

Exotic Universalism & The New Petite Bourgeoisie: An Analysis of Yoga Marketing on Instagram

Colin H. Simonds

Abstract

This paper works towards an understanding of how modern postural yoga is promoted in new media and the role of class therein. The paper analyzes the content of four yoga Instagram profiles to discern how the contemporary postural practice is marketed on social media. In doing so, it demonstrates how yoga practitioners and organizations position their practice as both exotic and universal. This twofold movement establishes their product (yoga classes and studios) as unique yet accessible in the marketplace of spirituality and fitness. While these two processes of exoticisation and universalisation seem contradictory, this paper argues that this dissonance is emblematic of the values of the *new petite bourgeoisie*, a socio-economic class which serves as the main source of cultural capital in contemporary neoliberal societies.

Keywords: yoga, modern postural yoga, spiritual-but-not-religious, new media, Instagram, new petite bourgeoisie

As consumers spend an increasing amount of time on social media, it is only natural for businesses to begin marketing on these platforms (Graham 2021). The obvious form of this marketing is in paid advertising that appears on user's content feeds. However, individuals and organizations are also subtly

creating more personal content to make users *want* to continuously engage with their brand. Should these profiles create and maintain a level of high quality aesthetically pleasing and engaging content people will want to actively seek out their brand such that consumers go to the advertiser rather than advertisers go to the consumer. This is true for online services, television programs, and, interestingly enough, spiritual practices. Indeed, contemporary postural yoga is marketed quite aggressively through Instagram in ways that often elude the non-critical observer's advertising radar. Both individual and organizational brands create culturally relevant and appealing content on social media in order to promote a continuous engagement with their goods. In general, Carrette and King (2005) identify yoga as marketing through an appeal "to the exoticism and 'counter-cultural cachet' of yoga as a key selling-point – except in those cases where to appear too 'mystical', 'religious' or 'ethnic' might put off customers looking for some light relief from the stresses of their busy urban lives" (p. 119). While this statement is basically true, yoga's promotion on Instagram contains slightly more nuance. In this paper, I will advance the claim that the visual portion of Instagram posts typically appeal to the exotic aspects of yoga, while their captions often use a universal language to make the image accessible to a wider audience. In doing so, I will show how this contradictory assemblage of exotic and universal caters to the logic of what Veronique Altglas (2014) calls the "New Petit Bourgeoisie" – a socio-economic class not only able to hold these dissonant values at once but performs its identity through this contradiction.

Modern Postural Yoga

In order to understand how yoga is being marketed on Instagram it is important to understand what is meant by the term 'yoga'. In its original Sanskrit, the term means 'to yoke' or to be in 'union' or 'contact' with something (MacDonnell, 1965). However, this is certainly not how the term is employed today. Generally speaking, modern Anglophone use of the word is informed by Patanjali's *Yogasutras* which has "become the primary text for anglophone yoga practitioners in the twentieth century" (Singleton, 2010, p.

26). In this text, yoga means “to go to trance, to meditate” in an effort to achieve a state of “contemplation (Samadhi, trance)” (Patanjali, 1998). Today, Patanjali’s style of yoga is understood as ‘*rajayoga*’ or ‘classical yoga’ (largely categorized and popularized by the 19th century proselytizer Swami Vivekananda) which can be contrasted with *asana* (postural) based yoga. This latter form of yoga is what is most popularly practiced today even if, as Singleton (2017) points out, it was historically “subordinate to other practices like *pranayama* (expansion of the vital energy by means of breath), *dharana* (focus, or placement of the mental faculty), and *nada* (sound), and did not have health and fitness as [its] chief aim”. Indeed, Singleton (2010) has shown many of the postures practiced today derive from Scandinavian gymnastics and YMCA-centered bodybuilding (pp. 86-92). All of these influences came together in the figure of T. Krishnamacharya, the “Father of Modern Yoga” who headed the Mysore *yogasālā* in the early 20th century (Singleton & Fraser, 2014). He is given this epithet largely because of the wide influence of his students B.K.S. Iyengar, K. Pattabhi Jois, Indra Devi, and T.K.V. Desikachar who made his style of postural yoga a global phenomenon.

