (7). The present is used in six cases. One entity is described as always recurrent. Eight times are the entities expressed with positive-present affect, four times with neutral affect and two with positive retrospective affect. Eleven of the entities belong to the engagement category, one is unengaged and the two remaining wish-positive. Property is only stated in one case- other. The subject mostly used here is I (8) and then unspecified (6).

“To come” (10) and “comes” (1) exist in the following meaning units: MU6, MU 12, MU13, “it can come” (MU16), “curious of what is coming” (MU21), “without expecting them to come” (MU22), “for one’s fast thought impulses that come” (MU35), “small seeds that just come” (MU36) “It can be all possible unexpected things that come” (MU40) and MU55. In all of these cases the verb describes ideas or thoughts. In four cases the time is always-recurrent, in three cases there is stability, two cases use present and two cases empty. In seven cases the affect is neutral, but positive present (3) and positive prospective (1) are also being used. Four of the entities are marked by engagement, two by wish-positive and two by unengagement. In three cases the will is described as none. In all cases

but one, where one-I is being used, the subject is unspecified.

Other important entities were those concerning yoga: “Meditation” (1), “the meditation” (2), “meditate” (1) and “Your question: has the meditation influenced” (1). They had four different predicates: “that exist) (2), “that one can go back to” (1), “that one can” (1), “which has opened up for that” (1) and they exist in the following meaning units: “Turning back to your question has the meditation influenced” (MU1), “that is a lot of ideas I get when I meditate” (MU2), “that the meditation has opened up for” (MU18). In these meaning-units he talks in the present (3 entities) and present-past (2 entities), the affect is in two cases neutral, in two cases positive-retrospective and in one case positive present. Three of the five entities are marked by engagement and the subject I is mentioned just once. The entity “job” only occurs once and in this case it is marked by negative present affect and negative engagement. The meaning unit is: “Many do have boring jobs with which they are not satisfied” (MU31).

The two exclamations of the text are: ”I’m very grateful that I am able” (MU42), ”No, that is totally strange for me” (MU57).

4.3 Inner/spiritual life

4.3.1 K2

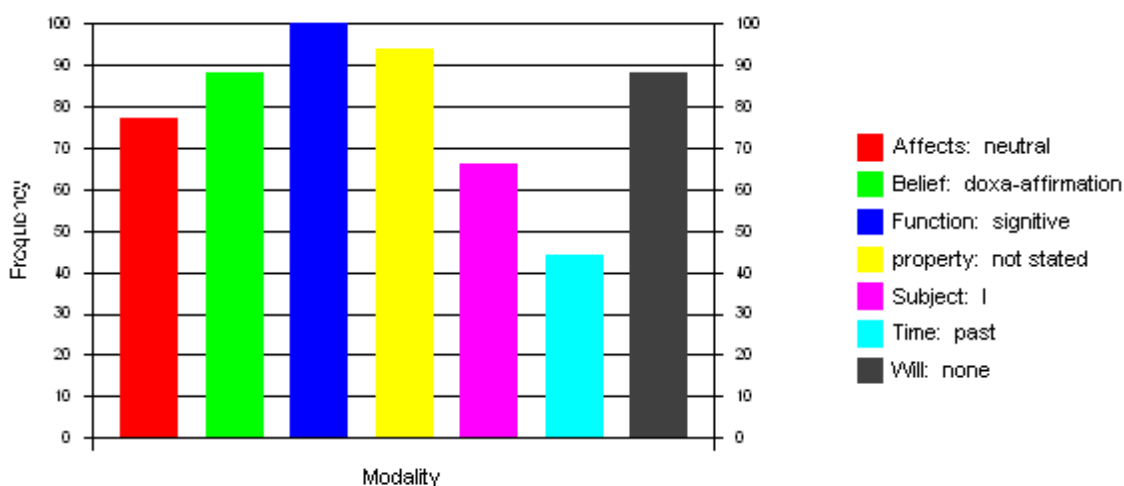


Diagram 7. Mostly used modality categories of K2.

The most common categories of modality were for K2: neutral affect (78%), doxa-affirmation (89%), signitive function, not stated property (94%), I-subject (67%), past time (44%) and none will (89%). The second most common categories are: positive-now and negative-retrospective (11 % each), doxa-negation and possibility (6 % each), my-property (6 %), one-all subject (2%) present time (33%) and engagement (11%).

There are 54 different entities with 55 different predicates. The most usual entities are: “I”

(14), “become” (5), “more, not spiritual but” (5), “Anti religion” (5), “it” (5), “Yoga” (4) and “interesting” (4).

”I” (14) and ”Me myself” (2) have the predicates ”who exist” (12), ”who can be” (2), ”who can think” (1), ”who can become” (1). “Become” exist in the meaning units “I know I’ve become more, not spiritual but” (MU1), “but then with yoga it became much so that” (MU5), “and with that it became so that I myself become” (MU8), “became more and more interested in, that is the spiritual maybe” (MU9).

”More not spiritual but” exists in MU1 and ”The spiritual” (2) exists in MU9.

”Yoga” and ”with yoga” you find in the following meaning units: MU5 and ”But well it has not really to do with yoga” (MU15). The predicates are: ”which exists” (2), ”which it can become much out of” (1), ”which it can become much of that you” (1), ”which it can concern” and ”which it can really concern”, ”which it does not really concern” (1). Three of the entities have past time and four present. All affects are neutral and without will. The subject is one-all all the way.

”Believing” (2), ”more believing” (2) and ”More believing than I used to be” (1) have the predicates ”that you can be” (2) and ”that I can be” (2).

The following words have been grouped together: ”interesting” (4), ”interested” (1), ”more interested” (2), ”become more interested” (1). You find them in these meaning units: ”Even though I found it interesting” (MU3) and ”Became more and more interested in the spiritual maybe” (MU9). The corresponding predicates are: ”that it can be” (1), ”that it was” (1), ”that I can think it is” (1), ”that I thought it was” (1), ”that I can be” (1), ”that I can become” (1), ”that I can be of the spiritual” (1), ”that I can of the spiritual” (1) The time is also here past and the affects neutral. For four of the entities the subject is I and no will, in the rest subject is unspecified and the will marked by engagement.

”Anti religion” (5) you find in this statement: ”In fact I was pretty much anti religion back then in the early teenage” (MU2). The predicates are: ”which you can be”, ”which I can be”, ”which you can be pretty much” and ”that I was pretty much”. All entities are marked by past time and negative retrospective affect. The subject is I and no will is shown.

4.3.2 K6

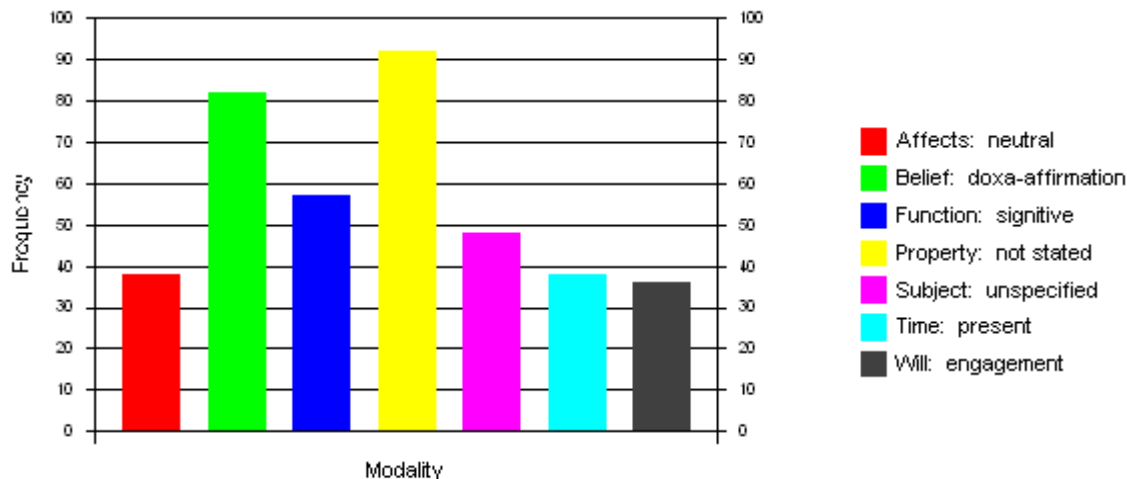


Diagram 8. Mostly used modality categories of K6.

The most occurring modalities of K6 are: neutral affect (38%), doxa-affirmation (83%), signitive function (58%), not stated property (92%), unspecified subject (48%), present time (38%) and engagement (37%). The second most used modalities are: negative now affect (23%), doxa-negation (10%), perceptive function (37%), other property (8%), I-subject (29%), stability (35%), none will (31%) and negative engagement (29%).

K6 uses 146 different entities and 93 different predicates. The most usual entities are: "it" (18), "I" (16), "experience" (9), "the body" (7), "one" (6), "so" (5) and "all" (5). With the exceptions of the two following predicates: "that which you can experience" (1), "that at least I experience" (1) "It" only has the predicate "which exists". "I" has one predicate "who think" the rest are "who exist". All the predicates of "one" are "who exist". To "all" these predicates belong: "that exist" (3), "who are in agreement with that" (1) and "who want it to be like that" (1).

