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COVER PAGE

Selling Exoticized Wellness

Orientalism and the Marketing of Yoga in the United States of America

Sampurna Dutta

Master's in Journalism and Digital Communication (MAJDC)

Submitted to Griffith College, Dublin
August, 2025

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“One ounce of practice is worth a thousand pounds of theory”

~Swami Vivekananda (1863-1902)

Abstract

Using an analysis of the content of ads from several well-known yoga businesses, this dissertation, "Selling Exoticized Wellness: Orientalism and the Upsurge of Yoga," investigates the marketing tactics used in the international yoga industry. The study reveals how yoga is commonly purged of its Indian and Hindu cultural foundations in order to produce a marketable, Westernised product that is suited to customer preferences. It is anchored in Edward Said's concept of Orientalism.

In addition to universalisation and decontextualisation, which recast yoga as a secular wellness and fitness practice with no historical meaning, the study indicates an ongoing trend of cultural appropriation, where spiritual linguistics and semiotics are employed decoratively. Furthermore, the cultural creators of yoga are further marginalised by the near-complete lack of South Asian presence and the sporadic use of stereotyped depictions. Yoga has been commercialised by being marketed as an exclusive way of life that is frequently associated with expensive goods and current pop culture fads.

Although the marginalisation of South Asian voices continues, temporal alterations in marketing strategies show a transition from exoticized images to popular fitness and health narratives. The conversation focusses on how these methods mirror Orientalist power dynamics, in which Western businesses erase the cultural context of Eastern traditions while profiting from them. In order to promote more culturally sensitive depictions, it is suggested that future study look at customer views, magnify South Asian viewpoints, and compare international marketing strategies.

This study supports inclusive representations of yoga that honour its historic and religious roots, as well as ethical marketing that respects the practice's Indian and Hindu background.

Acknowledgements

I want to begin by expressing my earnest gratitude to Ummesalama Tohfafarosh, who supported my research and framework development every step of the way, despite this entailing long, sleepless nights in different time zones.

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I want to sincerely thank my dissertation advisor, Conor Kostick, for his meticulous advice and academic knowledge, which greatly influenced this investigation into the cultural representations of yoga.

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I am also grateful to the archivists and librarians who made important materials accessible. My understanding of Orientalism has been enhanced by the conversations with my family, peers, and acquaintances, and I truly appreciate their support through the entire process.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

As an Indian, I have been consistently imbued with the rich heritage and culture of my country, despite the fact that my home was almost always outside the borders of India. I was born in India and up until the age of 9, I soaked in the abundant cultural knowledge it had to offer. My family and my ancestors have always maintained a deep connection with the Indian arts – my mother holds a Ph. D in Odissi Classical Dance, my father is a skilled theatrical actor and singer, and the list travels back as far as family mapping can be considered. Perhaps the internal influences in my family guided me gently towards learning as much about my country and culture, but I found myself enrolled in classical dance lessons from the age of 3, attending Hindustani classical music lessons from the age of 5, and skipping off to the Indian Instruments Storage room in my school to strum the strings of the Sitar and hum along to the tanpura.

I left India in 2013 to start a new life in Dubai. The age-worn streets and the music floating through the open windows had faded away and I was afraid I would be stripped of all that I had indulged in. But my parents never let me stray and egged me on to continue practicing my Indian culture in any way possible. For the 12 years that I was in Dubai, I found every opportunity to practice my culture – I continued dancing under my mother's expert guidance, I sang as much my limited skills would allow, I wore my cultural attire of Saree and Kurta-Pajama at every possible occasion, and most important of all, I spoke and learned as many Indian languages I could practice.

My first experience with yoga, as far back as my conscious memory permits, is during an extra-curricular activity after school when I was in Grade 6 in 2014. The Indian government had just announced the celebration of International Yoga Day on June 21st, the first of many years to come, and my school had been in an uproar to introduce the practice into the school for

the students as well as for the teachers to move towards corporate wellness. I will admit I walked into the hall with my assigned mat with less than a knowledgeable mind and an insincere attitude. But that day in the special class changed me.

My parents pushed for cultural empowerment throughout my life, and continue to do so, but I was never pushed towards religious routine. That is not to say that my family and I were not Hindus or did not believe in the universal idea of God, but I had never experienced or observed my family in any scenario that would be equated with a highly religious attitude. Thus, I never enquired into my religious roots, its history and mythology, or the significance of it. When the yogi on the stage began to explain the different poses that we were instructed to follow, my mind perked with interest. When my peers trudged out of the hall, worn out, I made my way to the library to begin my understanding of Yoga.

I first picked up the Bhagavad Gita, the religious scripture of Hinduism, but its language and connotations were far advanced for my restricted understanding. With my mother's explanations of the scripture fuelling my desire to learn more, I enrolled in a Power Yoga class. Yet, after a while, I felt as though there was a distinct difference between the yoga I was doing now and that fateful day in the school hall. As I sat with my instructor, I became aware of the various adaptations that yoga had taken form of and that Power Yoga was one of them, stripped of the spiritual inclinations and pumped full of cardio and muscle-building exercises to fill the void.
This dissertation is born of this experience, or rather, set of experiences that sprouted within me questions regarding this drastic change in the once-spiritual practice.

The global yoga market, in the most recent study, has shown immense growth just in the last decade. In 2023, the estimated global revenue generated by the industry was USD 107.2 billion and is expected to grow at 9.4% compound annual growth rate (Grandview Research, 2023). Of this market, the U.S. are the largest stakeholders and contributors, holding approximately 20% of the overall market value of the yoga industry. India, the birthplace of yoga, holds merely 6% (Grandview Research, 2025). However, yoga's presence in the United States weaves a much longer history. The first traces of yoga on the shores of America occur with Charles Wilkins' English translation of the Sanskrit Bhagavad Gita. Through the years and through many American scholars and philosophers, yoga as a

practice penetrated the American society, albeit with a sense of religious confusion – a largely Christian society learning and feeling intrigue regarding a deeply Hindu practice and ideology. In the early 1890s, Swami Vivekananda, an exceptionally learned Hindu scholar, delivered a talk and, according to several academics and American philosophers, reassured the American listeners that yoga was more about 'universal consciousness' and 'spiritual growth' without directly associating the aeons-old practice to the Hindu Sanatan Dharma. And thus grew the practice of yoga in the U.S. on this belief (Douglass, 2007).

Over the years, yoga evolved and became a product to be sold. Various formats of yoga, combined with the current demands of society and trends of the market, began to strip Yoga of its Hindu ties entirely. Instead, the marketing of yoga and its affiliates took on a distinctly Western look, and many elements reflect the theory of Orientalism.

Orientalism, a concept introduced by Edward Said (1978), is a "style of thought" in which the Eastern world, The Orient, is characterized, stereotyped, or presented in a certain way by the West or the Occident. The way they do this is by "making statements about it, authorizing views of it, teaching it" and other dominating actions without the "consent" or understanding of their counterparts in the East of whose culture they are defining. This is the lead theoretical framework that I will be utilising to analyse the yoga marketing trends and patterns in the U.S.

One of the prime examples of Orientalist marketing in the West is the inappropriate use of Hindu or Indian semiotics to sell products. In 2016, Mika Yoga, a Denver-based yoga apparel company, pulled a controversial yoga mat off their shelves after severe backlash. The yoga mat, priced at an exorbitant $64, featured the Hindu God Ganesha on its surface, which meant that the deity was to be stepped on or performed over and which constituted a severe misuse of a religious entity (The Denver Post, 2016). Another example of cultural appropriation is the launch, and subsequent withdrawal, of 'Ganesh slippers' and 'Ganesh underwear' among other deity-printed apparel, by American retail supergiant Walmart (The Economic Times, 2024). Philadelphia-born apparel company Urban Outfitters was under fire more than once for printing the Lord Ganesha's face on socks and blankets, and yet they retained for a long time a "Ganesh Tapestry", "Truly Madly Deeply Ganesh Sweatshirt" and a "Ganesh printed Tee" on their official website (Peterson, 2013).

With the yoga market in such a boom in the country and with more and more people practicing yoga due to various contributing factors- rising disposable income, online and offline alternates, increased health consciousness as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic – such representation of yoga and, consequently, of India, Hinduism, and Eastern culture has a massively negative impact on the public perception of 'the Other'.
This dissertation, "Selling Exoticized Wellness: Orientalism and the Upsurge of Yoga," examines how Orientalist characteristics appear in the marketing of yoga in the United States. Focusing on major brands like Lululemon, Alo Yoga, and Glo, the study will analyze 100 advertisements to identify tropes that are indicative of South Asian marginalization and commodification of culture.

This study will aim to answer the following research questions:

1. How is yoga being marketed and what tropes of Orientalism do they employ, if at all?

2. How has the commodification of yoga impacted the global perception of the practice and the Indian culture?

3. What role does religion play in the modern version of yoga?

The research employs content analysis as its main methodological approach to produce qualitative data. The coding framework for the analysis are derived from the explanations of Edward Said's Orientalism and form the basis of the interpretation of advertisements as the theoretical framework.
In the following chapters, I will attempt to outline, emphasise, explain, and correlate the various elements involved not only in yoga, its practice, and the marketing, but also in conceptualizing the topic of discussion, the semiotics and codes utilised to derive data, and a discussion of the future implications of the findings.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

With almost 35 million practitioners of yoga in the United States alone, North America dominates the yoga market as the largest shareholder in the industry. India, the mother nation of Yoga, astonishingly plays only a small part in the consumer industry of the practice, though it is expected to grow exponentially by 2030 (Yogkulam, 2024). But yoga, both as a concept and as a practice, has been irrevocably altered as it sweeps along with the growing globalized market trends and assimilates into the Western industry, which the industry data shows to be at the forefront of the market.

This literature review aims to bring together ideas of Orientalism, cultural appropriation, and commodification, as the catalysts of the changing landscape of yoga practice and consumerism. The works will highlight the conditions under which yoga grew to be the mammoth it is today in the wellness industry with a large emphasis placed on the marketing strategies employed to promote its exotic allure as a marketable product in the West. Through the synthesis of scholarly works, this review will explore the upsurge of yoga as a commercialised product that is separated from its religious Hindu roots while identifying gaps in the existing scholarship on the topic that this dissertation will attempt to bridge.

2.1 What is Yoga?

It is imperative to establish the foundation of anything before further building on it in order to stabilise, strengthen, and support the structure. Therefore, discussing and underscoring the meaning and roots of yoga will solidify the further arguments and discussions that will manifest through the

course of the literature review and, in due course, the larger conceptual basis of this dissertation.

The word ‘yoga’ itself, devoid of its practical implications, has conflicted derivations. Multiple meanings and several root-words are theorized by numerous scholars, philosophers, and yogis alike. Sanskrit, a language that has a traceable history back to approximately 1700 BCE, is now a dead language. To say ‘dead’, I indicate that the common use of the language is no longer applied in modern society, and it is theorized that its practical use seeped out in the colonial period, when the British colonizers introduced, and subsequently regularized, the use of English. In the meanwhile, Sanskrit became the parent language to many Indo-European languages that are now widely spoken not only in the Indian subcontinent but across the world in its stead. The original Sanskrit etymology is now only a vocational subject that a very small percentage of the global population studies. The Vedic texts of Indo-Aryan society are the first recorded script in Sanskrit and the language remained untouched until it was systemized and categorically repackaged by Panini in the 6th BCE. Panini’s systematic Sanskrit is the language that is used to analyse ancient texts and records (Majmudar, 2020; Cardona, 2019).

Joshi (1965) uses the context produced from this systematic Sanskrit to glean the meaning of yoga from various ancient scriptures and previous attempts at deriving an appropriate sense for the ‘much-privileged’ word. One of the earliest and one of the most widely accepted translations of the word comes from the Sanskrit root term ‘yujir’, which denotes a ‘union or connection’ and therefore yoga means to ‘create a union or form a connection’. This does not necessarily only point to a spiritual union and evidence is provided form the Rig Veda, one of the foremost texts from the Vedic scriptures of old, that the word has been used in mundane contexts such as a guru asking a pupil to derive a ‘yoga’ between two concepts or items.

Under the same banner and root, yoga is also recorded to mean ‘unite or yoke’ on more physical contexts rather than metaphorical ones. In this interpretation, ‘yoking’ refers, for example, to the joining of bulls or horses

under a single rein so as to employ them to plough the fields or carry forward tasks. In the same manner ‘yoking’ of certain procedures that are outlined in the Vedic texts – procedures that are meant to ‘bring about a higher state (moksha)’ through acts ‘dhyana (meditation)’ or ‘tapasya (austerity)’ – naturally trickled down under one system of ‘yoga’ (Joshi, 1965; White, 2022)

But that is not where we see the end of its interpretations. Rather, the word is so ‘malleable and flexible’ that, with or without Panini’s categorization of the age-old language, many contexts of the term crop up in various scriptures. In some texts, like astronomical charts, it is referred to as the ‘conjunction of stars’, while in alchemy it denotes the mixing of several substances, and in other gastronomical records it points to a recipe or a method. The list is endless and encompasses meanings that may or may not always denote spirituality or religious practice (White, 2022).

Yoga as a practice is several aeons old, beyond the scope of transcription, and is assumed to have been practiced since the ‘dawn of civilization’. Under Hindu beliefs, the premiere yoga practitioner, the ‘adiyogi’, was the Lord Shiva of the Hindu pantheon, who later poured his yogic intellect into ‘sages’ of the mortal world and thus mortal yoga was handed down from generation to generation, as a method of forming the aforementioned divine connection with the deities. This practice travelled across the world but in India, the practice of yoga gained the most traction and created a foothold (Basavaraddi, 2013).

Though the foundation of yoga is said to have been recorded first in the Vedic texts, the most acclaimed script of yoga is the Bhagavad Gita, the sacred text of the Hindu Sanatan Dharma (Hinduism). In the Gita, yoga is defined as something unrestrained to just physical activity – it is a ‘devotion to work’, control on ‘the senses and the mind’; process of achieving concentration towards ‘destiny, and a ‘pathway’ to spirituality. Yoga hinges on discipline and a proper yogi must employ all facets of this discipline to form a strong connection with one’s own soul, good health, and eventually, the ‘supreme Lord’ to gain peace, happiness and ‘enlightenment in one’s life

(Muralikrishna, 2019). Indeed, in the Bhagavad Gita, the Lord Krishna describes the way of yoga, the proper practice of it and its meaning through the categorization of Karma Yoga – the yoga of action.

> *"The Lord says: One who performs the prescribed duty without seeking its fruit is a renunciant (sanyasi) and a Karmic Yoga"*
>
> *"For the wise who seeks to attain yoga* (the calmness of the mind and the union with the Eternal Being of Brahman) *Karmic Yoga is the way."*
>
> *"A person is said to have attained yogic perfection when he or she has no desire for sensual pleasure, or attachment to the fruits of their work, and has renounced all personal selfish motives."*
>
> *"A yogi must be seated in solitude… sit on his or her seat which is not too high and not too low, covered with the sacred Kush grass, a deerskin, and a cloth one over the other… Think of Me (the Lord) and practice celibacy."*
>
> *"The path of discipline is two-fold – through self-knowledge (jnana yoga) and unselfish action (karma yoga)."* (Prasad, 2015)

In the Bhagavad Gita, yoga inadvertently adopts the connotation of 'disciplined activity', 'method', and 'exertion with diligence' and with the guidelines that the scripture so deliberately outlines to perform yogic mediation, the meaning and the act becomes solidified. However, one important connection that the Gita makes is the connection between 'knowledge' and 'practice' – one cannot exist without the other. To perform yoga in its authenticity and with proper procedure it should be done with the religious knowledge and spiritual intellect that was passed down by gurus and yogi/yoginis. This practice must be devoid of any material gains or worldly desires and be performed with "Sankhya", which is the Hindu philosophy of self-knowledge which is required to attain emancipation from the sorrows that burden life (Edgerton, 1924). This point of view of yoga is rooted deeply in religion and Hindu spirituality. The Sanatan Dharma of Hinduism, while based in religion, offers a more all-encompassing and secular view of spirituality and religion, even outside the concept of yoga. In

Prasad's (2015) translation of the Gita, the Lord Krishna says that the Raja Yoga and dhyana (meditation) should be performed with complete dedication and with the deity in mind, no matter who the deity is.

As Basu (2024) decodes, the Upanishads, "profound philosophical' writings, draw on this secularism of meditation, or dhyana, and emphasize, Tapasya (austerity and self-discipline) and pranayama (control of breath). These ancient Hindu texts combine the three elements of yoga and present a holistic pathway to spiritual connection and tranquillity. It is presented in a largely secular manner, with little to no mandatory invocation of Hindu religious rigors and yet stresses the importance of faith in the Lord.

It is important to note that though Raja yoga or meditation is positioned to be a secular practice, yoga on the whole cannot be classified as so. The historical and mythological influences described in the above scholarships render the practice of yoga, including the modern versions of it, a Hindu practice. As mentioned above, the religion itself does not insist that the yogi be Hindu to practice, but it is imperative that yoga be uncompromisingly tied to its Hindu ancestries as it is motivated, built upon, and defined by Hindu philosophies that call for a complete understanding of the religion itself. Draining it of this connection endangers the authenticity, much like the separating of the flower bud from its stem may cause it to wither.

2.2 The Rise of Yoga and its Migration to the West

Samuel (2017) argues that a technique of mind-over-matter practice was much more abundant in the Indian subcontinent as compared to, what he calls 'other literate cultures'. The Indic region, during the period of development of civilizations, was scattered with various religious and philosophical streams like Buddhism, Jainism, Hinduism, and Aryanism. He discourses that the ancient religions, before the systemization of it, relied on 'simple ascetic practices'. For Buddhism, the impact of Buddha in organizing these practices brought about the currently practiced Buddhist dhyana (meditation) cycles. For Hinduism, these practices were labelled 'Tantra' and because the Veds overlooked its organization, they ended up

resembling ‘shamanic’ rituals rather than the peaceful spiritual processes that the ancient texts guide through. As civilization grew, however, these practices encountered one another and consequently overlapped. The haphazardness of the ‘Tantra’ met with the Buddhist practices of ‘Samadhi’ and evolved into the practices of yoga, dhyana, and pranayama.

In fact, the collaboration and intermixing of ascetic practices between various systems of belief not only allowed for further regulation of the practices, much like Swami Patanjali ventured to do so in the 6th BCE through the Yoga Sutras. Although the time of the emergence of the Sutras and even the timeline of Patanjali’s presence in the society is a vague estimate, the impact and significance of his work is resounding. The Yoga Sutra, Patanjali’s magnum opus, ‘codified’ yoga and its philosophy into 196 ‘aphorisms’ across 4 chapters. Patanjali streamlined the vast practice into ‘Ashtanga Yoga’, or the ‘Eight-Limbed Practice’ to include ethical practices, postures, meditation, ‘sense withdrawal’, concentration, breath control, and ‘ultimate absorption’ (Nagarajan, 2023).

Yoga’s encounter with the West first occurred in the colonial period. Newcombe (2017) brings the West’s first impression of yoga to be quite the opposite of how it is regarded today. By that time, says Newcombe, Patanjali’s teachings were passed down to several sages and gurus. These knowledgeable yogis’ influence in ancient India was immense as they were believed to possess divine secrets and seen as semi-spiritual beings themselves. Many yogis held a place in royal courts and the monarchs of state regarded them with so much reverence as to seek out their advice, provide them with royal land and compensation, and allowed them governance over royal matters. Their hold over administrative aspects impeded the British colonizers’ attempts at establishing trade networks and English governance on Indian states. In this era, as a route to remove the yogic influence over princely states, the British agents slandered the name of the gurus and sanyasis, labelling them as ‘vagrants and criminals’. Even after removing them from court, the British continued to advocate that the act of yoga was ‘immoral’ and thus needed ‘Christian salvation’.

Throughout the colonial period, the age-old yogis and their indispensable spiritual knowledge was misbranded and presented in a negative light in front of Europeans and elite Indians. The 19th Century, says Edward Said (1967) when referencing poet Raymond Schwab's work on Orientalism in Europe, brought about what Schwab calls 'Oriental Renaissance' wherein the Indic researchers and scholars in Europe began to take interest in these 'exotic' and 'scandalous' prints of ancient India and their translations of the wors, though it marginalized the Indian race further, sparked a 'Renaissance-like' wave across the West. Soon, various texts began to be translated and Schwab, in his book Oriental Renaissance, draws comparisons between the West and the East and says that the Orient complements the Occident and these inspirations drawn from the East can be seen in Western medicine, architecture, astronomy, gastronomy, and other branches of society.

While the interest simmered and many religious texts and philosophical scholarships crossed the ocean to reach the shores of America to be translated in their foreign tongue of English, the uptake on yoga and Hindu philosophy was slow and almost insignificant. It was not until 1893 rolled around when Swami Vivekananda, a young charismatic Hindu and Buddhist monk and learned philosopher and scholar, visited the United States of America for the World Religion Parliament, that yoga became a nomination for national interest. Many academics and historians claim that Vivekananda's take on yoga, as he presented it to the American audience, was diluted, as in 'spiritual but not religious'. This eased the minds of the Catholic crowd towards conforming to a different religion, one that was so far away and, what they assumed was detached from their Christian American, modern, industrialized, and forward lifestyle (Wilderman and Sinha, 2019; Hammond, 2018).