Nonetheless, contemporary anglophone proponents of yoga stress the ‘Indian-ness’ of the tradition and refer to the historical Sanskrit names or find Sanskrit equivalents for each (new) *asana*. For example, the downward dog pose (*adho mukha svasana*) was only first taught in a 1928 text called *The Ten Point Way to Health: Surya Namaskars* which enumerated a sequence of poses derived from Danish “primitive gymnastics”, and yet it is given a Sanskrit title to assimilate it into the greater yogic context (Pratinidhi, 1928; Singleton 2010, pp. 180-182). Many also maintain that yoga is not simply an exercise program but is a holistic practice involving body, mind, and spirit with ancient roots (Vergeer 2019; Montavon 2014). Indeed, despite its quite stark break from *pranayama*, *dharana*, *nada*, and so forth, Meera Nanda (2011) notes that “yoga’s presumed antiquity and its connections with Eastern spirituality have become part of the sales pitch.” And even if yoga has become primarily a postural practice, its key texts nonetheless refer back to

Patanjali's *Yogasutras* and situate themselves within an Indian religious framework. This can be clearly seen in B.K.S. Iyengar's (2015) *Light on Yoga*, a foundational text of modern transnational anglophone yoga. Even if, as Carrette and King (2005) observe, Iyengar "downplays the religio-philosophical dimensions of such practices, in favour of their more physical aspects" (p. 118), he nonetheless begins his book by explicating the eight limbs (*ashtanga*) of Patanjali's yoga. Further, in his explanation of *asana*, Iyengar (2015) purports that not only will postural practice bring "lightness and an exhilarating feeling in the body" and a "feeling of oneness of body, mind and soul", but, in doing *asana*, the practitioner's body "assumes numerous forms of life found in creation – from the lowliest insect to the most perfect sage – and he learns that in all these there breathes the same Universal Spirit – the Spirit of God" (pp. 38-39). And yet, after he roots his practice in a historical tradition from which he can draw authenticity (and after he contextualizes postural practice in an Indian religious framework), Iyengar turns to a rhetoric of health and wellness to promote his teachings and even goes so far as to prescribe particular *asanas* for particular physical and mental health issues (pp. 413-433). This rhetoric has come to characterize what Singleton (2010) refers to as the "international *asana* revolution that got into full swing with B.K.S. Iyengar" (p.4). It is precisely this "*asana* revolution" that is referred to by the term 'yoga' in the popular parlance, and it is precisely this manifestation of yoga that is marketed on Instagram.

Yoga Business and the Constraints of Marketing

However, before turning to Instagram specifically, one must understand the more general business of the modern posture practice. Yoga practice does not hold a monopoly in either the realms of fitness or spirituality but must compete with practices from CrossFit to mindfulness meditation. In the modern landscape of yoga, authority (and hence patronage) no longer comes from the transmission of guru to disciple but from branded teacher training programs (Jain, 2014, p. 74). As such, these brands become central to how yoga is promoted in the neoliberal marketplace. Andrea Jain (2014) states:

“Yoga entrepreneurs and organizations seek to disseminate yoga to the general populace. To do that, yoga needs to stand out in the marketplace among available products and services by being branded or ‘packaged’ in ways that make it seem *valuable, accessible, and unique*” (pp. 75-76). While this is true for the general yogic milieu, these considerations are also relevant to small businesses and individuals who not only compete with other practices in the spiritual marketplace, but with one another in the growing field of yoga. As such, yoga is marketed in such a way that it will stand out from yet be compatible with other spiritual practices and products. To these ends, yoga performs a delicate balancing act (*vrkṣāsana?*) between the exotic and the universal.

The ‘unique’ quality identified by Jain in the previous quotation is, of course, essential to the marketability of yoga. Within the yogic context studios might try to stand out from one another by offering practices such as “rave yoga”, “beer yoga”, or “goat yoga”, but what is more important is how yoga as a whole distinguishes itself from other fitness and spiritual programs. As Carette and King (2005) note, those promoting yoga appeal to its exotic character in an effort to present it as unique and, in turn, give it a high degree of cultural capital (p. 119). Often, this will manifest in how a studio, teacher, or institution designs their name, logo, atmosphere, or other identifiers to set them apart from others in the spiritual marketplace. However, Jain (2014) notes that this can go even further when she writes: “Branding requires marketers to uniquely package their products by ‘mythologizing’ them, a process that serves to ‘position’ them in consumers’ minds” (p. 79). This mythologization can be as simple as claiming that yoga is a five-thousand-year-old practice or bookending a practice with a “*namaste*” and an “*om*” to situate it in a Hindu religious context. It could occur in the subtle placement of a statue of Ardhanārīśwara or Buddha at the front of the studio or through quoting Buddhist (clumsily conflated with Hinduism in the anglophone postural milieu) and Hindu teachers in class and in marketing writeups. Or, it could be an overt hagiography of a founding teacher that becomes literally