The following entities are treated together: "experience" (9), "experiences" (1), "experienced" (2). They have the entities: "that you can" (7), "that I don't have in the same way" (1), "that you can at university" (1), "that I have at university" (1), "that you can in the same way at university" (1) and "that I don't do in the same way at university" (1). They exist in the following meaning units: "so that, yes that I maybe don't have experienced in the same way" (MU1), "than what I experienced at the university" (MU4), "but in any case that's what I experience" (MU7), "But there I experience" (MU12), "which I experience as very attractive" (MU15), "that I don't experience in the same way within university" (MU26), "Then I can experience that then this stillness appears very fast" (MU42). The categories of modalities are: in three cases perceptive, otherwise signitive, in five cases past respectively present and in the other two stability. The affects are: neutral (5), negative now (3), positive now (2) and negative retrospective (2). In five cases are the entities expressed with

negative engagement, in four cases there is none and in three engagement. Property is only stated once, and then as others. All of the entities are expressed with an I-subject.

“The body” (7), “body” (1) and “body and soul” (3) are found in meaning units: “is also that you in this Christian, Western culture you often distinguish body and soul” (MU8), “The body has often been something ugly” (MU9), “in the yoga world that the body is not recognized as much as the soul, so to speak” (MU13), “that after all doesn't really concern the body really” (MU18) and “that body and soul are connected” (MU23). They have the predicates: “that exist” (5), “that you can distinguish” (1), “that you often separate” (1), “that can be” (1), “that it can concern” (1), “that it after all not concerns” (1) and “that can be connected” (1). To the entities the following modality categories belong: The function is perceptive (8) and signitive (3), the time is expressed with stability (9) and past (2), affects are: negative now (3), negative retrospective (2), positive now (3) and neutral (3). Five entities have negative engagement, three engagement and three have none.

“So” have these predicates: “as you can say” (1), “as I say” (1), “as it can be” (2), “as everybody complains that it is and at the same time stresses”(1). The entity “so” you find here: “in another way in that world if I say so” (MU3), “everybody stresses and at the same time complains about it being so” (MU36) and “want it to be so” (like that) (MU48). In two cases there is perceptive function, four entities have the time stability, one is empty. There are three positive now entities and two are negative now. In the will modality you find: engagement (2), negative engagement (2) and wish-positive (1). The subject is either I (2) or not stated (3).

The following entities, concerning inner life or spirituality, are also looked upon: “soul” (2), “body and soul” (3), “often separates body from soul” (1) and “the soul” (1). “Soul” and “the soul” have only the predicates “that exist” (3). “Body and soul” have the predicates: “that you can separate”, “that you often separate” and “that are connected”. They exist in the following meaning units: MU8, MU13 and MU23. The entities have the following modality categories: all of them are perceptive, stable, four have negative now affect and negative engagement (MU8), the rest are positive now expressed with engagement. The subject is either one-all or unspecified.

The meaning unit expressing exclamation is this one: “So that, that I also think is very positive with the yoga world”(MU22). It's followed by “that body and soul are connected” (MU23).

4.3.3 K8

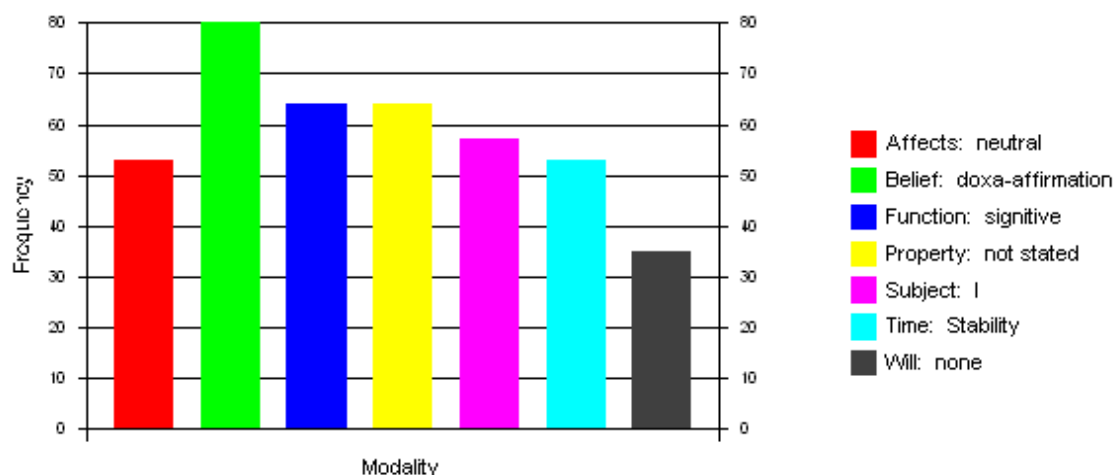


Diagram 9. Mostly used modality categories of K8.

The mostly used modality categories for K8 were neutral affect (54 %), doxa-affirmation (80%), signitive function (64%), not stated property (64%), I-subject (57%), stability of time (54%) and none will (36%). The second most used categories are: positive now (21%), exclamation (11%), perceptive function (30%), others property (27%), unspecified subject (30%), present time (21%) and engagement (30%).

The passage has 155 different entities and 94 different predicates. The most frequently used entities are: "I" (37), "it" (18), "yoga" (6), "try" (6), "way" (6) and "work" (5).

"I" (37) has most often the predicate "who exist" (32). The exceptions are: "who probably do" (1), "who then have to find my way and not compare with others" (1), "who try to be aware of that" (1), "who notice that I retire more and more" (1), and "who work at a school with very much people" (1). "It" (18) has the predicates: "that exists" (13), "that you can do" (1), "that I do, absolutely" (1), "that I do" (1), "that I am happy with" (1), "that I mean" (1).

The words grouped together with yoga are: "yoga" (6), "the yoga" (3), "yoga and massage" (1), "live in yoga" (2), "the thing about yoga as an outlook on life" (1), "work with yoga and massage and have it as my occupation" (1). The words exist in the following meaning units: "I probably interpret a lot from the yoga" (MU1), "Because I have tried earlier to work more with yoga and massage and to have that as my occupation" (MU8), "that you, in life and your working-life and at home can live, yes live in yoga in your daily life" (MU15), "But the next is the thing with yoga as an outlook on life" (MU23) and "Because yoga talks about the thing about dharma" (MU28). The entities are: "which exists" (6), "which you can interpret a lot from" (1), "which you can and interpret a lot from" (1), "which I probably interpret a lot from" (1), "which you can work with" (1), "which I tried earlier" (1), "which you can" (1), "which you can in your daily life" (1) and "which can be an outlook

on life” (1). Four of them belonging to the meaning unit MU1 are expressed with probability and three belonging to MU15 with possibility. The function is in eleven out of fourteen cases signitive. Time is expressed with stability in most of the cases. Past and present occur three times each. Six of the entities are expressed with positive prospective affect (MU15 and MU23). For the entities belonging to MU15 there is a wish-positive will and for those coming from MU23 there is engagement. The property is “my” for three of the entities: “Because I've tried earlier to work more with yoga and meditation and have that as my occupation” (MU8) otherwise it's neutral. The dominating subject here is I (7), followed by unspecified (4) and one-I (3).

The words “try” (6), “try to work” (1), “try to live” (1) belong to the meaning units MU8, “So instead I try” (MU11), “to simply try to live in that way” (MU18), “And that I actually try to be aware of” (MU38). Their predicate is “which you can” in all cases but one where it's the close “which you can instead”. Three of the entities are perceptive, the others signitive. In most of the cases (4) there is stability and in the rest there is present time. All but one have positive prospective affect and everyone have wish-positive will. Four of the subjects are expressed with I, the others are unspecified.

“Way” (6), “My way” (4) are treated together. They have the predicates: “which exists” (5), “which is” (1), “which can be somebody's” (3) and “which is unique for what I have done earlier” (1) and are found in the following meaning units: “that my way is” (MU29), “that then I have to find my way and not compare with others” (MU31) and “because my way is unique for what I've done earlier and so on” (MU32). Here there are three perceptive entities. Most of them have stable time (6) and four use the future form in combination with positive prospective affect and engagement (MU31). In fact most of the entities (7) are marked by engagement. Six of the entities have the property my and I is being used in seven cases.

“Work” (5), “try to work” (1), “work more with yoga and massage and have it as my occupation” (1), “work more” (1), “work very much out in the ordinary life” (1). The meaning units containing these entities are: “But, well I work in a secondary school” (MU5), “so I work very much out in common life so to speak” (MU6), MU8, “since I work in a school with very much people” (MU45). The belonging predicates are: “which you can” (5), “which you can out in common life” (1), “which I do” (1), “which you can with yoga and massage” (1), and “which I've tried earlier” (1). The entities are spoken of in perceptive in five cases and in perc/sig in one case. Four times there is past time (MU8), four times there is stability (M6) and once present. All the way the affect is neutral, there is unengagement in one case, engagement in three and the rest are neutral. Property is my in MU8 (two entities) and all the way there is an I-subject.

The following entities are grouped together: “karma” (2), “the karma” (1), “the principals of karma” (2), “this thing about karma” (3) and “dharma and karma” (1). They are found in the following

meaning units: "That was indeed what I was talking about the other Tuesday, about dharma and karma" (MU17), "to, to be able to live according to the principals of karma" (MU24) and "Because yoga talks about this thing about karma" (MU28). The concerned predicates are: "that exist" (4), "which I talked about the other Tuesday" (1), "which you can live according to" (1), "which you can talk about" (1) and "which yoga talks about" (1). The modalities are: signitive (7) and perceptive (2). Stability (4) is dominating on the time dimension, followed by empty (3) and past (2). The affect is mostly neutral (6) and positive present for three entities, namely those included in MU24. The dominating will is wish-positive (6), the rest are neutral. Property is never stated and the subject mostly unspecified (4), followed by one-all (3) and I (2).