2.3 The Yoga Boom in the U.S. and the Occidental West

While Vivekananda's trip to America served as the fire-starter for the flame that is yoga in the Americas, the fire did not grow on his efforts alone. Different yogis like B.K.S Iyengar, Bikram Choudhary, and other renowned

names began to transform the yoga scene, simplifying it further and slowly extracting the Hindu philosophies of yoga.

One of the most popular, and still the most widely practiced, from of yoga in the U.S is Hatha Yoga. The original principles of Hatha yoga aim towards keeping the inner body healthy rather than toning the physique externally and is practiced in steady holds of asanas (postures) rather than rapid flows of movement. Hatha Yoga is not a modern conjuration of the modern version of yoga (Jain and Hauswirth, 2017), but the way it is practised now is contradictory to the original principles of the form. Yet, there is little trace left of the original long holds of asanas as they are replaced by tight and dynamic flows that now identify as Hatha Yoga, or postural yoga.

The contemporary yoga that has created a foothold in America and thrives in the West holds many spurious characteristics like the incorrect reproduction of Hatha yoga as exampled above and these transformations and detached 'manifestations of yoga' are seen as faults by many informed scholars like Max Müller (1899) and Singleton and Byrne (2009) among many others. Müller brands the modern makeover of yoga as a degeneracy in its 'purely practical form', citing that it is so far removed from intellectuality that is has gone from 'rational beginnings to irrational exaggerations'. Though Müller's opinions are dated, they are agreed and built further upon by 21st Century scholars like Singleton and Byrne, who believe that post-modern yoga is 'phony' so as to claim that they are affiliated with 'tradition', however ill-defined it is due to the obvious 'masking of innovations and hybridity' and claims of partaking in the 'pristine and millennia-old' practice of authentic yoga.

Jain (2015) lists three decisive developments that led to the rapid popularity and cultural transmission of yoga across the vast ocean. The first is the opening up of international waters for trade and communications. This 'freedom of physical mobility', which came about in the 1960s for America after a long ban on India-U.S immigration, permitted two-way transactions – consumers could travel to buy and sellers could travel to market their wares. Secondly, there was a mass 'disillusionment' regarding religious systems that allowed Eastern gurus and spiritual advocates to step into the void and

garner support from ‘wandering believers’. The early 2000s brought on a change in conservative religious thinking, with much of the youth beginning to identify as “Spiritual but not Religious (SBNR)” and began to extract spirituality from its religious anchor, viewing the former as something “larger than them” (Kitchener, 2018). These ‘entrepreneurial godmen’ capitalized on this identification to market their ware, in this case yoga and meditation, as the ‘solution’. Even now, modern “American” yoga has distanced itself from religious connotations but many still draw on Eastern religious practices, and yoga has become something that is related to spirituality and not religion, a categorization that remains open to interpretation among diverse yoga authorities (Fredsell, 2018). Finally, Jain draws on the phenomenon that pop culture is produced through mass consumption in contemporary consumerism. This means that postural yoga (Hatha yoga) mobilised the shift from ‘increased visibility’ to ‘popularity’ by being detached from philosophies so much so that ‘pop culture criticism’ was restricted on the subject.

Munir *et al.* (2021), piggybacking on Jain’s ideologies, examines the process of the revaluation of yoga in the Western markets, saying that the initial introduction allowed yoga to retain its “strong religious sensibilities” as the traditional philosophical teachings of yoga “clearly opposed consumerism and capitalism”. The study by the scholars claims that the change in yoga’s philosophy came about in order to increase the capitalistic output to meet “resource needs and wider socio-economic changes”. There was also a desire to expand the practice in the foreign land. This expansion was done through “decontextualization” wherein yoga lost its touch with its religious Hindu roots and “untethering it from its foundations” so that it can expand to the fitness and health route.

The 1960s were also a golden decade for yoga due to pop culture. British boyband and global sensation, The Beatles, held an inarguably powerful hold on the youth of the era and their movements and activities were closely monitored and documented. The band took a trip to Rishikesh in 1968, after having met Maharishi Mahesh Yogi in London previously, on a spiritual tourism vacation. While the trip itself became a sensation – an Occidental ‘White” folk visiting the ‘Other’ exotic land and engaging in their practices – and was recorded to be published across the West, the meditation retreat

produced profound effects on the boys by weaning them off the LSD drug and powering their songwriting, evidenced through their release of over 50 songs post-trip, many of which are retained as The Beatles' biggest hits (Shayne, 2018). Suddenly, a large-scale fad took over the West, particularly America, to engage in the practice of yoga.

As the years went by, technological advancements progressed the spread of yoga across the continent and the globe, bringing yoga to where it is now in the U.S. – a USD 125 billion industry with over 35 million practitioners, beating even India and the South-East Asian market. Comparative studies conducted show clear reasons as to this huge disparity. Primarily, the average cost of one yoga class in America is valued at USD 15 to 30 and membership costs push USD 100 or above, while in India classes are based on donations or are comparatively low-cost. Furthermore, the Ministry of AYUSH in India, which is responsible for the propagation of yoga and Indian wellness as a tradition rather than a commodity, offer community-based approaches through ashrams and free workshops. Contrastingly, the U.S. merchandizes their yoga classes, launches brands to generate sales under the banner of yoga, and charge a hefty sum for all things yoga. Though the growing online landscape offers Indian yoga market a chance to develop their grip in the global stage, the increased fragmentation of regulations, the disparity in yoga performance traditions, and over-commodification of yoga hinder its growth (Augustine and Hase, 2025).

The coming sections will address concepts like commodification, Orientalism, and cultural appropriation, that have been mentioned in the above academic writings to expand on their role as the theoretical framework of this research.

2.4 Orientalism as the Theoretical Framework

Edward Said's concept of 'Orientalism' truly shines in the topic of yoga. Said (1978) defines Orientalism as a "style of thought" in which the Eastern world, The Orient, is characterized, stereotyped, or presented in a certain way by the West or the Occident. The way they do this is by "making statements about it, authorizing views of it, teaching it" and other

dominating actions without the “consent” or understanding of their counterparts in the East of whose culture they are defining.

Said is a foremost authority on Orientalism having coined the term and detailing its significance in society. His extent of knowledge on the subject is in line with other highlighted literature when he ventures to say that Orientalists, or the western-background individuals that wish to write about or discuss the Orient, view it or propagate it as a “locale requiring Western attention, reconstruction, or even redemption”. This wording emphasises exactly how and for what reason Yoga was repurposed to fit into the Western ideologies – because the people of the supposedly superior Occident viewed it as a concept that needed to be revamped to exclude the religious connotations that infringed on the largely Christian population without removing the ‘exotic’ and novel features of the practice.

Putcha (2020) talks about the continued and “normalised somatic orientalism” and its “imperial intimacies” in Western contexts. Somatic orientalism as she indicates in her writing refers to the removal of the mind and the emphasis on only the body – in this case, the removal of meaning and philosophy from yoga and the adoption of just the physical practice. Putcha talks about the “packaging” of culture in this way, “collapsing yoga, alternate medicine, and spirituality, and capitalism” and how that diminishes the cultural value of each subject, instead laying emphasis on the superficial adoption of concepts by the West. She dives into the use of “humour and mockery” and misrepresentation of yogic language in order to sell merchandise and generate capital, referencing the “long history of white speech”. This type of westernization of Oriental language is deep-seated in the historical contexts of “imperialism, enslavement, and settler colonialism” and the inappropriate use of vernacular, logos, and dressing “uphold racist thought”.

Putcha has many scholarly publishing that talk about the Indian concepts and its versions in the Western eyes, therefore offering a rich insight into Yoga as a way of propagating Orientalism in the modern, post-colonial society as well. These discussions will be further explored in the coming sections of the review.

The translations of Patanjali’s Yoga Sutras itself become, to many, an example of the Orientalist viewpoint of the West. Scholz (2024) labels the translation as being done with “hermeneutical naivete’ and ‘epistemological

ignorance'. This ignorance and indifference blocks out the historical, cultural, religious, social, and political responsibilities of representation and appropriation of the literature and the translations that wilfully ignore the implications of the text reflect the desire to 'escape culpability'. The yogis/yoginis of today strip the Hindu text of its religious context and embeds meanings of individual salvation that is a recreation of the way the Bible is interpreted among Christians. Many practitioners and yoga-enthusiasts even refer to the Sutras as the 'Bible' of yoga while some quote the original Christian text whilst performing an asana in order to justify the act with Christian implications (Scholz, 2024).

It is relevant to add here another case of Orientalist outlook of a celebrated event that is not quite as widely talked of – Swami Vivekananda's take on yoga and his renowned speech on the American stage. The records of his speeches that were delivered across a span of approximately 2 weeks, do not mention the term yoga or in any way remove Hinduism's significance in any Indian practice. Rather, the Swami propagates the idea of the Hindu Sanatan Dharma to be a tolerant and withstanding ancient religion that embraces all beliefs.

> *...sect after sect arose in India and seemed to shake the religion of the Vedas to its very foundations, but like the waters of the seashore in a tremendous earthquake it receded only for a while, only to return in an all-absorbing flood, a thousand times more vigorous, and when the tumult of the rush was over, these sects were all sucked in, absorbed, and assimilated into the immense body of the mother faith. From the high spiritual flights of the Vedanta philosophy, of which the latest discoveries of science seem like echoes, to the low ideas of idolatry with its multifarious mythology, the agnosticism of the Buddhists, and the atheism of the Jains, each and all have a place in the Hindu's religion.* (Paper on Hinduism, 19th September 1893)

Furthermore, Vivekananda criticised the audience Christian audience of their past acts in disproving and slandering the name of Hinduism and its philosophies. He even propagated the Hindu philosophy of Dharma or duty and Karma or action.

> *Christians must always be ready for good criticism, and I hardly think that you will mind if I make a little criticism. You Christians, who are so fond of sending out missionaries to save the soul of the heathen--why do you not try to save their bodies from starvation? In India, during the terrible famines, thousands died from hunger, yet you Christians did nothing. You erect churches all through India, but the crying evil in the East is not religion-- they have religion enough--but it is bread that the suffering millions of burning India cry out for with parched throats. They ask us for bread, but we give them stones. It is an insult to a starving people to offer them religion; it is an insult to a starving man to teach him metaphysics. In India a priest that preached for money would lose caste and be spat upon by the people. I came here to seek aid for my impoverished people, and I fully realised how difficult it was to get help for heathens from Christians in a Christian land.* (Swami Vivekananda, 20th September, 1893)

Swami Vivekananda's beliefs in yoga are not separate from Hinduism. After all, he himself was a Hindu and Buddhist monk that lived and died in spiritual and religious service. Swami regularly performed meditation for 'moksha' or liberation and God-realisation and advocated for the same as well. Swami's unique interpretation of Raja Yoga or meditative yoga stood apart from the original yoga sutras. To him it was secular practice that did not need a particular religion to be followed, just faith in its purest form – faith in the self. Another exclusive viewpoint of the Swami was one that he said "the West could not fathom" was the yoga of service, as he has quoted in one of his speeches (see above). This is duty to him and requires no religion. In these two aspects, the Swami has eliminated the need for religious embrace but advocated heartily for humanity (Long, 2019).

Swami's speech in Chicago became a massive sensation due to his use of rhetoric to construct religious harmony, according to Ghimire (2021). A learned 'Orient' monk that was young, charismatic, well-built, and well-spoken stood as a manifestation of evidence of which matters he spoke of. The Swami played into the America's pride of 'unification under One God' and his tactical analysis of Vedic philosophy using Christian rhetoric to explain it the Christian-dominated audience allowed the misfortune of his speeches being misinterpreted by the American media and historians as the Swami's endorsement of diluted yoga without the Hindu connotations.

Griffith (2014) records in her academia of her experience with "somatic orientalism" – a concept that builds on Said's Orientalism that mainly deals with literary iterations of Orientalism and instead deals with the physical manifestations of it through sensory experiences like visual, touch, smell, and others. When on an excursion to attend "Yoga Meltdown", a yoga festival organized in Canada as a part of the larger hoarding of "Festival of India", Griffith encounters many individuals clad in saffron robes, beaded necklaces and sandal paste on their foreheads heading towards the festival. Her conversations with the people in question revealed Canadian backgrounds and the many smaller 'pop-up' stalls and acts that distilled the Bhagavad Gita into a 20-minute play, henna stands, and a costume section where one could dress up in the same saffron robes and beads or sarees and other "Oriental" clothing for a picture opportunity. The 'Om' printed tees and other 'spiritual-based' apparel on sale at the venue emphasised the appropriative nature of the festival and its attendants. To them, says Griffith, this is a method of "entertaining people" at the cost of misrepresenting or

belittling a community by taking over their dress, culture, and practices without paying them the proper respect or disclosing their knowledge in its entirety.

In the technologically evolved society today, where events like the "Festival of India" and others are marketed and advertised online, somatic Orientalism is more relevant than ever. The visual aspect of this type of Orientalism is the main trigger that dominoes the other senses to be activated. America, in comparison with other societies, has been exposed to cinema and foreign cultures through these visual storytelling methods at a much larger scale, and yet their perceptions and opinions of the East are as misinformed as ever and Indic religions are "served as exotica". The entertainment value, as seen in Griffith's study, is much higher than the embracing of the culture. The depiction of any Eastern guru, be it a monk, a sanyasi, a sifu, or others, fall under the Occident's banner of the "Oriental Monk". This figure is represented visually using a number of elements. For example, a yogi is portrayed in saffron robes, with incense burning, a stereotypical accent, and the background of a serene, non-industrialized nature-inspired background, perhaps even a tell-tale temple with the sound of a bell being rung as 'Ohm' is chanted. This sort of portrayal elevates 'unconscious notions of the spiritual East' and Oriental tropes are embodied enough to be 'objectified' under 'virtual orientalism' as a form of cultural appropriation (Iwamura, 2011).

2.5 Cultural Appropriation of Yoga

The taking of tangible and/or intangible items by one culture which is dominant from another culture which is marginalized is cultural appropriation. Derived from the Latin verb 'appropriare', meaning 'to makes one's own', cultural appropriation occurs in many different ways and can lead to many different harms. Special emphasis must be placed on the power imbalance between the two cultures when 'taking'. Intellectual property, literature, art style, representation, apparel, land, religious semiotics, etc. are the plethora of cultural items that, if taken, fall under the umbrella of cultural appropriation (Arya, 2021).

Putcha (2022) refers to somatic Orientalism in her analysis of wellness in the United States and utilises it to explore how advertising for a yoga brand 're-spin' is Orientalist. Halle Berry, a Hollywood celebrity of African-American

descent, plays the main yogini role to endorse the product, and in the campaign, she is surrounded by burning incense, Eastern flavours of 'cilantro and mint' and the 'sound of an exotic instrument', practice of yoga and meditation without cultural representation or explanation. This 'leisure-wellness' portrayed sells a utopian lifestyle which is built on Oriental wellness that has become 'racialized and internalized' wherein the practice and its discussion is pivoted away from self-knowledge to traits of narcissism, performative Orientalism and avoidance of responsible representation.

Appropriation of not only Indian culture but also the Hindu belief structure occurs when the Western takers of yoga reinterpret the workings of yoga (Antony, 2014). Yoga traditionally is aimed at "diminishing the ego" but the American take on the same emphasises the "egocentricity and feelings of superiority", resulting in the new yoga producing feelings of "spiritual superiority". This builds on Said's Orientalism definitions by supporting the argument that the West took on yoga and modified it to fit their already superior outlook.

He says that the appropriation of yoga is different as compared to other forms of appropriation as he brings to the discussion yoga's historical "asymmetrical power balance" of a male-only religious practitioner bias and "democratizing and promoting accessibility" to the larger audience and people. He also places emphasis on the concept of "self-appropriation" by saying that an Indian guru himself was responsible for the watered-down translation of the ancient practice and its current "universalist perspectives". Askegaard & Eckhardt (2012) provide reasons for this self-appropriation, or re-appropriation. They offer six ways in which the appropriation by the white audience fuels the Indians to adopt their version of things – "yoga as a health practice, market-oriented yoga, global yoga and its cultural dominance, and auto-orientalist yoga". In this list, the main ideology that the scholars put forward is that "legitimacy" of the Western version of yoga allows for a "Western stamp of approval", thus further proving the persistent subservient nature of the East.

Another interesting idea that is talked about in their work is that re-appropriation is the "Westernization of the East and the Easternization of the West" simultaneously, meaning that the adoption of yoga culture propagates Indian tourism and economic gain and works as a way of reclaiming as a "post-colonial authenticating act".

In 2005, Bikram Choudhary, the founder of the brand of yoga 'Bikram yoga' or 'Hot Yoga', moved to patent and copyright his sequence of 28 poses. In a court case, though the court affirmed that 'yoga is an ancient physical practice', since Bikram had chosen only 28 of the several hundred asanas and put them in an immovable order of performance, it was copyrightable. This court statement was made based on a previous American case of 'thin' phonebooks which was granted copyright. This reliance on an American precedent for a topic that is based on ancient tradition, paired with the court's diminishment of yoga as a 'physical practice' rather than an ancient philosophical tradition, tramples into cultural appropriation of the practice. To be awarded copyright, also encroaches on commodification.

2.6 Commodification of Yoga

The concept of commodity, and commodification, is based on Aristotle's assertion that any item has two values – utilisation or exchange. Commodification, then, is the process by which an item which only holds value of use for the owner, is transformed into a something which will turn a profit once exchanged in the market. This can also be termed 'commercialization'. In the modern-day, 'attitudinal commodification' has also emerged where even the treatment of an object as a commodity, i.e. potential of buying-and-selling, is considered to be commodification, regardless of whether the transaction manifested in reality or not (Walsh, 2013).

The use of yoga, now delinked from its Vedic and Hindu source, as a 'springboard' into a 'health-oriented lifestyle' and as a 'therapeutic exercise' makes the practice the top contributor to the "legitimization' of, what Demeter (2006) calls, the spiritual marketplace. This marketplace, much like the name suggests sells and deals in items, ideologies, and lifestyles that revolve around mysticality and spirituality as a new-found faith system for an increasingly secularized world. In this context, Demeter draws on Bruce and Berger's definition of secularization, i.e. when there is a decline in the importance assigned to systematic religion, in the social standing of religious institutions, and in the extent of engagement in religious practices.

Putcha (2021) sees this spiritual marketplace to be influenced and egged on by White narcissism alongside commodification. The American claim that

wellness is something that can be bought or sold, indicates the ‘nefarious logics’ of Orientalism and ‘American imperialism’ while furthering ‘narcissistic impulses’. The selling of yoga classes and apparel online and on social media through influencers reiterates this as it portrays that engaging in this product of yoga, not only will you ‘improve your mental health’ but also gain likes an followers as a method of validation. This can also be seen through the elitist pricing of yoga classes, apparel, and accessories. Furthermore, Putcha also points out that yoga studios are almost always set in high-end commercial neighbourhoods along the side of café’s and “clean-eating” salons and restaurants that are also expensive. This commercializes yoga and weaponizes it to sell other products as well.

Hybridization, as per Coskuner-Balli and Ertimur (2016), is the mixing of two cultures, ideologies, or items. It stems from ‘deterritorialization’ as a result of increased globalization that, in its constant flow, uproots cultures from their place. The ‘intermingling of these disembedded’ practices and cultures for hybrid products. Yoga is a prime example of hybridization. Now, yoga which is dithered from India and Hinduism and grows even more distant from its origins, is mixed with Western and foreign concepts of acrobatics, chocolate, pets and goats, wine, etc. among other philosophical cultures like martial arts and Greek mythology. This sort of hybridisation has given birth to ‘American yoga’ – a highly commodified, ‘anti-sectarianism’, decentralized product.

In a study of the lifestyle advertising in the *Yoga Journal* by Bhalla, O’Boyle, and Moscowitz (2022), the adverts showed female characters clad in expensive clothing and branded accessories and the writings marketed yoga as a way of toning the body and losing weight while selling elite memberships to high-end yoga studios and clubs. It not only appropriated the Indian and Hindu culture by ‘dumbing it down’ but also commercialized the tradition of yoga to generate almost USD 155 million in profit for the ‘athleisure’ apparel companies (as of 2018). Sales of yoga pants have bested denims and jeans even in the casual wear department. This is a ‘clear shift’ from the yogic philosophy of renouncing worldly and materialistic wants and greed.

Even the selling of the toned, fit, and ideal female body through the process of yoga is its commodification. Through sexist advertising, the practice of yoga is incorrectly sold as a female-only activity and men do not partake in it as it has become a ‘gendered practice’. Furthermore, the selling of tight

and fashionable yoga clothes also subject the practice to the male gaze which is also against the renunciation philosophy of yoga and Tapasya. Through these editorials and magazine adverts, not only is yoga practice sold, so is the apparel, the magazine itself, and even sexuality is commodified in the spiritual marketplace previously mentioned. The commercialization of yoga, in today's age is at a pace 'never seen before' (Bhalla and Moscowitz, 2019).