mythologized in a text like Yogananda's *Autobiography of a Yogi* (1971) or the oral hagiography of Swami Kṛpālvānanda in the Kripalu organization (Goldberg, 2014). While mythologization as a marketing method is not unique to yoga, its origins in and association with the Hindu tradition (itself rife with myth) gives it the opportunity to lean heavily into this mode of marketing.

However, this proliferation of mythologization (both overt and subtle) and the resulting exoticization is tempered by the necessity of yoga's need to appeal to the accessibility of its potential clientele. Since patronage is based not on faith (as historical yogic traditions were) but is constrained the global materialist and consumer-capitalist worldviews it must remain accessible lest those vaguely interested yet uncommitted potential clients browse other spiritual wares. As Jain (2014) writes:

[the] various renditions of yoga were compatible with the underlying logic of consumer culture. [B.K.S. Iyengar, Bikram Choudhury, and John Friend] marketed forms of yoga that did not privilege any religious, ethnic, or national metanarrative, replacing those forms with ones that facilitated individual choice... All of this amounted to them responding to a transnational market in which wares were most successful when they could be easily fit into individualized lifestyles. (p. 66)

Thus, although the exotic nature of yoga is exploited for marketing purposes, there is a limit to just how exotic of a connection can be made. Yoga marketing must toe the line between exotic and universal such that its product is unique enough to stand out amongst like goods while still being accessible to a broad consumer base. It situates itself in the spiritual-but-not-religious marketplace while simultaneously (and consciously) distancing itself from the religious in order to appeal to a broad consumer base.

Yoga and the New Petite Bourgeoisie

This movement towards assimilating yoga into neoliberal socio-economic contexts and, in particular, the way in which it does so through dissonant means (universalisation and exoticisation) can be seen to reflect the values of a particular social class: the new petite bourgeoisie. This term is used by Veronique Altglas (2014) to describe those who:

Tend to exert “new or renovated professions,” such as those “involving presentation and representation” (Marketing, advertising, public relations, fashion and design) and the production of symbolic goods and services (medico-social professions, counselors and therapists, individuals working in media, craft workers and artists). In short, the new petite bourgeoisie plays the role of cultural intermediaries and tastemakers; the production and control of symbolic goods are therefore vital for its reproduction. (p. 319)

There is a reason for this importance of symbolic goods to the new petite bourgeoisie: often these individuals have “a high cultural and educational capital that is not translated in their material achievements. They accordingly express a desire to raise themselves ‘above’ an unfulfilling position” (Altglas, 2014, p. 290). Thus, their meaning becomes tied to immaterial or idealized goods which they have the social and financial capital to access. It is *precisely* this symbolic, idealized form of value that yoga and other actors in the spiritual milieu are able to cater to. According to Altglas (2014), “exotic” practices such as yoga “allows the new petite bourgeoisie to display cultural competence and maintain their role in the game of cultural and symbolic struggle” (p. 321). These are practices which may have moderate financial buy-ins but require quite large amounts of cultural, symbolic knowledge to be able to fully engage. While they may not have the material basis for upwards financial mobility, the new petite bourgeoisie differentiate themselves from others in their economic class (and those both under and above them) by their ability to engage in the exotic cultural caches of practices like yoga which they can wield as sources of cultural power. There’s an

overused joke that goes: “How do you know someone does CrossFit? They’ll tell you.” In the case of yoga, we might ask, “How do you know someone does yoga?”, to which the answer would be, “There’s a picture of them doing dancers pose on a mountain on their Instagram.” But if they overheard us, they might correct us saying, “Actually, it’s *natarajasana*.”

