

1 University, \$300 (1998); Graduate Student Council Travel Grant, Harvard University, \$500
2 (1998); Kate B. and Hall J. Peterson Research Fellowship, American Antiquarian Society, \$1,000
3 (1998); Hymnody Project Grant, Institute for the Study of American Evangelicals, \$1,500 (1999);
4 Dissertation Completion Fellowship, Packard Foundation, \$15,000 (1999-2000); Dissertation
5 Completion Fellowship, Louisville Institute, \$15,000 (1999-2000); Faculty Development Grants,
6 Mellon Foundation, \$6,500 (2002, 2003); Spiritual Healing Conference Grants, Deaconess,
7 Mellon, and 5 other foundations, total \$11,500 (2006); New Frontiers Exploration Traveling
8 Fellowship, Lilly Endowment, \$2,500 (2006); Outstanding Junior Faculty Award, Indiana
9 University, \$14,500 (2007-08); Summer Faculty Fellowship, Indiana University, \$8,000 (2008);
10 New Frontiers in the Arts & Humanities, Lilly Endowment, \$50,000 (2009-10); Flame of Love
11 Project, Templeton Foundation, \$175,000 (2009-11); Trustees' Teaching Award, Indiana
12 University, \$2,500 (2010); New Frontiers Exploratory Travel Fellowship, IU, \$3,000 (2012);
13 College Arts & Humanities Institute Research Travel Grant, IU, \$5,000 (2012).

14 5. I am a current member of the American Academy of Religion, the American
15 Society of Church History, the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, and the American
16 Sociological Association Section on Sociology of Religion; in the past, I was also a member of the
17 American Historical Association, the Modern Language Association, and the Society for the
18 History of Authorship, Reading, and Publishing.

19 6. My published research focuses on U.S. and global evangelical and Pentecostal
20 Christianity, and complementary and alternative medicine (CAM), including yoga, meditation,
21 martial arts, acupuncture, chiropractic, homeopathy, Reiki, Therapeutic Touch, and anti-cancer
22 alternatives, and examines connections between CAM practices and religious traditions such as
23 Hinduism, Buddhism, Taoism, and Western metaphysics. In particular, I have conducted extensive
24 research on yoga and meditation—including school yoga and meditation programs.

25 7. My publications include three single-author books and two edited volumes. I am
26 the author of *The Word in the World: Evangelical Writing, Publishing, and Reading in America*,

1 1789-1880 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004); *Testing Prayer: Science and*
2 *Healing* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012); and *The Healing Gods of Christian*
3 *America: Complementary and Alternative Medicine in the Mainstream* (New York: Oxford
4 University Press, forthcoming July 2013). I am the editor of *Global Pentecostal and Charismatic*
5 *Healing* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011); co-editor of *The Future of Evangelicalism in*
6 *America* (Columbia University Press, under contract). I have published ten peer-reviewed journal
7 articles, eight scholarly book chapters, eight op-eds and blog posts, eighteen teaching-oriented
8 publications, seventeen academic book reviews; delivered fifty-three invited lectures and
9 professional society presentations, and given fifty-one media interviews (listed on c.v.).

10 8. I have been teaching courses on American religion and culture since 1996. As a
11 Ph.D. candidate (1996-1999), I taught in the Religion and History and Literature programs at
12 Harvard University, and in the Comparative Literature department at Lesley University. After
13 earning my Ph.D., I worked as an assistant professor in the History department at Vanderbilt
14 University from 2000-2001. I was an assistant professor in the American Studies department at
15 Saint Louis University from 2001-2006. I have been employed as an associate professor in the
16 Religious Studies department at Indiana University from 2006 to the present. I have taught a wide
17 variety of courses (usually two courses per semester, with enrollments for each course up to 120
18 students), including Religion, Illness, and Healing; Religion, Health, and Healthcare Management;
19 Sickness and Health; and Religion and American Culture. I have also advised twenty-three theses
20 and Ph.D. dissertations. I regularly draw upon my research in my teaching, including my research
21 on yoga, meditation, Hinduism, Buddhism, Taoism, and metaphysics.

22 9. I have been asked to render an opinion regarding whether the Ashtanga yoga
23 program in the Encinitas Union School District (EUSD) promotes or advances religion.

24 10. In rendering my opinion, I have reviewed the following documents: EUSD “On the
25 Mat” Yoga Curriculum; EUSD parent statements; MOU between EUSD and KP Jois Foundation;
26 EUSD FAQ; *GLPD Gazette*; MOU between EUSD and Regur Development Group; Timothy

1 Baird e-mail to parents; Capri quiz study guide; Capri poster of yoga *asanas*; Jois Foundation
2 website; K. Pattabhi Jois Ashtanga Yoga Institute, Mysore, India website; Ashtanga Yoga Center
3 website; Ashtanga.com website; NCLPP press release; C-Ville article on UVA CSC; Southern
4 California NPR interview; and publications listed in the bibliography related to my long-term
5 research on yoga, meditation, and CAM, a true and correct copy of which is appended as Exhibit
6 B. I have spoken with parents from EUSD families who have observed EUSD yoga classes and/or
7 whose children have received instruction using the EUSD yoga curriculum.

8 11. My opinion regarding whether the Ashtanga yoga program in the Encinitas Union
9 School District (EUSD) promotes or advances religion is as follows:

10 12. **Ashtanga yoga, as endorsed by the EUSD yoga curriculum, in my expert
11 opinion, promotes and advances religion, including Hinduism, Buddhism, Taoism, and
12 Western metaphysics.**

13 13. **Documents and statements by EUSD representatives, the Jois Foundation, the
14 Jois Foundation Encinitas Yoga Shala, the University of Virginia Contemplative Sciences
15 Center (CSC), the Carlsbad Ashtanga Yoga Center, and other members of the Ashtanga
16 yoga community include religious and specifically Hindu content.**

17 14. **The practices taught by the EUSD yoga curriculum promote and advance
18 religion, including Hinduism—whether or not these practices are taught using religious or
19 Hindu language.**

20 15. The basis for my opinion is as follows:

21 16. In order to evaluate whether the EUSD yoga program advances religion, it is not
22 enough to read EUSD documents written for the public; one must also examine the purposes and
23 effects of the yoga program, compare language used in public documents with that used in
24 statements by program promoters directed toward insiders, and consider the broad context of
25 yoga's history.

1 17. **The EUSD yoga program fits a definition of “religion” informed by**
2 **scholarship in religious studies and comparative religion.**

3 18. *The American Academy of Religion notes the pervasiveness of religious ideologies*
4 *in yoga.* The American Academy of Religion—the world’s largest professional association for
5 scholars of religion (with 10,000 members)—sponsors an annual meeting program unit dedicated
6 to the study of “Yoga in Theory and Practice.” The official mission statement is that “this group
7 seeks to elucidate the religious and sectarian representations of yoga in South Asian history,” and
8 “it examines the relative pervasiveness of spiritual and religious ideologies in manifest or latent
9 forms within the contemporary yoga scene.”¹

10 19. *“Religion” should be defined to include “sacred” bodily practices and*
11 *“spirituality.”* Although “religion” has been defined in many ways by practitioners and scholars,
12 there is agreement among many of today’s scholars that religion should be defined broadly enough
13 to account for the diversity of human experience and the variety of ways people set apart that
14 which seems sacred from that which seems profane. As a religious studies scholar, I find that
15 “religion” by definition includes not only theistic beliefs—like those found in Christianity—but
16 also bodily practices perceived as connecting individuals with suprahuman energies, beings, or
17 transcendent realities, or as inducing heightened spiritual awareness or virtues. I include
18 “spirituality” within my definition of religion—rather than distinguishing the two—because both
19 religion and spirituality (derived from the Latin “spiritus”) make metaphysical—that is, more than
20 physical (including suprahuman or supernatural) —assumptions about the nature of reality.²

21 20. *Many Americans fail to recognize non-Christian (e.g. Hindu) religious practices as*
22 *“religion” and fail to understand the inseparability of certain bodily practices from spiritual*
23 *purposes.* Because Protestant Christianity has played a dominant role in American history, many
24 Americans have been slow to recognize non-Christian religious practices—such as yoga—as
25 religion. Protestants, and those influenced by Protestant reasoning, privilege the “Word”—the
26 sacred text of the Bible, verbal proclamation of the “gospel,” intellectual affirmation of doctrinal
27

1 beliefs, and recitation of creeds, practiced in the context of church services directed toward
2 worship of a single deity. Protestants tend to read their textual bias onto other religions, placing
3 more emphasis on “sacred texts” of other traditions than many participants place upon them.
4 Protestants have been prone to misunderstand embodied traditions in which practice is itself an
5 essential expression of religious devotion. For many Hindus and Buddhists, for instance, religious
6 significance exists directly in the doing, rather than secondarily in believing or saying something
7 while performing bodily or mental practices. This is because many people understand knowledge
8 of the sacred to be experiential, rather than merely intellectual. In the religious origins of yoga,
9 body and spirit are not separable categories (as presupposed by Cartesian mind-body dualism), but
10 aspects of each other, and bodily practices are spiritual as well as physical. From such a
11 perspective, it would make little sense to isolate bodily practices from spiritual purposes—as those
12 promoting the EUSD yoga program claim to do.³