Bourne (2010) discusses the selective learning of concepts as a sign of Orientalism in yoga tourism. Bourne cites the experience detailed by a group of students that had travelled to India to learn yoga further "to learn to manage stress" and enhance well-being and had no intention or knowledge of "Vedic chanting" that accompanied traditional yoga due to its religious roots. Bourne also highlights the differences in practice between the locals and tourists – the foreigners in "special sports-type clothing and equipment" and the few local yoga students dressed in casual "shalwar kameez" due to the hectic demands "of the class and everyday life". This contrast in the effort put into the clothing shows the disparity in the class, wherein the white tourists are of considerable wealth and belong to a higher social stratum while locally, yoga is concentrated around the middle-class that have adopted the ideology of yoga as a stress-relief method. The commodification of yoga also ties into the discussion put by Bourne when bringing up clothing and equipment as an aspect of yoga tourism and its Occidental marketing.

2.7 Gaps in Literature

The above literature review presents many decades worth of discourse over yoga, its philosophy, religious ties, and its manifestation of American Yoga. The theoretical framework of Orientalism is also defined, aided and supported by the up-to-date and evolved versions of the theory to encompass technological representations of the East. However, the previous academic works do not venture into the modern digital marketing of yoga in the American digital market.

Furthermore, though studies like Bhalla and Moscowitz and Griffith take a look at Yoga Journals and magazines and physical events, there is a lack of scholarship on multinational corporations, brands, and commercial product lines, that market yoga and its accessories and apparels. There is also a

significant lack of such research based on Said's Orientalism framework which defines the West's perspective of the 'Other'. This dissertation will attempt to bridge this gap and shed light on the multifaceted global transformation of the aeons-old yoga.

Chapter 3: Methodology

To understand how Orientalism appears in modern yoga ads, we need a rigorous and reflective method. The approach must capture the complex connections between culture, commerce, and how things are represented. Rajasekar et al. (2006) define research methodology as, primarily, the "study of methods" that leads to the acquisition of knowledge and a science of studying how research is done. But it also carries the definition of a "systematic procedure" that researchers follow to illustrate, predict, and elucidate on phenomena or seek a solution for a problem. Within this broader umbrella, lie research methods – various "procedures, schemes, and algorithms" – that act as tools to execute the methodology by gathering samples or data or guiding data analytics. This section will detail the methodology that the research will follow, touching upon important details of its design, theoretical motivations and bases, the collection and analysis of data, and ethical considerations of the research.

It is of ultimate import that a clear and "well-defined" methodology be outlined to mitigate risks of producing data that is "unreliable, biased, or inaccurate". These research methodologies need to be paired with pertinent research methods to produce "reliable results" to ensure that the research is "rigorous" (Bahishti, 2022).

To form the basis of my methodology, I will employ the postcolonial approach. Essentially drawn from the field of sociology, this approach, like the name indicates, explores the consequences of imperialism and colonialism on society, presenting a perspective of the "complicated power dynamics" during and after colonial control (Christiansen, 2021) and Said's concept of Orientalism, which will be the underlying theoretical influence as mentioned previously, is one of the postcolonial scholarships that criticise and evaluate the aftermath of colonialism.

Relying on Said's Orientalism and developing on his descriptions of imperialism and exoticism of the East, the research will identify codes and patterns of commodification and cultural appropriation for academic understanding, furthering of future studies on related or the same topic, and complementing past academia. This categorizes the research into the banner of "basic research" or "theoretical research" which is identified by the prioritization of the understanding of a phenomenon for future reference rather than the creation of a solution to a real-world issue for immediate application, like that of "applied research" (Rajasekar et al., 2006).

3.1 Research Design

Yoga, as the previous literature review shows, is a very malleable and ever-evolving concept in society and since the research is designed to assess this very malleability and its subtext, the research will follow a nonexperimental design. Research designs can be classified into three categories that are based on the "strength of experiment controls": experimental – which uses random assignment in various "conditions" and manipulates a single variable, quasi-experimental – which assigns groups on pre-existing conditions and compares them to each other, or nonexperimental – which does not involve any manipulation of variables and relies strictly on observation using qualitative methods (Marczyk, DeMatteo, and Festinger, 2005).

Content analysis, the research method I have chosen to utilise, satisfies the aforementioned conditions of nonexperimental design. Content analysis as a research method goes as far back as the early 18th Century, basing in Scandinavia until it reached the land of the U.S.A in the early 20th Century, where it was used to produce either quantitative or qualitative data. Most often, the approach was 'mixed-methods' wherein text, which was the main form of content available at the time, was first coded based on interpretation and then assessed for numerical patterns, thus producing both quantitative and qualitative data. In recent years, however, the qualitative base for content analysis is being further explored. This is further branched into three types of analysis. The first is conventional analysis, which is used to "describe a phenomenon" with limited prior research to support the topic and allow categories to "flow from the data". The second is summative analysis, which records patterns of usage and then, after collection of quantities, qualitatively interprets them to discover "underlying meaning".

The third and last type of analysis is directed which is equipped with a previous research or theory to form the research questions as a "deductive use of theory" (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005). The directed approach is the one that best fits into the methodology of choice for this research, as the theory of Orientalism will be used to produce codes which will generate qualitative data.
The reason that I have chosen qualitative data as the central type of analysis lies in the distinction between manifest and latent approaches. Manifest approach evaluates the surface-level, "directly observable" face value of content with "objectivity", and this produces quantitative data as a result of the detached and numeric or frequency-based method of approach. On the other hand, latent approach digs deeper for the subtext and the underlying "theoretical constructs" which aids in "assigning meaning to a observed phenomenon" (Cash and Snider, 2014) and the directed content analysis replicates exactly that to produce qualitative data that is interpretative, extensive, and less objective than the stone-cold numbers of quantitative data.

Since this research hinges on the interpretation of various factors – Orientalism, wellness, commodification, cultural appropriation, among others – that can produce varying measurements, qualitative data analysis sizes perfectly to accommodate the subjectiveness of the components of the topic. Furthermore, the concept of yoga and religiousness or spirituality itself is rooted in philosophy and thus cannot be devoid of subjective interpretation. Degrees of commodification and cultural appropriation, as well as the elements of Said's defined Orientalism, require a subjective interpretation to form proper codes and categories for analysis.

3.2 Codebook Development

MacQueen et al. (1998) essentialize the "systematic coding of text" for an efficient qualitative data analysis, labelling these codes as "the building blocks of theory". The codebook, according to the academic, must include six elements: the code or the unit of measurement, the definition, the "inclusion" or instructions on when to use, "exclusions" or instructions on when not to use, and an example to further explain the context for the usage of the code. MacQueen et al. urge the utilisation of a "database management program" to streamline the development of the codebook, highlighting advantages like the readily available template to induce a "systematic

approach", the ease of creating multiple drafts for cross-referencing and refining of "coding guidelines", the ease of revision of errors, the ease of tracking changes using the automated "date fields", the availability of numerous formats to be exported, the ease of linking multiple codebooks (if any), and lastly, the ease of saving, "modification, copying, and replacement".
For my research, I have developed my codebook, the details and specifications of which are to follow this, on Microsoft Excel. While database managements like Nvivo are accessible that automate many aspects of codebook development, the software are only available at a cost. Microsoft Excel, on the other hand, is a free in-built software that can help organize data collection and analysis.

A code, a term which has been mentioned several times in this section, is a term or a phrase that is used to denote "a summative, salient, essence-capturing, or evocative" trait of the content in question. This code is a "construct" that is generated by the researcher(s) and the process of using these codes to systemize or categorize data is called "codification". Multiple codes can be further grouped into larger pools called "categories" or "families" on the basis that they share some attributes (Saldaña, 2009).

Elo and Kyngäs (2008) introduce the concept of "abstraction" in which the categories are generated through "content-characteristic words" and, based on this, subcategories with comparable elements are grouped together. This abstraction process continues "as far as is reasonable" and each category, subcategory and code are generated through interpretation.
For the purpose of this research, the codebook created will consist of categories that are based on Said's descriptions of Orientalism, as mentioned previously.

In the very first page of his book, Edward Said, as an introduction, says the following:

> *"The Orient was almost a European invention, and had been since antiquity a place of romance, exotic beings, haunting memories and landscapes, remarkable experiences."* (Said, 1978, p.1)

Drawing from this "Occidental" description of the East, the first category I have generated is "Exoticism", which is the process by which someone or something is labelled as unusual because they have originated from

somewhere foreign and far away. Even within this definition, anything or anywhere outside the metaphysical borders of the West can be, and often is, "exotic". In this case, it is yoga and its home country India which are exotified. Two further specific codes branch from this category – the use of nature-inspired and/or Eastern-inspired backgrounds, and the use of Eastern background music and/or narration. According to Said, the East is portrayed as a place untouched by modernity or industrialization , as opposed to the West, which make makes it 'exotic' and different from Western lifestyle. The use of nature backgrounds when performing yoga incites the feeling of this interpretation and contrasts heavily with the fact that a non-Indian individual may perform yoga in the said backdrop in the featured advertisement. Apart from the visual aspect, the use of chanting mantras, traditional Eastern instrumentals, the humming of "Om" and other Sanskrit-rooted vocabulary to fill the audio of the advert also points towards exotification of the Orient. The second category complements this first – "Cultural Appropriation". When a cultural item or element is decontextualised and used by the "dominant" culture without acknowledgment of the roots, it is appropriation. Through this meaning, I have identified two codes which encompass the Western portrayal of the mystical East. The first is the use of Sanskrit without context and this includes words like 'Om', 'Namaste', 'asanas', or any other term that has birthed from the old vernacular. The second is the use of religious paraphernalia and spiritual semiotics within the visual component of the ad without attributing to its Hindu root. This includes "mandalas", Gods and Goddesses of the Hindu pantheon, the swastika, etc.

> *It is clear, I hope, that my concern with authority does not entail analysis of what lies hidden in the Orientalist text, but analysis rather of the text's surface, its exteriority to what it describes. I do not think that this idea can be overemphasized. Orientalism is premised upon exteriority, that is, on the fact that the Orientalist, poet or scholar, makes the Orient speak, describes the Orient, renders its mysteries plain for and to the West. He is never concerned with the Orient except as the first cause of what he says. What he says and writes, by virtue of the fact that it is said or written, is meant to indicate that the Orientalist is outside the Orient, both as an existential and as a moral fact.* (Said, 1978, p.21)

It has been written about in a vast number of academic journals and subject-specific scholarships, that yoga has been moulded into its decontextualised and non-religious persona in the 21st century because of the way that it has been portrayed in the "White" media landscape. Said's 'Orientalist', i.e. a person who is "devoted" to the study and writing of and about the Eastern people, its culture, and matters, only writes of the observable value that

Orient culture presents rather than exploring and explaining the deeper insights into its religious and historical ties. This, says Said, becomes the gospel truth and by this performance of decontextualization and appropriation, yoga is now a multibillion-dollar industry.

This generates yet another category under the same banner – "Universalisation of Yoga and Decontextualization". While the previous category dealt with taking specific elements of Hindu and Indian culture by snipping its Oriental links, Category 3 focuses explicitly on decontextualization of the practice of yoga as a religious philosophy to generalizes it to a method of: 1. Fitness; 2. Universal wellness; and 3. non-historical practice. These three make up the codes within this category.

> *"But at the outset one can say that so far as the West was concerned during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, an assumption had been made that the Orient and everything in it was, if not patently inferior to, then in need of corrective study by the West. The Orient was viewed as if framed by the classroom, the criminal court, the prison, the illustrated manual…*
> *Orientals lived in their world, "we" lived in ours. The vision and material reality propped each other up, kept each other going. A certain freedom of intercourse was always the Westerner's privilege; because his was the stronger culture, he could penetrate, he could wrestle with, he could give shape and meaning to the great Asiatic mystery,"* (Said, 1978, p. 40,44)

Both these extracts outline a common binary, and it is that the Orient is in someway "incorrect" and it requires Western influence or, more appropriately, interference to shape the Eastern "mystery" to fit into the lifestyles and palate of the West, since the latter is the more dominant figure. Therefore, in the case of the yoga, extracting it from its philosophical and religious connotations to use it to promote or present a "toned body", "improved core strength", or other physical fitness ideas, as an outcome of the practice is a code of decontextualization by universalisation – yoga is for fitness and fitness, in turn, is for everybody. Occidental interpretation and presentation of yoga even describes it as a way of achieving mental peace, peak mental health, or physiological "wellness". And yet again, the removal of historical context when marketing it or inciting discourse on the topic is a code of Orientalism.

The fourth category in the codebook is "Representation", principally the representation of South Asian individuals.

> *"Many terms were used to express the relation: Balfour and Cromer, typically, used several - The Oriental is irrational, depraved (fallen), childlike, "different"; thus, the European is rational, virtuous, mature, "normal." But the way of enlivening the relationship was everywhere to stress the fact that the Oriental lived in a different but thoroughly organized world of his own, a world with its own national, cultural, and epistemological boundaries and principles of internal coherence… The point is that in each of these cases the Oriental is contained and represented by dominating frameworks."* (Said, 1978, p.40)

The first way in which representation can contain Orientalism is through "Tokenism and Exclusion". Tokenism can take on two meaning: one, the practice of "satisfying the moral requirement" for the addition of people from "structurally disadvantaged" circles into a so-called higher class of society as a show of social mobility that, in reality, does not exist; and two, the practice of "placating a demand" for a specific procedure (Grant, 2017). In the circumstance of yoga advertising, the working definition agreed upon is the former as the subject in question are people as opposed to objects or courses of action. Exclusion, as the name suggests, is the omission of South Asian individuals in the ad campaign.

"Stereotype reinforcement" makes up the second code in the category. Here, inclusion conditions are based on stereotypical Indian representations like praying at a temple, wearing a *bindi/saree/kurta*, a saint in saffron, eating with hands, hands joined in namaste without yoga as context, etc. Portraying Indian people in these manners while American, or Caucasian, people perform the "elite" practice of yoga, plays directly into Said's perspective that the Occident places themselves at a higher level than that of their Oriental counterparts and manipulate narratives to affirm that belief.

> *The Oriental is imagined to feel his world threatened by a superior civilization, yet his motives are impelled, not by some positive desire for freedom, political independence, or cultural achievement on their own terms, but instead by rancour or jealous malice. The panacea offered for this potentially ugly turn of affairs is that the Orient be marketed for a Western consumer, be put before him as one among numerous wares beseeching his attention. By a single stroke you will defuse the Orient (by letting it think itself to be an "equal" quantity on the Occidental marketplace of ideas), and you will appease Western fears of an Oriental tidal wave.* (Said, 1978, p.249-250)

Said discusses at length of the method of marketing Eastern culture to the West to yield results of Occidental superiority and Oriental subservience, which brings about the last and final category – "Commodification and

Commercialization”. This category comprises three codes: "Luxury Element of Wellness," that bundles yoga with prohibitively costly retreats or high-end mats to appeal to affluent Western consumers; "Pop-Culture Focus," which lessens the cultural depth of yoga by interconnecting it to celebrities or social media challenges; and "Marketing Products for Capital Gains," which concentrates on branded apparel and accessories in order to increase revenues in the $28 billion yoga market in the United States. Consistent with Said’s explanation, the marketing of yoga as a high-end and trendy commodity not only generates a massive profit, but it also pleases the Western audience by presenting it with a novel and “culturally rich” lifestyle and fad while, simultaneously, justifying to the Orient the reason of “borrowing” their culture under the pretence of assigning a high value in society to them.

3.3 Data Collection

With the codebook synthesized and the codes of measurement sufficiently explained, the next step is collecting the advertisements for analysis. To monitor the pulse of yoga’s commercial advancement in the United States of America, this research investigation focusses in on a curated dataset of 100-150 advertisements sourced from the 10 to 15 leading American yoga companies, elected for their leading market presence and online authority, as verified through a backlink checker inspecting their highest revenues and domain authorities.

Here, the sampling strategy is “purposeful sampling”, i.e. one that “intentionally samples” a group of sites/people that will be most efficient in providing the relevant information based on the criterion of the research problem under investigation. “Narrative, Ethnography, Phenomenology, Grounded Theory, and Case Study” are five approaches within purposeful sampling (Creswell and Poth, 2025) and based on the characteristics of my data collection – analysis of a “bound set of cases” with a common cause or message that is done through observation and interpretation – the most appropriate label for the inquiry is case study.

The advertisements that will be investigated in the study are sourced from digital media platforms like Facebook, Instagram, LinkedIn, X (formerly Twitter), YouTube, individual websites, blogs and press releases, and Spotify. Stemler (2015) stresses upon the extraordinary value that modern

digital media like electronic mailing, the internet, social media apps like Facebook and Instagram, streaming websites and applications like YouTube, Netflix, Disney Plus Hotstar, digital messaging, etc., have on the quality of content analysis in today's world. Since content analysis is flexible and often theoretically driven, the audio, the visual, and the text can be analysed smoothly with a "guiding theory" to link them and "find a relationship" between datasets. Furthermore, the variety provided by content analysis on digital media makes it an extremely powerful tool for the evaluation of data. In the multibillion-dollar market of yoga, there exist several thousand companies that deal with, sell, or are in some way correlated with yoga. One of the main problems that can arise from such a diverse format and plethora of online platforms is picking and choosing companies, websites, and their social media accurately to ensure reliability, mitigate biases, and affirm their value to the research questions. I have applied a backlink checker – Ahrefs.com - to avoid these ethical issues in collecting data. Ahrefs.com, an SEO analyser, checks the amount of traffic that is driven to a particular website though direct and reference links from other websites. They use a logarithmic 100-point scale to log the strength of a website through the measurement unit of "Domain Rating (DR)". While it is not an absolute scale and more a relative unit of measurement, a higher DR score indicates a more reliable link and the ranking of the website to its competition in the same genre of commodity (Rebekah, 2025). DR in and of itself cannot be reliably used to estimate the global power of one single company but it can be used to compare multiple websites to each other to weed out the powerful ones among the other competitors in the same market.

Using this algorithm, I have chosen the following 15 websites for analysis:

1. Lululemon (DR 83) – The largest and most profitable yoga accessories and clothing company in the world. Generates an annual revenue of USD 10.6 billion as per the recent 2025 annual report.

2. Alo Yoga (DR 75) – The second largest yoga apparel, accessories, and classes company in the United States. In the last 5 years it has tripled its annual revenue to almost meet lululemon. It is known as the celebrities' most favoured brand of yoga wear.

3. Glo (formerly YogaGlo) (DR 74) – A yoga classes company that generates approximately USD 146 million annually.

4. Beyond Yoga (DR 70) – A California-based yoga apparel company that generates an estimated USD 95 million per annum.

5. Athleta by GAP (DR 84) – A company that makes and sells clothes and accessories for yoga with an annual revenue of USD 1.2 billion.

6. PrAna (DR 73) – Generates USD 138.5 million per annum as a yoga apparel company.

7. Gaia, Inc {parent company of Gaiam (DR 75) and Gaia (DR 78)} – An online hub for all things yoga and meditation, that is classes, props, accessories, clothes, blogs and tutorials, and counselling. Gaiam, the props and accessories branch of the produces USD 36 million annually while Gaia brings in USD 53.1 million.

8. CorePower Yoga (DR 74) – Produces and offers online and in-person yoga classes. Estimated annual revenue is USD 850.8 million.

9. Yoga Works (DR 72) – With an annual turnover of USD 269 million approximately, this company provides yoga and meditation classes, both online and offline.

10. Manduka (DR 74) – With an annual return of USD 41.6 million, Manduka is the producer of yoga apparel and accessories.

11. Kripalu Yoga Retreats (DR 76) – As the name suggests, this USD 133 million centre for health and wellbeing provides elite wellness and yoga retreats around the world alongside online counselling and schools for yoga, meditation, and ayurveda.

12. Book Yoga Retreats (DR 71) – While the annual revenue of this specific affiliate of the parent company BookRetreats is not available, BookRetreats has an annual estimate of USD 7.1 million.

13. Omega Retreats Centre (DR 75) – This company provides online and offline workshops for astrology, yoga, meditation, ayurveda wellness, along with retreats. Omega has an approximate annual revenue of USD 104 million.

14. Esalen Institute (DR 74) – Though this Not for Profit encompasses more of general wellbeing workshops and elements, they also provide classes and retreats for yoga. The estimated revenue for Esalen is USD 31 million annually.

15. Vuori Clothing (DR 72) – With an approximate annual revenue of USD 637 million, Vuori markets athleisure clothing and apparel for yoga and other fitness workouts alongside the pertinent accesories.

As it also can be observed, I have taken a note of the companies'/websites' annual revenues to add to the objectivity of the data sources and avoid selection bias.

For the sake of uniformity of the datasets, I have taken 10 ads per company, bringing the total number of advertisements for coding up to 150. This will ensure that the analysis is fair, and the qualitative data produced is unbiased. The choices of advertisement, to ensure that bias is avoided, are dependent on the most popular ad campaigns of each company, or the most viewed or liked posts, or, in the case that these figures are not available, the most recent uploads.

3.4 Data Analysis

The process of finding, examining, and summarising patterns or themes in qualitative data—such as interviews, texts, or, in your instance, advertisements—is known as thematic qualitative analysis. In order to find recurrent themes, ideas, or meanings that connect to your study questions, it

entails methodically coding the data. To create a cohesive narrative, the process usually entails getting to know the facts, creating preliminary codes, combining codes into possible themes, evaluating and honing those themes, and then identifying and labelling them (Roberts, Dowell, and Nie, 2019). Though, as mentioned previously, it is quite common to follow a mixed-methods analysis, this study will depend mainly on qualitative analysis. Since the sample I have chosen is a small fraction of the entire yoga market, the quantified data will not be a proper representation for the marketing trends across the yoga landscape. However, in order to prove the patterns of analysis, I will be quantifying the recurrence of Orientalist codes in advertising campaigns, though it is imperative to note that the statistics drawn from this quantitative analysis is reliable for the chosen sample and may not be uniform for a larger and more inclusive sample.