However, despite looking to symbolic and cultural commodities to give themselves value, the new petite bourgeoisie are *still the petite bourgeoisie* and hence ascribe to the logic of consumer capitalism. As such, we see practices such as yoga and mindfulness (largely disseminated through those in this class) change and adapt to conform to this system. Altglas (2014) writes that these “exotic religious beliefs and practices are decontextualized, constructed, disseminated, and appropriated in ways that reflect desires and expectations that were initially external to them” (p. 323). However, through this domestication these practices are universalised to be able to work towards new non-soteriological goals of health and wellness. While many early yoga proponents claimed that yoga was indeed a part of a universal religion, its traditional goals of *moksha* or *kaivalya* (liberation) do not necessarily appeal to those who hold a capitalist, materialist worldview. However, through this domestication these practices are universalised to be able to work towards new non-soteriological goals of health and wellness – major concerns of the new petite bourgeoisie. While it would be nice to think that the concerns of the yogic tradition would be a marked departure to the consumerism of the western world, rather than present a radical challenge to this socio-economic status quo it becomes universalized and itself commodified. As such, the exotic aspects of yoga are domesticated to be less threatening to non-Indian populations while still maintaining a perceived sense of ‘otherness’.

On the surface, this concurrent practice of universalism and exoticism may appear contradictory. Those propagating postural yoga in the anglophone world espouse its accessibility while, at the same time, maintaining a barrier to the practice in the form of learning (and pronouncing) Sanskrit names,

adhering to a particular quasi-ritualized yoga studio etiquette, and so forth. However, I claim that it is by holding these dissonant positions that the new petite bourgeoisie performs its very identity. Their neoliberal attitudes towards race, sexual preferences, gender identity, and so forth compel them to package yoga in such a way that it is accessible to any who wish to practice, but their status as “cultural intermediaries” and the cultural capital provided by engaging in symbolic value outside of the popular discourse compels them to maintain the exotic nature of the practice. Their ability to navigate the various cultural signifiers present in yoga practice (and other similar symbolic traditions) imbues them with cultural capital, yet the universalisation of the practice allows them to fit it into their spiritual bricolage without conflicting with their core neoliberal values.

#yogagram

All of these socio-economic and class factors come to express themselves quite clearly in how the postural yoga tradition is presented on Instagram. Accounts representing practitioners, teachers, studios, and broader organizations express these trends of exoticization and universalism in their portrayal of the practice and the way they attempt to attract patrons. Perhaps unpredictably, a large slice of yoga’s marketing on Instagram comes in the form influencers. These are personalities who “have an accumulated following, are actively involved in social media, create compelling content and also exert influence over those that follow them” (“Boost Your Business”, 2015). In the world of marketing, these personalities are particularly valuable because “they have the ability to elicit a response or action from their readers” (“Boost Your Business”, 2015). There are many stock examples of this in the yoga world, but what is more interesting is how brands become influencers. The nature of postural yoga is such that a teacher or organization’s particular approach to teaching (and hence their personality) is what differentiates one offering from another. Essentially, one’s personality (and the way one expresses oneself through social media) *becomes* the brand such that seemingly benign personal posts actually serve an individual or corporation’s economic

ends. Something as simple as a posting one's dinner engages particular cultural signifiers that construct brand identity and attracts particular kinds of clientele. As Jain (2014) states, "yoga brands [signify] the dominant physical and psychological self-development desires and needs of many contemporary customers," and play to what consumers felt valuable which, in this case, includes "certain persons deemed to be paragons of virtue or style" (p. 94). This is precisely the way in which Instagram is used. It presents itself as a way of addressing universal issues of mind, body, and spirit while at the same time engages in a process of exoticization in order to appeal to the style of the new petite bourgeoisie.

Exoticism and Yoga on Instagram

To give some examples of this process at work, we can look at a small cross-section of North American yoga Instagram accounts: Karma Shala, a small-scale yoga studio in Mont Tremblant, Quebec (@karmashalatremblant); Yoga Journal, the yoga industry's leading monthly publication (@yogajournal); Jaime Tully, a Canadian yoga teacher and blogger (@jaimetully), and; Brian Miller, a Montreal-based travelling yoga teacher and entrepreneur (@brianmilleryoga). These accounts were chosen to represent both organizations and individuals with both small and large social reaches in order to create a representative sample of the general trend of yoga professionals on Instagram. When these samples were archived in April 2017, Karma Shala had a follower count of 425, Yoga Journal had 584000, Jaime Tully had 9088, and Brian Miller had 52600. Of course to extrapolate the findings informed by these accounts on to every yoga professional on Instagram would be problematic. However, these samples might be used to paint a general picture of yoga Instagram accounts from which additional findings can come. Thus, these four accounts will be used to show that the processes of universalization and exoticization occur in various yoga contexts (studio, publication, small-scale teacher, and large-scale teacher respectively).