13 21. **Historically, yoga has been closely associated with religious traditions of India**
14 **that are today identified as Hindu, Buddhist, or Jain.**

15 22. *Hindu beliefs about the Divine (Brahman and Atman).* The oldest literature, which
16 nearly all schools of what is now called Hinduism take as their source and view as the revealed
17 words of the Divine, is the large body of orally transmitted texts known collectively as the *Vedas*
18 (or knowledge), the earliest of which may date as far back as 1500 B.C.E. In the post-Vedic
19 Brahmanical tradition, the all-pervading Divine existence or reality behind everything in the
20 universe is *Brahman*, another aspect of which is *Atman*, or universal spirit. One influential school
21 of Hindu philosophy, Advaita Vedanta, focuses on the non-duality of Self, *Atman*, and the Whole,
22 *Brahman*, and teaches paths for realizing one’s union with the Divine.⁴

23 23. *Hindu origins of Ashtanga yoga.* The word yoga, from the Sanskrit verbal root *yuj*,
24 is a cognate of the English “yoke,” as “yoga” and “yoke” share a common linguistic origin in the
25 ancient Proto-Indo-European language. An exact lineage for yoga cannot be traced, since
26 individual gurus passed various disciplines to their students, who in turn created diverse styles.

1 But many of India’s yoga traditions share a religious goal—attaining human salvation, variously
2 defined as release from suffering existence and the cycle of rebirths (*samsara*), union with
3 Ultimate Reality, realizing the true Self which is Divine, or spending eternity in relationship with
4 the Divine. Thus, many people have understood the term yoga to reflect the goal of yoking
5 individuals with the Divine. The earliest known written references to yoga are in what people
6 today identify as Hindu texts. The *Upanishads* (c. 800-400 B.C.E.) and *Bhagavad Gita* (c. 200
7 B.C.E.-200 C.E.) describe yoga primarily as meditative disciplines, the purpose of which is to
8 withdraw one’s senses from the world to yoke with the Divine, or *Brahman*. Many people
9 interpret the *Gita* as teaching that the highest discipline, or path, of yoga is devotion through
10 meditation on a benevolent, omnipotent supreme being. The Divine, identified with *Krishna*, is
11 “the Syllable Om,” and “He who utters Om with the intention ‘I shall attain Brahman’ does verily
12 attain Brahman.” The *Yoga Sutras*, attributed to the Indian sage Patanjali (c. 200 B.C.E.-200 C.E.),
13 and often honored today as defining “classical” or “Ashtanga” yoga, prescribe eight limbs: moral
14 codes (*yama*), self-purification (*niyamas*), posture (*asana*), breath-regulation (*pranayama*),
15 withdrawal of the mind from the senses (*pratyahara*), concentration (*dharana*), meditation
16 (*dhyana*), and bliss or absorption into the Universal (*samadhi*).⁵

17 24. *Religious goals of yoga.* Over a period of several hundred years, Hindu, Buddhist,
18 and Jain texts elaborated yoga theory and practice, for instance describing *prana*, or vital breath,
19 as an external manifestation of universal spirit, *Atman*, and identifying *nadis*, or breath channels,
20 *chakras*, or wheels, and *kundalini*, or female serpent energy. The *nadis* refer to nonmaterial energy
21 streams, the junctures of which form *chakras*, spinning energy vortexes where one can receive,
22 absorb, and distribute vital energy. Moving *kundalini* is the object of many yoga practices.
23 *Kundalini* is a force represented as a female serpent, and sometimes envisioned as a goddess, who
24 lies dormant, coiled at the base of the spine. Her male counterpart and lover is *Shiva*, who resides
25 in the crown of the head or brain. Practicing yoga awakens *kundalini* so that she uncoils and
26 travels up the spine, opening *chakras* along the way. When *kundalini* reaches the *sahasrara*

1 *chakra*, at the crown of the head, *kundalini* and *Shiva* unite, and one attains *mahasamadhi* (bliss)
2 or *moksha* (liberation from the cycle of birth and death).⁶

3 25. *Religious goals of “postural” or “hatha” yoga.* Practitioners of modern postural
4 yoga, the form most familiar in Europe and North America, claim precedents in *hatha* yoga, or the
5 “yoga of forceful exertion,” which emerged in India between the tenth and eighteenth centuries
6 C.E. Medieval *hatha* yoga used a series of *shatkarmas*, or purifications (for instance, cleansing
7 the stomach by swallowing a long, narrow strip of cloth); *asanas*, or postures; and most
8 importantly *pranayama*, or breath control, to make the body immune to mortal decay. *Hatha* yoga
9 purifies and unites the *pingala nadi* and *ida nadi*—associated with the right and left nostrils, and
10 envisioned as microcosms of the sun and moon. As *pranayama* heats the breath, *kundalini* shoots
11 upward through the central *sushumna nadi*, piercing chakras to generate intense heat. For the male
12 *yogi* (scholars debate the extent to which women *yoginis* served the needs of yogis for ritualized
13 sexual fluid exchanges or acted as agents in their own yogic paths), semen stored in *kundalini*’s
14 body becomes so hot that it transmutes into the “nectar of immortality,” which the yogi drinks
15 from his own skull to gain supernatural powers—possibly including flight, telepathy, omniscience,
16 or an ability to take over other people’s bodies.⁷

17 26. *Influences of Hindu “yogis” and Western metaphysical religion, e.g. Theosophy.*
18 The only pre-modern South Asian religious order known to have self-identified as “yogis”—the
19 Nath Yogis—practiced *hatha* yoga. They defined the goals of yoga to include bodily immortality,
20 sexual pleasure, and supernatural and political power. As India entered the modern era, many
21 Indians and European observers feared yogis and castigated them for choosing personal power
22 over yoga’s “true” purpose of liberation. South Asian yoga practitioners increasingly rejected
23 *asanas* because of their association with yogis—who sometimes performed *asanas* as street
24 entertainers to earn enough money to survive. By the late nineteenth century, *hatha* yoga (but not
25 other forms of yoga) had been largely rejected by Indian elites. Paradoxically, it was Westerners
26 enthralled by Indian religions—particularly the metaphysical Theosophical Society—founded by
27

1 the Russian-born Helena Blavatsky in 1875—who revived hatha yoga by reprinting neglected
2 texts. Even so, Blavatsky found *asanas* distasteful and omitted them from her selective re-
3 presentation of yoga to the West—influencing Indian Hindu modernizers to do likewise.⁸

4 27. *Asanas of Sun Salutation based on worship of solar deity.* Only in the 1920s did
5 *asanas* make a comeback in India—in the context of British colonial rule (until 1947) and global
6 cultural flows among Europe, North America, and South Asia. Beginning in the nineteenth
7 century, metaphysically-oriented Western health reformers attracted to a variety of New Thought
8 (an outgrowth of Christian Science) and nature-cure movements promoted “physical culture” as
9 intrinsically spiritual. In the 1920s, YMCA physical-education programs in India interpreted
10 *asanas* as an indigenous form of physical exercise conducive to spiritual development. Sri
11 Tirumalai Krishnamacharya (1888-1989) taught *asanas* as “physical culture” at the Mysore Palace
12 in India, and trained several individuals (including K. Pattabhi Jois) who popularized yoga in the
13 West. Krishnamacharya developed the now famous “Sun Salutation” (*Surya Namaskara*, or
14 Opening Sequence A) by combining practices used in worship of the solar deity *Surya* with *hatha*
15 yoga *asanas*, regional gymnastics and wrestling, and British military calisthenics. Today, yoga
16 promoters often explain the meaning of the Sun Salutation by quoting an “ancient verse”: “With
17 praying hands I face the sun, feeling love and joy in my heart. I stretch up my hand and let the sun
18 fill me with warmth. I bow before the sun’s radiance and place my face to the ground with humble
19 respect. I lift my face to the sun and then remember that to achieve such heights I must be as the
20 dust of the earth. I stretch up towards its light trying to reach the greatest heights and again
21 surrender. I stand tall as I remember the true sun within me.”⁹

22 28. **Historically, the type of meditation promoted by UVA’s CSC has been**
23 **associated with Hindu and Buddhist religious traditions.**

24 29. *Purpose of mindfulness meditation is Buddhist enlightenment.* Meditation (*dhyana*)
25 is the seventh branch of Ashtanga yoga, and mindfulness meditation refers to the seventh aspect of
26 the eightfold path of Buddhism. The “four noble truths” are fundamental principles of Buddhism;