Using predefined categories that are created from a source other than the data to be analysed, applied automatically using an algorithmic search process (instead of reading the data), and analysed only quantitatively are the methods used in quantitative content analysis. Most of the categorised data is decontextualised. The categories used in qualitative content analysis are typically created, at least partially, inductively (that is, from the data) and applied to the data through careful reading (Forman and Damschroder, 2007). Qualitative data analysis, though its base definition is disputed by scholars, means to examine and, subsequently, draw inferences from data without relating to numerical formats or counting patters. Instead, this form of analysis is non-statistical and used to map out the codes and their uses within the dataset.

A "Code Book" outlining the coding framework is included in the dataset, which consists of 150 ads coded across 15 sheets, each of which represents a business or brand. With subcategories describing particular practices, the codes are arranged into five categories (e.g., 1.1: Nature backgrounds/South-Eastern-like settings, 2.1: Use of Sanskrit without context). The presence ("Y") or absence ("N") of these codes was assessed for each advertisement, with qualitative context provided by supplementary notes. To find the most common trends and variances by firm, platform, and year, the analysis computed the frequency of each code across all ads. These trends were contextualised using qualitative insights gleaned from the notes, with an emphasis on how marketing strategies mirror Orientalist inclinations, including the exoticisation of South Asian culture, the erasure of historical

context, and the preference for financial gain over cultural observance (see Appendix A and C).

Kothari (2004) defines interpretation as the method of "drawing inferences" from the collected and coded datasets after the study is completed. This task has two main aspects – to "establish continuity" by linking the results of this study to a previous theory or study, and to explain overlapping concepts to guide future research. Efficient interpretation by the researcher should follow the steps as outlined: 1. The investigator must provide "reasonable explanations" of the links drawn and found in the data and work towards finding uniformity that lies between this, 2. Any "extraneous information" discovered during the research, i.e. data that does not fit into the hypothesis or is varied from the other information drawn, must be highlighted and included into the explanation to understand the research better, and 3. Interpretation must only be carried forward once all other facets of the study are competed and the complete data is coded and present before him to avoid "false generalization".

Chapter 4: Findings

This report synthesises the frequency and trends of the themes outlined in the methodology section of this paper as detailed above (see also Appendix A) and which also emphasises how yoga is exotified, decontextualised, and commercialized—often at the expense of its Hindu and Indian origins. The results of a qualitative examination of 150 ads from 15 US yoga-related businesses are presented in this report and are recorded in the dataset that was supplied (Appendix B). As a component of a broader dissertation entitled "Selling Exoticized Wellness: Orientalism and the Upsurge of Yoga," the study looks at the Orientalist marketing of yoga in the United States.

This report will follow a code-by-code breakdown, emphasising and highlighting the different ads that exhibited particular characteristics under the specified codes at the highest frequency, that is to say, which companies adhered to the codes more in comparison to others in the same industry. This approach will also allow for a clear quantification of the data. However, an important note to bear in mind is that these quantifications are specific to the

dataset only and may not reflect the entirety of the companies' advertisement methods and tropes.

In specific instances that merits the representation of visual elements for a clearer comprehension of the data, the description of findings will be paired with the corresponding figure for reference.

4.1 Exotic Imagery/Oriental Imagery (Codes 1.1 and 1.2)

This category encompassed visuals and audios that resembled, according to the elements outlined by Said, "South Asian" scenery or ambiances, whether this is through a temple in the background, a natural rainforest that is a stark contrast to the concrete jungle we currently reside and lead our lives in, or the chanting of mantras or 'om' as an auditory amplifier for a video.

Code 1.1. Nature Background/South-Eastern Like Settings – 44%

Present in 66 out of 150 ads.

Yoga companies in this dataset more often than not used visuals, settings, and backdrops of scenic locations like rainforests, beaches, clifftops, canyons, or fields and in which they placed one or more individuals performing yoga. While the use of a nature-filled background is not explicitly or directly Orientalism, it does reflect the element of "regressiveness" and humble perspective of the East that is predominant in Orientalist and imperialist ideology.

The prevalence of this visual characteristic in 44% of the chosen advertisements across 15 American companies exemplifies the choice of representation of yoga practice as being one that is devoid of modernity and rooted in renunciation of worldly goods, and yet, the advertisement markets either apparel for that specific practice, classes and paid tutoring for this "fitness routine", or even selling a certain type of "ideal body". This very contrast incites comment.

Alo Yoga's "Summer 2025/Summer State of Mind" campaign (Figure 1) (Appendix B2:R3 and C2:R4), for example, is a prime example of this trend.

Its imagery, which includes immaculate beaches and verdant forests, exoticizes yoga. This representation gently distances the practice from its deep philosophical and cultural roots in India by framing it as a calm, outdoor activity. PrAna's "Portugal Stories" (Figure 2) (Appendix B6:R3 and C6:R4) also support this story. The advertisement presents yoga as an ideal, far-flung getaway by utilising breathtaking natural settings, such as the sun-drenched Portuguese coasts. Campaigns like "Portugal Stories" combine cliffs, beaches, and forests to create a romanticised, magical setting that distances yoga from its cultural origins and portrays it as an exciting, all-encompassing activity.

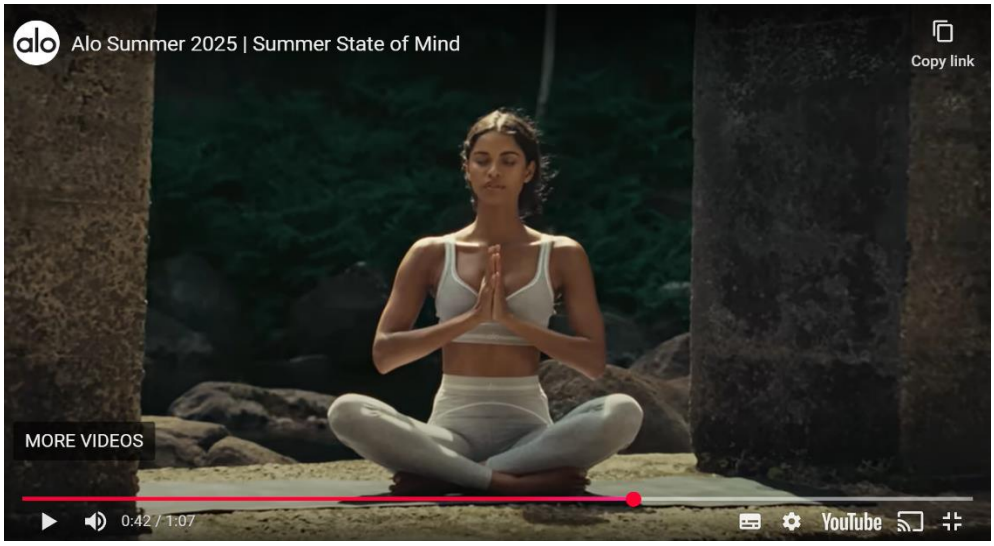


Figure 2 - A still from Alo's Summer Campaign Video

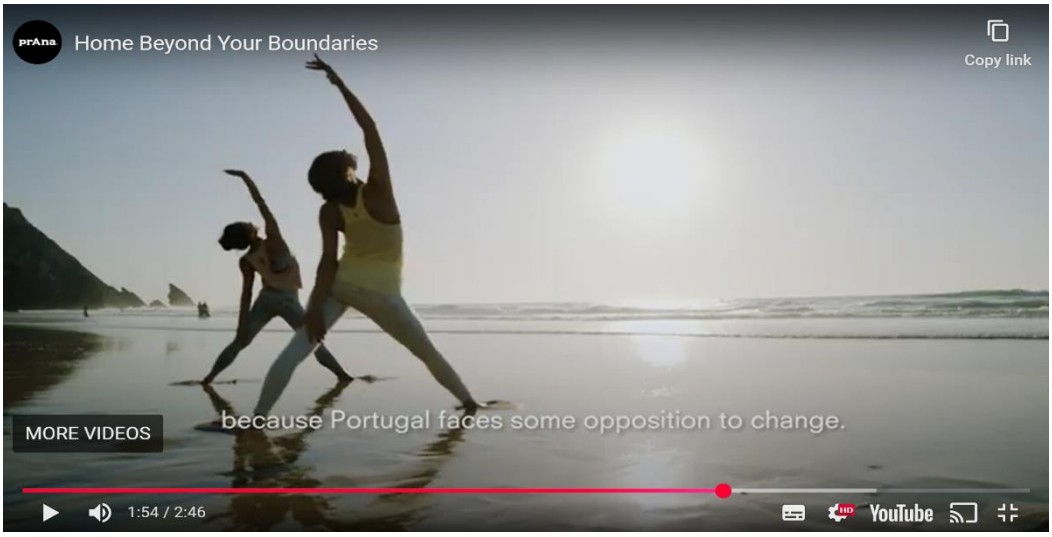


Figure 1 - A still from PrAna's Portugal Stories video

Leading Western yoga businesses' uniform aesthetic choices have a tendency to promote an idealised, frequently depoliticised, view of yoga,

moving the emphasis away from its rich history and towards a commercialised sense of peace and beauty.

Another starker portrayal of yoga in a “humble” background is in Athleta's "Salutation Stash" (Figure 3) (Appendix B9:R2 and C9:R10). An Orientalist depiction of yoga as a primitive, outdoor activity is supported by Athleta's frequent usage of desolate or natural environments, such as the mud hut in the aforementioned campaign. Without taking into account Indian or Hindu cultural backgrounds or even the growth and trends of the region, these images suggest a stereotyped "Eastern" aesthetic.

Figure 3 - A still from Athleta's Salutation Stash video

Out of all the companies coded, PrAna (8) and BookYogaRetreats (Appendix B and C) (9) recorded the highest frequency of nature backdrops for their advertisements. BookYogaRetreats explicitly used visual scenery from Western landscapes like the “Amazon Jungle” (Appendix B and C14:R3) and other locations from the Western world, which further detaches yoga from its Indian birthplace.

Code 1.2. South-Eastern background audio/ narration – 10.67%

Present in 16 out of 150 ads.

This code was used lot less, almost insignificantly, across the ads as compared to other codes within the coding framework. This code primarily dealt with the employment of South-Eastern audio or narration to fill up audio either as the main or the background noise. This category could include temple bells, the chanting of mantras or hymns or even "Om", or the recitation of Hindi or Sanskrit (among other countless Indian languages) script.

Seeing the redundancy in occurrence in the advertisements, this Orientalist marketing tactic can only be considered on a case-to-case basis. One of these instances is the "Yogic Paths" promotional advertisement by Gaia (Appendix B5:R1 and C5:R2) for their new series of yoga and meditation classes and motivational lectures. In this approximately 2-minute video, there is frequent, if not consistent, use of temple bells and classical Indian instrumental making up the ambiance of the video. This could be associated with the visuals of Indian streets and the people milling about, but the music remained consistent even with alternate shots of non-Indian individuals or settings filling the screen.

Another example of this is in a 2021 COVID-19 post on Instagram that was uploaded as a stand of solidarity. The short video comprises of multiple practitioners, all of whom represent the staff of Gaia and are of Western descent, chanting "Om" throughout the video.

A third example is from Kripalu Yoga (Appendix B11:R5 and C11:R6) in a collaborative post with Jirian Hughes, who is a practitioner and teacher of yoga at Kripalu, in an Instagram post for "Let Your Yoga Dance" wherein yoga is performed as a dance. Within this, a soft Indian instrumental fills up the audio as Jirian flows in her dance practice.

Gaia (3) and BookYogaRetreats (4) recorded the highest frequency of South-Eastern audio usage in their advertisements. One of BookYogaRetreats "#YogaForHealing" Youtube Shorts video (Figure 4) (Appendix B14:R7 and C14:R8) shows a group of non-Indian individuals, clad in Eastern clothing and accessories like *Patiala* pants and *rudraksh* beads that are commonly called *Jappmalas* for prayer, singing a Hindu hymn with Sanskrit lyrics while some play Indian instruments like the Harmonium or the Indian flute. This is done without proper courtesy paid to the hymn or the instruments as being of Indian origins.

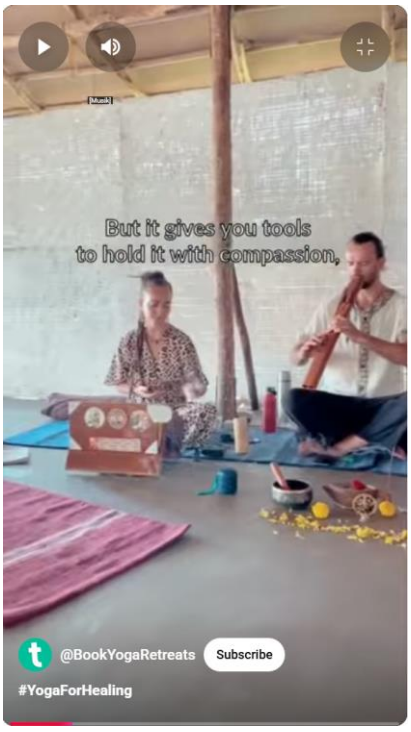


Figure 4 - A still from #YogaForHealing video

4.2 Cultural Appropriation (Codes 2.1 and 2.2)

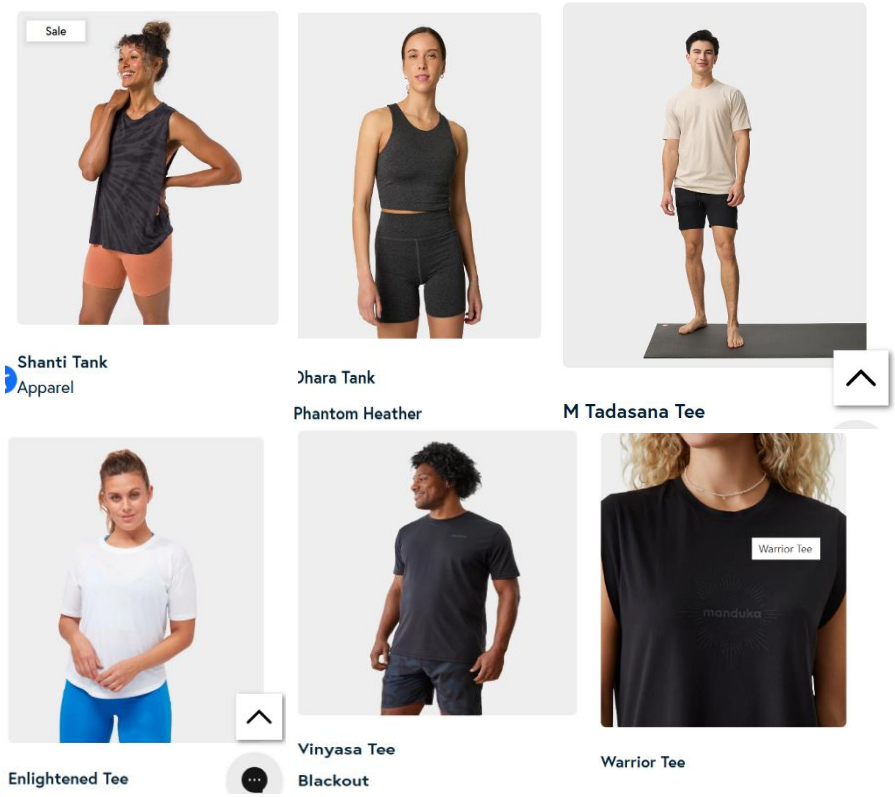
This category depicts how South Asian cultural aspects are used to promote yoga without giving due credit to their Hindu or Indian significance. While Code 2.2 deals with the superficial use of religious symbols, such as images of Buddha or Ganesh, as exotic props to increase visual appeal without elucidating their sacred meanings, Code 2.1 refers to the use of Sanskrit terms, such as "yoga" or "chakra," as aesthetic or consumable buzzwords, void of their original linguistic or philosophical foundations. By commercialising and appropriating South Asian heritage for Western consumption, these practices decontextualise and marginalise yoga's cultural roots, which is consistent with Edward Said's idea of Orientalism when it comes to cultural practices.

Code 2.1. Use of Sanskrit without context– 41.3%

Present in 62 out of 150 ads.

This high frequency links Sanskrit without context, much like Code 1.1 (Nature backgrounds/South-Eastern-like settings), as one of the more prevalent Orientalist tactics, and suggests that it is a typical tactic in yoga marketing.

Businesses, much like the 15 companies coded in this study, deprive Sanskrit terminology like "namaste" and "asana" of their profound Hindu and Indian meaning when they use them freely without providing any cultural or historical background. In the context of yoga, this implies that Sanskrit terms are frequently reduced to a form of up-to-the-minute jargon, an artistic embellishment that gives a contemporary and commercialised product an air of antiquity. The phrases are portrayed as mystical and alluring, but the history, philosophy, and moral guidelines that back them are totally disregarded. Western brands profit from this supposed spiritual authority of yoga's Indian origins through selective appropriation, circumventing the obligations of cultural preservation and respect.
The East is reframed in this perspective as a rigid and exotic source for Western consumption rather than as a dynamic and multifaceted civilisation. Manduka's clothing sets (Figures 5a, 5b, 5c, 5d, 5e, 5f) (Appendix B7:R9 and C8:R10) use Sanskrit rooted words such as *Dhara* (flow), *Shanti* (peace), and *Vinyasa* (to place in a special way) among others to label their apparel products. These words are used without explaining their meaning or attributing to the Sanskrit root and Indian history.



Figures 5a, 5b, 5c, 5d, 5e, 5f - Snaps from Manduka's official page

"Namaste" and *ashtanga* (eight-limbs) is used in "This Is Yoga" campaign by Lululemon (Appendix B1:R1 and C1:R2) by an individual of White origin and this is done without relevant explanation or attribution. Further, in their "International Day of Yoga" post (Appendix B1:R6 and C1:R7) on their press release and website blog, *Kundalini* (coiled) and *Om* without expanding on their meaning, historical and religious significance, or origins.

Of all the companies recorded, Lululemon (8), Omega Retreats (7), and Esalen Institute (9) showed the highest recurrence of this code in their adverts. An example from Esalen is "A Chakras & Healing Sound Bowl Journey with Deva Munay" (Appendix B13:R8 and C13:R9) where the words *chakras* (wheel) and *dharamshala* (place of righteousness), yet again without linking back to the linguistic origins in India. Omega Retreats' "Unravel & Unwind With Myofascial, Vinyasa & Yin Yoga" video (Appendix B15:R3 and C15:R4) uses "namaste yogis" and "vinyasa" once again without contextualizing it, which solidifies the idea put forward by Said that this procedure not only garbles the custom but also upholds a

power structure from the colonial era, in which the West continues to have the right to define, repackage, and benefit from Eastern customs.

Code 2.2. Use of religious/ Spiritual symbols without context– 15.3%

Present in 23 out of 150 ads.

This code is also one that is less frequently noted or utilised in yoga advertising campaigns when compared with other Orientalist tactics used to market the practice in American media. For context, this code encompasses the use of deities or religious-based elements like *mandala* (circles) art and spiritual semiotics like lotus and incense among other examples. By reducing spiritual components to aesthetically pleasing or commercially viable products, this method deprives yoga of its religious and cultural meaning. Despite the low occurrence of this code, a systemic problem in yoga marketing is revealed through the ornamental use of emblems (Code 2.2) across companies such as Gaia (4) and BookYogaRetreats (4) which obscures the historical and religious complexity of South Asian culture while presenting it as mysterious and exotic, therefore reinforcing Orientalist prejudices. This supports the thesis of the research, which holds that yoga has been reframed as a general wellness activity that is disconnected from its Hindu origins.

BookYogaRetreats' "Fuerteventura Retreat" (Figure 6a and 6b) (Appendix B14:R6 and C14:R7) features Buddha and Ganesh imagery without historical foundation. As a decorative element in the website's images or promotional film, the commercial has a Buddha statue, most likely in a meditative stance. In line with Western views of Buddhism as a calm, all-encompassing practice, this imagery is meant to generate feelings of spirituality and peace. Similarly, an image of Ganesh, a Hindu deity linked to wisdom and the removal of obstacles, is used as a decorative backdrop or

logo element. Although Ganesh's religious significance in Hinduism is not acknowledged, his utilisation lends the retreat an exotic, mystical feel.