To begin, these four accounts all play to yoga's exotic quality to distinguish themselves from other Instagram accounts and employ the symbolic capital of yoga for their own benefit. For example, Karma Shala's name is Sanskrit for "action house" – a roundabout way of saying 'yoga studio' which immediately separates itself from others in the anglophone spiritual and fitness marketplaces. This exoticization is also reflected in its content which often contains bodies twisting into difficult poses. The inverted eagle pose (*viparita garusasana*) in figure 1 not only presents a break from normative Instagram content but also separates itself from other spiritually-oriented posts by displaying a physically impressive posture. The contortion of the body in an unusual way gives Karma Shala a way to promote its product through an aesthetic of exoticism by leaning into yoga's early associations with Indian contortionist fakirs in the Western imaginary (Singleton, 2010, pp. 56-57). Similarly, this marketing through visually striking and difficult postures is key to Brian Miller's success. He practices a great number of challenging inversions that sets him apart from like yoga personalities and, again, leans into the western view of the yogi as a contortionist with masterful control of the body (fig. 2). He uses his strength and flexibility to garner a following through which he subsequently promote his yoga classes, the festivals he participates, and his own brand of superfoods.

Moreover, like Karma Shala, Brian Miller incorporates certain symbols such as the Sanskrit "om" into his posts in order to associate his brand with established cultural signifiers that nonetheless require a degree of cultural competence to understand. In doing so, he plays to the new petite bourgeoisie's occupation of symbolic cultural reproduction such that they will positively respond to the implicit associations of these images. This approach is also used by Jaime Tully whose profile consists of a number of difficult yoga poses, travel pictures, and lifestyle photos that integrate her business as a yoga teacher with her personal life. While her photos are often minimalist and simply framed, she also uses exotic elements to brand her profile. For example, figure three shows her performing a *mudra* in front of

a piece of street art. While yoga practitioners would be able to identify the *mudra* as a part of a larger hatha yoga system and are themselves signifiers of the exotic, the elaborate wings in the background serve to position her yoga within the larger spiritual discourse. In the western imaginary, wings are typically associated with the Judeo-Christian angel archetype (Cobb 1992, p.32). Thus, by using this symbol as a background, she is tempering the exotic nature of this gesture (and its religious connotations) by allowing it to coexist with a familiar, non-threatening set of symbols. Nonetheless, the aesthetics of this image maintain a level of exoticization such that the simple gesture of a *mudra* gives her a degree of cultural capital which she can then use to market her classes and retreats.

Such a marketing strategy can also be seen on Yoga Journal's Instagram account. A post that effectively demonstrates an appeal to the exotic can be seen in figure four where a woman assumes ten arms in various hand gestures while sitting in a tropical environment. The post is visually striking and aesthetically exotic in and of itself, but equally important is how this picture can be interpreted by members of the new petite bourgeoisie. This picture recreates the western stereotype of a Hindu deity such as Durga or Vishnu who has more limbs than an ordinary individual. However, for one to know what these many arms are in reference to one needs a fair degree of cultural competency. Therefore, this image can be seen to be functioning similar to Brian Miller and Karma Shala through the reproduction of symbolism. Alone, this picture might be enough to market Yoga Journal's wares to a general audience. However, the amount of cultural capital one assumes by knowing the reference and meaning of this image gives it specific appeal to the new petite bourgeoisie. In doing so, it reinforces the values of the new petite bourgeoisie and allows them to maintain control over this form of cultural capital through their consumption of this yogic practice and its associated media.