1 namely, that life is suffering; suffering originates in attachment; suffering can be ended; and there
2 is a path to the cessation of suffering. The “eightfold path” attributed to Siddhartha Gautama (c.
3 fifth century B.C.E.) involves releasing objects of attachment, including the very “idea of a ‘self’
4 which is a delusion, because there is no abiding self . . . and we are merely a part of the ceaseless
5 becoming of the universe.” The cultivation of mental and physical disciplines (right view, right
6 intention, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness, and right
7 concentration) frees the mind from the stress of fluctuations occasioned by moving toward desires
8 and away from dislikes or focusing on past mistakes and future worries. Extinguishing
9 attachments removes the cause of suffering and prepares the mind and body for enlightenment,
10 realization of Buddhahood, or nirvana—release from reincarnation’s cycle of life and death.¹⁰

11 30. *Mindfulness meditation promoter Jon Kabat-Zinn says mindfulness is Buddhist.*

12 The most influential promoter of mindfulness in America is Jon Kabat-Zinn (1944-), a European
13 American professor of medicine and founding director of the Stress Reduction Clinic and the
14 Center for Mindfulness in Medicine, Health Care, and Society at the University of Massachusetts
15 Medical Center, which runs the Mindfulness-Based Stress-Reduction (MBSR) program. Kabat-
16 Zinn used his medical credentials and university affiliation to make Buddhist meditation
17 acceptable to non-Buddhists by downplaying religious language in favor of simple techniques.
18 Even so, Kabat-Zinn describes mindfulness as the “heart of Buddhist meditation” and admits “it is
19 no accident that mindfulness comes out of Buddhism, which has as its overriding concerns the
20 relief of suffering and the dispelling of illusions.” As students graduate from the avowedly secular
21 MBSR program, Kabat-Zinn advises them to find an ongoing meditation group such as an Insight
22 Meditation Society, which Kabat-Zinn describes as having “a slightly Buddhist orientation.”¹¹

23 31. **The EUSD yoga curriculum incorporates and endorses religious concepts.**

24 32. *EUSD curriculum based on Ashtanga yoga.* The MOU between the Jois
25 Foundation and EUSD—granting EUSD \$533,720 to fund a yoga program—specifies that the
26 EUSD program is to be based on “Ashtanga Yoga” and that classroom teachers will be trained and
27

1 certified by the Jois Foundation. The curriculum teaches the three basic components of Ashtanga
2 practice: *asanas*, controlled breathing, and focused gaze. These specifications require scrutiny of
3 how the developers and instructors of Ashtanga yoga and the Jois Foundation elsewhere describe
4 the purposes of these practices—points to which I return below.¹²

5 33. *The Jois Foundation is involved in shaping the EUSD yoga curriculum.* In the
6 MOU between EUSD and the Regur Development Group, EUSD “agrees to” “coordinate with
7 RDG to ensure ‘Self-Mastery’ instruction is in alignment with the expectations of the grant” and
8 to “coordinate with RDG to ensure the development of any curricular materials is in alignment
9 with the expectations of the grant”—which makes EUSD accountable to the Jois Foundation via
10 the Regur Development Group for the content of the yoga curriculum. On information and belief,
11 based on interviews with EUSD parents and statements made by EUSD superintendent Timothy
12 Baird during school board meetings and interviews, yoga instructors certified by the Jois
13 Foundation before being employed by EUSD are involved in writing the EUSD yoga
14 curriculum—and continually revising that curriculum in reaction to parent complaints. Since
15 parents began complaining in September 2012, Baird has asked Jois-certified instructors to
16 “scrub” clean the yoga curriculum of explicitly religious language.

17 34. *EUSD curriculum teaches Ashtanga religious concepts of yama and niyama.* The
18 EUSD yoga curriculum includes not just physical but also spiritual goals, for instance that students
19 will “connect more deeply with their inner selves” and bring the “inner spirit of each child to the
20 surface.” The curriculum teaches “key yoga life concepts.” The first session begins with the
21 “character connection”: “How do my actions affect myself and others?” (followed by the question:
22 “How can I show value for myself and those around me?”)—allusions to branches one and two of
23 Ashtanga, *yama* and *niyama*. An article “About Ashtanga” linked from the Ashtanga.com
24 website—“the site of the Ashtanga community”— defines these key yoga life concepts. The
25 concepts of “yama and niyama - how I treat others and myself” include conserving “our vital
26
27

1 energies,” “purification,” study of “scriptural texts,” and “devotion or surrender to the higher or
2 creative force” (i.e., religious goals in Hindu traditions).¹³

3 35. *EUSD curriculum includes Taoist religious symbolism.* The curriculum uses the
4 Taoist yin/yang symbol to mark bullet points throughout the “On the Mat” document. In Taoism,
5 yin and yang are opposing, interdependent aspects of *qi*, or vital energy, that must be balanced to
6 promote harmony with the *Tao*, or “Way,” the “universal intelligence,” “guiding force,” or
7 “neutral essence of all life” that is “pre-existent to being and form.” Vital energy, also known as
8 universal life-force, is more than a physical force. It is alive and life-giving, intelligent, and goal-
9 directed—beneficently promoting homeostasis or balance.¹⁴

10 36. *EUSD curriculum teaches children to play act as yogis, i.e. Hindu religious*
11 *specialists.* The curriculum specifies that children play a game of “Yogi Says.” A Capri study
12 guide teaches that each child should be a “good fellow yogi to the other students.” Historically,
13 yogis are Hindu religious specialists who practiced *asanas* and *pranayama* for religious reasons.¹⁵

14 37. *EUSD curriculum teaches Sun Salutation—which represents worship of solar deity.*
15 The curriculum specifies that children learn the “actual names of the poses” in “Opening Sequence
16 A” (aka *Surya Namaskara* or Sun Salutation), a series of poses that represents worship of the solar
17 deity *Surya*. In the curricular description of the “Mountain Pose,” students are instructed to “reach
18 their arms way up high towards the sun.”¹⁶

19 38. *EUSD curriculum includes “lotus” and “resting” poses, which embody religious*
20 *symbolism.* The curriculum specifies that every session should end with a series of three “Lotus”
21 positions that “symbolize” calm and “quiet the mind” and a final “resting pose [aka *Savasana* or
22 “corpse” pose]” that allows the body time to “understand the new information it has received
23 through practicing yoga.” The lotus flower is a sacred symbol of purity and enlightenment for
24 many Hindus, Buddhists, and Jains; the lotus position is commonly used in religious meditation.
25 The corpse pose is sometimes explained as a way to “symbolically ‘die’ to our old ways of

1 thinking and doing” to “enter a state of blissful neutrality” that foreshadows final liberation from
2 the cycle of life and death.¹⁷

3 39. *EUSD yoga includes pranayama—to prepare for samadhi (uniting with Universal).*
4 The curriculum specifies that children learn “focusing on their breath,” “connecting breath with
5 movement,” and “connecting breath with sound,” because it creates a “means for rejuvenation and
6 vitality,” and “once students begin to gain control of their breath, they can begin to relate it into
7 their daily lives.” A Capri study guide says “breathing is THE MOST IMPORTANT [emphasis
8 original] part of yoga; this is what will help us to have a calm mind.” The terms rejuvenation and
9 vitality invoke concepts of vital energy (*prana*), and the goal of connecting to “daily lives” and
10 calming the mind expresses the ideal that *pranayama* leads practitioners toward the remaining
11 Ashtanga branches—including *pratyahara*, withdrawal of the mind from the senses, and
12 ultimately *samadhi*, uniting with the Universal.¹⁸

13 40. *EUSD yoga includes pratyahara—to prepare for samadhi.* The curriculum includes
14 a guided meditation script that instructs students to “let go of the thoughts in your mind.” The
15 curriculum promises that “beyond the physical benefits” of the poses, the “repetitive nature” of the
16 sequence and “focused gaze” “helps to focus the mind,” control the “wandering tendency of the
17 mind,” and achieve a “more balanced state of mind.” A Capri study guide says that “what we are
18 trying to get out of yoga” is a “calm and relaxed” mind. This language alludes to religious ideas
19 developed in Ashtanga literature (e.g. *pratyahara* or withdrawal of the mind from the senses
20 prepares one to unite with the Universal in *samadhi*).¹⁹

21 41. *EUSD curriculum includes Buddhist mindfulness meditation.* The *GLPD Gazette*
22 describes the EUSD yoga program as teaching a “mindful approach to health through yoga,
23 meditation” in order to “balance the body.”²⁰ The terms “mindfulness” and “balance” allude to
24 religious concepts important in Buddhism, Taoism, and Hinduism.