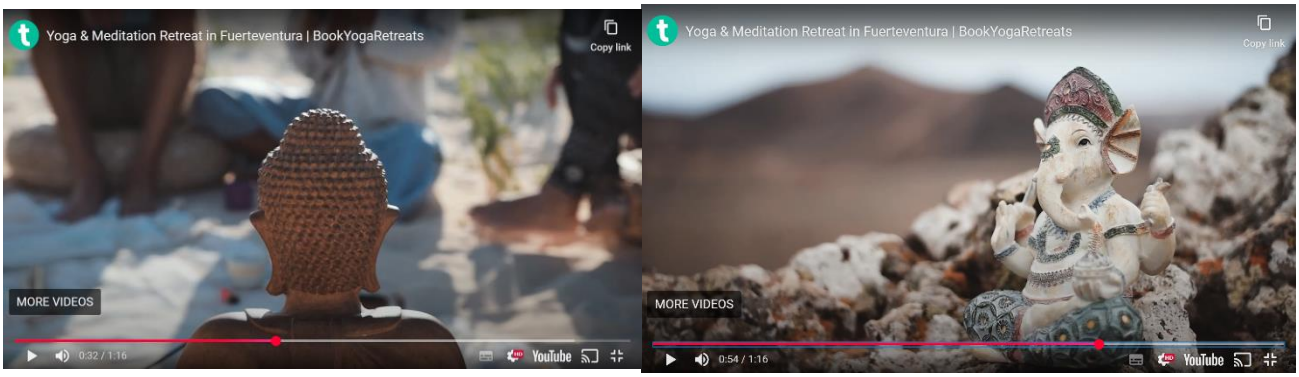


Figure 6a and 6b - Stills from the Fuerteventura Retreat video

Glo Yoga's "Yoga for Beginners" (Figure 7) (Appendix B3:R6 and C3:R7) portrays a non-South Asian woman performing yoga, wearing *Patiala* pants and *Jappnam* beads, in front of a large orange tapestry that features the meditating figure of Buddha. Both the use of the Buddha tapestry and the beads invoke the spiritual elements, and since these elements have not been mentioned or linked back to Hinduism or India, the practice is decontextualized and stripped of its Eastern religious roots.

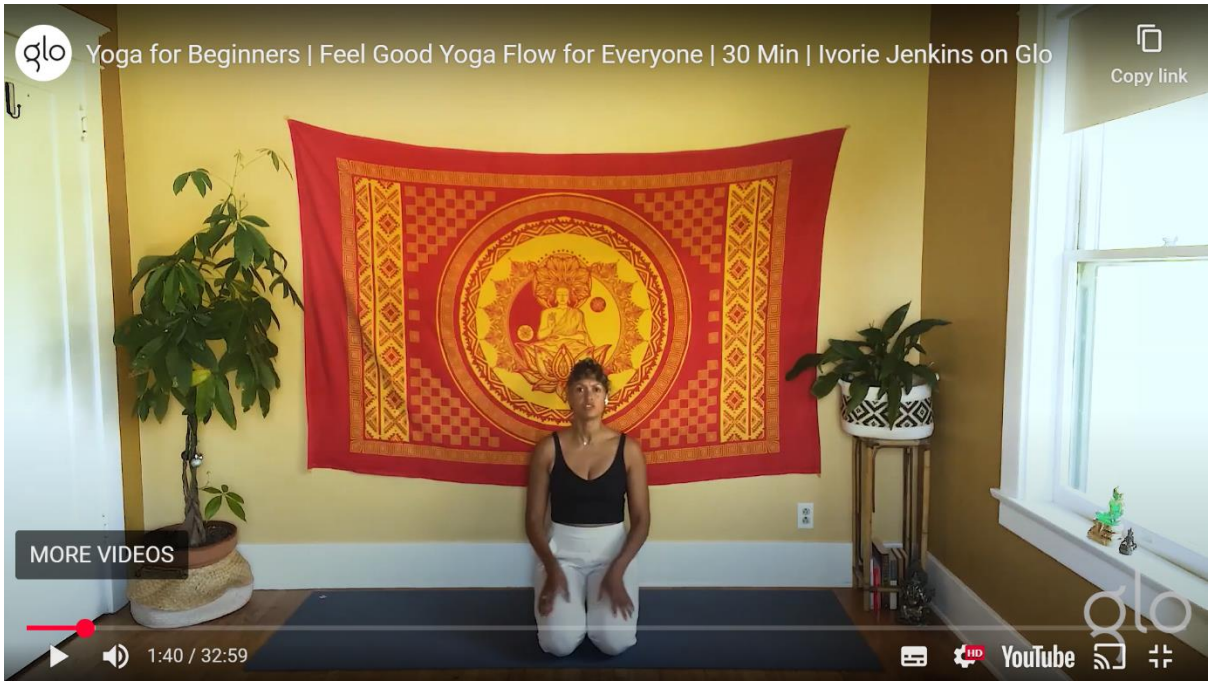


Figure 7 - A still from Yoga for Beginners Video

4.3 Universalization of Yoga and Decontextualisation (Codes 3.1, 3.2, and 3.3)

This category illustrates the tendency of redefining yoga as a widely accessible, secular discipline that has been shorn of its Hindu and Indian origins in order make it appealing to Western audiences. In order to integrate yoga with Western workout culture, Code 3.1 uses terminology like "toning" and "strength" to market it as a workout regimen. Yoga is portrayed in Code 3.2 as a general wellness practice that emphasises "mindfulness" or "inner peace" without regard to cultural affiliations. Code 3.3 frequently gives insufficient historical explanations and makes nebulous allusions to "ancient wisdom" without relating it to yoga's Hindu or Indian roots. By removing yoga's spiritual and cultural importance and turning it into a Westernised lifestyle product that puts commercial appeal ahead of cultural authenticity, these practices are consistent with Edward Said's Orientalism.

Code 3.1. Fitness Emphasis and Empowerment words– 50.7%

Present in 76 out of 150 ads.

Precisely half of the total number of advertisements within this dataset viewed or propagated yoga as a “workout” or fitness routine for empowerment, whether that be physically or mentally. This is done mainly to appeal to the Western audience as businesses deprive yoga of its Hindu and Indian roots by prioritising physical benefits above spiritual or cultural importance, which is consistent with Edward Said's theory of Orientalism, which holds that the East is reinterpreted to accommodate Western preferences. Yoga, thus, becomes a commercially viable and secular lifestyle product.

This is seen even within the name of one of the assessed companies- CorePower Yoga – where yoga is intermixed and thus directly associated with a powerful core. CorePower Yoga integrates yoga with Western exercise trends, such as weight training and high-intensity workouts, and strongly promotes yoga as a fitness program. The “Cardio in Yoga Sculpt” (Figure 8) (Appendix B4:R4 and C4:R5) campaign combines yoga flows

with high-intensity cardio to build muscle and endurance, and this is amplified with visuals of dumbbells and tension straps littered on the floor besides the yoga mats that also links the two. By focussing on "sculpting" and "strength," "Sculpt Yoga" reinterprets yoga as a secular exercise regimen while disregarding its spiritual or cultural origins.

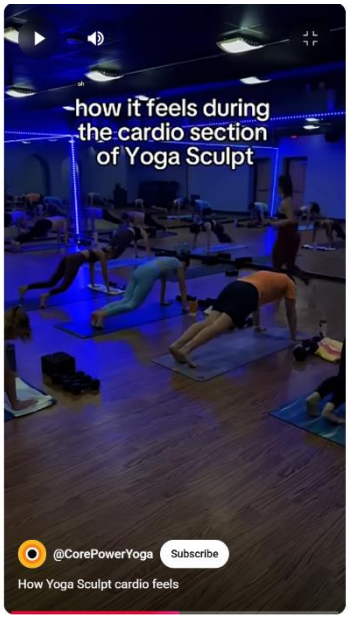


Figure 8 - A still from Sculpt Yoga video

Athleta also shows frequent usage of this trope, one of the highest among the other companies assessed. "Find Your Yoga Style: Athleta Spring 2019" (Appendix B9:R5 and C9:R6) involves multiple women performing various contemporary, modified, and generalized adaptations of yoga. In the caption, yoga is associated with "strength and stability". This, paired with the title of the campaign and the multiple variations performed, renders yoga as a workout which is detached from its spiritual and religious roots. Companies PrAna (10), Glo (9), and Athleta (9) were coded to record the highest frequency for fitness tropes for yoga.

Code 3.2. Yoga as Universal Wellness– 87.3%

Present in 131 out of 150 ads.

With a significant consistency of prevalence across all companies and almost all advertisements, this code is recorded to be the second-most used marketing trope for yoga advertising. The widespread tendency to present

yoga as a universal practice for "wellness," "mental health," "inner peace," or "mindfulness" without mentioning its Indian or Hindu roots is reflected in this code. The systemic decontextualisation of yoga is highlighted by its almost universal representation among the 15 businesses, which is consistent with Edward Said's theory of Orientalism, which holds that the East is reinterpreted to accommodate Western preferences. This high frequency suggests that eliminating yoga's cultural origins in order to appeal to a wide Western audience is a prominent marketing technique that universalises yoga as a secular health activity.

This tendency is emphasised by certain instances. Without referencing its Hindu roots, Omega Retreats' "Yoga and Mindful Movement Workshop" (Appendix B15:R1 and C15:R2) highlights yoga as a stress-reduction technique for "mindfulness" and "well-being." Similar to this, Esalen's "Cosmic Nidra" (Appendix B13:R6 and C13:R7) promotes Yoga Nidra (which is a Sanskrit semantic which means “to sleep”) as a technique for "mental clarity" and "inner peace," neglecting to mention its Indian spiritual origins. Lululemon's "Chair Yoga" (Appendix B1:C4 and C1:R5), which was uploaded in collaboration with Jivana who is a yogi and who designed the concept of this type of yoga, also frames yoga as a global relaxation method with no historical foundation, emphasising "peace and calm" for accessibility. While this inclusive innovation is commendable, it also achieves the Oriental action of generalizing yoga and snatching it from its origins and roots.
Lululemon, Glo, Yogaworks, PrAna, BookYogaRetreats, and Esalen Institute showed this trope being employed across all the campaigns and advertisements chosen within this dataset for the study.

Code 3.3. Yoga Without Historical Context– 78.7%

Present in 118 out of 150 ads.

One of the top three most recurrent trends in Orientalist marketing of yoga is portraying yoga without attribution to its history and ties with India. This could be in the form of words like “ancient wisdom” or “age-old rituals”, or in performing yoga poses without mentioning the names of the *asanas* (poses) since there are inherently Indian roots. Yoga, here, is remarketed as a form of empowerment or fitness, frequently with ambiguous allusions to "ancient wisdom" to lend authenticity without being culturally particular. Yoga is constantly made more accessible by businesses like Lululemon and

PrAna, who use this trope across all the chosen ads from their company. This shows that marketing dilutes yoga's Indian culture in order to appeal to a wider range of Western consumers.

Vuori's "Leggings, Decoded Collection" (Appendix B8:R9 and C8:R10) market their trademarked yoga leggings collection as giving "less distractions during your *Savasana* (corpse pose)" and "improve your Bikram Yoga (Hot Yoga)" which points towards the above-mentioned tactic – yoga is being performed without linking it back to its historical roots within India and is being placed in a Western setting for Western consumption by being repackaged as "something new".

Similarly, without mentioning Hinduism or India, BookYogaRetreats' "Amazon Jungle Yoga and Meditation Retreat" (Appendix B14:R2 and C14:R3) refers to yoga as an "ancient practice" that takes place in a jungle and uses words like "sacred" to suggest spirituality. Without mentioning its cultural roots, Athleta's "Find Your Yoga Style" (Appendix B and C9:R6) markets yoga as "ancient wisdom" for fitness. The historical person Paramahansa Yogananda is mentioned in Gaia's "Yoga in America: Yogananda" (Appendix B and C5:R5), but the story is left unfinished, emphasising his Western impact without establishing yoga's Hindu foundations.

4.4 Representation (Codes 4.1 and 4.2)

This discusses how South Asian people are marginalised and misrepresented in yoga marketing, which is a reflection of Orientalist practices that give priority to Western narratives. Code 4.1 draws attention to the widespread lack of South Asian representation in ads, which primarily feature non-South Asian people referred to as "yogis" or "spiritual leaders," so marginalising the cultural creators of yoga. The infrequent appearances of South Asians or Easterners, frequently portrayed in clichéd roles like gurus or in traditional clothing like kurtas or saffron robes, are captured in Code 4.2, which serves to further exoticize ideas of the East. By exploiting yoga's cultural history and marginalising or stereotyping South Asian perspectives, these activities support Edward Said's idea of orientalism by upholding power disparities and removing true representation in favour of Western economic interests.

Code 4.1. Tokenism and Exclusion – 88.7%

Present in 133 out of 150 ads.

South Asian, even specifically Indian, representation is alarmingly low in the American yoga marketing industry, despite the Indian origin of the practice being advertised. Almost all of the advertisement assessed in this research excludes Indian individuals entirely or only portrays them in minor roles or in a disbalanced ratio of representation, for example, one Indian person amongst 10 western individuals. An Orientalist erasure of yoga's cultural roots is shown by this blatant dearth of South Asian representation, which places Western practitioners at the forefront of the practice. This absence is consistent with yoga's commercialisation as a Westernised discipline, which marginalises Indian voices and viewpoints.

With little to no depiction of Indian or South Asian people, this code reflects the widespread practice of showcasing non-South Asian persons in yoga commercials and frequently referring to them as "yogis" or "spiritual leaders." Its almost universal representation among the 15 businesses highlights the systematic marginalisation of yoga's cultural founders, which is consistent with Edward Said's theory of Orientalism, which holds that Western narratives appropriate and remake the East. This supports claims of cultural erasure and power disparities by highlighting the prominent aspect of yoga marketing—the lack of South Asian voices.

Some instances in which this practice is seen are as follows. There is no South Asian representation in Lululemon's "Instill Tights/Feel Embrace" campaign (Figure 9) (Appendix B1: R5 and C1:R6), which uses non-Indian models as "global ambassadors" to promote yoga wear. Western domination in yoga iconography is reinforced by Alo Yoga's "Yoga Photoshoot," (Appendix B2:R8 and C2:R9), which features non-South Asian "yogis" in exotic surroundings. Beyond Yoga’s Event Collaboration with SOTOMethods and Katie and Denise Austin (Figure 10) (Appendix B10:R7 and C10:R8), marginalises South Asian voices by emphasising white

"yogis" who are leading the event and the practice which is attended by an all-White crowd.

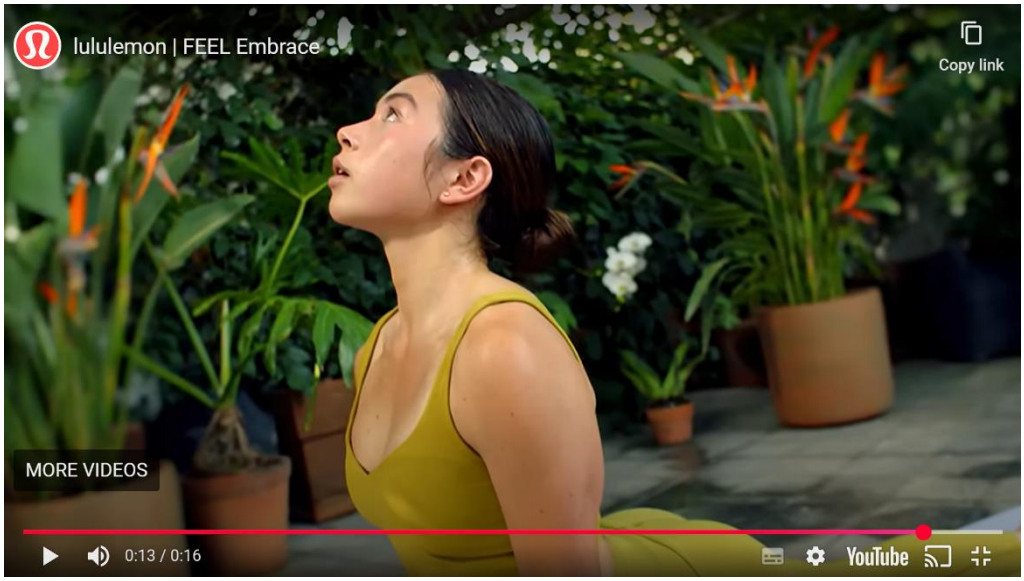


Figure 9 - A still from FEEL Embrace video

Figure 10 - Official photos from the promotional event from Beyond Yoga's LinkedIn page

Non-South Asian people are frequently featured by businesses such as YogaWorks, Esalen Institute, Lululemon, and Athleta, in all of their ad campaigns, which is indicative of a larger trend in the industry. This

dissertation's criticism of Orientalist practices that commodify yoga and minimise its cultural roots is strengthened by its high prevalence, which surpasses all the other codes in the coding framework. It highlights how yoga branding appropriates South Asian culture while ignoring its people.

Code 4.2. Stereotype Reinforcement – 2.7%

Present in 4 out of 150 ads.

The least common code within this research is this one. This code encapsulates the infrequent occurrences in which South Asians or people from the East are featured in yoga commercials, but they are portrayed in stereotyped ways, including as gurus, or wearing traditional clothing, like kurtas or saffron robes, which reinforces stereotypes of the East. Although South Asian representation is rare (as can be seen in Code 4.1), when it does occur, it frequently reinforces Orientalist preconceptions, which are consistent with Edward Said's concept of the East as a mystic, exotic "other." This is demonstrated by its scant presence among the 15 companies. This dissertation's claim on the incorrect portrayal and commercialisation of South Asian culture in yoga marketing is supported by the 2% prevalence.

This pattern is demonstrated by specific instances. An Eastern-origin man wearing a kurta and a teacher who resembles a stereotyped guru are presented as exotic characters without any cultural background in CorePower Yoga's "Yoga on the Rocks Event" (Appendix B4:R10 and C4:R11). Indonesian monks dressed in saffron are shown in BookYogaRetreats' "Kundalini Yoga Retreat" (Figure 11) (Appendix B14:R1 and C14:R2), which perpetuates the idea that the East is essentially mystical and spiritual. These infrequent occurrences, which are also observed in Gaia's “Yoga in America: Yogananda” (Appendix B5:R4 and C5:R5), which features a stereotypical portrayal of an Indian guru, and again in the promotional video for “Yogic Paths” (Figure 12a and 12b) (Appendix B5:R1 and C5:R2) where it features Indian people praying or in rickshaws apart from representation in sarees and kurtas and some priests in saffron and long white beards, demonstrate how businesses such as CorePower Yoga, BookYogaRetreats, and Gaia reinforce Orientalist stereotypes by using cliched imagery to evoke authenticity while excluding real South Asian voices.

Figure 11 - An official photo of Indonesian monks featured in Kundalini Yoga Retreat package information of BookYogaRetreats official page

Figure 12a and 12b - Stills from Yogic Paths promotional video - Two men on the steps of a public building in India, one wearing saffron robes (left) and a group of women in Sarees engaged in an activity (right)

These above-mentioned cases are the only four instances that this code was found to occur within the dataset.

4.5 Commercialization and Commodification (Codes 5.1, 5.2, and 5.3)

This category demonstrates how yoga has been marketed as a Westernised lifestyle commodity that puts financial gain ahead of traditional authenticity. With pricey retreats, clothing, and accessories, yoga is positioned as an upscale wellness activity, which is reflected in Code 5.1. Code 5.2 entails using social media trends, like TikTok or hashtags, influencers, and celebrities to connect yoga with modern pop culture and increase its fashionable appeal. In order to generate cash benefits, Code 5.3 emphasises the use of yoga to market goods like mats and leggings, frequently utilising Eastern designs like mandalas or Sanskrit phrases devoid of cultural context. In order to appeal to Western consumer markets, these activities take advantage of yoga's cultural components for profit, further decontextualising it and ignoring its Hindu and Indian origins. Thus these practices become aligned with Said's Orientalism.

Code 5.1. Luxury Element of Wellness – 56.7%

Present in 85 out of 150 ads.

Code 5.1 is a very common code within the dataset analysed within this research, appearing in more than half the 150 ads from the chosen American companies. By highlighting pricey retreats, clothing, and accessories to present yoga as a luxury activity, this code reflects the trend of promoting yoga as a high-end lifestyle. Its prominent representation among the 15 businesses illustrates the commercialisation of yoga and is consistent with Edward Said's theory of Orientalism, which holds that Eastern customs are appropriated for Western consumers as high-end, marketable goods. Code 5.1 is one of the high prevalence codes, only surpassed by Codes 3.2 (87.3%), 4.1 (88.7%), and 3.3 (78.7%), underscoring yoga's development into a high-end health product.

This presents a critical viewpoint on the commercialisation of yoga, arguing that it is problematic in a number of ways that it has become a luxury lifestyle product. Yoga's cultural origins are reduced and exoticized for a Western audience, and high prices are perceived as an example of Orientalist marketing. Because luxury branding frequently decontextualises it from its fundamental Hindu and Indian traditions, this results in cultural erasure. Furthermore, by limiting South Asian presence in the yoga community, this emphasis on exclusivity is thought to perpetuate Western dominance. Finally, by directly connecting the practice's market appeal to these crucial concerns of exclusivity and cultural appropriation, the considerably high

frequency implies that these luxury components are a purposeful tactic to increase the practice's commercial viability.

Kripalu's "Yoga Summer Camp" (Appendix B11:R2 and C11:R3) advertises a $300–$400 retreat that combines yoga and wellness activities with an opulent getaway. Similarly, Omega Retreats' "Yoga and Mindful Movement Workshop" (Appendix B15:R1 and C15:R2) promotes a luxury mindfulness retreat ($350). Manduka's "Shala Yoga Rug" (Appendix B7:R2 and C7:R3) emphasises high-end quality while marketing a yoga mat that costs between $88 and $90. The "Leggings Collection" by Beyond Yoga (Appendix B10:R9 and C10:R10) markets expensive clothing ($90) as necessary for an opulent yoga lifestyle.