"Dharma" (2), "the thing about dharma" (3) and "dharma and karma" (1) are also grouped together. They have the predicates: "which exist" (2), "which I talked about the other Tuesday" (1), "which you can talk about" (1) and "which I talked about" (1). These entities exist in MU17) and "that is what I talked about the thing with dharma" (MU30). There categories of modality are: signitive (4) and perceptive (2), all are neutral and spoken of in the past with I-subject, property never stated. Most of the entities (4) have engagement and the other two have no will.

The exclamations being used by K8 are: "I do absolutely" (MU2), "And I'm happy with that" (MU7), "That's indeed the point" (MU16), "That I think is difficult" (MU26) and "huh, she's doing like that" (MU35)

5. Outcomes III - Interpretation of analysis

In this chapter the informants are spoken of with their fictitious names. This is one step in an aware process of making the facts and numbers presented earlier into alive persons and whole beings. In accordance with phenomenology the human beings are being treated as meaning creating individuals where this meaning is a quality, not a quantity. (Sages & Hensfelt Dahl, 1999) The categorizations and statistical material presented in the result anyhow form a solid background for the qualitative descriptions to be presented here. To have the exact figures, information about the literal reproduction or translation of entities et.c, please turn back to the result paragraph, or if that's not enough more extensive material can be provided by the author.

In the text below, which aims for describing everything from the informant's own point of view, the entities are interwoven in the text but should anyhow be seen as an attempt of representing the informants' way of making meaning and expressing themselves rather than the author's. Another step in the process of personification is to pay attention to the contextual situations like personal background, present situation and so on in the interpretation. The need for the worldly and textual contexts in the striving for creating a bigger picture is the reason behind the presentation of longer

quotations and not only quoted meaning units. The quotations also serve as starting points or linking elements, showing the relationship between different entities and making the text easier to read.

5.1 Societal/Cultural Life

5.1.1 *Nina – K1*

Yes, you don't think like this that they sit there eating candy but you think more of these healthy things from the countries where yoga comes from, noodles and such, perhaps. That's what I associate with, but well it's not like I do it myself. I don't have it as... no like that, as a lifestyle.

Nina's text contains the beliefs possibility and probability, for example “Well, I think it's a little like that” (MU1). There is a lot of speculating in her text, which is shown by examining the mostly used entities and their predicates.

Closely following the most used entities “I” and “one” is “think”.. The predicates tell us that “I” is someone who exist, who don't know, who don't can and who thinks it's like that anyway. The quotation above show you one example of Nina's thinking. Others are thinking of what you eat, thinking that it could be good for the work-out and thinking of what the body needs, everything in relation to yoga. All possibilities and probabilities are connected to these entities. There is a lot of stability, which tells us that Nina is talking about how she thinks things are.

All above entities seem to concern health and life-style, like how to eat, work-out, think of the body and your looks. The interviewer's question “What do you say, has yoga in some way changed the way you think of your looks, since you have connected yoga and looks?”, which led Nina into this discussion might be of importance here. ”Life-style”, is found in six entities, all of them expressed with neutral affect and signitive. Four of them even have unengagement: I don't have it as... no like that, as a lifestyle.

In six meaning units Nina is using the expression ”I don't know”. That this insecurity is connected to herself is also shown by the predicates concerning I. It seems like this is her way of expressing herself and could be connected to slang, her young age and little experience with yoga. Maybe is this imagining and speculating a proof of her statement that she does not herself have yoga as a life-style. If that would be so, maybe she would have talked more about herself and yoga and in a more assured way. The fact that she deals with yoga as a lifestyle, though tells us that this possibility exist in her awareness and that it's not something totally strange for her, in Nina's opinion this is a part of other yoga practicing people's lives.

5.1.2 Kalle – K4

It was also like that I was sad and emotional about that, but at the same time I feel that should you really do something, then it's actually, that you kind of have to look beyond the feeling sometime, that you see like this what it actually is that is needed to be done. And then I think meditation can help like, that is doing big changes that maybe help a lot of people, then you can. That is you just, you don't have to be driven by a feel... that is you are driven by a humane, you want to work humanely so you just, well you can do things anyway, even if it's not panic right now.

Kalle's paragraph contains much positive-prospective affect and engagement but also negative-retrospective affect.

The negative retrospective affects are connected to the past and the entities dealing with “sad”. Kalle tells how he during a period of his yoga practice was feeling, sad, sad about everything that had happened to him, sad and emotional and very sad. They all have negative retrospective affect and negative engagement. Reading the text you see that some causes to his sadness were the death of his grandparents and his father's depression. It was related to the misfortune of the people around him.

The entities weighing up the negative affect are concerned with “see” and “good”. Examining the predicates of “see” you learn that it is something you can do further when you meditate. You get an overview (MU32) and you see the whole (MU32). The meaning units containing “see” are often expressed with positive-present, one example being “but it feels like you maybe, when you meditate then you maybe see longer” (MU35), which is also wish-positive.

One of the entities grouped around “bra” belongs MU31 which also touches upon the seeing: “that you, that you get better in seeing the bigger perspectives in some way”. The predicates show that good or better is something that you can be and that you can become. There is a chance of development here, accompanied by wish-positive will and positive present of positive prospective affect. Two entities deal with people: the predicates being “as people can have it” and “as people can get it”. It's no longer only a matter of the people that are most close to him, but of people in general and the urge to act in a humane way.

“Easy” is something that it can be, and that it can be to act. The entities refer to the statement put in doubt: “It's not as easy to work I think” (see the quotation below) and refer to acting upon seeing things around him.

The quotation above, just as the one below, shows in a clear way the relationship between these different entities. What Kalle says is that he used to be very sad and emotional about other people's unhappiness. But meditation and yoga has opened up for a development where he is better in seeing the big perspective, without necessarily acting out of emotion. It is possible to make a more stable change, to help people having a better life, without being so emotional:

That is, I feel it more and more, that you maybe, it is not as easy to work I think by me seeing it around me anymore, but it is anyway a big need of kind of doing things in the long run, that it really becomes a better, that people get it better. That I actually believe yoga has done, that you, you get better in seeing the big perspective in some way, you kind of see the whole. You see, like that get an overview don't cling to the small things but you maybe, it feels like you maybe when you meditate then you maybe see longer”

Kalle's decision to become a yoga teacher and his wish to write a book of his own experiences may be his ways of putting the social engagement into practice.

5.1.3 Carina – K7

But I anyhow think that the yoga then, it is capable to kind of, really creating an alternative. Instead of this incredible flow of information that exist, there is some kind of calmness. And, and, that I think is very, and as told before, I think that it, it has a society critical strength, really, that is not, that is not explicit.

Carina's text is mostly neutral. Despite this she expresses a lot of opinions. This is shown by the large amount of entities containing the word “think, be of the opinion”. All of these entities contain an I-subject, it is her personal view that is being presented and there is a lot of engagement. In many cases this thinking is concerned with yoga (MU 14,27,28) and with the society (MU27,28).

Carina is politically to the left (notice for example the mentioning of neo-liberalistic forces in society in the quotation below) and she's very critical against the contemporary society, which is shown in the exclamation in meaning unit 3, 48 and 35 and the great use of negative present. Also the entities concerned with “cultural criticism” is marked by engagement. Yoga is a kind of cultural criticism, in Carina's opinion, and so also being a vegetarian.

Negative aspects of society are the great flow of information that is mentioned above and also the individualism, ego-mind and craving of the modern person that is dealt with below:

It is very much of a community in some way that it kind of is, it becomes some kind of, it goes against this individualism and the craving like that, that Eckhart Tolle talks about, “the ego-mind” that just wants and wants and wants and wants. And that's also very much the contemporary individual, so to speak. That is, there are forces in society that want us to buy so very much, and shop very much and everything like that. And the criticism that he expresses there, it is not, it's not expressed in political terms, but it has some kind of, I think, political resonance that is, it is so to speak a counter-force to the new liberal processes that work in society, I think.

That yoga is something very present in Carina's life is shown by the time modalities which are either present or stable. Examining the predicates of “yoga” we find that for Carina it is something that exist, that can become some kind of (cultural criticism) and she thinks that this is what it becomes, it can do something for somebody and also for her and it is capable of creating an alternative. The exclamation in meaning unit 43 is emphasizing this latter capability of yoga: “”The yoga then, it is

capable to kind of, really creating an alternative”. It is also an answer to the questions in meaning unit 34 and 35 about how to find an alternative to the contemporary society.

5.2 Working/Educational Life

5.2.1 Emma - K3

And that is the difficult or the challenge, that it in the end just gets such a natural part of life that you just become like a tool for what has to be done anyway and to be able to be happy about that. So for me it has been an, a possibility to, to discover where I am, with both advantages and deficiencies and kind of everything, that you notice how you react on various things: Ah, should I do that? No, that I don't want because... No but, aha, why do I react like that? And it becomes a challenge like.

In this quotation Emma talks about karmayoga. That this is something really engaging for her is shown by the entities, where “karmayoga” with the exception of the more usual word “it” is on the top of occurrences. Engagement is the dominating will among Emma's modalities over all and the entities of karmayoga are no exception. Positive engagement is dominating, then comes negative engagement. The predicates of karmayoga show that for Emma this is something that very much exists. It's something you can be tired of – but you should not become tired by karmayoga, then there's something wrong. The following quotation explaining this is marked by negative engagement:

And when I notice that I sometimes think it's boring, or I get tired, then I don't do it, because then it's not karmayoga.

The predicates tell us that karmayoga is something you can understand, that exist in one's life, in fact it is present everywhere in one's life. All entities are expressed as doxa-affirmations or doxa-negation. There is no doubt here. No, this is something that Emma is really sure of. She talks of her own experience. This is made clear by the vast use of perceptive. This is no talking about abstract things, she can describe karmayoga concretely and vividly. The time is mostly present and in some cases stable. Emma is describing something that is of current interest and in some cases that is very stable, she tells how things are. The affect is neutral, when not describing how karmayoga should not be, then there is some negative present affect. The narrative seems to be rather neutral. Emma's own person is not of any great interest which is shown by the unspecified use of subject, followed by the impersonal one-I- form. She seems to regard karmayoga as a more general thing with true principals that can be understood.