25 42. **Parents who observed EUSD yoga classes, and/or whose children participated**
26 **in these classes, attest to the inclusion and endorsement of religious elements.**

1 43. *Posters of an “eight limbed tree” and a Jois Ashtanga Yoga Institute poster of*
2 *Suryanamaskara asanas, both labeled in Sanskrit, have been displayed on the walls of EUSD*
3 *classrooms. Parents attest to seeing these posters as late as fall 2012. One parent took a*
4 *photograph of the asana poster and visited the website printed on the poster—where she found*
5 *definitions of the eight limbs written in Sanskrit on the tree poster: “1. Yama—moral codes, 2.*
6 *Niyama—self purification, 3. Asana—posture, 4. Pranayama—breath control, 5. Pratyahara—*
7 *sense control, 6. Dharana—concentration, 7. Dhyana—meditation, 8. Samadhi—absorption into*
8 *the universal”—explicitly religious goals important for many Hindus. A second-grader came*
9 *home saying she was being taught different names for the hands and feet; when her mother looked*
10 *up these names, they corresponded with the branches of Ashtanga. Parent complaints led to a*
11 *revised district policy of not teaching Sanskrit names. After this change, a parent observing a*
12 *Capri yoga class asked about the Sanskrit-labeled Ashtanga poster she still saw on the wall; the*
13 *teacher said she was “only referring to” the poster, which was removed after this incident. As*
14 *discussed below, however, Ashtanga concepts continue to be taught even without the posters.*

15 44. *EUSD-employed yoga teachers have taught children to perform the Sun Salutation.*
16 *A parent who observed a yoga class at Park Dale Lane during the 2011-2012 school year noted*
17 *that before beginning the Sun Salutation, the teacher asked the children to talk about everything*
18 *the sun gave them and to list reasons to be thankful to the sun, and correlated the series of poses*
19 *with expressing thankfulness; this is in my evaluation consistent with religious worship—adopting*
20 *a bodily posture, e.g. bowing, to express gratitude to a suprahman force, e.g. the sun. Parents and*
21 *students recall that children were taught the Sanskrit and English names for the Sun Salutation and*
22 *the individual poses within the sequence. In the context of yoga instruction, Sanskrit has not only*
23 *cultural, but specifically religious significance. In answer to the question “Why teach Sanskrit*
24 *names?” yoga teachers quoted by the *Yoga Journal* attest that teaching Sanskrit names for yoga*
25 *poses will “stir up interest” in yoga’s deeper meanings and create a “spiritual connection” because*
26 *each Sanskrit letter has a specific “sound frequency”; “when you tap into the sound of yoga you*
27

1 really experience Yoga with a capital Y,” since “in Vedic belief, each word is encoded with
2 consciousness. To put this simply, the pose name and the effect of the pose are one.” One parent
3 made a copy of a study guide (which I have reviewed) for a yoga quiz given to her sixth grader at
4 Capri Elementary School in 2011-2012. The first answer to “why do we do *surya namaskara* a
5 (sun salutations)” is “to welcome the sun.” The guide introduces other Sanskrit “yoga
6 vocabulary,” e.g. “*utthita trikonasana*,” “*samastithi*,” and “*drishti*.” A Capri student recalls her
7 teacher reading from a book that interprets the religious significance of various *asanas* in the Sun
8 Salutation. For instance, the teacher said that the warrior pose (*Virabhadrasana*) represents a god
9 (*Shiva*) slicing off someone’s head (*Daksha*) and replacing it with the head of a goat. Following
10 parent complaints, teachers stopped using Sanskrit names and started using less explicitly religious
11 English names for the poses—but continued to teach the same pose sequence. At last report,
12 EUSD teachers are now calling the Sun Salutation “Opening Sequence A” and calling, for
13 example, the downward facing dog (*adho mukha savanasana*) the “doggy pose.” However, even
14 after this policy change, parents report hearing instructors slip into using the former terminology
15 while demonstrating yoga. For instance, parents recall a yoga teacher giving a demonstration for a
16 PTA meeting accidentally using Sanskrit words three times and saying “oops” when she did so.
17 On a different occasion, while a parent was observing a kindergarten yoga class, the teacher twice
18 corrected herself when she said “downward facing dog.” This suggests to me that changing the
19 wording does not materially alter the practice, and that it is difficult for instructors trained by the
20 Jois Foundation to leave behind religious understandings of yoga when entering public schools.²¹

21 45. *EUSD yoga instructors have taught children to say “Namaste” to each other while*
22 *gesturing with a religiously symbolic “praying hands” position.* The word “*Namaste*” is often
23 translated as “I bow to the god within you” and represents the religious idea that there is divinity
24 in everyone; however, EUSD teachers have told children that *Namaste* just means “thank you” or
25 “peace.” One parent observed a class in which a teacher asked the children to sit in a “*Namaste*
26 circle” and place their hands in a position that resembles the “praying hands” (*anjali mudra*)
27

1 position commonly used in Hindu and Buddhist religious practices. A *mudra* is a “seal,” a position
2 of the hands or body, believed to direct spiritual energy. The children were told to bow to one
3 another, saying, “I see the light in you.” Children were then to gesture to themselves and say “I see
4 the light in me.” They were to gesture all around the circle, saying “This light in all of us makes us
5 one.” This is, in my opinion, consistent with Ashtanga and Hindu teachings that the divine is
6 present in everyone and that yoga practice—whether or not connected with verbal explanations of
7 why one assumes bodily positions—helps one unite with the divine.

8 46. *EUSD yoga instructors have taught children to sit in a “lotus” position that*
9 *resembles that often used in Hindu, Buddhist, and Jain meditation.* A sixth-grader who
10 participated in the EUSD yoga program in 2011-2012 remembers that chanting “Om” was
11 optional, but all children were supposed to place their hands on their knees with thumb and index
12 finger forming a circle and palms open. This sounds like a description of *Jnana Mudra*, the
13 Knowledge Hand Gesture or Mudra of Wisdom. Many religious practitioners interpret this mudra
14 as symbolizing subordination of the individual spirit—represented with the index finger—by the
15 Universal spirit—represented with the thumb; forming a circle with the two fingers symbolizes—
16 and brings about—unification of the individual with the universal consciousness. During the 2012-
17 2013 school year, a fourth-grader was asked to sit in the lotus position and told that putting her
18 fingers in the special position was not “required” but was “extra credit.”

19 47. *EUSD yoga instructors have taught children to color mandalas—circular pictures*
20 *considered sacred in Hindu and Buddhist traditions.* During fall 2012, a Jois Foundation certified
21 teacher hired by EUSD to teach PE and art in the fall, prefatory to teaching yoga in the spring,
22 introduced mandalas. The children were asked to consider their choice of colors and taught that
23 life is “cyclical and every circle is unending, every circle has a center and humans too must find
24 their center in their inner selves,” and the mandalas helped to reach the “center of ourselves”—
25 language that alludes to religious concepts, for instance *samsara*—the endless cycle of life, death,
26 and reincarnation. Instruction in mandalas occurred on multiple days, but stopped after parents
27

1 complained. The drawings were not sent home to parents, in contrast to the usual practice of
2 sending all artwork and other schoolwork home.

3 48. *Ashtanga-influenced curriculum is being taught across subjects in EUSD*
4 *classrooms—not only in PE class.* Although one parent pulled her son out of yoga class, he has
5 continued, in 2013, to be taught the “life concept” and “character” components of the Ashtanga
6 curriculum in other class periods. For example, he was taught in science class that washing one’s
7 hands to avoid spreading germs is a way to show respect to other children—an illustration of the
8 Ashtanga branches of *yama* and *niyama*.

9 49. **The Jois Foundation website includes Hindu religious content.**

10 50. *Jois Foundation says asanas only appear to be physical, but lead to samadhi.* A
11 Jois Foundation webpage “About Ashtanga Yoga” describes “eight limbed yoga” as leading to
12 “liberation and greater awareness of our spiritual potential.” **Practicing *asanas*, “though in**
13 **appearance an external and physical discipline” can “spontaneously . . . lead to the**
14 **experience of the last four limbs”—“*pratyahara* (withdrawal of the senses), *dharana***
15 **(concentration), *dhyana* (meditation), and *samadhi* (union).”²²**

16 51. *Jois Foundation teaches Hindu chanting.* A Jois Foundation course on “Sanskrit
17 Chanting” teaches from the *Yoga Sutras*, *Bhagavad Gita*, and *Upanishads*—texts important in
18 Hinduism.²³

19 52. *Encinitas Jois Yoga Shala performs ritual for Hindu deity Ganesh and invites*
20 *Hindu teachers.* A video taken at the second anniversary of the Encinitas Jois Yoga Shala [a center
21 involved in training teachers hired by EUSD] includes Hindu religious content. A spokesperson
22 explains why the celebration included a Ganesh *Pooja* (a Hindu ritual to remove obstacles,
23 focused on the Hindu deity Ganesh; a statue of Ganesh is shown in the video): “We do the Ganesh
24 *Pooja* always because Ganesh is the remover of obstacles. He makes things run smoothly.” The
25 celebration included a talk on *karma* (a religious concept of cause and effect important in Hindu,
26 Buddhist, Jain, and Sikh traditions) by a Vedic astrologer, Sanjeev Verma, who explained “how
27