Code 5.1 is directly and commonly used by companies PrAna (9) and Athleta (10) who use premium branding to defend high prices. However, it is important to note that all the companies listed employ an exorbitant price tag for its products. This widespread use bolsters the commericalisation of yoga, turning its traditional origins into an upscale Western lifestyle item through Orientalist marketing strategies.

Code 5.2. Pop-Culture Focus – 34.7%

Present in 52 out of 150 ads.

In this study's dataset of 15 American yoga companies, code 5.2 was found in 47 out of 150 commercials (31.3%). In order to promote yoga and make it more appealing to consumers, this code reflects the trend of using influencers, celebrities, and social media trends (such as TikTok and hashtags). The marketing of yoga as a trendy, Westernised lifestyle is shown in its prevalence among the 15 companies, which is consistent with Edward Said's theory of Orientalism, which holds that Eastern customs are repackaged for Western demand. With an incidence of 31.3%, Code 5.2 is less prevalent than the others, but it is still significant enough to warrant discussion, suggesting a key but secondary yoga marketing tactic.
Yoga is further modernised by the incorporation of pop-culture aspects (Code 5.2), which distances it from its traditional roots and brings it into line with Western tendencies. As seen by companies like YogaWorks (7) and Athleta (7), who have been recorded to have the highest frequency of this code's usage in marketing tactics, this commercialisation of yoga perpetuates Orientalist narratives by elevating it to the status of a stylish,

affluent lifestyle option. Product marketing that incorporates Eastern aesthetics (such as mandalas and Sanskrit names) heightens the exotic appeal while putting financial gain ahead of cultural sensitivity.

Celebrity Kim Kardashian is featured on Lululemon's "Align Leggings" (Appendix B1:R9 and C1:R10) to promote yoga wear, leveraging her popularity to increase brand awareness. In keeping with social media trends, prAna's "prAna Sculpt" (Appendix B6:R5 and C6:R6) markets yoga apparel using TikTok-style "POV" videos. TikTok trends like "Little Miss Asana" are used in YogaWorks' "Using Memes/Trends to Promote Yoga" (Appendix B12:R9 and C12:R10) to appeal to younger audiences. Businesses commonly use Code 5.2 to make yoga trendy by utilising social media and influencers. This ubiquity reinforces that yoga has been commercialised, turning its traditional origins into a Western lifestyle product pushed by pop culture through Orientalist marketing strategies.

Code 5.3. Marketing Products for Capital Gains – 54.7%

Present in 82 out of 150 ads.

Among the 150 ad dataset used in this study, code 5.3 is rather common. The tendency of using yoga to market goods like mats, incenses, candles, oils, leggings, and classes, among other examples, is encapsulated in this code. Eastern aesthetics, such as lotus motifs and mandalas, are frequently used to increase marketability without taking into account their cultural context. The commodification of yoga as a consumable lifestyle is shown in its notable representation throughout the 15 companies, which is consistent with Edward Said's theory of Orientalism, which holds that Eastern aspects are exploited for Western profit. Code 5.3 is a crucial tactic in yoga marketing, as seen by its close ranking behind Codes 3.2 (87.3%), 4.1 (88.7%), 3.3 (78.7%), 3.1 (50.7%), and 5.1 (56.7%).

The "Chakra Warrior Mat" (Figure 13) (Appendix B2:R2 and C2:R3) from Alo Yoga is a yoga mat with a mandala design that costs between $90 and $100. The word "chakra" is used to suggest luxury and spirituality without elaborating on its Hindu meaning. Gaiam's "Gaiam Page and Promotional on Amazon" (Figure 14) (Appendix B5:R6 and C5:R7) highlights wellness

without providing cultural context by promoting yoga mats and accessories with lotus motifs that range in price from $50 to $80.

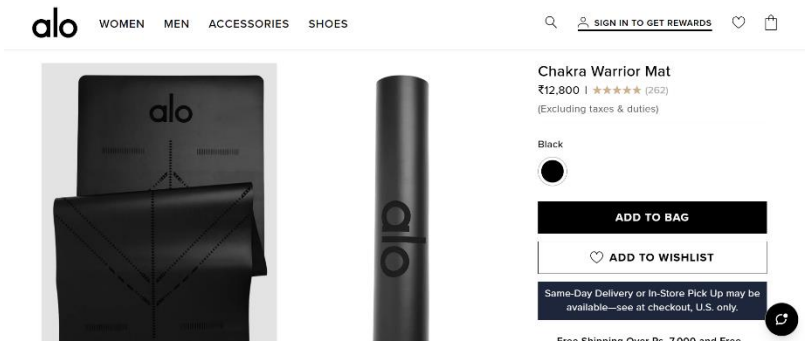


Figure 13 - Official photo of the chakra warrior mat from Alo's webpage

Figure 14a and 14b- Official photo of a mandala print mat from Gaiam's Amazon page (left) and official banner of a astrological chart print mat from Gaiam's official webpage (right)

This code is commonly used by businesses such as Glo (10/10 advertisements), Gaia (10/10 advertisements), PrAna (10/10 advertisements), and Athleta (10/10 advertisements), which use Eastern aesthetics to promote expensive goods. It should be noted, at the same time, that almost all the advertisements coded, and companies coded utilise multiple marketing elements to sell products for capital gains. The commodification of yoga, where South Asian cultural elements are hijacked to promote monetary profits, is supported by this ubiquity, which reinforces Orientalist marketing techniques that erase yoga's Hindu and Indian roots for Western commercial appeal.

Chapter 5: Discussion

The results show that Orientalism permeates the marketing of yoga in all 15 of the companies that were examined. Yoga's systematic detachment from its Indian and Hindu roots in order to appeal to Western consumers is demonstrated by the high frequency of universalisation (3.2, 87.3%) and the omission of South Asian representation (4.1, 88.7%). In line with Said's criticism of Orientalism as a process of reinventing the East for Western consumption, businesses eliminate yoga's cultural identity by portraying it as a fitness routine (3.1, 50.7%) or universal wellness practice (3.2, 87.3). Yoga is further exoticized by the frequent use of exotic imagery (1.1, 44%) and Sanskrit phrases without context (2.1, 41.3%), which downplay its religious and historical significance while portraying it as a timeless, mystical activity.

The marketing of pricey goods and retreats, frequently combined with pop-culture trends (5.2) to appeal to contemporary audiences, is a clear example of the commodification of yoga (5.1, 5.3). This commercialisation distances yoga from its accessible, community-based roots in India and turns it into a luxury lifestyle, further solidifying class-based exclusivity. The voices of people from yoga's cultural homeland are marginalised by the scant presence of South Asians (4.1) and sporadic stereotyped depictions (4.2), which maintains a power disparity where Western practitioners and businesses control the discourse.

Prominent outliers of the seemingly Orientalist narrative of marketing, like Kripalu's "The Heart and Soul of Science in Yoga" and Gaia's "Yoga in America: Yogananda," point to the possibility of culturally sensitive marketing. These occurrences are uncommon and frequently insufficient, though, suggesting that even well-meaning attempts fall short of completely respecting yoga's origins. Yoga's cultural relevance is being further diluted by its rising absorption into Western health and social media culture, which is reflected in the temporal shift towards fitness and pop-culture integration. Trends across time reveal a change in marketing tactics between 2012 and 2025. While contemporary advertisements (2023–2025) focus on fitness (3.1) and universal wellbeing (3.2), reflecting yoga’s absorption into mainstream fitness culture, earlier campaigns (2012–2017), such as Gaiam’s “Classes with Rodney Yee” (Appendix B5:R7 and C5:R8), focused on exotic imagery (1.1, 1.2). Influencer culture is in line with the growing pop-

cultural integration since 2017, especially on Instagram and TikTok, as demonstrated by Lululemon's "Align Leggings" with Kim Kardashian. With no discernible rise in South Asian inclusion, representation (4.1, 4.2) is consistently poor across all years, highlighting the ongoing erasure of yoga's cultural origins in favour of Western socioeconomic desirability.

One surprising discovery was that a few ads, such Manduka's "Ashtanga Yoga Explanatory Post" (Appendix B7:R8 and C7:R9) and Gaia's "Yoga in America: Yogananda" (Appendix B5:R3 and C5:R2), occasionally acknowledged the historical origins of yoga. These examples, however, were frequently weakened by errors or insufficient justifications, indicating a flimsy bow to cultural legitimacy to boost their marketable potential rather than a sincere dedication to cultural respect. This draws attention to a conflict between respecting the historical roots of yoga and the prevalent practice of decontextualisation for profit.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

In line with the main points of the dissertation "Selling Exoticized Wellness: Orientalism and the Upsurge of Yoga," an analysis of 150 yoga advertising demonstrates a widespread pattern of Orientalist marketing techniques that exoticize, decontextualise, and commodify yoga. There is a structural trend where yoga has been deprived of its Indian and Hindu identity in order to appeal to Western customers, as seen by the high prevalence of codes like universalising yoga as a wellness activity (87.3%), eliminating South Asian representations (88.7%), and neglecting the historical background (78.7%). This is consistent with Orientalism, as defined by Edward Said, in which the East is reframed as a timeless, mystical reservoir for Western consumerism.

Businesses eliminate yoga's ethnic and spiritual roots by marketing it as a general tool for "mindfulness," "inner peace," or "mental health," turning it into a nondenominational approachable activity that satisfies Western aspirations for self-improvement. This universalisation presents yoga as a universal remedy with no particular cultural relevance, distancing it from its philosophical and religious underpinnings, such as its connections to Hindu writings like the Bhagavad Gita or Patanjali's Yoga Sutras. This erasure is further reinforced by the persistent marginalisation of South Asian voices, since ads primarily feature non-South Asian people, establishing Westerners as the leading experts on yoga. In addition to appropriating yoga, this

practice maintains power disparities by marginalising the cultural creators in favour of a Westernised narrative that puts authenticity last and economic appeal first.

Yoga's commercialisation is further highlighted by its marketing's dedication to fitness and luxury aesthetics. Codes pertaining to exercise emphasis (50.7%), luxury aspects (56.7%), and financial gains (54.7%) show how yoga is recast as a premium lifestyle product. By using words like "toning," "sculpting," or "strength" to market yoga as an aerobic exercise, businesses distance the practice from its metaphysical and meditative roots and link it to the Western workout culture. This emphasis on fitness turns yoga into a gym-based discipline that appeals to customers looking to change their bodies rather than engage with culture or philosophy.

At the same time, yoga is positioned as a prestigious, idealistic lifestyle that is primarily available to wealthy Western consumers through its incorporation of upscale branding, which includes pricey clothing, accessories, and retreats. By using South Asian cultural aspects as decorative props to support high price points, the inclusion of Eastern aesthetics—such as Sanskrit phrases or symbols of faith like mandalas—without any context of culture (41.3% and 15.3%, respectively) strengthens this opulent, exotic appeal. By turning yoga's sacred components into marketed goods and putting financial gain ahead of cultural sensitivity, this commodification is consistent with Orientalist practices. The intentional plan to recast yoga as a trendy, friendly with customers product is shown by the intersection of these codes, solidifying its decontextualisation and reaffirming Western supremacy in its narrative.

Even when there are sporadic examples of historical recognition in yoga marketing, they are frequently superficial or insufficient, serving business objectives rather than promoting cultural sensitivity. When businesses make reference to yoga's "ancient wisdom" or "timeless practice," they usually neglect to link it to its Hindu or Indian roots, so avoiding cultural identity and promoting a generalised, nebulous narrative. The industry's unwillingness to engage meaningfully with yoga's roots is highlighted by this flimsy nod to history and the scant presence of South Asians (just 4 of the 150 advertisements feature stereotyped stereotypes). These results demonstrate how urgently yoga marketing has to be more culturally sensitive. Representations that respect yoga's Indian and Hindu roots should

be given top priority in future initiatives. Examples of this include recognising the intellectual underpinnings of the practice or showcasing South Asian yogis in significant, non-stereotypical roles.

Financial interests and respect for cultural traditions could be reconciled by using educational components in ads, such as elucidating the meaning of Sanskrit phrases or religious symbols. The yoga business may challenge the Orientalist tendencies that predominate present marketing techniques and progress towards diversity by elevating South Asian voices and perspectives. This change will promote a more fair and respectful representation of yoga's rich legacy while also addressing the cultural erasure noted in the analysis and in line with rising demands for ethically responsible representation.

6.1 Limitations and Critical Reflections

The core rights of human dignity, liberty, safeguarding, protection, the optimisation of benefits and the reduction of harms are at the heart of any research's fundamental principles. Or, in a more commonly accepted phrasing 'the respect for persons, justice, and beneficence' is the meaning of research ethics and principles. As an investigator develops a research design, research questions, and endeavours access to people/information, and then utilises the said information to glean inferences and patterns through "dissemination", many ethical practices are in question at every step (Markham and Buchanan, 2012). While the qualitative content analysis of 150 yoga advertisements provides a robust framework for examining Orientalist tropes in American wellness marketing, this study is not without limitations.

The first few ethical questions of concern are related to context of the research and the researcher.

> *How is the context defined and conceptualized?*
> *Does the research definition of the context match the way owners, users, or members might define it?*
> *How is the context (venue/participants/data) being accessed?*
> *How are participants / authors situated in the context?*
> *How are participants/authors approached by the researcher?*
> *How is the researcher situated in the context?* (Markham and Buchanan, 2012)

The context for the research, as defined earlier, is the postcolonial script by Edward Said on Orientalism, and it is based on this that the analysis is

conceptualized, which provides a solid foundation for the data. However, the problem lies in interpretation of the definitions. Although it works well for spotting themes like commodification and exoticisation, the use of qualitative content analysis might lead to interpretive bias. The subjective nature of coding textual and visual features may result in differences in interpretation, even with the usage of a systematic codebook based on Said's (1978) Orientalism. This could have an impact on the findings' reproducibility and replication.

As for access, approach, and position of and to the subjects, the important advantage of media content analysis is the “unobtrusive” nature of research it provides. Since the subjects under analysis are actually objects that are “inanimate and reproducible”, publicly available (specifically advertisements) and do not involve directly dealing with humans, the issues of invasion of privacy, informed consent, confidentiality, and other human data-related ethical concerns are mitigated. One aspect that crops up as an issue is the choice of data or adverts. Though it is justified and backed by research questions, the choices will never be “truly objective or ideologically neutral” (Schweizer, 2019).

Additionally, even though the sample size is substantial, it only includes ads from American media, which might not fully show how different yoga marketing is done around the world in different parts with separate historical and cultural landscapes. This geographical focus might ignore differences in the representation of yoga in other cultural contexts, like Asia or Europe, where postcolonial dynamics might be different. Even within the geographical pool of America, the choice of these companies does not necessarily reflect the overall temperament of the region, and such generalization is not drawn from the data. These companies were chosen due to their online authority and high revenue-reaping. Wiedicke (2023) discusses the “principle of nonmaleficence” which suggests that keeping the sample “big but small enough” reduces risk of overgeneralization and mishandling of data.

Since the study handles issues relating to the sensitive topic of culture and representation, the possibility of Orientalist biases being replicated in the actual research process is a considerable risk. Western research frequently creates the East as a subject of study, potentially marginalising true cultural voices, as Said cautions. In order to counteract this, the study places a high value on methodological honesty, making sure that the analysis challenges

Western depictions without devaluing Indian culture or the various traditions of yoga.

On the other hand, though my professional stance as a researcher is to remain impartial and objective, and all steps have been taken to ensure transparency and impartiality through external guidance and supervision, my personal background as an Indian may have inadvertently influenced the research. It is true, at the same time, that my background allowed me to highlight much of the information regarding misrepresentation of Indian culture in the West, as I have been residing outside India for much of my life. In terms of researcher objectivity, this very experience can be taken as an ethical issue.

By concentrating on more general trends of cultural commodification, ethical treatment of the ad data guarantees that neither businesses nor individuals are misrepresented. It has been ensured, through the study, to avoid the use of language that possibly accuses or misrepresents a brand's overall approach to representation and focuses on penning the analysis of specific campaigns and their interpretation through the postcolonial lens of Orientalism. The study intends to ethically add to the conversation on ethnic representation in wellness advertising by confronting these ethical issues and elevating critical viewpoints while honouring the intricacy of the customs it studies.

The storing of data and record-keeping of samples is also of paramount concern in the research methodology of content analysis. In this research, the ads and the links to their respective platforms have been stored in an excel sheet and backed up on the internet's Google Drive as well as external hard drives. Keeping a proper record of the objects analysed allows for replicability and improves transparency.

6.2 Further Study

Although the results of the set of data offer strong proof of Orientalist marketing strategies in the yoga sector, a number of directions for additional study could expand on our knowledge of the cultural commodification of yoga and its effects. As evidenced by the prevalence reports in the findings in the preceding section, this study, "Selling Exoticized Wellness: Orientalism and the Upsurge of Yoga," emphasises widespread patterns of cultural appropriation, universalisation, decontextualisation, and exclusion.

However, investigating consumer attitudes, South Asian viewpoints, and international differences in yoga marketing may help shed more light on the effects of these practices and guide the development of countercultural misrepresentation tactics.

First and foremost, future studies must to look into how Western customers view and understand the Orientalist packaging of yoga in commercials. Consumer awareness of the appropriation of elements such as Sanskrit (Code 2.1) or symbols of religion (Code 2.2), as demonstrated in Alo Yoga's "Chakra Warrior Mat" or BookYogaRetreats' "Fuerteventura Retreat," could be investigated through qualitative research methods like focus group discussions or dialogue with yoga practitioners. The success of marketing tactics and their part in sustaining cultural erasure may be revealed by knowing whether customers perceive them as authentic or exoticized. In order to determine whether universalisation (Code 3.2) and decontextualisation (Code 3.3) reduce cultural appreciation, surveys could measure consumer understanding of yoga's Hindu and Indian origins. Second, comprehending the effects of exclusion (Code 4.1) as well as stereotypical representations (Code 4.2) requires interacting with South Asian populations, especially Indian and Hindu practitioners. For example, Lululemon's "Instill Tights/Feel Embrace" completely excludes South Asians, whereas CorePower Yoga's "Yoga on the Rocks Event" portrays them as gurus. Interviews or ethnographic research with South Asian instructors of yoga and community leaders may reveal their viewpoints on marginalisation and cultural appropriation, offering an alternative perspective to marketing that is controlled by the West. This could point to methods for promoting inclusive representation and recovering yoga's cultural narrative.

Third, comparative research on international marketplaces could look at regional differences in Orientalist practices. Although the focus of this study is on Western businesses, examining yoga marketing in non-Western countries like India or Southeast Asia may show how representations are influenced by cultural closeness. Do Indian firms, for instance, follow Western marketing trends or do they employ the Sanskrit language and symbols of faith with more context? Such studies could shed light on whether pop-culture focus (Code 5.2) and commodification (Codes 5.1, 5.3), as demonstrated by Lululemon's "Align Leggings" featuring Kim Kardashian, are only Western trends.

Finally, as consciousness of cultural appropriation increases, longitudinal research could monitor how yoga marketing evolves over time. It may be possible to determine whether trends like YogaWorks' "Little Miss Asana" change in accordance with cultural sensitivities by examining social media sites outside the dataset's purview, such as Instagram and TikTok. Interventions, including rules for ethical yoga promotional activities, could be influenced by this research to maintain the practice's cultural authenticity while catering to business interests.

6.3 Addressing Research Questions

In response to the first research question - How is yoga being marketed and what tropes of Orientalism do they employ, if at all? - yoga is primarily promoted as a secular wellness and fitness program that appeals to Western customers by highlighting concepts like "mindfulness," "strength," and "luxury." By exoticizing and decontextualising South Asian history, businesses use Eastern aesthetics—including Sanskrit terminology and religious symbols like mandalas—without regard for cultural context, which is consistent with Edward Said's theory of Orientalism. Orientalist narratives that describe the East as mystical and subject to Western reinterpretation are further supported by the widespread omission of South Asian representation and the infrequent stereotyped depictions, such as gurus dressed traditionally. In order to provide an universal, commercial lifestyle product, these marketing strategies universalise yoga and distance it from its Indian and Hindu origins.

As discussed in the second research question - How has the commodification of yoga impacted the global perception of the practice and the Indian culture? - yoga's commodification has profoundly changed how people view it around the world, turning it from a religious and cultural activity into a marketed wellness fad. The business portrays yoga as an upscale, approachable lifestyle option, mainly for wealthy Western consumers, by marketing expensive goods like clothing and retreats and associating yoga with pop-culture influences like celebrities and social media trends. Yoga's Indian cultural relevance is erased by its marketing as a luxury and fitness product, which also silences South Asian voices and maintains power disparities. Indian culture's exposure and legitimacy in the international wellness narrative are diminished since yoga's historical and philosophical

foundations in Hinduism are sometimes overlooked in favour of its current worldwide conception as a universally accepted self-improvement method.