That's what you mean when you distinguish between karmayoga and unpaid work. When you feel that you get tired by karmayoga, then it's not karmayoga, but just unpaid work. So as long as you feel elevated because of it and you really understand the principals behind karmayoga and so on then, then it won't be anything tiring.

This is the only time Emma talks about “work” or “job”. In fact her own occupation, studying for a

health pedagogue seems to be overshadowed by her voluntary will to do karmayoga at the yoga school. In the interview as a whole, that was to be about yoga indeed, the conversation is much more focused on yoga and karmayoga than on her studies. The quotation above also contains the entities to do with “tired”. Tired is something you can become, that I (Emma) can become. The affects here are not surprisingly negative in most cases, just as the engagement. In contrast to this stands the only passage except for karmayoga that has to do with yoga:

Yes, up to now it has not been any troubles because, like one uses to say, a yogi has eight weekdays. You don't need to sleep as much and you get so much energy from it.

Yoga and karmayoga, as opposed to other work that can make you tired, give you rest and energy. This explains the stable saying, marked by positive present affect and engagement, that a yogi has eight week-days.

The two other groups of entities that match the criteria of interest, that is “to help” and “a possibility”, are also dealing with karmayoga. The predicates show that you can help, you can help your friends, you can do it as much as you can. In fact you can help all people as much as you can. This is karmayoga, which exists everywhere in your life. It's also possible to differentiate between when helping people by egoistic reasons and when doing it just because it becomes something spontaneous. In the former case it's not a question of karmayoga. The affects of the entities of helping are mostly positive prospective, and sometimes positive-present. Helping others is something really good for Emma, something that she wants to do, which is shown by the using of wish-positives to a large extent. Her personal background information also shows us that she is very engaged at the yoga school helping with everything from teaching to cleaning and administration for free.

Emma regards karmayoga as a possibility. It's a possibility for her to develop:

Yes, I regard it a possibility for me to, to... to, to develop and in some way liberate myself from the ego, because it will very often be like this: Aha, why should I come here now and clean without getting paid? It really challenges one's, one's thoughts.

The entities concerning “a possibility” are all expressed in signitive and the belief modality. These are not as sure or objective as the entities of karmayoga. The I-subject is used in nearly half of them and there is only positive affects, either in the retrospective or prospective form. The engagement and wish-positive categories show that this is something that aims for the future. Karmayoga as helping is a possibility for her, something that she wants to go on with and develop in the future.

As shown in the quotation above, karmayoga is a challenge for the ego. To sum up Emma's ego is not very dominating in the analysed text where she's talking about non-egoistic entities like working and helping, elements incorporated into karmayoga. Unlike three of the other women who used I the most, the unspecified subject is the dominating one in Emma's story. Could this be seen as

an effect of holding back the ego?

5.2.2 Sara - K5

So that's why I find karmayoga so important. Because there was somebody here thinking: Yes, but it's way too much karmayoga, why should we work for free? Well, you know this thinking. But I feel that for me it's rather that you get to feel how it can be to work in a way where you actually are more involved/present. Not just sitting in front of the computer or panicking, running from one conference to another. Yes, so.... I guess I'm not there yet, but I work on it.

Sara works as an associate professor at the university. She says that her academic working-situation demands a lot of her, not at least since she's a woman:

And you know, when you're a woman and within, both of us are associate professors, there are not very many in our faculty you know. You are kind of supposed to participate in very group. And you become responsible for convening this and that.

This situation creates much stress in her life. When Sara is interviewed though she has stayed at a yoga retreat in the countryside for a week. This could maybe be the reason behind the great amount of positive present statements.

The first quotation shows that at the retreat Sara has had the chance to stop up and really feel (känna efter). In the examination of the entities "there" we can trace it to karmayoga (MU14) and the feeling of calmness which Sara finds in it. (MU17) She experiences this as something really positive, which is shown by the great amount of positive present in describing the entities concerned with "feel". The predicates show that feeling is something you can, which I (Sara) can, something you can get to do and she gets to do it there, that is in karmayoga. Then she can feel how it's possible to do one thing at a time and to do it calmly. The exclamation in MU4 tells us that that's why she thinks karmayoga is so important. This meaning unit is expressed with engagement and positive present affect. Meaning unit 8 (see the quotation above) expresses some other person's opinion which is coloured by negative engagement and negative present affect. That karmayoga is something really engaging is also shown by the belief modality of the entities which are all exclamations. The choice of time categories, that is present and stability, just as the perceptive/signitive and not as usually signitive function, point at the presence and vividness of karmayoga in Sara's consciousness.

The entities concerning "work" also refer to karmayoga in meaning units 9 and 13, which have already been discussed. The three entities belonging to the third meaning unit: "But I work on it" (MU18) are positive prospective and wish-positive.

There is a chance for Sara to reach the karmayoga state in her life. She has already taken some steps towards reducing the stress: "And me and my colleague will have a meeting now in... I don't remember when we booked it, it was in a month, some strategy. Because it's too much for both

of us so we have to put down.”

The contrast between the most (positive present and negative engagement) and the second most used categories of affect and will (negative present and engagement) shows the tension in Sara between the positive work-attitude that she finds in karmayoga at the retreat-centre and her everyday working situation. She does seem hopeful though to even out the differences of the inner conflict. The interview shows that the decision to take the yoga teacher's education is one important step in this direction:

Yes but that's why it feels like, now when I go this teacher education, then it's a way to have a way out, like. Both in my everyday life, that I can motivate it both to myself and others. Now I have done this choice and then it can be easier to put of some time, somehow.

As the quotation in the personal presentation shows she is open for the idea of changing job in the future, but she will go on with yoga which forms a continuity in her life.

5.2.3 Bengt - K9

Many do have boring jobs with which they are not satisfied, where they don't think their own thoughts so much and yes, busy with duties or illnesses or yes, such things that prevent you from being attentive to your fast thought-impulses that just come, small seeds that just come. And if you're attentive to them, then you take them and then you sometimes do something out of them. It can be all kind of like unexpected things that come. I think it's very, very fun.

As previously mentioned Bengt is an artist working with music and theatre. In this creative life ideas, thoughts and creative impulses are very important and very appreciated. This is shown in the passage above as well as in the two exclamations: "I'm very grateful that I can" (MU42), "No, that is totally strange for me" (MU57). In the first case the informant talks about him being grateful that he can be aware of his fast thought-impulses and do something out of them. This is how he works as an artist. In the other statement he refers to feeling bored as something that is totally strange for him. In fact, he says, his favourite situation is to be put in a long queue:

To be put in a queue is often a relief for me, then I'm finally able to cut loose and listen inwards and then a lot of funny ideas come.

For Bengt the ideas are both something very pleasant and an important part of his working situation. Looking upon the entities of ideas, will therefore reveal some of Bengt's meaning constitution of work.

From the entities connected to ideas, we learn that this is something most existing in his everyday life. The ideas is something you can have, you can have them when you meditate and I (that is Bengt) get them when meditating. Characteristics for the ideas also seems to be that they they come,

just pop up, like. The picture presented by the modalities is far from neutral. The vast amount of present form and stability shows that the ideas are highly present for him, it is something close and nearly obvious in Bengt's life (this latter due to the stability aspect of time). The positive affects are dominating, in most cases it's a question of positive present, which once again shows how close Bengt is to the entity. In the meaning unit "Many times I get surprised by the ideas" there is a positive retrospective affect. The ideas is something that highly concern Bengt. His engagement in them is shown by the fact that eleven of the fourteen entities are marked by engagement and another two contain wish-positive will: "and then a lot of funny ideas come".

The mostly used subject concerning these entities is I (Here is a deviation from the mean of Bengt, the most usual subject of his is the unspecified subject) identifying. This ties the concept of ideas even closer to Bengt and his identity. It's most probable that he will go on maintaining his ideas and thoughts in the future, which the wish-positive modality category in "and then a lot of funny ideas come" also indicates.

Because of the "popping up" quality of the ideas the entities containing some form of coming also are relevant for the meaning constitution of ideas. The concerned meaning units shows that the word refers to the ideas or thoughts: They come very, very quickly and many times totally unannounced, without expecting them to come. They are small seeds that just come, and so on. The time being used here is also connected to the present or something even more stable: always-recurrent, stability and present are being used. The entities concerning "to come" are more neutral than the entities concerned with "ideas". The subject is nearly always unspecified. In the majority of cases there is neutral affect, but there is also engagement, wish-positive will. The two entities marked by unengagement: come, "which ideas can" shows that it's something out of the subject's control. They pop up, like out of the blue, and the only thing Bengt can do is being keen on them to be able to catch them and make something out of them.

Meditation opens up for this. Two of the meaning units containing a word concerned with meditation describes the relationship between meditation and the ideas: "that is a lot of ideas I get when I meditate" and "that the meditation has opened up for". What the meditation has opened up for is illustrated by the following quotation:

Many times I get surprised by the ideas, very surprised. They can come. And, and that I think the meditation has opened up for, I think so, being sensitive and attentive and receptive and curious of what is coming, without expecting it to come.

The time being used for the entities concerning meditation is present and present-past. In the majority of cases there is engagement and a positive affect, either in the present or in the past. I-subject, though, is only used once. This shows that meditation is something engaging and positive for

Bengt, mainly because it connects him to the ideas, which makes it possible for him to do his work or mission. With regards to the subject used the identification with meditation does not seem so strong as the connection between I and the ideas.