1 we can improve our good karma & reduce our negative karma through consciously directing the
2 merits of our spiritual practices & good deeds” and “through gradual meditation or mindfulness
3 you can become a third party . . . to yourself” and become united with the universal. Another
4 speaker, Vidwan H.V. Nagaraja Rao, gave “inspirational presentations on yoga philosophy” from
5 the *Upanishads*. Another special guest was Srikanth Sastri, “an esteemed priest from the local
6 Vedic Cultural and Spiritual Center of San Diego.”²⁴

7 53. *Jois Foundation says doing asanas leads to enlightenment—regardless of why one*
8 *does yoga.* A video taken at the Grand Opening of the Jois Foundation Greenwich Shala includes
9 religious content. Jois Foundation Sonia Jones is featured saying: “When Guruji [aka Pattabhi
10 Jois] said 99% practice, 1% theory, he’s basically telling you you know within yourself your
11 journey to Enlightenment.” Another spokesperson explains that “Ashtanga Yoga is not just
12 physical practice though *asana* is the first stream of Ashtanga yoga. It is not the final stages of
13 yoga.” Rather, yoga is “for liberation.” Although “most of us we start with *asanas* . . . Yoga
14 practice is for self-transformation. Whoever does this definitely transformation should happen, and
15 it will happen, **for whatever reason you’re doing it, it will happen, the transformation will**
16 **happen.**” The speakers provide assurance that practicing *asanas* will lead to enlightenment,
17 liberation, and self-transformation—religious goals—regardless of why people do the *asanas* or
18 whether religious theories are discussed.²⁵

19 54. **Leaders of the University of Virginia Contemplative Sciences Center (CSC)**
20 **affirm that Ashtanga yoga and mindfulness meditation promote religion.**

21 55. *UVA’s Campbell and Shorling say even “scientific” yoga and meditation are*
22 *religious.* According to an article on the CSC published in *C-ville*, a purpose of UVA’s CSC is to
23 promote Ashtanga yoga and mindfulness meditation, rather than merely conduct scientific studies
24 (promotional materials indicate that the CSC will study the EUSD program). The CSC was funded
25 by a \$12 million grant from Paul and Sonia Tudor Jones (the couple who funded the Jois
26 Foundation and the EUSD yoga program), who are outspoken promoters of Ashtanga yoga. The
27

1 CSC’s director, John Campbell, is a certified Ashtanga yoga instructor who studied with Pattabhi
2 Jois and previously established an Ashtanga yoga program for Jones. According to Campbell, the
3 CSC approaches yoga and meditation with a “scientific” program, but **“that’s not to say that**
4 **somehow you can avoid or strip away elements that in other contexts you would call**
5 **religious.”** John Shorling, director of UVA’s Mindfulness Center (modeled on Jon Kabat-Zinn’s
6 Center for Mindfulness), acknowledges that like meditation, yoga “has been practiced for
7 thousands of years in different religious traditions,” and “at their highest forms if you really want
8 to go deeply into them **it’s difficult to do them without practicing in a religious tradition.”**²⁶

9 56. *On information and belief, UVA’s Campbell is an advisor for EUSD’s yoga*
10 *program.* Russell Case, director of the Jois Foundation, Encinitis, said in a NPR interview that the
11 purpose of the EUSD yoga curriculum is to “alpha test” the Jois Foundation Ashtanga yoga
12 curriculum, and Campbell is “helping participate in the project as far as an advisory role.”²⁷

13 57. **Sri K. Pattabhi Jois and his son Manju Jois describe Ashtanga yoga as**
14 **promoting Hinduism, even when presented as a purely physical practice stripped of religious**
15 **language and instruction.**

16 58. *Pattabhi Jois says practicing asanas leads to union with God—whether one wants*
17 *it or not.* In an interview, Pattabhi Jois suggested that the Hindu god “Shiva first taught” yoga, as
18 did the *Bhagavad Gita*, and the *Upanishads*. Asked “Is God important to a physical practice?” Jois
19 responded: **“The reason we do yoga is to become one with God** and to realize Him in our hearts.
20 You can lecture, you can talk about God, but when you practice correctly, you come to experience
21 God inside. **Some people start yoga and don’t even know of Him, don’t even want to know of**
22 **Him. But for anyone who practices yoga correctly, the love of God will develop.** And, after
23 some time, a greater love for God will be theirs, **whether they want it or not.”** According to Jois,
24 whether or not people do yoga because they want to practice religion, doing yoga leads people to
25 love God—a religious goal. According to Jois, *hatha* yoga merges “vital energy” channels, and
26 when “*prana* is finally at rest . . . we then realize God inside. That is our Self, our true identity. So,

1 Hatha yoga is experiencing God inside. . . **Yoga is not physical**—very wrong!” Combining the
2 language of “science” with that of religion, Jois described Hatha yoga as “the ultimate science of
3 helping us discover what lies behind the apparent reality of body and mind.” One seeks to focus
4 and control the mind [goals of the EUSD curriculum] “until **the mind assumes the form of**
5 **Brahman** without any effort in contemplation.” Asked whether “there is a difference” between
6 physical, mental, and spiritual yoga,” Jois answered “Yoga is one. God is one. Yoga means
7 *sambandaha*, which is *atma manah samyogah*, or knowing God inside you. But using it only for
8 physical practice is no good, of no use—just a lot of sweating, pushing, and heavy breathing for
9 nothing. **The spiritual aspect, which is beyond the physical, is the purpose of yoga.** When the
10 nervous system is purified, **when your mind rests in the atman (the Self)**, then you can
11 experience the true greatness of yoga. . . . **The essence of yoga is to reach oneness with God.”**
12 **Asked to define “spirituality,” Jois answered: “the sacred scriptures are the whole**
13 **foundation of our spiritual tradition . . . The body is our temple and inside that temple is**
14 **atman, and that is God. . . . As you take practice, you come to see God inside.”**²⁸

15 59. *Manju Jois says doing asanas automatically draws practitioners into Hindu*
16 *spiritual path.* According to Manju Jois, son of Pattabhi Jois, when teaching “Western students,”
17 his father did not discuss the “spiritual aspect” of yoga because “**Hinduism is very, very hard to**
18 **understand.” That is why “the yoga asanas are important - you just do.** Don’t talk about the
19 philosophy – **99% practice and 1% philosophy** that’s what he meant. You just keep doing it,
20 keep doing it, **keep doing it then slowly it will start opening up inside of you,” to**
21 **“automatically . . . draw you into the spiritual path.”** Manju Jois affirms that “We (as teachers
22 of Ashtanga yoga) will definitely approach yoga through *asana* and *pranayama* and *dhyana* and
23 chanting. **Then internal changes will come about...now it will be easier to practice yama and**
24 **niyama, you won’t even know you’re doing it.”** Manju Jois defines yoga as a “traditional
25 spiritual practice” and affirms that “every *asana* is a meditation, actually.” Through yoga, one can
26 “activate this power” of *kundalini*. **The reason Ashtanga emphasizes a “long, slow inhalation**
27

1 **and a long, slow exhalation” is to “let the prana flow.”** Manju Jois says “I think people are
2 paying too much attention to the physical side of practice. The *Vedas* state *Aham Brahmasmi*—I
3 am Brahman (Brahman is cosmic consciousness). So our body is like our temple.” In another
4 interview, Manju Jois explained his view that “Yoga is to unite. . . . That’s what *so-ham* means: **I**
5 **am God**, I am the Creator. I am the **Vishnu**, the Preserver; I am the **Shiva**, the destroyer; and I am
6 the Creator, the **Brahma**. I am all three, the three is you.”²⁹

7 60. **The Carlsbad Ashtanga Yoga Center (AYC) website promotes Hindu religious**
8 **content.**

9 61. *AYC observes “moon days” for Hindu religious reasons.* The website for the
10 Ashtanga Yoga Center (AYC) in Carlsbad, California (directed by Tim Miller, “the first American
11 certified to teach by Pattabhi Jois”) explains that the “Ashtanga Yoga tradition” observes “full and
12 new moon days” because “full moon energy corresponds” to “*prana*” force and “new moon
13 energy” to *apana* force,” as described in the “*Upanishads*.”³⁰

14 62. *AYC says asanas, coordination of breath with movements, and focused gaze (three*
15 *components of EUSD curriculum) achieve spiritual purification and reveal Universal Self.* A
16 webpage on “Ashtanga Yoga Background”—linked from the AYC website via Ashtanga.com—
17 claims that Pattabhi Jois taught Ashtanga yoga “according to the sacred tradition of Guru
18 Parampara.” The webpage attributes the eight limbs of Ashtanga to Patanjali’s *Yoga Sutras*, and
19 describes them as a “**path of internal purification for revealing the Universal Self.**” In order to
20 “perform *asana* correctly in Ashtanga yoga, one must incorporate the use of *vinyasa* (coordination
21 of breath with movements) and *tristhana* (focused gaze) [the three components of the EUSD
22 curriculum] to achieve “purification.” *Asanas* function in “opening and clearing the energy
23 channels,” and “*pranayama* means taking in the subtle power of the vital wind.” Breathing
24 techniques (*bandhas*) “unlock pranic energy and direct it into the 72,000 *nadi* (energy channels) of
25 the subtle body. There are nine *dristhi* (gazing points) [all nine are listed in the EUSD curriculum].
26 When these practices are performed together, the resulting state of **concentration paves the way**