Religion has a minor and surface-level impact on the contemporary, commercialised form of yoga, in response to the third research question - What role does religion play in the modern version of yoga? Despite the fact that yoga has its roots in Hindu philosophy, as described in books like Patanjali's Yoga Sutras and the Bhagavad Gita, modern ads hardly ever mention this history, instead employing religious symbols as ornamental elements to add exotic appeal without providing any background information. In order to increase market appeal, the spiritual component of yoga is frequently substituted with secular wellness jargon that emphasises "inner peace" or "mindfulness." This decontextualisation further solidifies Orientalist exploitation by removing yoga's religious value and portraying it as a secular activity that suits Western consumer interests.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Codebook

CATEGOI	DESCRIPTION	CODES	DESCRIPTION	INCLUSIONS/ When to use	EXCLUSIONS/ Don't use when
1	Exotic imagery/ Oriental visuals	1.1	Nature backgrounds/ South-Eastern like settings	With backdrops that reflect Himalayan Temples or include Indian cultural or spiritual motifs.	Normal urban settings/ studio or neutral background with Western deco like plants
		1.2	South-Eastern background audio/ narration	Sitarmusic, tabla, temple bell"OHM" chanting of mantras or other spiritual songs	Pop music or genaral techno instrumental or normal voiceover descriptive
2	Cultural appropriation	2.1	Use of Sanskrit without context	Use of words like "OHM" " Asanas" or other yoga related and Sanskit terminology without providing background	When Sanskrit terms ore explained and Yoga terminolgyis defined with HINDU and INDIAN
		2.2	Use of religious/ Spiritual symbols without contex	Use of spiritual semiotics like names of gods/ goddesses, mandalas, lotus, incense etc. inappropriately or decoration or without proper explanation of the culture.	Spiritual symbols are used with cultural respect and are explained without errors under complete knowledge
3	Universalisation of Yoga and Decontextualisation	3.1	Fitness Emphasis and Empowerment words	Talks about toning or sculpting or calories or other building dream body tropes	Focus is on yoga as aspiritual practice and keeping fit/ sportiness is barely involved, if not
		3.2	Yoga as universal wellness	Utilising terminology like wellness, global, or equating with poitivity, well being mental health, inner peace rtc. Without rooting it to India or Hinduism.	Indian origins are not only mentioned but also explained and global practice is secondary
		3.3	Yoga without historical context	Using phrases like ancient wisdom , rituals, old practice etc. wothout providing relavant cultural/historical background or context or yoga poses are shown without attribution	Original yogic practices recorded from mythological and historical evidence is mentioned and focused on
4	Representation	4.1	Tokenism and Exclusion	Indian people or South Asian individuals, are not in the video/ content or otherwise their presence is insignificant in comparison to white counterparts	Main person of focus is Indian
		4.2	Stereotype reinforcement	South Asian people are represented as gurus in traditional wear or going to temples.	modern and inclusive environments as part of global culture
5	Commodification & commercialization	5.1	Luxury element of wellness	Yoga is promoted as high end and expensive lifestyle with Easern aesthetics retreats, expensive clothes and props or expensively decorated studios/ shops.	Yoga is represented as community based affordable productand ease of access
		5.2	Pop- Culture Focus	Use of celebrities in promotion or intermining yoga with modern trends like TIKTOK or INFLUENCE tropes	Yoga is represented simply withthout trendy keywords or modern visuals and relics on traditional visuals and relics on traditional visual storytelling that represents the
		5.3	Marketing products for capital gains	Other Eastern influenced items like incense, essential oils, candles, mats, clothes etc. are being sold using yoga-centric items and spiritual relations	Focuses exclusively on the physological pros of yoga and does not market anything using Eastern items or semiotics

Appendix B: Data Collected and Ad Sources

1. LULULEMON

THIS IS YOGA (2013)	https://www.adsoftheworld.com/campaigns/this-is-yoga
'THE MAT' (2017)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HldDuO1M11M&ab_channel=lululemon / https://corporate.lululemon.com/media/our-stories/2021/lululemon-launches-new-yoga-franchise-instill-tight
'#SEAWHEEZE PRE-RUN YOGA FLOW' (2021)	https://www.instagram.com/p/CD4xnvdBBaR/
'CHAIR YOGA' (2020)	https://www.instagram.com/p/CHgsCz_h4Ls/
'INSTILL TIGHTS'/'FEEL EMBRACE' (2021)	https://corporate.lululemon.com/media/our-stories/2021/lululemon-launches-new-yoga-franchise-instill-tight / https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=f6oB72IL2Yw&ab_channel=lululemon
'INTERNATIONAL DAY OF YOGA' (2017)	https://corporate.lululemon.com/media/our-stories/2017/lululemon-celebrates-international-day-of-yoga

Breathe It All In Holiday Campaign	https://corporate.lululemon.com/media/our-stories/2017/breathe-it-all-in-this-holiday / https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CwN1W_XqYh4&ab_channel=Bubba%27sLA
Breathe It All In Spotify Playlist for Meditation	https://open.spotify.com/album/7fvdZmgwAlUYpYcncEBd0p
Align Leggings	
THE MAT	
Together We Grow	https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=8038535056214192

2. Alo Yoga

Alo Yoga Warrior Mat	https://www.youtube.com/shorts/P656Om0RLKo
Chakra Warrior Mat	https://www.aloyoga.com/en-in/products/w7124r-chakra-warrior-mat-black?srsltid=AfmBOoodkqBo8_CdfPRF0DB9Ilm-O1ZY77iKx6He2Ge6DOmbhU7SSdy6
Summer State of Mind	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=srZugFokLwQ&ab_channel=AloYoga
Airlift Divine Line	https://www.aloyoga.com/en-in/search?q=airlift%20divine
We Are Alo Collection	https://www.aloyoga.ae/en/collections/about-us
BRINGING YOGA TO THE WORLD	https://www.aloyoga.ae/en/collections/shop-women/trending/yoga
YOGA MAT COLLECTION	https://www.aloyoga.ae/en/collections/shop-women/trending/yoga
Yoga Photoshoot	https://www.instagram.com/p/DL2haEBtapx/?hl=en&img_index=1
Instagram Post	https://www.instagram.com/p/DLS9a4bB1ns/?hl=en&img_index=1

Spearmint Collection	https://www.instagram.com/p/DKxBie1tioI/?hl=en&img_index=3

3. Glo Yoga

The Science Behind Savasana	https://www.instagram.com/p/DKILTobtjyh/?img_index=1
CAT DEELY ON YOGA WITH GLO	https://www.instagram.com/p/DLakzNgNtpc/ https://www.womenshealthmag.com/uk/fitness/strength-training/a64685866/cat-deeley-workout-diet/
Glo Podcasts	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zamhSJNfIMc&list=PLHjX7oENlJk17s7jJXaJfXgyTG7diZL4g&index=3&ab_channel=Glo
Glo Website main	https://www.glo.com/v2/home
5,000+ On-Demand and Live Yoga, Meditation, Pilates, & Fitness Classes	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MoYzsrnlHKc&ab_channel=Glo
Yoga for Beginners | Feel Good Yoga Flow for Everyone | 30 Min | Ivorie Jenkins on Glo	https://youtu.be/i37xUegwisk?si=KWS04_8D3KBcOd-u
Intro to 7 chakras	https://youtu.be/1iBGgZmzxAg?si=1bfignGjVvG5ezn6
Yin Yoga	https://www.instagram.com/p/DLYADQxNBGg/?img_index=1
Tips on Yoga practices	https://www.instagram.com/p/DG61CE-oODs/
Webpage promotional	

4. CorePower Yoga

Yoga for Mental Health Awareness	https://www.instagram.com/stories/highlights/17926173026078152/
Sculpt Yoga	https://www.youtube.com/shorts/h70XdSHah78
5 asanas to do before bed	https://www.youtube.com/shorts/3nRkWAbhY3I
Yoga Sculpt with cardio	https://www.youtube.com/shorts/3I3nO8Lzjuw
Promotional for Classes	https://www.instagram.com/p/DMQe_jbPZ4v/

5 things you should know about Teacher Training	https://www.youtube.com/shorts/e7w3QxuUwpU
Strength Training for Yoga	https://www.instagram.com/p/DL8FKNFyEBP/
BIPOC Scholarship	https://www.instagram.com/p/DL0EEWqJ9PB/
Modified Chaturanga	https://www.instagram.com/p/DLlBDRxBtll/
Yoga on the Rocks Event	https://www.redrocksonline.com/events/yoga-on-the-rocks / https://www.redrocksonline.com/yoga/

5. Gaia, Inc.

Promotional for Docuseries	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jtXml1ZIbak
Rodney Yee on Yoga	https://www.instagram.com/p/CLpqRKfL2sD/
Documentary on Swami Yogananda	http://instagram.com/p/CAc-gbdgrjn/
From our Om to your Home	https://www.instagram.com/p/B_F35ABJ_Sb/3I3nO8Lzjuw
History and significance of hatha yoga	https://www.instagram.com/p/B949tCDpTVi/
Rodney Yee classes	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NMYSRCCLeGw / https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PL9SV-qpI-qBGYyJ9T7Fr_Kgy28EQpoTZp
Promotion of Yoga Mats	https://images-na.ssl-images-amazon.com/images/I/F1tPCIafF2S.mp4 / https://www.amazon.com/stores/page/A9256F20-A989-462E-8455-BA8B29F7A245?ingress=0&visitId=d65fcd25-ec3c-4b22-a255-b33a91e44dda
Promotional Post	https://www.instagram.com/p/DHyhBJMMW2X/?img_index=1
Main webpage	https://www.gaiam.com/
Instagram Highlights	https://www.instagram.com/stories/highlights/17940077671078762/ / https://www.instagram.com/stories/highlights/17961975868032666/

6. prAna

Prana About us website	https://www.prana.com/about-us.html
Women's Workout Collection	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WFgUCuFWdrI&ab_channel=prAna
Portugal Stories	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IBo-cgR4LQc / https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3JJ7CELiBNg&ab_channel=prAna
wellness event promotion	https://www.instagram.com/p/DMOeDjWSxwr/?hl=en
prana sculpt	https://www.instagram.com/p/DHtSmb6JdIi/?hl=en / https://www.instagram.com/p/DFvaaz-yEn2/?hl=en
Luxara	https://www.instagram.com/p/DGllrAlyu6e/?hl=en / https://www.instagram.com/p/DGoDwWvPPou/?hl=en&img_index=1 / https://www.instagram.com/p/DEvR1KipP1i/?hl=en&img_index=4
wellness event promotion san diego	https://www.facebook.com/reel/730456466128287
Promotional video	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=X7P-Apxw-BM&list=PLkJEczKVOd5AL5UkD065gRz8LVx47HXEV&index=3&ab_channel=prAna
chakara leggings/clothing	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=c5HBoFWuRVc&list=PLkJEczKVOd5AL5UkD065gRz8LVx47HXEV&index=2&ab_channel=prAna
Heavana	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rcDo250daYA&list=PLkJEczKVOd5AL5UkD065gRz8LVx47HXEV&index=1

7. Manduka

Manduka about us	https://www.manduka.com/pages/about-us
shala yoga rug	https://www.manduka.com/products/shala-yoga-rug
promotional for manduka mats	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XbAswbL7qVs&ab_channel=Manduka

Manduka x spiritual gangster	https://www.youtube.com/shorts/KNxhlT2U_P0
Manduka Moments	https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLy35KgMX0U7T_KXLwc4R3dZn6vj4ok9LT
YouAligned classes	https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLy35KgMX0U7QaMZlRl5idJzaHEjcXxJC7
Strength yoga/GRP Adapt Mat	https://www.instagram.com/p/DMREIdlhZSD/?hl=en
ashtanga yoga	https://www.instagram.com/p/DLfhck6vYwT/?hl=en
Dhara, Shanti, Vinyasa, Enlightened, Warrior, etc, apparel	https://www.manduka.com/collections/yoga-clothing
Puraka Rechaka	https://www.facebook.com/reel/1025875592168994

8. Vuori

Yoga Event	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DiUlQYY4EdU&ab_channel=Vuori
Yoga classes	https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLh3lNjomZZ2u64c8qC6Gp7OQ2pxoxWzSb
Promotion for yoga classes	https://www.instagram.com/p/DKhkP3sRrx5/
Pinterest for yoga	https://www.pinterest.com/vuoriclothing/yoga/
live classes and events website	https://vuoriclothing.com/pages/actv-club https://vuoriclothing.com/pages/events
Vuori | Spring 2023 Collection	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4IH4DZSSc1M&list=PLh3lNjomZZ2uRWdikC7snd5SpHrTXyyv9&index=6&ab_channel=Vuori
Meditation classes	https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLh3lNjomZZ2snH7EUpQOfR0xgnOHUXgXg
Spring 2022 collection promo	https://x.com/vuoriclothing/status/1491193958260953090
Leggings ads	https://vuoriclothing.com/blogs/v-style/leggings-decoded-find-your-perfect-fit

9. Athleta

Our Best Tights for the Real You	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iJ2Bgx01Dvw&ab_channel=Athleta
New in Athleta's Salutation Stash	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EuDnXMpEDeg&ab_channel=Athleta

Move As You Are	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UFeuR3VL4G0&ab_channel=Athleta
Introducing Aura	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=t8RAzzVxbnM&ab_channel=Athleta
Athleta Spring 2019 - Find Your Yoga Style	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QxX7xAelKfI&ab_channel=Athleta
Elation Pants/Leggings	https://www.instagram.com/p/DLp43s5yymi/?img_index=2 / https://www.instagram.com/p/DLJPyXZp_W4/ / https://athleta.gap.com/browse/product.do?pid=502359002&vid=1#pdp-page-content
Meme as a promotion tactic	https://www.facebook.com/reel/1350713705989630
Transcend Leggings	https://www.facebook.com/reel/1816835048867228 / https://athleta.gap.com/browse/product.do?pid=798638392&rrec=true&mlink=5050%2C12413545%2Catproduct2_rr_2&clink=12413545&vid=1#pdp-page-content
Salutation Leggings	https://athleta.gap.com/browse/new/shop-all-collections?cid=3046903&nav=meganav%3ANew%3ACOLLECTIONS%3AShop%20All%20Collections&searchText=salutation#collection=2832&facetOrder=collection:2832&mlink=1,1,Site_W_Cat_Bottoms__BottomsCollections_Salutation_050125
With Ease/In Ease Tank	https://athleta.gap.com/browse/product.do?pid=658468002&vid=1#pdp-page-content / https://athleta.gap.com/browse/product.do?pid=830700012&rrec=true&mlink=5050%2C12413545%2Catproduct1_rr_1&clink=12413545&vid=1#pdp-page-content

10. Beyond Yoga

'#MOVEINBEYOND'	https://in.pinterest.com/pin/32158584834399377/
'NEW HUES: SUMMER THYME GREEN'	https://in.pinterest.com/pin/32158584834238144/ / https://www.instagram.com/reel/DI9Vz-NvCfN/?hl=en
'CLUB BEYOND'	https://www.instagram.com/stories/highlights/18293834047075390/?hl=en

'CLUB BEYOND'	https://www.instagram.com/p/DLnt1JcBI7s/?hl=en&img_index=1
SEEK BEYOND	https://www.linkedin.com/company/beyond-yoga/posts/?feedView=all / https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TWOBppayvPY&ab_channel=BeyondYoga
BEYOND YOGA PROMOTIONAL	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=d3PkBJbw1UU&ab_channel=BeyondYoga
LEGGINS COLLECTION	https://beyondyoga.com/collections/leggings?page=3&phcursor=eyJhbGciOiJIUzI1NiJ9.eyJzayI6InBvc2l0aW9uIiwic3YiOjM1LCJkIjoiZiIsInVpZCI6MzQzMDA2ODczMTkxMzksImwiOjE2LCJvIjowLCJyIjoiQ0RQIiwidiI6MSwicCI6M30.YLn0FSLwjFy4GMUbVs79X8_bCh62hsejwG10QDYhXC4
BEYOND WEBPAGE	https://beyondyoga.com/?srsltid=AfmBOopuF17fP53WTnvQIjZaJHpwB5TN45eqZslCnJhAFRSjSPx_0tta
EVENT COLLABORATION	https://www.linkedin.com/company/beyond-yoga/posts/?feedView=all

11. KRIPALU

KRIPALU WEBPAGE	https://kripalu.org/
YOGA SUMMER CAMP	https://kripalu.org/resources/find-your-joy-yoga-summer-camp
THE HEART AND SOUL OF SCIENCE IN YOGA	https://kripalu.org/resources/heart-and-soul-science-yoga
YOGA AND DANCE	https://www.instagram.com/p/DL3M9CRvRXo/
LET YOUR YOGA DANCE	https://www.instagram.com/p/DLU6701NbH7/
CELEBRATION OF 25 YEARS OF YOGA RETREATS	https://www.youtube.com/shorts/36tg0KHeYjQ

YOGA THERAPY	https://www.instagram.com/p/DJ4UESwzbDb/
LIVING THE WHY IN YOGA	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4MYw9fSN9bo&list=PLGVwdk3AOu1RLZjaOx-DwJMeQae2haU3M&index=4
PROMOTIONAL	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=e8nFDzshFXE&list=PLGVwdk3AOu1QOA0xnPXKpSHHhbi0eDvGX
THE FULL SCOPE OF YOGA	https://www.instagram.com/p/DJVlyVQukJt/

12. YOGAWORKS

Bedtime Yoga to celebrate world sleep day	https://www.instagram.com/p/DHMBZPGvlYt/
Timothee Chalamet	https://www.instagram.com/p/DGyWL_AyPMN/
Promoting juice stalls through yoga	https://www.instagram.com/p/DAJYtFjvnAx/
Doing Yoga photoshoots	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UlECLDWPAss
Promoting their app through yoga	https://www.tiktok.com/@yogaworks/video/7491072456770342186
SAVASANA	https://www.tiktok.com/@yogaworks/video/7259469392621178154
Explaining the Vinyasa flow	https://www.tiktok.com/@yogaworks/video/7145595869000305966
Using memes to advertise yoga	https://www.tiktok.com/@yogaworks/video/7253098908652506410
3 MUDRAS TO CHANNEL CHAKRA AWARENESS	https://www.tiktok.com/@yogaworks/video/7069861712220114222
Yogaworks History	https://yogaworks.com/about/our-story/

13. ESALEN INSTITUTE

The Dance of Chakras	https://www.instagram.com/p/DMQzRtpBXjS/?hl=en&img_index=12
Mythology, Yoga, and Falling in Love with Existence at the Edge of the World	https://www.esalen.org/workshops/mythology-yoga-and-falling-in-love-with-existence-at-the-edge-of-the-world-08182025
Meditation and Modern Life: A Zen Meditation Retreat	https://www.esalen.org/workshops/meditation-and-modern-life-a-zen-meditation-retreat-08292025
Discover the Phoenix Rising Within - with Sianna Sherman	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Pk5C8AHp3CY&list=PLTOB_b4gNhK_9PMOMcX1c77AVVgehc5oJ&index=3&ab_channel=Esalen
Your Spirit Through Mandalas with Paul Heussenstamm	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1B0uEFU0xhk&list=PLTOB_b4gNhK8K9iqs6ghb6CBRai3NvN-Q&index=3&ab_channel=Esalen
Cosmic Nidra for Life's Challenges and Transitions with Caley Alyssa	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oirwGvL5DIA&list=PLTOB_b4gNhK8K9iqs6ghb6CBRai3NvN-Q&index=4&ab_channel=Esalen
Five Elements of Yoga to Increase Resilience with Janet Stone	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yIH9OcSndbc&list=PLTOB_b4gNhK8K9iqs6ghb6CBRai3NvN-Q&index=6&ab_channel=Esalen
A Chakras & Healing Sound Bowl Journey with Deva Munay	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kizAzm3E3Ds&list=PLTOB_b4gNhK8K9iqs6ghb6CBRai3NvN-Q&index=10&ab_channel=Esalen
Embody the Goddess: Unleash your soul's vibratory purpose with Dr. Shamini Jain	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w4jVvf-dGqU&list=PLTOB_b4gNhK8K9iqs6ghb6CBRai3NvN-Q&index=17&ab_channel=Esalen
Yoga for the Here and Now with Ulrika Engman	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=POIAO6uTt0s&list=PLTOB_b4gNhK8K9iqs6ghb6CBRai3NvN-Q&index=20&ab_channel=Esalen
Claynimation for Yoga	https://www.instagram.com/p/DLXuau8pRhA/?hl=en
What is Relational Dharma?	https://www.esalen.org/post/what-is-relational-dharma

14. BOOKYOGARETREATS

Kundalini Yoga Retreat	https://www.bookyogaretreats.com/hightimes-yoga/8-day-journey-to-the-soul-kundalini-yoga-retreat-in-ubud-bali
AMAZON JUNGLE YOGA AND MEDITATION RETREAT	https://www.instagram.com/p/DMan4nbqzO6/

Horses and yoga Italy	https://www.instagram.com/book_yoga_retreats/p/DMhogY5sh-l/?img_index=1
Things that are also yoga	https://www.instagram.com/p/DL4T_ytt06D/?img_index=1
PROMOTIONAL	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_kYDX8XcsHY
YOGA RETREAT IN FUERTEVENTURA	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3ivtqD1LIKE
Yoga for healing	https://www.youtube.com/shorts/c6M8f2flHf0
Laughter Yoga	https://www.youtube.com/shorts/VWRF6rooHsk
Yoga retreat in Hawaii	https://www.youtube.com/shorts/YxZuTMzQuvI
PORTUGAL RETREAT	https://www.instagram.com/p/DLhz0oXNr-e/?img_index=2