The only time “job” occurs as an entity is in a meaning unit with negative present affect and negative engagement: “Many do have boring jobs with which they are not satisfied”. It’s noteworthy that this negative statement deals with others as opposed to himself who is able to be open for ideas and thoughts that come spontaneously. Other people though seem to have boring, uncreative lives where they, because of job or health situation are not able to devote themselves to the inner creative life in the same way as Bengt does. This is in his life world very negative.

Bengt himself seems to be very happy with his present life-situation and occupation. This could explain the vast use of the modality categories of engagement and present time. The two exclamations presented earlier also refer to his view on ideas and on other peoples work that often are lacking of ideas.

5.3 Inner/Spiritual Life

5.3.1 Maria - K2

I know that I've become more, not spiritual but, well I was pretty much anti religion back then in the early teens. Even though I thought it was interesting, but I was more against it in some way. But then with yoga, it got much that you, you don't have any Gods like that, but then it was much more focus on the inner and with that it became that I myself get, got more interested in the spiritual maybe.

In Maria's narrative about her relation to religion there are two poles, represented by the past and the present, the former rather negatively described and the latter more positively. This is shown by the frequencies of modality where both positive now and negative retrospective are the second most common categories of affect. The most common one is neutral affect. Maria talks the most in past time, followed by the present.

When looking upon the entities and their meaning units a more clear picture is emerging. One predicate of the entity I points at some kind of development. I not only exist, but I can be, think and then also become: “I know that I've become more, not spiritual but” (MU1). The extensive use of past tense, which is rather unusual, is probably caused by the wish to describe a change. The entities concerned with become describe this development even further. They exist not the least in the meaning units concerned with spirituality and openness, like for example: “got more interested in the spiritual maybe” (MU9) and “I've become more open, I think” (MU17).

The examining of entities concerned with yoga shows that they also touch the aspect of spirituality. Maria was rather anti religion in the early teenage, the entities dealing with anti religion

are marked by past time and negative retrospective affect. Despite this she found religion interesting. One of the predicate of interested is “that I can be of the spiritual”, one of “becoming interested” is “which I can be of the spiritual”. Here you find more engagement than among the rest of the entities. Just as in the case of the yoga entity this becoming opens up for some kind of development. The predicates describe yoga as something that exist, which can lead to much, which can concern, yes in fact really concern. The quotation above shows that yoga led to some approaching of the spiritual. Actually Maria sees herself as more believing today than before: “Yes, well, it's more like this, you know private religious maybe, what I am now, but more believing then I used to be before”. She's most into Christianity, even if it in her opinion does not really concern yoga: “But well it does not really concern yoga” she perceives herself as having become more open than earlier.

Maria's text is quite neutral, with little affect and will. The impersonal touch decreases a little by her extensive use of the I-subject. Also the contrast between now and then reveals some kind of tension or engagement, which opens up for the enlightening of a development in the spiritual direction partly caused by yoga.

5.3.2 Johan – K6

So that, that I also think is very positive about the yoga-world, that body and soul are connected. There is a holism, there is a perspective of whole that I find very interesting, which I don't experience in the same way within university. Maybe not always in every other circumstance either, necessarily.

Johan's text is not very neutral, having engagement, negative present affect and negative engagement among the top occurrences. The most used subject though is the unspecific one.

To experience seems like something important for him, the entities containing this word being as many as twelve. Experiencing is something that you can do, you can experience in the same way and he has not done that. What you experience can be different in different places, the yoga world is for example not experienced in the same way as the university: “So that, yes, which I have maybe not experienced in the same way, that you can become more personal, in another way in that world so to speak than within university”. This is something negative for Johan, which is shown by the negative engagement concerning meaning unit 26 that deals with university. The experiencing of yoga as in meaning unit 15 is though positive.

One possible explanation is found when examining the entities that deals with the body and the soul. The entities dealing with body are expressed both with negative (present and retrospective affect) and with positive present affect. Also here a difference is made, this time between the “yoga-world” and our Western, Christian culture. In the latter the body is separated from the soul and

considered as something ugly, in the former though body and soul belong together. That this description is something pretty manifest for Johan is shown by the extensive use of stability. That the soul exists for Johan is shown by the predicates concerning soul. Body and soul are something that you can separate, this is stated by their predicates, in fact you usually do that, but they can also belong together, as stated in the quotation above. The only exclamation “So that, that I also think is very positive about the yoga-world” is referring to this. Here the affect is positive present and accompanied by engagement. But just as with the case of body both positive and negative affects and positive and negative engagement are present for the soul-entities.

It seems like there's some ambivalence in Johan's life. He is dealing with two different life-worlds, the academic or Western, Christian one and the yogic one, which he seems to regard as opposites. The first one being intellectual, impersonal, anti-body and dualistic. The second one he experiences as more personal, holistic, emotional and spiritual:

It has a connection to university anyhow and that is the intellectual of course and after all that does really not have anything with the body to do, but it is anyway a part of the mental that is very specific, that really doesn't have so much with the emotional or the spiritual or whatever you want to say to do.

Perhaps there is also a bigger chance of experiencing things (compare for example with Sara's reasoning about karmayoga and the possibility of really feeling (“känna efter”) in yoga than in the academic world. And as stated earlier experiencing seems to mean a lot to Johan.

5.3.3 Linda - K8

But well I work in a secondary school so I work very much out in common life, so to speak. And I am satisfied with that, because I have tried earlier to work more with yoga and massage and have that as my occupation, but I chose not to, actually. I am teacher and special pedagogue in, as education also so I, instead I try, that is I would like... I don't know if I have succeeded but I anyway have some kind of wishing, that you in life and your working-life and at home can live in yoga in your daily life. That's the point, actually. That was indeed what I talked about last Tuesday, about dharma and karma, simply trying to live in that way. And that, I guess it's that, that's the next step I guess.

Yoga and its philosophy is an integrated part of Linda's life. For her, working at a school, there are no contradictions between living a life with yoga and having an “ordinary” job in the society. This is shown by the most occurring entities which, with the exception of “I” and “one” are “yoga”, “try” and “work”. We get further explanation by also examining the entities of “karma” and “dharma”.

Concerning the predicates of “yoga” we find that this is something that she uses as a base for interpretation, “that I perhaps interpret a lot from”, that you can work with and this she has tried earlier, that you can live with in your everyday life and that can be a way of looking upon life. These

predicates have very much to do with yoga as a lifestyle and even an outlook on life. The entities are not very concrete, being mostly put in signitive probably due to the philosophic approach to the theme, and the extensive use of stability show that this is something that Linda regards as stable facts. The meaning units 15 and 23, dealing with living in yoga in your everyday life and having yoga as an outlook on life, contain wish-positive respectively engagement. This is something that she is determined to do.

Wish-positive is also something that marks all the entities dealing with trying. That she regards this as a real possibility is shown by the extensive use of positive prospective affect. All of the occurrences are found in the quotation above and deal with trying to live according to yoga in everyday life and to work with yoga and massage at full-time. It seems like her conscious choice to work at a school is her way to integrate yoga in everyday life. The predicates of working shows that this is something that you can do, that you can do with yoga and massage which she has tried earlier and finally something that you can do out in the ordinary life. The affect is mostly neutral.

Linda talks a lot about her own way, which is unique for her and her background (see the predicates for “way”, “my way”) and this she does with more affect. Positive prospective affect is being found to a larger amount here than concerning the entities “to work”. Here is also stability, and a lot of I-subject or my-property. That this is something that she really feel strongly for is also shown by the great amount of engagement concerning the “way”-entities.

But, well the next is this thing about yoga as an outlook on life, to, to be able to live according to the principals of karma and think, understand humbleness. That I think is difficult, but I practise it every day. Because yoga talks about this thing about karma, that my way is, well this thing about dharma that I talked about, that I have to find my way and not compare with others, because my way is unique for what I have done earlier and so on.

This quotation deals with the theme of “my way” which is also associated with “karma” and “dharma”. The entities concerning “karma” are often marked by wish-positive will and the “dharma”-entities with engagement. Karma is something that exists, that yoga talks about, that she talked about and that you can live according to. Dharma is also something that exists and that you can talk about. The presence of these entities show once again that yoga-philosophy is very present and in Linda's life, it actually is her outlook on life and she is determined to try and live according to it.

6. Discussion

Below the outcomes will be discussed in relation to the theories of this paper. Please observe that the outcomes are interesting in themselves. The aim of this paper is not to confirm or reject any theories but to enlighten the phenomenon being studied by analysing certain individuals' creation of meaning.

Even so the theories can be of great help in this process and will be referred to along the way. Besides that the theories are the very foundation for the way of conducting the study, discussing identity in the making and connecting identity and meaning constitution.

Also this chapter starts of with a resumé of each person sorted by the topic groups societal/cultural life, working/educational life and inner/spiritual life. In the end of each paragraph a short comparison of the three persons dealing with the subject in question will be made.

The three domains societal/cultural life, working/educational life and inner/spiritual life are overlapping. Linda's text for example, even though looked upon from the third aspect, deals with all three of them. But it does not have to be so explicit as in this case. According to phenomenological and hermeneutical theory to look at a an object from one direction will automatically open up for a broader view on that object. (Sokolowski 2000) In the same way, to examine a person from one aspect as is being done below, will possibly tell us something about that person life-world which opens up for a perspective of whole and tell us something about how the surrounding world is constructed for and experienced by the individual. (Sages & Lundsten 2004, Kvale 1997)

Following the account of the three domains is a paragraph that discusses the societal implications of the analysis and then comes a passage connecting the outcomes of the analysis of these yoga practicing individuals to the concept of identity as presented in the introduction. The chapter is finished with a discussion of the conducting of this paper.