Universalism and Yoga on Instagram

While these Instagram accounts certainly use yoga's exotic imagery and symbolism to their advantage, they also use a universal language to ensure this exoticism does not restrict their potential consumer base. Some of the rather esoteric symbols, poses, and other visual content in these posts is tempered by captions that attract those unfamiliar with these particular yogic signifiers. In doing so, they follow Jain's (2010) observation of the general economics of yoga and do "not privilege any religious, ethnic, or national metanarrative" (p. 66) For example, Karma Shala and Brian Miller downplay both the exotic nature of yoga as well as the difficulty of these postures through their photo's captions: "If the true teacher is the present moment, everything is practice" (fig. 1), and; "Balance is not something you find. It's something you create" (fig. 2). While you might be able to read something explicitly religious into the former statement, both captions successfully demystify the photo and make the post as a whole accessible to a general audience. A similar process occurs in Yoga Journal's post (fig. 4). Its caption reads: "'How you vibrate is what the universe echoes back to you in every moment.' ~ Panache #vibratehigher". While this is clearly using a spiritual language, it avoids any reference to the Hindu religious elements of the photo (yogi/nis performatively mirroring a multi-armed Hindu deity) and places itself square within the boundaries of the greater spiritual-but-not-religious landscape. It therefore dilutes the established religious significance of the image and assimilates it into the logic of neoliberal spiritual bricolage. And yet, despite this dilution, this spiritual (but not Hindu) language requires a certain degree of cultural competency to render even slightly coherent. Thus, even in this process of universalization, the caption directly appeals to the new petite bourgeoisie's role as cultural brokers.

Another way this universal rhetoric is implemented is through the classic inspirational quote (fig. 5). These photos are common to yoga Instagram accounts and often reference popular religious leaders such as, in this case, Tibetan Buddhist nun Pema Chodron. Thus, while a certain degree of

authority is derived through these exotic religious personalities, the quotes shared are consistently universal in their language. In addition to Jaime Tully's post (fig. 5), this can be seen in Yoga Journal's quote of Ram Dass saying, "Your problem is you are too busy holding on to your unworthiness" (fig. 6). These quotes demonstrate a clear decontextualization of these exotic religious resources in order to make the goods promoted by these Instagram accounts more broadly accessible. Quotes such as these are shared precisely because of their universal language that easily fit into the individualized lifestyle of the reader. It eschews religious language in favor of accessibility while nonetheless maintaining its authority by coming from exotic religious leaders. While the individuals and concepts in these captions and quotes may originate from a specific cultural moment tied up with religious, ethnic, or nationalistic agendas, they are promoted through a universal language that neuters these concepts for general consumption (Jain, 2014, p. 66). The exotic aesthetic of the photos become universalized through their captions and thus reflect the values and priorities of the new petite bourgeoisie.

Conclusion

This investigation into the marketing function of yoga Instagram accounts confirms the findings of a number of scholars. There is evidently a trend in the content of both yoga individuals and organizations that exploits yoga's exotic quality in photos while decontextualizing and universalizing these photos in the captions. This process reflects Andrea Jain's (2014) observations on how yoga is sold by making it appear "valuable, accessible, and unique" (pp. 75-76). It also supports Carrette and King's findings on the spiritual milieu in which yoga is promoted through an appeal to its "exoticism and 'counter-cultural cachet'" while being cautious to not appear "too mystical", 'religious' or 'ethnic'" (Carrette & King, 2005, p. 119). Furthermore, when these Instagram profiles are analyzed with respect to Altglas's concept of the 'new petite bourgeoisie', it is evident that their content reflects the values of this class of "cultural brokers" (Altglas, 2014, p. 321). These practices are marketed through a heavily symbolic language and

aesthetic that requires a particular set of cultural understanding to fully engage with. However, because these practices are mediated by the *petite bourgeoisie*, they dissonantly maintain that yoga is a universal, accessible, and commodifiable practice. Moreover, I have argued that it is in this dissonance that the *petite bourgeoisie* establishes and maintains its class identity. Thus, while this paper's sample size was small, there appears to be strong identifiable trends in how yoga is marketed on Instagram that parallel similar accounts both in the general yoga movement and the greater spiritual-but-not-religious marketplace.

Appendix 1: Instagram Samples



Figure 1: Karma Shala Yoga



Figure 2: Brian Miller.



Figure 3: Jaime Tully 1.



Figure 4: Yoga Journal 1.