1 **for the practices of *dharana* and *dhyana***, the six and seventh limbs of Ashtanga yoga.” Finally,
2 “when purification is complete and mind control occurs, the Six Poisons surrounding the spiritual
3 heart [*kama* (desire), *krodha* (anger), *moha* (delusion), *lobha* (greed), *matsarya* (sloth), and *mada*
4 (envy)]—‘will, one by one, go completely’, revealing the Universal Self.” Terms like vital energy,
5 purification, spiritual heart, revelation of the Universal Self, and lists of moral virtues, express
6 religious ideals. Thus, when Russell Case, director of the Jois Foundation, Encinitas, says that
7 “yoga by definition is concentration of the mind. And so that’s really what we mean by the word
8 spiritual”—it is important to understand that concentration is meant to pave the way for the
9 remaining branches of Ashtanga—ultimately “revealing the Universal Self.”³¹

10 63. AYC defines Sun Salutation as bowing to God and revealing divine within. An
11 AYC webpage on “The Alchemy of Yoga” identifies the “primary goal” of yoga as “liberation of
12 spirit from matter.” The article refers to “dormant vital energy (*kundalini shakti*)” and solving the
13 problem of “human ignorance of our divine nature.” The purpose of the Sun Salutation is to
14 “liberate dormant energy.” The practice of “*ishwara pranidhana*, literally **bowing to God**, refers
15 to spiritual alchemy. When we transcend ego identification long enough to discover that the **divine**
16 **creative power of the universe is present within our own being**, we are filled with joy and
17 reverence. Our natural impulse when this happens is to give thanks. This expression of gratitude
18 and humility becomes the **doorway for divine grace** to enter our lives. . . . liberation can be
19 gained by placing our devotion at the feet of God.” According to the Encinitas AYC, the purpose
20 of the Sun Salutation—a central component of the EUSD curriculum—is spiritual liberation,
21 realization of one’s divine nature, and religious devotion to God.³²

22 64. AYC identifies “lotus” with touching the feet of God. “A Brief History of Ashtanga
23 Yoga in Encinitas” posted by the AYC recalls that while teaching Ashtanga yoga, Pattabhi Jois,
24 aka Guruji, “would go off on a lengthy Sanskrit chant of some **scripture**.” The webpage explains
25 that “in Ashtanga yoga, the **prayer chanted** before practice begins, *Vande Gurunam*
26 *Charanaravinde* (**I bow to the lotus feet of my teacher**)” because the “guru is the intermediary
27

1 between the student and the Divine” and “by touching the feet of the guru **we touch the feet of**
2 **God.**” Jois also taught that “God is the only guru. Our true purpose in yoga is to awaken the guru
3 within.”³³

4 65. *AYC instructor describes religious purpose of Sun Salutation and praying hands.*

5 An online instructional video by one of the AYC’s yoga teachers, Pete Hurley, includes an
6 “**opening prayer**” to honor the “guru in ourself” and seek a practice “filled with devotion.” The
7 prayer begins with the mantra “Om,” and continues with a Sanskrit chant, which is translated by
8 the Jois Ashtanga Yoga Institute as “I bow to the lotus feet of the Gurus. The awakening
9 happiness of one’s own Self revealed . . . Pacifying delusion, the poison of Samsara [the endless
10 cycle of birth, death, and reincarnation]. . . To Patanjali, I salute.” Hurley describes the Sun
11 Salutation as producing a “straight line of energy [i.e. prana, or vital energy] through your spine.”
12 The routine ends with a “**Closing Prayer**” in Sanskrit; the video shows Hurley in a praying hands
13 (*anjalinudra*) position commonly used by Hindu and Buddhist meditators.³⁴

14 66. *AYC’s Tim Miller says doing asanas results in spiritual awakening—even if*
15 *religious theory is not taught, and even if described as “scientific.”* The AYC website includes
16 links to several interviews of Tim Miller. According to Miller, even if one only practices *asanas*
17 without being taught religious theories, doing yoga produces spiritual transformation: “**If you do**
18 **the practice consistently, you, slowly over time, transform.** You begin to understand what yoga
19 is from the inside.” Yoga helps one “tune in to cosmic intelligence . . . That’s why at the beginning
20 of practice we say a traditional **prayer** of gratitude and acknowledge the benefits of yoga as a **tool**
21 **for awakening**—to recreate a space for grace.” The terms cosmic intelligence, prayer, awakening,
22 and grace refer to religious concepts. When Miller calls yoga “**scientific**,” he is not claiming that
23 yoga is un-spiritual. Rather, Miller describes yoga as a “scientific method for the realization of the
24 fact that we are spiritual beings. . . . absolutely I see Ashtanga yoga as a spiritual practice; that was
25 apparent to me from day one.” Miller says that he learned from Jois a focus on “our personal deity
26 that we have, our own individual connection to some aspect of the divine,” realized through
27

1 “literally **bowing to God** . . . I bow to the lotus feet of the guru.” The reason that yoga cultivates a
2 “cessation of the fluctuation of the mind” or a “shut off” mind [taught in the EUSD curriculum] is
3 that “underneath the mind” one finds the “essential self” or the “spiritual self.”³⁵

4 67. *Ashtanga.com says only the “misunderstanding mind” thinks asanas are only*
5 *physical.* An article “About Ashtanga” linked from the Ashtanga.com website explains since “we
6 function in an extremely physical and external world the point of entry is naturally physical. So
7 one begins with a set of *asanas*.” But **only the “misunderstanding mind thinks” that *asanas***
8 **are “all ashtanga is.** This is only the beginning of the journey. As one practices, all the elements
9 are cultivated so one goes deeper and starts to understand what Patanjali is talking about.”³⁶ In
10 other words, *asanas* lead the way toward other branches of Ashtanga.

11 68. **Just because the EUSD denies that its yoga program is religious does not, in**
12 **itself, mean that the program has been stripped of religious content, nor that it is necessarily**
13 **possible to separate a yoga program from religious content.**

14 69. *Denying that a practice is religious does not remove religious content.* EUSD
15 spokespersons are aware that they must deny teaching religion. As an EUSD frequently asked
16 questions sheet states: “Public schools are not allowed to teach religion. That would be a violation
17 of the Constitution. The yoga program taught in the Encinitas Union School District provides no
18 religious instruction whatsoever.”³⁷ EUSD’s denial that it is teaching religion fits with a pattern I
19 have observed in my long-term research (since 2003) on the mainstreaming of yoga, meditation,
20 and other forms of complementary and alternative medicine (CAM). It is often the case that
21 promoters of religious practices strategically downplay religious language in public documents in
22 order to make their practices acceptable to secular authorities and Christian critics. Religious
23 practices such as yoga and mindfulness meditation are often relabeled as scientific techniques,
24 exercise, philosophy, non-sectarian spirituality, commodity, or Christian worship. It is a common
25 promotional strategy to emphasize physical, mental, and emotional benefits. But because the
26 physical and spiritual aspects of practices such as yoga intertwine, failure to acknowledge yoga’s
27

1 religious purposes does not automatically transform yoga into secular exercise. Apparently
2 “secularized” yoga and meditation programs often result in superficial relabeling rather than
3 creation of fundamentally distinctive practices.

4 70. *Labeling a practice “spiritual” does not make the practice non-religious.* A
5 common promotional strategy is to claim that “ancient” practices predate the rise of specific
6 religions; identify practices with universal spirituality; and deny that they conflict with any
7 religion. However, merely declaring that practices are “spiritual” but not religious—or “universal”
8 and thus suitable for people of any or no religion—does not, as if by fiat, remove religious
9 meanings. Many Americans associate religion with guilt-inducing proscriptions on behavior and
10 requirements that adherents regularly attend church, intellectually assent to doctrines or recite
11 creeds, and follow legalistic rules—and want to distance themselves from this kind of religion.
12 Some people prefer the term spirituality, which they associate with private seeking after sacred
13 meaning untethered to public adherence to religious institutions, doctrines, creeds, or rituals. In
14 practice, the line between religion and spirituality is permeable; both religion and spirituality make
15 metaphysical assumptions about the world, and both fulfill similar functions, such as affirming a
16 person’s place in the cosmos, and offering a sense of purpose, meaning, and hope.³⁸

17 71. *Labeling a practice “science” does not make the practice non-religious.* My
18 scholarly research indicates that non-Christian religious practices are often marketed as science to
19 offset fears of religious contamination and to capitalize on popular esteem for science. It is
20 important to pay close attention to how spokespersons define “science.” The Swami Vivekananda
21 (1863-1902), a Vedanta (Hindu) monk, was one of the first yoga promoters to frame yoga as
22 “science.” Vivekananda meant that yoga is empirical; in other words, generations of practitioners
23 had used yoga and experienced observable results—which Vivekananda identified as realization
24 of the true Self, or *Brahman* (divine) within. Vivekananda took the idea of framing yoga as
25 science from Helena Blavatsky, whose Theosophical Society drew on Hinduism, Buddhism, and
26 Zoroastrianism, and taught reincarnation, karma, the presence of life and consciousness in all
27