6.1 Societal/cultural life

Nina, Kalle and Carina are dealing with society/culture in very different ways.

Nina doesn't mention society or culture in the analysed passage, but with Lewis article (2006) in mind her way of talking about life-style appears to be symptomatic of the very culture to which she belongs. As the article shows health discourse in society has been very prominent lately and a lot of thinking about one's diet, fitness and health seems to be the norm rather than an exception. Being young and quite new into yoga Nina does not regard yoga as a life-style when it comes to her personally but she seems to think that it could be the case with other girls. This life-style is very strongly connected to the health aspect of life, including food-habits, looks and fitness. The speculating tone in her talking, using a lot of insecurity markers, insinuates that she is not talking out of own experience but is rather accounting for how she believes it could be for other yoga practitioners. She is hereby accounting for her experience of the yoga image among girls and young women.

Kalle describes how yoga has initiated a development concerning his personal way of relating to feelings evoked by other people. It has inspired to a new approach towards responding to societal

misfortune. For Kalle it is important to help other people, the text shows wish-positiveness and positive affect towards change and acting in a more humane way. He is no longer as prone to act according to his feelings though. Having experienced the sadness as a response to suffering of closely related persons in his past as negative and not very constructive he is now more keen to get an overview of things and to do some more stable changes. Even though not mentioning karmayoga this attitude towards making changes fits with the karmayogic way of thinking described by Vivekananda (2005). Without mentioning it explicitly he deals with the concept of pratyahara as it is explained by Janakananda (2000) and with at least the karmayoga principles named 1, 2, 3, 5 and 6 in the theory section, that is: observation done from a witnessing position, without becoming emotionally involved, to act for the benefit of the world, to do the actions without attachment, awareness of swadharma and a positive attitude. Just as Satyananda (2005) and Vivekananda (2006) Kalle means that yoga and meditation opens up for this more neutral overview. He expresses a wish to be able to help people leading a better life, for example by start teaching yoga or writing an easily accessible autobiography about his own experiences with yoga. This seems to be his way of following his swadharma, his personal path. From the way Kalle speaks you can imagine that karmayoga in his view is an optimal way of dealing with society, making a stable change. His view on the surrounding world seems to fit very well with the yogic philosophy and from his narrative it becomes clear that this approach has developed during the years of yoga practice.

Carina is the one talking most directly about society, culture and politics. Even though not showing much affect she expresses a lot of opinions accompanied by I-subject and engagement. Being politically to the left Carina is searching for an alternative to the new-liberalistic forces in the contemporary society. Just as Tolle (2005) she is talking negatively about the individualism, ego-mind and craving of the modern person. A great flow of information in society is also being mentioned as something stressful in the surrounding world. Carina's opinions seems to fit with the theories of Heelas (2002) and Geels (2007), referring to the driving forces behind the spiritual revolution, that is egoism, individualism and narcissism of the capitalistic modern society and disillusion with what the institutions of this society can contribute with to the meaning of life. But there is one big difference, Carina being very politically aware, shows conscious engagement on the political level and not only on the spiritual one. Yoga, as well as vegetarianism, is in her eyes a kind of cultural criticism. For Carina yoga is a way of uniting her political opposition with a concrete and practical way of living. She perceives yoga as a very real and possible alternative to the contemporary society.

For Carina and Kalle who have practiced yoga during a long time, yoga even though bearing social implications also becomes an individual way of handling the societal and cultural situation. It seems to govern them in their personal every day life and is essential in their creation of meaning

around society and the surrounding world. Yoga, in this way of looking, is an important part of their societal and cultural identity. Sixteen year old Nina is aware that yoga could be a lifestyle, a way of handling the demands of the contemporary health discourse dealing with food habits, fitness and looks. Also being acquainted with the yoga image of young girls and women, she knows that this is the case for some people, but personally she doesn't want to use yoga in this life-stylistic way. The quotation from the presentation suggests that for her it is more of a relaxing practice being done on a weekly basis. In Nina's life yoga counterbalances the noisy and stressful school environment, marking the entrance of the weekend and the pleasant associating with her friends. Just as for the girls in Malmström's research (2007) yoga becomes a help for her to handle the demanding school situation.

Even though talking on different levels, Nina being most centred around the individual, Carina focusing on society from a political aspect and Kalle being situated somewhere in between, all three persons treat yoga as a force capable of doing some positive change in people's lives. Regardless of it being a way to maximise people's health, counterbalancing stress, doing some stable improvements for humanity or creating an alternative to the political agenda, yoga is the means to create new possibilities. According to these people yoga and meditation can really do something for the society: it forms the basis for a healthy life-style, broadens the perspective on humans suffering and puts cultural criticism into practice. More or less hidden in these messages is the apprehension of our contemporary society not being good or healthy enough.

6.2 Working/Educational life

When looking upon the three persons dealing with working/educational life we get three very different pictures.

Emma is studying to become a health pedagogue, but talks very little about her studies. What seems to engage her, though, is karmayoga. At her yoga school she is practicing karmayoga, helping with all kinds of chores not only teaching yoga, but in fact she finds it everywhere in life, in helping her friends and doing what has to be done anyway. This is a very real and challenging possibility for her to develop personally and to reduce the ego. Her view on karmayoga fits well with at least the principles 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9 and 10 described by Vivekananda. (2005) She talks about being in the world's service without being governed by attraction or repulsion, expectation of the result or ego-involvement. Still there is a positive attitude, the work is done with efficiency and equanimity for failure and success. Emma is also talking about being a tool for things that have to be done, this statements contains the principles of following your own path, swadharma, surrendering to a greater will by just being the instrument and thereby finding karmayoga everywhere in life. Emma doesn't see a contradiction between doing karmayoga and studying. It is no load for her. Instead it brings her more

energy and enables her to be more active in every aspect of life.

Sara is also very positive towards karmayoga. It's a chance for her to stop up in life and really feel, to do one thing at a time and to do it in a calm way. The principles 1, 4 and 8 described by Vivekananda (2005), that is to do the work in a meditative way with awareness and concentration from a witness-position, without expectations of the result or thoughts regarding failure or success, seem to be the most stress reducing and meaningful aspects of karmayoga for Sara. This is a big contrast to her everyday working life as an associate professor, which she experiences negatively as being very stressful. The hidden curriculum of Sara's job is way to demanding and Kegan would perhaps say that the mental demands put on her doesn't fit with the evolution of consciousness. (Kegan, 2000) Just as the persons in Malmström's essay (2007) Sara perceives yoga as stress-reducing. Sara has come to a point in her life where she has to do something about her situation. She otherwise fears being thrown into the syndrome of burn-out, just like the persons described in the thesis of Friberg (2006). The decision to take measures towards a less demanding working situation by for example arranging a meeting with her colleague could perhaps be seen as a step towards the Self-Authoring mind. This stage differs from the previous Socialized mind by the ability to not only be open for interpersonalism and mutuality but also being able to put up the necessary limits that characterise self-authorship. (Kegan, 2000, 2003) She is not there now, but Sara is hopeful of one day reaching the karmayoga state in her everyday life. It demands some concrete changes in her life and becoming a yoga teacher is one step in that direction, perhaps a way of following her swadharma. She also seems open towards changing her job in the future, at least part-time and to combine it in one way or another with yoga, a mission which could be favoured by qualities of the Self-transforming mind. (Kegan, 2003)

Bengt's doesn't talk about karmayoga at all. He is really engaged in his work as an artist and is very interested in the ideas that are central for his work. Yoga and meditation enables him to become aware of these passing ideas, to catch them and do something creative of them. This apprehension of the extended awareness as a result of meditation corresponds with the theories of Satyananda (2005) and Vivekananda. (2005) Working with the thoughts is a big entertainment for him, he is never bored, and seems to pity those who don't have this gift or possibility. He is happy for having such a rich inner life which he beliefs often being held back in other people due to illness or unpleasant working-tasks.

Though leading very different lives all of these persons regard yoga as important for their working life. Both Bengt and Emma seem to have integrated yoga in their working situations, the first one by facilitating the creative aspect of his work by meditation and the second one by using the energy and philosophy of karmayoga everywhere in life. Sara, having a very stressful working

situation, has not had the chance to really integrate karmayoga into working life yet. But she is on her way. Having discovered the advantages with karmayoga at the yoga retreat, she is determined to change her life conditions in a more yogic and above all healthy direction.

6.3 Inner/Spiritual life

Maria has gone through a change in outlook on life since she started with yoga. In her early teens she was anti religion and this is described in quite negative terms. She has always been interested in religion, which is the reason for her now studying philosophy of religion. Today, though, she has become more open, more interested in the spiritual and more believing. This is a kind of development towards spirituality like the one described by Heelas (2002) and Giddens (2007). Maria considers herself to be private religious and is interested in Christianity. Maria is not very clear about the relationship between her spiritual development and yoga, sometimes saying that it has nothing to do with each other, but also stating that with yoga there has been more focus upon the inner life. The fact that there is not much affect, engagement or will suggests that this is not a very important subject for her. Since this is no exception from the rest of the interview, it could also be a question of her usual way of expressing herself.