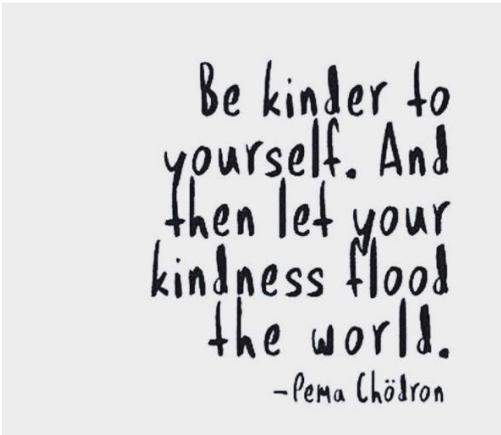
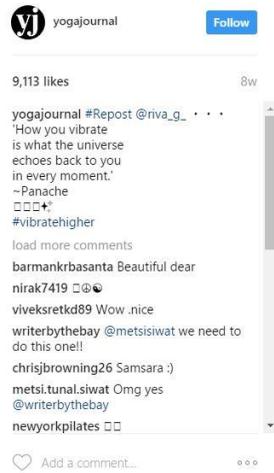


Figure 5: Jaime Tully 2.





Figure 6: Yoga Journal 2.

Author

Colin H. Simonds is a PhD Candidate at Queen's University at Kingston.
Correspondence email: 11cs77@queensu.ca

References

- Altglas, V. (2014) *From Yoga to Kabbalah: Religious Exoticism and the Logics of Bricolage*. Oxford University Press.
- Boost Your Business: How to Use Influencer Marketing on Instagram. (2015, March 21). *Marketing Weekly News*. NewsRX LLC.
- Carrette, J., & King R. (2005) *Selling Spirituality: The Silent Takeover of Religion*. Routledge.
- Cobb, B. (1992) *Archetypal Imagination: Glimpses of the Gods in Life and Art*. Lindisfarne Press.
- Goldberg, E. (2014). Swami Kṛpālvānanda: The Man Behind Kripalu Yoga. *Gurus of Modern Yoga* (M. Singleton & E. Goldberg, Ed.). Oxford University Press.

- Graham, M. (2021) “Advertising Market Keeps Growing Much Faster Than Expected, Forecasters Say.” *The Wall Street Journal*. Dow Jones & Company, Inc.
- Iyengar, B.K.S. (2015) *Light on Yoga: The Definitive Guide to Yoga Practice*. HarperThorsons.
- Jain, A. (2014) *Selling Yoga: From Counterculture to Pop Culture*. Oxford University Press.
- Karma Shala Yoga. (2017) @karmashalatremblant. Instagram. <https://www.instagram.com/karmashalatremblant/> (All content archived 19 Apr. 2017.)
- MacDonell, A.A. (1965). *A Practical Sanskrit Dictionary: With Transliteration, Accentuation, and Etymological Analysis Throughout*. Oxford University Press.
- Miller, B. (2017) @brianmilleryoga. Instagram. <https://www.instagram.com/brianmilleryoga/> (All content archived 19 Apr. 2017.)
- Montavon, A.A. (2014) *Yoga Teacher Training Curriculum Design: Holistic Teaching Principles for a Holistic System*. ProQuest Dissertations Publishing.
- Nanda, M. (2011, February 10). Not as Old as You Think. *Open the Magazine* <https://openthemagazine.com/features/living/not-as-old-as-you-think/>
- Patanjali. (1998). *Patanjali's Yoga Sutras: with the commentary of Vyasa and the gloss of Vachaspati Misra* (R. Prasada, Trans.). Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers.
- Pratinidhi, S.B.P. (1938). *The Ten-Point Way to Health: Surya Namskars* (L. Morgan, Ed.). J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd.
- Singleton, M. (2010) *Yoga Body: The Origins of Modern Posture Practice*. Oxford University Press.
- Singleton, M., & Fraser, T. (2014). T. Krishnamacharya, Father of Modern Yoga. *Gurus of Modern Yoga* (M. Singleton & E. Goldberg, Ed.). Oxford University Press.

Singleton, M. (2017). The Ancient & Modern Roots of Yoga. *Yoga Journal*.

<http://www.yogajournal.com/yoga-101/yoga-s-greater-truth>

Tully, J. (2017) @jaimetully. Instagram.

<https://www.instagram.com/jaimetully/> (All content archived 19 Apr. 2017.)

Vergeer, I. (2019) “Yoga as a holistic movement practice: Yoga teachers’ motives and strategies for conveying the holistic elements of yoga.” *Advances in Integrative Medicine* vol. 6.

Yoga Journal. (2017) @yogajournal. Instagram.

<<https://www.instagram.com/yogajournal/>> (All content archived 19 Apr. 2017.)

Yogananda, P. (1971). *Autobiography of a Yogi*. Self-Realization Fellowship.