1 matter, and the power of thought to affect one’s self and surroundings, all of which concepts were
2 framed as “science.” Another important figure in the history of yoga in America is the Indian-born
3 Hindu, Paramhansa Yogananda, author of the bestselling *Autobiography of a Yogi* (1946).
4 Yogananda identified yoga as science, defined as empirical methods put toward spiritual ends:
5 “Yoga is a system of scientific methods for reuniting the soul with the Spirit.” (Compare similar
6 statements by the CSC’s Campbell, Pattabhi Jois, and the AYC’s Tim Miller.) The goal of yogic
7 science is to transcend merely intellectual knowledge and directly experience truth. This
8 understanding of science contrasts with how conventional scientists use the term, but the
9 difference was lost upon the growing number of Americans whose esteem for yoga rose as they
10 imagined it as scientific. Today, many promoters of yoga and meditation borrow vocabulary from
11 scientists and claim scientific support from research studies (few of which meet rigorous scientific
12 standards for randomized controlled trials), while continuing to make religious assumptions about
13 what yoga achieves and why it does so.³⁹

14 72. **There is evidence that promoters of yoga and mindfulness meditation**
15 **commonly engage in “self-censorship” or “camouflage” to make practices seem less religious**
16 **and thus more palatable to secular or Christian audiences.**

17 73. *How “self-censorship” works.* Marcy, a Cambridge, Massachusetts yoga instructor,
18 illustrates how instructors may self-consciously put on a secular face. Personally, “I love to
19 immerse myself” in the idea that “we are divine beings, cloaked in human flesh.” But Marcy does
20 not want to “turn people off, or offend them.” Pragmatically, “I have to make my living at this.
21 Now mind you, if I didn’t have to make my living, I might be able to advertise my yoga class as a
22 spiritual yoga.” In the gym, Marcy explains yoga as being “for stress reduction, flexibility, muscle
23 strengthening, and community. Which is all true. And all fine, you know. I censor myself
24 sometimes because I want it to be as palatable as I can to everybody. I want to cast a wide net.”
25 Yet Marcy always carries with her brochures for yoga retreats, hoping that her classes will whet
26 students’ appetite for explicitly religious yoga.

1 74. *How “camouflage” works.* Sociologists use the term “camouflage” to describe
2 “elaborate techniques of concealing and gradual exposure.” Holistic consultants introduce
3 metaphysics to business and educational professionals by systematically replacing suspect terms
4 such as “meditation” or “spirituality” with more neutral words like “intuition,” “authenticity,”
5 “holism,” and “purity.” One consultant interviewed acknowledges that “only after I get the
6 group’s trust do I start, very carefully. People are skeptical at first. When I suggest practicing yoga
7 or meditation they are unconvinced about the whole process. I wait some time and then raise it
8 again. It is a gradual process. Today I get into an organization with a topic such as time
9 management, evaluation of employees or contact with clients, and via this window I start the
10 process.” Later, these same consultants introduce unambiguously religious content in “advanced”
11 training workshops.⁴⁰

12 75. **EUSD’s denial that its yoga curriculum is religious resembles similar denials**
13 **made by other programs and individuals who have brought what they understand as**
14 **religious yoga into public education.**

15 76. *EUSD strategy of replacing religious with non-religious terms similar to Yoga Ed.*
16 It is instructive to compare the strategies used by those promoting the EUSD yoga curriculum with
17 the strategies used ten years ago to introduce the Yoga Ed. program into Aspen, Colorado and Los
18 Angeles, California public school systems. Yoga Ed.’s developer, Tara Guber, argued before
19 school boards that “this is not a religious-, dogma- or faith-based program. We don’t chant or
20 recite specific principles or philosophy. It is not connected to any belief system.” In order to
21 overcome resistance from “fundamentalist Baptists” on school boards, Guber removed religious
22 language, for instance, replacing *samadhi* with “oneness,” meditation with “time in,” and
23 *pranayama* with “bunny breathing.” As one of Guber’s followers suggested during a 2002 school-
24 board dispute, “semantics is all we are talking about. We can change a few words and make it all
25 happen [i.e., get the curriculum approved].” And this is exactly what Guber did.⁴¹

1 77. *Yoga Ed. promoter later admitted to Hindu religious goals.* After the Yoga Ed.
2 controversy had died down, Guber revealed her motives in a 2004 interview with *Hinduism Today*
3 magazine. The article is entitled “Tara’s Yoga for Kids: One noble soul takes on the public school
4 system and wins a Vedic [i.e. Hindu] victory.” Guber confided to her interviewer that she had
5 been disingenuous in presenting yoga as non-religious as a necessary condition for getting it into
6 the school system. She expressed confidence that the practice of yoga, whatever its components
7 are called, would “go within, shift consciousness and alter beliefs.” Since participating classroom
8 teachers receive yoga instruction at local studios before being certified to teach Yoga Ed., teachers
9 “undergo some degree of personal transformation that would enable them to convey, primarily
10 through example, the deeper and more meaningful experience of yoga to their students in class.”
11 Thus, getting yoga in the K-12 schoolroom door, even minus Hindu language, constituted a
12 “Vedic victory.”⁴²

13 78. *Example of how denying that public school curriculum is religious may not remove*
14 *religion.* It is instructive to compare the EUSD curriculum with language used by public university
15 yoga instructors and textbooks that deny that yoga is religion. For example, Brad teaches for-
16 credit yoga at a public university. When Brad claims that yoga is “not religion,” he means that
17 yoga is a “more complete system than many religions tend to be.” Yoga is more, not less, than
18 religion. Although Brad denies requiring students to experience yoga “through a religious lens,” in
19 his view yoga and religion “come from the same source,” and yoga is the “hub for all Eastern
20 religions.” Brad elaborated on the hub notion in an interview: “Yoga can be thought of as the
21 energy surrounding all gods.” Brad’s course syllabus includes instructions on how to practice
22 mindfulness meditation, which he recommends to students as the “core” of yoga and the “best way
23 to appreciate the sacredness of everything.” Similarly, a textbook, *Yoga The College Way* (1996)
24 identifies the “core” purpose of *asanas* and meditation as “salvation, enlightenment, or union with
25 Brahman, the Divine”—goals that the author admits are “inappropriate for a public school
26 setting.” The text proposes that public university instructors describe *asana* as a “pose” with
27

1 physical benefits, and meditation as “‘positive thinking,’ stress reduction and/or relaxation
2 techniques.” Professing that yoga’s “spiritual paths can be followed or bypassed,” the textbook
3 teaches how to meditate using the syllable “*Om*.” The “written word ‘om’ is a very powerful
4 object at which to gaze. It visually represents the divine, but also conjures up the sound of the
5 divine.” *Om* is a mantra, a “sacred sound repeated to bring one to a higher state of awareness of
6 God,” and has an “essence that has divine, cosmic energy, giving it special power. It reflects on a
7 specific deity with a certain meter or rhythm.” Such language goes beyond description to teach
8 students how to follow yoga’s “spiritual paths”—all the while denying that yoga is “religious.”⁴³

9 79. **13. There is evidence that many yoga promoters believe that practicing**
10 **“secularized” yoga will lead practitioners to embrace yoga’s religious concepts.**

11 80. *Yoga promoters writing for sympathetic audiences describe secularized yoga as*
12 *gateway to religious yoga.* Phil Catalfo writes for the *Yoga Journal* that “while many Westerners
13 come to yoga primarily for its health benefits, it seems safe to say that most people who open to
14 yoga will, in time . . . come to see yoga as a spiritual practice.” *Yoga Journal*’s Anne Cushman
15 points to the “millions of Americans for whom ‘yoga’ means ‘*asana*’—and for whom the physical
16 postures are both the gateway into the practice and the vehicle for the spiritual teachings. . . .
17 Hatha yoga taps into our lust for physical perfection, but at the same time, it . . . is an entryway to
18 spiritual awakening.” Cushman notes that “for most people, it starts as simply as this: Yoga makes
19 us feel good, and we like to feel good.” But “if you look closely at the serious yoga practitioner—
20 the person who does it on a regular basis for more than a year or so—you’ll often find that *asana*
21 has become not just an end in itself, but the medium through which he or she begins to explore
22 other yogic teachings.” Popular yoga teacher Beryl Bender Birch notes that “people get turned on
23 to yoga in health clubs, and if they’re looking to deepen their practice, they’ll go to the yoga
24 studio. It’s definitely a way in.” According to yoga advocate Victor Parachin, “there is no
25 requirement that participants have any religious or spiritual outlook. Yet many who begin to
26 practice yoga say they experience subtle shifts in attitude and thoughts.”⁴⁴