In Johan's text two poles are formed, the academic world and the yoga world. Considering the total interview with Johan this contrasting between yoga-world and academic world seems to be rather typical for him as a whole. In a lot of aspects he contrasts the university, where he is doing his PhD but has had a lot of bad experiences resulting in a tough life crisis, to the yoga sphere. The way of looking upon life, body, soul and spirituality is not an exception. It seems like yoga creates some distance between Johan and his academic life and identity. There has indeed been a change in his worldview since he started with yoga. Just as Maria Johan has gone through a development regarding this due to yoga. He used to be atheist and agnostic, but not anymore. Spirituality has now become more important in his life: "So today I don't call myself atheist, I don't call myself agnostic, but I call myself spiritual, when it comes to that, that part of existence so to speak". One explanation for the development into this direction could possibly be the disappointment in the institutions of the contemporary capitalistic society, referred to by Heelas (2002) and Geels (2007). The mechanisms of the narcissism and flexible capitalism that Friberg (2006) connects with the burn-out syndrome are also relevant here, not at least since Johan had to take some time off from his doctorate work, experiencing symptoms similar to those of burn-out.

Linda's way of looking upon life is very much influenced by yoga. Important for her is the integration of yoga philosophy into her everyday life and she sees no contradiction between working in a school and leading a life of yoga. In fact it seems like this is a more yogic way for her to live.

Linda talks a lot about trying to walk your way and to live according to dharma and karma. She has much hope for being able to do this. The yogic principles, not at least those of karma and dharma presented by Nirvikalpananda (1999), but also those of karmayoga (Vivekananda, 2005) seem to be very present in Linda's thinking.

For two of the persons, Maria and Johan, there has been a change from disengagement of religion into engagement, just in line with the revolution of spirituality. (Heelas, 2002; Geels, 2007) Maria has become more interested in Christianity and Johan is more attracted to the holism of Eastern religions. Geels book (2007) testifies that he is not the only one. In Johan's text Christianity and the Western culture are put in the same negative category as university, being intellectual, impersonal, anti-body and dualistic. Linda, though not speaking very obviously about religion, seems to be the one of the three who has integrated the yogic outlook on life most deeply in her life. Having been into yoga for 25 years she has had way more time to do this but still sees it as a conscious effort. Walking the path of yoga, she says, is not always easy.

6.4 Shortcomings of society

By studying, analysing and interpreting the narratives for each individual a bigger picture is being drawn. The picture of the individual's practice of yoga in relation to everyday life in the contemporary society is appearing. This paragraph is an attempt to present it from the informant's point of view.

Bengt who have lived for 60 years, even though mentioning negative aspects like environmental damage, egoism and materialism, has a positive view on society's development:

What I imagine is that young people, those who are 20, 30 years today, have the possibilities to live a, a richer life, that is to include all aspects of life, both the material, without exaggerating, the artistic, the intellectual with educations, the global by being able to travel more, the social. That, that it's kind of, yes you talk to each other I think in a more natural way. The spiritual. One is allowed to devote oneself to several kinds of spirituality in the same time.

From many of these people's point of view, though, it seems to be a society with shortcomings, some of them deducible to the theories presented above.

This may be most clear when examining the informants talking about society/culture. People are not good enough: They need to focus on a healthy living, having special diets and caring about fitness. A life-style with yoga can be such an answer. Society is not good enough: It is full of stress in school and the vast flow of information creates overload. Society is neo-liberalistic, full of individualism, ego-mind and cravings. Yoga can be an alternative to this life. The interaction between people and society is not good enough: People become too overwhelmed by feelings, acting impulsively and egoistically instead of doing some stable changes. Meditation can create the

overview that is needed.

But also when examining the persons dealing with working/educational life, some shortcomings of society are appearing. School is not good enough: It withholds the pupils from the wonderful challenge and life wisdom that is found in yoga. In the yoga school, though, this vital information is transmitted. Working-places are not good enough: There are too much pressure on the employes, demanding them to do too many things at the same time and to engage above their capacities, creating stress and burn out. Yoga can help cutting down on the demands and reducing the stress. People's lives are not good enough: People's inner lives, their creativity and joy, are held back by illness or unpleasant working-tasks. Yoga and meditation opens up for experiencing your thoughts, enjoying them and doing something creatively out of them.

Even examining the people talking about inner/spiritual life leads to some conclusions about society. The religious institutions are not good enough: People would rather say they are spiritual than religious. Yoga can make you more open and more prone for the spiritual dimension in life. The societal institutions are not good enough: They are intellectual, impersonal, anti-body and dualistic. Yoga has the opposite ideals. The honesty in society is not good enough: A lot of people hide behind conventions, trying to avoid uncomfortable solutions. Yoga philosophy encourages you to see the truth, be responsible for your actions and to walk your own path.

With the Kegan's cultural arena of society (2003) as a background the lackings reported above could be explained as a consequence of the hidden curriculum of contemporary life being too demanding for the individual's evolution of consciousness. The inadequateness caused by these lackings forces the self to become an arena of labour, we ourselves become projects to work on. Here the participating in religious and spiritual institutions, self-help groups, psycho-educational movements and therapy become solutions. (Kegan, 2003)

There is a political angle to this view. One of the informants talks about the neo-liberalistic forces of society in relation to yoga. Friberg (2006), discussing the contemporary Swedish society, notices the health implications of flexible capitalism and Heelas (2002, 2007) and Geels (2007) relates the increasing turning to the spiritual to the capitalistic modern society. Tolle's book (2005) is a concrete example of that. This picture is more or less also confirmed by Rosén and Nordquist (1980). Even though they were studying people who had actually lived in a yogic community for at least two years and who had a conformist level of ego development, perhaps comparable to Kegan's socialized mind (Kegan, 2003), the social implications are unanimous. And indeed, in all of the above mentioned aspects yoga seems to provide something that is experienced as lacking in society. How then does this process of yoga interact with the identity of the individuals?

6.5 Connecting Yoga and Identity

In the previous pages the meaning-making of the nine informants has been studied in relation to yoga. Since it's a question of separate individuals of various ages and with different life-situations, occupations and experience with yoga, the meaning making will be unique for each one. All of them, though, have in one way or another shown proof of identity in the making, yoga somehow relating to their everyday life and their way of perceiving the world.

For all nine, whether it may be a question of some time for relaxing done once a week, an everyday praxis or a philosophy of life, yoga is some sort of support in life. Two of the informants work as yoga teachers, two are on their way educating themselves. For them the practical influence of yoga in their lives has been increasing over the years. Regardless of this yoga has led to some development for almost everybody. The narratives show that yoga can have implications for everything from inner life to working and cultural life. In different ways, some of them also described by Malmström (2007), yoga helps them in their studies or working lives. Yoga works like a culture in forming a philosophy, a community, a political platform. For some it has become such an integrated part of the everyday that it's impossible to distinguish from other life aspects. It has really become an identity.

Even though nobody says something directly bad about yoga, the influence has not solely been beneficent. For at least one person, it seems, yoga brings out all the negative sides of society, working life and it's institutions. The contrast makes them very clear and this division into two, if not attended to, could maybe create another crack in life shaping a dualism where holism was wanted from the beginning. Here, Jung's warnings concerning the Westerner's perceived conflict between faith and knowledge (Jung, 1963) might be applicable. Another individual emphasises that a life with yoga is not always easy, the inability to hide behind conventions on the path of yoga forces the individual to confront difficult truths and circumstances.

Despite this all of the informants, confirming Mahaffey's assumption that yoga is here to stay, (Mahaffey, 2005), want to continue with yoga in the future and as a result some of them are really looking forward to a happier and more fulfilling life on the path of life. Meanwhile they enjoy the everyday fruits of yoga, maybe thinking like Sara who's not able to live without it:

Then after a while you started to feel that this feels good. Well it becomes like a need. It's like I told somebody, that it's like going out naked. I am not dressed, I have not brushed my teeth. It feels somehow so wrong.

6.6 Discussion of the Paper

There are some methodological objections to this paper that I have already tried to meet in the paragraph of method. Here comes, though, a more developed and concentrated discussion.

One big draw-back is the inability to analyse the whole interview material, which from a phenomenological viewpoint would have been the right thing to do. Another example of not optimal conditions is the choice to analyse just some parts of the whole interview sample and to part the participants into groups which are being analysed with the starting point in three different perspectives of identity. As already mentioned this is a drawback for the process of epoche, that is freeing oneself from superstition or preconceptions, however well-founded they may seem to be, by restraining value judgements until the totality of meaning constitution has been unveiled (Moustakas 1994; van Breda, 1954). The biggest motive behind focusing on a selection has been the demarcation need due to time and space demands. Another big issue is the striving for representativeness and diversity among the informants as well as the intention to illustrate the complexity when it comes to the topic of identity.

To reflect the interview-material, that was recorded in Swedish, more truly all quotations should have been given in both English and Swedish and the context for the extracts as well as the interviewer's comments should have been well accounted for. More of the Sphinx-Lexica and MCA-Minerva data, describing the interview material in a visual and summarizing way, could have been added as appendixes just as the whole interview material. Actually Sphinx-Lexica, that in this essay has served as a selection-tool only, has a lot of merits that could have enriched this paper. The time and especially space limits for this work must once again be stressed as causes to the incompleteness regarded all of the above mentioned aspects. Anyhow the material under-lying the essay could be provided by the author on request.

Even though having tried to keep the amount of pages down, this essay has become rather long. I thank you for your patience and indulgence with this.

The author's familiarity with yoga, which forms a base for an already existing apprehension of the subject, could also be a methodological drawback creating precomprehension. At the same time this familiarity with yoga in all its different aspects, sometimes being close to participating observation, has made it possible to find informants quite easily who are more than willing to talk about yoga in their lives. It's also a cause to the broad spectrum of people when it comes to the spreading of age, occupation and yoga schools among the informants and it makes the participating observation possible to a larger extent than would have been the case if the author had not practised yoga before. The fact that already established relations to the informants have been used has probably made it easier for the informants to share sensitive or private information with the researcher. The common base of knowledge about yoga, its exercises, philosophy, its terms, gurus, social contact nets

and so on has also helped the conversations between the interviewer and the informant to flow more freely, and in this way opening up for greater validity. (Sages, 2003)

Finally the personal interest from the researcher in the subject and the wish to share the findings with persons in both the scientific community and the yoga world has been a great motive force for the whole research process. An empirical phenomenological approach to psychological aspects of yoga, where the influence on yoga practitioners' every day lives are explored, open up for many possibilities. Despite this that sort of study seems to be rare. This is also a big motivator behind the intent to follow up this pilot-study with more deep going articles or essays.