15. OMEGA RETREATS

Yoga and mindfulness	https://www.eomega.org/workshops/yoga-mindful-movement
International Day Yoga	https://www.instagram.com/p/DLKfV-evpfl/
Full moon yoga	https://www.instagram.com/p/DLDPOwLx6bw/?img_index=1
Fusion of vinyasa, yin, and myfoscial yoga	https://www.eomega.org/workshops/unravel-unwind-myofascial-vinyasa-yin-yoga
Therapeutic Astanga method of yoga	https://www.eomega.org/workshops/therapeutic-yoga-works
Using Yoga retreats for Readers Choice Awards	https://www.instagram.com/p/DKZ4M8dPJv4/
Practice healing through nidra yoga	https://www.eomega.org/workshops/veterans-yoga-retreat-women
Therapy yoga	https://www.eomega.org/workshops/being-connected-through-yoga-therapeutics
Healing from trauma for black women - uses yoga	https://www.eomega.org/workshops/deep-breaths-heal
Yoga retreat	https://www.instagram.com/p/DImZv17RkNA/?img_index=8

Appendix C: Coded Advertisements and Companies

1. LULULEMON

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
1	**D/CAMPAIG**	**BRAND**	**PLATFORM**	**YEAR**		1.1	1.2	2.1	2.2	3.1	3.2	3.3	4.1	4.2	5.1	5.2	5.3
2	THIS IS YOGA	LULULEMON ATHLETICA	TV/YOUTUBE/VIDEO	2013		Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
3	'THE MAT'	LULULEMON ATHLETICA	PRINT/NEWSPAPE	2017		Y	N/A	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N/A	N	N	Y
4	'#SEAWHEEZE PRE-RUN YOGA FLOW'	LULULEMON ATHLETICA	INSTAGRAM/SOCIAL MEDIA	2021		N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N/A	N	Y	Y
5	'CHAIR YOGA'	LULULEMON ATHLETICA/ @ACCESSIBLEYOGA	INSTAGRAM/SOCIAL MEDIA	2020		N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
6	'INSTILL TIGHTS'/'FEEL EMBRACE'	LULULEMON ATHLETICA	YOUTUBE/WEBSITE BLOG/PRESS RELEASE	2021		Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
7	'INTERNATIONAL DAY OF YOGA'	LULULEMON ATHLETICA	WEBSITE BLOG/PRESS RELEASE	2017		N/A	N/A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N/A	N	Y	N
8	BREATHE IT ALL IN' HOLIDAY CAMPAIGN	LULULEMON ATHLETICA	PRESS RELEASE/YOUTUBE/SOCIAL MEDIA	2017		N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
9	ALL IN' MEDITATION AND YOGA PODCASTS	LULULEMON ATHLETICA	SPOTIFY	2017		N/A	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
10	'ALIGN LEGGINGS'	LULULEMON ATHLETICA	WEBSITE/INSTAGRAM/FACEBOOK	2015-2025		N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
11	'TAKE FORM 3D YOGA MAT'	LULULEMON ATHLETICA	WEBSITE/INSTAGRAM/FACEBOOK /PRESS RELEASE	2021		N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
12	'TOGETHER WE GROW' CAMPAIGN	LULULEMON ATHLETICA	FACEBOOK	2024		Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y

2. ALO YOGA

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
1	**AD/CAMPAIGN**	**BRAND**	**PLATFORM**	**YEAR**		1.1	1.2	2.1	2.2	3.1	3.2	3.3	4.1	4.2	5.1	5.2	5.3
2	ALO YOGA WARRIOR MAT	ALO YOGA	TV/YOUTUBE/VIDEO	2017		N	N/A	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
3	CHAKRA WARRIOR MAT	ALO YOGA	WEBSITE	:007-2025		N	N/A	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N/A	Y	N	N
4	ALO SUMMER 2025/ SUMMER STATE OF MIND	ALO YOGA	TV/YOUTUBE/VIDEO	2025		Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N/A	Y	Y	N
5	AIRLIFT DIVINE COLLECTION	ALO YOGA	WEBSITE	:007-2025		N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
6	WE ARE ALO' AD CAMPAIGN	ALO YOGA	YOUTUBE/WEBSITE	:007-2025		Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7	BRINGING YOGA TO THE WORLD	ALO YOGA	WEBSITE	:007-2025		N/A	N/A	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N/A	Y	Y	N
8	YOGA MAT COLLECTION	ALO YOGA	WEBSITE	:007-2025		N	N/A	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
9	YOGA PHOTOSHOOT	ALO YOGA	INSTAGRAM	2025		Y	N/A	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
10	YOGA QUOTE	ALO YOGA	INSTAGRAM	2025		N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N
11	SPEARMINT COLLECTION	ALO YOGA	INSTAGRAM	2025		N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N/A	Y	N	N

3. GLO YOGA

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
1	**AD/CAMPAIGN**	**BRAND**	**PLATFORM**	**YEAR**		**1.1**	**1.2**	**2.1**	**2.2**	**3.1**	**3.2**	**3.3**	**4.1**	**4.2**	**5.1**	**5.2**	**5.3**
2	'THE SCIENCE OF SAVASANA' EXPLANATORY POST	GLO YOGA	INSTAGRAM/SOCIAL MEDIA	2025		N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
3	CAT DEELY ON YOGA WITH GLO	GLO YOGA/WOMEN'S HEALTH MAGAZINE	INSTAGRAM/SOCIAL MEDIA/WEBSITE/DIGITAL NEWSPAPER	2025		N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4	GLO PODCASTS	GLO YOGA	YOUTUBE	2024-PRESENT		N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
5	GLO MAIN WEBPAGI	GLO YOGA	WEBSITE	PERMANENT		Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
6	5,000+ On-Demand and Live Yoga, Meditation, Pilates, & Fitness Classes	GLO YOGA	YOUTUBE	2022		N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
7	| Feel Good Yoga Flow for Everyone | 30 Min | Ivorie Jenkins on Glo	GLO YOGA	APP/YOUTUBE	2023		Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
8	Start to Meditate | Intro to the Seven Chakras | 10 Min | Marc Laws II on Glo	GLO YOGA	YOUTUBE/APP	2024		Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
9	YIN YOGA/PITTA YOGA EXPLANATORY POST	GLO YOGA	INSTAGRAM	2025		N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
10	YOGA FOR LONGEVITY WITH JO TASTULA	GLO YOGA	INSTAGRAM	2025		Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
11	OFFICIAL ADVERT ON WEBPAGE	GLO YOGA	WEBSITE	ERMANENT		N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N/A	N/A	Y	N	Y

4. COREPOWER YOGA

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
1	**AD/CAMPAIGN**	**BRAND**	**PLATFORM**	**YEAR**		1.1	1.2	2.1	2.2	3.1	3.2	3.3	4.1	4.2	5.1	5.2	5.3
2	YOGA FOR MENTAL HEALTH AWARENESS MONTH	CORE POWER YOGA	INSTAGRAM/SOCIAL MEDIA	2024		N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
3	SCULPT YOGA	CORE POWER YOGA	YOUTUBE/APP	2025		N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
4	5 ASANAS TO DO BEFORE BED	CORE POWER YOGA	YOUTUBE	2025		N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
5	RDIO IN YOGA SCU	CORE POWER YOGA	YOUTUBE/APP	2025		N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
6	PROMOTING SUBCRIPTION TO THE YOGA CLASS	CORE POWER YOGA	INSTAGRAM/SOCIAL MEDIA	2025		N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N/A	N	Y	Y	N
7	YOGA TEACHER TRAINING AT CORE POWER	CORE POWER YOGA	APP/YOUTUBE	2025		N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
8	COREPOWER STRENGTH X	CORE POWER YOGA	INSTAGRAM	2025		N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
9	BIPOC SCHOLARSHIP	CORE POWER YOGA	INSTAGRAM	2025		N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N/A	N	Y	N
10	MODIFIED CHATURANGA	CORE POWER YOGA	INSTAGRAM	2025		N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
11	YOGA ON THE ROCKS EVENT	CORE POWER YOGA	WEBSITE	2018		Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N

5. GAIA, INC

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
1	AD/CAMPAIGN	BRAND	PLATFORM	YEAR		1.1	1.2	2.1	2.2	3.1	3.2	3.3	4.1	4.2	5.1	5.2	5.3
3																	
4	RODNEY YEE ON YOGA	GAIA	INSTAGRAM	2020		N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
5	YOGA IN AMERICA: YOGANANDA	GAIA	INSTAGRAM	2020		N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
6	HISTORY AND SIGNIFICANCE OF HATHA YOGA	GAIA	INSTAGRAM	2020		N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
7	GAIAM PAGE AND PROMOTIONAL ON AMAZON	GAIAM/AMAZON	WEBSITE	ERMANENT		Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
8	CLASSES WITH RODNEY YEE	GAIAM	YOUTUBE	2012-2017		Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
9	PROMOTIONAL POSTS	GAIAM	INSTAGRAM	2024-2025		Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
10	INSTAGRAM HIGHLIGHTS	GAIAM	INSTAGRAM	2018		Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
11	GAIAM OFFICIAL WEBPAGE	GAIAM	WEBSITE	ERMANENT		Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y

6. PRANA

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
1	AD/CAMPAIGN	BRAND	PLATFORM	YEAR		1.1	1.2	2.1	2.2	3.1	3.2	3.3	4.1	4.2	5.1	5.2	5.3
2	PRANA ABOUT US	PRANA	WEBSITE	ERMANENT		Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
3	WOMEN'S WORKOUT COLLECTION	PRANA	YOUTUBE	2021		Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
4	'PORTUGAL STORIES'	PRANA	YOUTUBE	2020		Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
5	'LIMITED EDITION POSTER'	PRANA	INSTAGRAM	2025		N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
6	'PRANA SCULPT'	PRANA	INSTAGRAM	2025		Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7	'PRANA LUXURA'	PRANA	INSTAGRAM	2025		Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
8	'PRANA CHAKARA'	PRANA	YOUTUBE/WEBSITE	2023		Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
9	'PRANA HEAVANA'	PRANA	YOUTUBE/WEBSITE	2024		N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
10	'FOR YOGA, FOR LIFE'	PRANA	YOUTUBE	2022		Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
11	SAN DIEGO WELLNESS WEEK	PRANA/NOVODIAWELLNESS	FACEBOOK	2025		Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y

7. MANDUKA

	AD/CAMPAIGN	BRAND	PLATFORM	YEAR	1.1	1.2	2.1	2.2	3.1	3.2	3.3	4.1	4.2	5.1	5.2	5.3
2	MANDUKA ABOUT US	MANDUKA	WEBSITE	ERMANENT	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
3	'SHALA YOGA RUG'	MANDUKA	WEBSITE	ERMANENT	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
4	'PRACTICE MAKES PRACTICE'	MANDUKA	YOUTUBE	2024	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
5	PROMOTIONAL FOR NEW COLLABORATION	MANDUKA/SPIRITUAL GANGSTER	YOUTUBE	2022	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6	'MANDUKA MOMENTS'	MANDUKA	YOUTUBE	2017-2024	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7	'YOUALIGNED CLASSES'	MANDUKA	YOUTUBE	2024	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
8	'GRP ADAPT MAT'	MANDUKA	INSTAGRAM	2025	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
9	ASHTANGA YOGA EXPLANATORY POST	MANDUKA	INSTAGRAM	2025	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
10	CLOTHING SETS	MANDUKA	WEBSITE	PERMANENT	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
11	COLLABORATIVE POST	MANDUKA/SELIA SURYA	FACEBOOK	2024	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N

8. VUORI

	AD/CAMPAIGN	BRAND	PLATFORM	YEAR	1.1	1.2	2.1	2.2	3.1	3.2	3.3	4.1	4.2	5.1	5.2	5.3
2	VUORI BLISSBLEND NEW YORK CITY EVENT	VUORI	YOUTUBE/APP	2023	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3	VUORI ACTV CLUB - YOGA'	VUORI	YOUTUBE/APP	2024-2025	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
4	PROMOTION OF YOGA CLASSES	VUORI	INSTAGRAM/SOCIAL MEDIA	2025	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
5	INTEREST FOR YOG	VUORI	PINTEREST/SOCIAL MEDIA	2023-2025	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
6	VUORI EVENTS	VUORI	WEBSITE	2025	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
7	VUORI SPRING 2023 COLLECTION	VUORI	APP/YOUTUBE	2025	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
8	VUORI ACTV CLUB - MEDITATION CLASSES	VUORI	YOUTUBE/APP	2024	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
9	VUORI SPRING 2022 COLLECTION PROMO	VUORI	TWITTER/SOCIAL MEDIA	2022	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N/A	Y	N	N
10	LEGGINGS , DECODED COLLECTION	VUORI	WEBSITE	2018	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N

9. ATHLETA

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
1	AD/CAMPAIGN	BRAND	PLATFORM	YEAR		1.1	1.2	2.1	2.2	3.1	3.2	3.3	4.1	4.2	5.1	5.2	5.3
4	MOVE AS YOU ARE	ATHLETA	YOUTUBE	2021		N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5	NTRODUCING AURA	ATHLETA	YOUTUBE	2019		N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6	'FIND YOUR YOGA STYLE': ATHLETA SPRING 2019	ATHLETA	YOUTUBE	2019		Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7	'ELATION LEGGINGS'	ATHLETA	INSTAGRAM	2025		Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
8	MANNEQUIN MOM	ATHLETA	FACEBOOK	2025		N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
9	TRANSCEND LEGGINGS	ATHLETA	FACEBOOK/WEBSITE	2025		N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
10	SALUTATION COLLECTION	ATHLETA	WEBSITE	PERMANENT		Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
11	WITH EASE/IN EASE	ATHLETA	WEBSITE	ERMANENT		N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y

10. BEYOND YOGA

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
1	AD/CAMPAIGN	BRAND	PLATFORM	YEAR		1.1	1.2	2.1	2.2	3.1	3.2	3.3	4.1	4.2	5.1	5.2	5.3
2	'#MOVEINBEYOND'	BEYOND YOGA	PINTEREST	2025		Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
3	'NEW HUES: SUMMER THYME GREEN'	BEYOND YOGA	PINTEREST/INSTAGRAM	2025		Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
4	'CLUB BEYOND'	BEYOND YOGA	INSTAGRAM	2025		N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5	BEYOND YOGA PROMOTIONAL	BEYOND YOGA	YOUTUBE	2024		N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
6	BEYOND YOGA WEBPAGE	BEYOND YOGA	WEBSITE	ERMANENT		Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
7	SEEK BEYOND	BEYOND YOGA	LINKEDIN/YOUTUBE	2025		Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
8	EVENT COLLABORATION	BEYOND YOGA/SOTO METHOD/OTHERS	LINKEDIN	2025		Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
9	KRISSY JONES	BEYOND YOGA/KRISSY JONES	INSTAGRAM	2025		N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
10	LEGGINS COLLECTION	BEYOND YOGA	WEBSITE	PERMANENT		Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y

11.KRIPALU

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
1	AD/CAMPAIGN	BRAND	PLATFORM	YEAR		1.1	1.2	2.1	2.2	3.1	3.2	3.3	4.1	4.2	5.1	5.2	5.3
2	WEBPAGE	KRIPALU	WEBSITE	ERMANENT		Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
3	YOGA SUMMER CAMP	KRIPALU	WEBSITE	2025		Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
4	THE HEART AND SOUL OF SCIENCE IN YOGA	KRIPALU	WEBSITE	PERMAN ENT		N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
5	YOGA AND DANCE	KRIPALU/ UVYBOOGIE	INSTAGRAM	2025		Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6	LET YOUR YOGA DANCE	KRIPALU/JIRI AN HUGHES	INSTAGRAM	2025		N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7	CELEBRATION OF 25 YEARS OF YOGA RETREATS	KRIPALU	YOUTUBE	2025		N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
8	YOGA THERAPY	KRIPALU	INSTAGRAM	2025		N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
9	LIVING THE WHY IN YOGA	KRIPALU	YOUTUBE	2024		N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
10	PROMOTIONAL	KRIPALU	YOUTUBE	2024		Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
11	THE FULL SCOPE OF YOGA	KRIPALU	INSTAGRAM	2025		N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y

12. YOGAWORKS

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
1	AD/CAMPAIGN	BRAND	PLATFORM	YEAR		1.1	1.2	2.1	2.2	3.1	3.2	3.3	4.1	4.2	5.1	5.2	5.3
2	YOGAWORKS HISTORY	YOGAWORKS	WEBSITE	ERMANENT		N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
3	BEDTIME YOGA	YOGAWORKS	INSTAGRAM	2025		N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4	TIMOTHEE CHALAMET INTERVIEW	YOGAWORKS	INSTAGRAM	2025		N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
5	PROMOTION OF JAMBA JUICE	YOGAWORKS	INSTAGRAM	2024		Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
6	WELCOME TO YOGAWORKS	YOGAWORKS	YOUTUBE	2023		Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
7	PROMOTING THEIR APP	YOGAWORKS	TIKTOK	2025		Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
8	SAVASANA	YOGAWORKS	TIKTOK	2023		N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
9	EXPLAINING VINYASA FLOW	YOGAWORKS	TIKTOK	2022		N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
10	USING MEMES/TRENDS TO PROMOTE YOGA	YOGAWORKS	TIKTOK	2022-2023		Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
11	3 MUDRAS TO CHANNEL CHAKRA AWARENESS	YOGAWORKS	TIKTOK	2022		N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N

13. ESALEN INSTITUTE

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
1	**AD/CAMPAIGN**	**BRAND**	**PLATFORM**	**YEAR**		1.1	1.2	2.1	2.2	3.1	3.2	3.3	4.1	4.2	5.1	5.2	5.3
2	THE DANCE OF CHAKRAS	ESALEN	INSTAGRAM	2025		Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
3	Mythology, Yoga, and Falling in Love with Existence at the Edge of the World	ESALEN	WEBSITE	2025		N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
4	Meditation and Modern Life: A Zen Meditation Retreat	ESALEN	WEBSITE	2025		N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
5	Discover the Phoenix Rising Within - with Sianna Sherman	ESALEN	YOUTUBE	2022		N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
6	Your Spirit Through Mandalas with Paul Heussenstamm	ESALEN	YOUTUBE	2022		N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
7	Cosmic Nidra for Life's Challenges and Transitions with Caley Alyssa	ESALEN	YOUTUBE	2021		N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
8	Five Elements of Yoga to Increase Resilience with Janet Stone	ESALEN	YOUTUBE	2021		N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
9	A Chakras & Healing Sound Bowl Journey with Deva Munay	ESALEN	YOUTUBE	2021		N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
10	Yoga for the Here and Now with Ulrika Engman	ESALEN	YOUTUBE	2021		N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
11	Claynimation for Yoga	ESALEN	INSTAGRAM	2025		Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N
12	What is Relational Dharma?	ESALEN	WEBSITE	2025		Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N

14. **BOOKYOGARETREATS**

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
1	**AD/CAMPAIGN**	**BRAND**	**PLATFORM**	**YEAR**		1.1	1.2	2.1	2.2	3.1	3.2	3.3	4.1	4.2	5.1	5.2	5.3
2	KUNDALINI YOGA RETREAT	BOOKYOGARETREATS	WEBSITE	2025		Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3	AMAZON JUNGLE YOGA AND MEDITATION RETREAT	BOOKYOGARETREATS	INSTAGRAM	2025		Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
4	THINGS THAT ARE ALSO YOGA	BOOKYOGARETREATS	INSTAGRAM	2025		Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N/A	N/A	N	N	N
5	HORSEMANSHIP AND YOGA	BOOKYOGARETREATS	INSTAGRAM	2025		Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
6	PROMOTIONAL	BOOKYOGARETREATS	YOUTUBE	2018		Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
7	YOGA RETREAT IN FUERTEVENTURA	BOOKYOGARETREATS	YOUTUBE	2018		Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
8	#YOGAFORHEALING	BOOKYOGARETREATS	YOUTUBE	2025		N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
9	LAUGHTER YOGA	BOOKYOGARETREATS	YOUTUBE	2025		Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
10	ESCAPE TO HAWAII	BOOKYOGARETREATS	YOUTUBE	2025		Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
11	PORTUGAL RETREAT	BOOKYOGARETREATS	INSTAGRAM	2025		Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y

15.**OMEGA RETREATS**

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
1	**AD/CAMPAIGN**	**BRAND**	**PLATFORM**	**YEAR**		1.1	1.2	2.1	2.2	3.1	3.2	3.3	4.1	4.2	5.1	5.2	5.3
2	YOGA AND MINDFUL MOVEMENT WORKSHOP	OMEGA RETREATS	WEBSITE	2025		N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
3	INTERNATIONAL DAY OF YOGA	OMEGA RETREATS	INSTAGRAM	2025		N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
4	FULL MOON YOGA RETREAT	OMEGA RETREATS	INSTAGRAM	2025		N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
5	Unravel & Unwind With Myofascial, Vinyasa & Yin Yoga	OMEGA RETREATS	WEBSITE	2025		N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
6	Therapeutic Yoga Works	OMEGA RETREATS	WEBSITE	2025		Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
7	NOMINATION FOR BEST READERS' CHOICE AWARDS	OMEGA RETREATS	INSTAGRAM	2025		N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
8	YOGA RETREAT FOR VETERAN WOMEN	OMEGA RETREATS	WEBSITE	2025		N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
9	YOGA THERAPEUTICS	OMEGA RETREATS	WEBSITE	2025		N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
10	DEEP BREATHS AND HEAL	OMEGA RETREATS	WEBSITE	20225		Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
	DIFFERENT YOGA RETREATS	OMEGA RETREATS	INSTAGRAM	2025		N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N