Except for the intended phenomenological article about karmayoga's influence on the ideals of working life, a paper comparing the classical yoga with the trendy power yoga could be done, just as a paper concentrating on special age-groups like for example youths and yoga. Further there have been plans of comparing the culture constituted by yoga with other cultural or intercultural phenomena. This very paper could also be followed up with a second process, turning back to the informants and asking for their opinions of the outcomes. This unique design, previously used in the phenomenological research of Mörnerud (2005), could work as a validation of the outcome and not at least create an interesting dialogue, connecting the abstract findings of an academic report with the contextual situation of reality and everyday life. In any case there are good hopes of follow-ups since the extensive interview material during this work has proved to be a rich source to pour from and it would certainly allow further investigations.

7. Literature

- Alter, Joseph S. (2004) *Yoga in Modern India. The Body Between Science and Philosophy*. Oxford: Princeton University Press.
- Brahmananda Sarasvati, Shri. (1987) *The Yoga Sutras of Patanjali. The original Sanskrit text with revised Translation*. Monroe, NY: Baba Bhagavandas Publication Trust.
- Clifford, J. (1988) On ethnographic authority. In Clifford, J. *The predicament of culture: twentieth-century ethnography, literature, and art* (pp. 21-54). Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press.
- Cortright, Brian. (2007) *Integral Psychology, Yoga, Growth, and Opening the Heart*. Albany: State University of New York.
- Eliade, M. (1958) *Yoga: Immortality and Freedom*. New York: Bollingen Foundation Inc.
- Friberg, Torbjörn. (2006) *Diagnosing burn-out. An Anthropological Study of a Social Concept in Sweden*. Lund: Lund University.
- Gansten, Martin. (2002) *Bhagavad-Gita. Vishet och yoga*. Stockholm: Norstedts förlag.
- Geels, Anton. (2007) *Religiös besinning och besinningslös religion. Tankar om terror i Guds namn, buddhism och global andlighet*. Nora: Nya Doxa.
- Geertz, Clifford. (1988) "I-witnessing". In Geertz, Clifford. *Works and lives: the anthropologist as Author* (pp. 4-101). Cambridge : Polity.
- McGuire, Meredith. (2002) *Religion. The Social Context*. Belmont: Wadsworth – Thomson Learning.
- Heelas, Paul. (2002) "The Spiritual Revolution: from 'Religion' to 'Spirituality'". In Woodhead, Linda; Fletcher, Paul; Kawanami, Hiroko; Smith, David (Eds). *Religions in the Modern World* (pp. 357-377). London: Routledge.
- Heelas, Paul. (2006) "The Infirmary Debate: On the Viability of New Age Spiritualities of Life". *Journal of Contemporary Religion*, 21 (2), 223-240.
- Van Hollen, Cecilia. (2007) "Yoga in Modern India: The Body between Science and Philosophy". *Journal of Asian Studies*, 66 (2), 562-564.
- Janakananda, Swami. (2000) *Yoga, Tantra och Meditation i min vardag*. Stockholm: Bindu.
- Jung, CG. (1963) *Psychology and Religion. West and East*. New York: Princeton University Press.
- Kegan, Robert. (1982) *The Evolving Self. Problem and Process in Human Development*. London: Harvard University Press.
- Kegan, Robert. (2000) *In Over Our Heads. The Mental Demands of Modern Life*. London: Harvard University Press.
- Kegan, Robert. (2003) "Hidden Curriculum of Adult Life: An Adult Development Perspective". In Hagström, Tom (Ed.). *Stockholm Lectures in Educology. Adult Development in Post-Industrial*

- Society and Working Life. Lecture Series No. 2.* (pp. 21-48) Stockholm: Stockholm University. Department of Education.
- Kroger, Jane. (1996) *Identity in Adolescence. The Balance between Self and Other.* London: Routledge.
- Kvale, Steinar. (1997) *Den kvalitativa forskningsintervjun.* Lund: Studentlitteratur.
- Kåver, Anna. (2004) *Att leva ett liv, inte vinna ett krig. Om acceptans.* Stockholm: Natur och Kultur.
- Leggett, Trevor. (1990) *The complete commentary by Sankara on the Yoga Sutras. A Full Translation of the Newly Discovered Text.* London: Kegan Paul International Ltd.
- Lewis, Tania. (2006) "Seeking health information on the Internet: lifestyle choice or bad attack of cyberchondria?" In *Media, Culture and Society*, 28 (4), 521-539.
- Mahaffey, Patrick. (2005) "Jung's Depth Psychology and Yoga Sadhana". In Jacobsen, Knut A. (Ed.). *Theory and Practice of Yoga. Essays in Honour of Gerald James Larson.* (pp. 385-407) Boston: Brill.
- Malmström, Mariann. (2007) "Yoga och upplevelse av stress. Kan yogan göra stress hanterbar?" Master-thesis. Malmö Högskola: Lärarutbildningen, Skolutveckling och ledarskap.
- Matsumoto, David & Juang, Linda. (2004) *Culture and Psychology.* Belmont: Thomson – Wadsworth.
- Maykut, Pamela & Morehouse, Richard. (1994) *Beginning Qualitative Research. A Philosophical and Practical Guide.* London: Falmer.
- Merlau-Ponty, Maurice. (1962) *Phenomenology of Perception.* London: Routledge.
- Monier-Williams, M. (2002) *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary. Etymologically and Philologically Arranged with special reference to Cognate Indo-European Languages.* Dehli: Molitla Babarsidass Publishers.
- Moustakas, Clark. (1994) *Phenomenological Research Methods.* London: Sages Publications.
- Mörnerud, Josef. (2005) "Psychological perspective on meaning of multiculturalism in the free-church – A phenomenological study with free-churches in Sweden". Master-thesis. Lund: Lund University, Department of Psychology.
- Nilsonne, Åsa. (2004) *Vem är det som bestämmer i ditt liv? Om medveten närvaro.* Stockholm: Natur och Kultur.
- Nirvikalpananda, Swami. (1999) *Introduktion till yogafilosofi.* Uppsala: Satyananda Yogacenter.
- Paramahansa Yogananda. (1959) *Autobiography of a Yogi.* Los Angeles: Self-realization Fellowship.
- Rosén, Anne-Sofie & Nordquist, Ted. A. (1980) "Ego Developmental Level and Values in a Yogic Community". *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 39 (6), 1152-1160.
- Sages, Roger, B & Petra Hensfelt Dahl (1999). "En fenomenologisk analysmetod inom arbetslivsforskning". In Lindén, Jitka; Westlander, Gunnela; Karlsson, Gunnar (Eds.) *Kvalitativa*

- metoder i arbetslivsforskning. 24 forskare visar hur och varför.* (pp. 132-153) Stockholm : Rådet för arbetslivsforskning, cop. 1999.
- Sages, Roger. (2003) "Truth as unveiling". In Lindén, Jitka & Szybek, Piotr. (Eds.) *Validation of Knowledge Claims in Human Science* (pp. 51-80). Lyon: L'Interdisciplinaire.
- Sages, Roger & Lundsten, Jonas. (2004) "The ambiguous Nature of Psychology as Science and its Bearing on Methods of Inquiry". In Lahlou, M, Sages, R.B. (Eds). *Méthodes et Terrains de la Psychologie Interculturelle*. Lyon: L' Interdisciplinaire.
- Satyananda Saraswati, Swami. (2005) *Four Chapters on Freedom. Commentary on the Yoga Sutras of Patanjali*. Munger, Bihar: Yoga Publications Trust.
- Satyananda Saraswati, Swami. (2006) *Asana Pranayama Mudra Bandha*. Munger, Bihar: Yoga Publications Trust.
- Shaugnessy, John. J: Zechmeister, Eugene B. & Zechmeister, Jeanne S. (2005) *Research methods in psychology* (7. ed.). Boston: McGraw-Hill Comp.
- Sokolowski, Robert. (2000) *Introduction to Phenomenology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tolle, Eckhart. (2005) *A New Earth. Awakening to you life's purpose*. London: Penguin Books.
- Van Breda, H. L. (1977) A Note on Reduction and Authenticity According to Husserl. In Elliston, Frederick A. & Mc Cormick, Peter (Eds). In *Husserl. Expositions and Appraisals* (pp 124 -125). London: University of Notre Dame Press.
- Valsiner, Jaan. (2000) *Culture and Human Development. An Introduction*. London: Sage Publications.
- Vivekananda, Dr Rishi. (2005) *Practical Yoga Psychology*. Munger, Bihar: Yoga Publications Trust.

8. Acknowledgements

Writing an essay can be seen as a great exercise in mastering santosha, the feeling of contentment and gratitude. I therefore find it suitable to complete this work by thanking.

I first of all want to thank all the informants for taking part in this study, sharing their lives and experiences, providing wonderful conversations and taking interest in the process. Thanks also to my tutor Roger Sages who has guided the work with great inspiration and support. I also want to give all the persons who have contributed in more indirect ways a grateful thought, that is the authors of the literature being used here, various teachers and study comrades of science, yoga and life that I've met throughout the years, and not at least loving friends and family.

It has meant a lot for me being able to unite the two worlds of yoga and education in writing this essay. Many thanks, it would not have been the same without any of you!