1 81. *Hindus warn that yoga will cause Christians to adopt Hinduism.* Prominent Hindu
2 spokespersons warn that Christians who practice yoga will inevitably adopt Hindu religion.
3 Sannyasin Arumugaswami, the managing editor of *Hinduism Today*, attests that Hinduism is the
4 “soul” of yoga and that “a Christian trying to adapt these practices will likely disrupt their own
5 Christian beliefs.” Aseem Shukla, M.D., a surgeon and co-founder of the Hindu American
6 Foundation, warns that Christians who practice yoga may inadvertently enter the Hindu path to
7 realize one’s own divinity: “But be forewarned. Yogis say that the dedicated practice of yoga will
8 subdue the restless mind, lessen one’s cravings for the mundane material world and put one on the
9 path of self-realization—that each individual is a spark of the divine. Expect conflicts if you are
10 sold on the exclusivist claims of Abrahamic faiths—that their God awaits the arrival of only His
11 chosen few at heaven’s gate—since yoga shows its own path to spiritual enlightenment to all
12 seekers, regardless of affiliation.” Julia, the owner of a midwestern yoga studio, agrees that
13 practicing yoga causes Christians to change their religious beliefs. Julia notes that the “YMCA’s
14 made a difference” in alleviating the hesitancy of Christians to try yoga, but “you can’t practice
15 yoga and not be affected by these deeper meanings of it, by what it really means”—that each
16 person’s “inner being” is “like God,” a “perfect” and “eternally wise being.”⁴⁵

17 82. **There is evidence that even “secularized” yoga promotes Hinduism and**
18 **related religions, as participants in “secularized” yoga do come to embrace religious yoga.**

19 83. *Examples of Christians changing their religion through yoga practice.* Religion
20 scholars Sabine Henrichsen-Schrembs and Peter Versteeg have noticed that regardless of why
21 people begin doing yoga, “a shift seems to take place,” leading people to “a whole new spiritual
22 awareness and totally identifying with the yoga philosophy.” For example, Sharon, a yoga
23 professor at a public university, tried yoga to “give time to myself,” an emphasis lacking in her
24 Episcopal church. Sharon gradually “let go” of her “own religion,” and, marrying a man with
25 “Eastern” views, allowed yoga to fill the void left by her abandoned Christian beliefs. Following
26 her divorce, Sharon returned to church, but now feels more comfortable in a Unitarian

1 congregation. Kristin, a college-age yoga-studio intern, grew up Catholic, but tried yoga because it
2 appeared to be “not religious. I mean they have yoga classes at the YMCA and that’s a Christian
3 organization.” Kristin explored yoga “starting with the physical aspects,” since she enjoyed the
4 stretching. But “then I started reading” and discovered a “really good mind body spirit thing.”
5 Kristin now considers the “eight limbs of Ashtanga” to be “basically similar to the 10
6 commandments,” but better since the principles are “just like suggestions” by contrast to rule-
7 oriented Christianity.⁴⁶

8 84. *Pattern of “secularized,” spiritually-premised practices leading people to change*
9 *religion.* A pattern that I have observed in my long-term research on yoga, meditation, and other
10 forms of CAM is that participation in spiritually-premised practices—even when marketed as
11 “secular” and stripped of religious language—leads practitioners to change their religious views.
12 Because this process often occurs gradually, individuals may not even recognize that it is taking
13 place or consciously choose to change their religious beliefs. This tendency is accentuated when
14 promoters conceal religious theories for beginners, progressively introducing spiritual nuggets
15 after novices have been attracted by physical benefits.

16 85. I have agreed to testify at trial; and will be sufficiently familiar with the pending
17 action to provide a meaningful oral deposition concerning the specific trial testimony I am
18 expected to give, either orally or by deposition testimony.

19 86. I declare under penalty of perjury under the laws of the State of California that the
20 foregoing is true and correct.

21
22 Date: 2/8/13 Candy Gunther Brown, Ph.D.

23 Candy Gunther Brown, Ph.D.

1 Endnotes:

2 _____
3 ¹ “Yoga in Theory and Practice,”

4 rsnonline.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1302&Itemid=1451 (accessed
5 1/21/13).

6 ² Durkheim, *Labor*, 131; Albanese, *Religions*, 2-9; Pals, *Theories*, 10-12; J. Smith, *Relating*, 179-
7 196; Orsi, *Between*, 183-198; Tweed, *Crossing*, 73; Kunin, *Religion*, 3; Barnes and Sered,
8 *Religion*.

9 ³ R. King, *Orientalism*, 3; Eck, *New*, 4.

10 ⁴ R. King, *Orientalism*, 3; Worthington, *Yoga*, 5; J. Alter, *Yoga*, 247.

11 ⁵ Singleton, *Yoga*, 4; David White, *Yoga*, 6, 8; Jacobsen, *Yoga*, 7; *Shvetashvatara Upanishad* 4:17;
12 *Taittiriya Upanishad* 1.8.1; *Bhagavad Gita* 7:8, qtd. in Babamani, “Om”; *Yoga Sutras* 1:2, qtd. in
13 Aranya, *Yoga*, 6-11; Lidell, *Sivananda*, 15; Strauss, *Yoga*, 2-5; R. King, *Orientalism*, 181; Raposa,
14 *Meditation*, 68; T. Berry, *Religions*, 94.

15 ⁶ Rieker, *Yoga*, 101; Krishna, *Kundalini*, 13; Syman, *Subtle*, 5.

16 ⁷ Singleton, *Yoga*, 27-29; David White, *Yoga*, 10-11, 16; Varenne, *Yoga*, 15.

17 ⁸ Singleton, *Yoga*, 70, 77; David White, *Yoga*, 11-12, 17-18, 21.

18 ⁹ Singleton, *Yoga*, 5, 22, 91-92, 114, 129, 152-158, 175-180; David White, *Yoga*, 21; Banuet-
19 Alvers, *College*, 2.

20 ¹⁰ Knierim, “Truths”; Seager, *Buddhism*, 15, 24.

21 ¹¹ Kabat-Zinn, *Wherever*, 4-6, 263; Kabat-Zinn, *Catastrophe*, 1-2, 12-13, 33, 38, 95, 436; Center
22 for Mindfulness, “Programs.”

23 ¹² MOU between EUSD and KP Jois Foundation, 1-2.

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28

¹³ MOU between EUSD and KP Jois Foundation, 1-2; Paul Dallaghan, “About Ashtanga,” www.centeredyoga.com/aboutash.html (accessed 1/23/13).

¹⁴ “On the Mat,” 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 8, 10, 14, 18, 22, 26, 30, 32, 35, 38, 41, 42, 44, 45, 47, 48; Raposa, *Meditation*, 40-41; Kuriyama, *Expressiveness*, 229, 266; Porkert, *Chinese*, 67; Carter, *Powerful*, 54-56, 59; Sutherland, “Point,” 41; L. Barnes, *Needles*, 4; Whorton, *Nature*, xii; Harrington, *Cure*, 223; Syman, *Subtle*, 5; Fuller, *Spirituality*, 149.

¹⁵ MOU between EUSD and KP Jois Foundation, 2; Capri quiz study guide.

¹⁶ MOU between EUSD and KP Jois Foundation, 2.

¹⁷ MOU between EUSD and KP Jois Foundation, 10, 1; “Padma-*asana*—The Lotus Posture,” www.santosha.com/padma.html (accessed 1/23/13); Richard Rosen, “Corpse Pose,” www.yogajournal.com/practice/185 (accessed 1/23/13).

¹⁸ MOU between EUSD and KP Jois Foundation, 1, 10; Capri study guide.

¹⁹ MOU between EUSD and KP Jois Foundation, 3, 33, 42; Capri study guide.

²⁰ *GLPD Gazette* (September 2012), 1.

²¹ Margaret Braun, “Why Teach Sanskrit Names,” *Yoga Journal*, www.yogajournal.com/for_teachers/1415 (accessed 1/6/13); Capri study guide.

²² “About Ashtanga Yoga,” www.joisyoga.com/about-ashtanga-yoga.html#ashtangaYoga (accessed 1/22/13).

²³ “About Ashtanga Yoga,” www.joisyoga.com/about-ashtanga-yoga.html#ashtangaYoga (accessed 1/22/13).

²⁴ “Jois Yoga Encinitas 2nd Anniversary” video, “Interview with Sanjeev Verma: Vedic Astrologer,” www.joisyoga.com/galleries.html (accessed 1/22/13).

1
2 ²⁵ “Greenwich: Grand Opening & 1st Week” video, www.joisyoga.com/galleries.html (accessed
3 1/22/13). All boldface text in this document denotes emphasis added to the original quotations.

4 ²⁶Jayson Whitehead, “Yoga U: Is the Contemplative Sciences Center the Answer to UVA’s
5 ‘Reputation Gap,’ or an Expensive New Age Sideshow?” *C-Ville* (September 5, 2012), [www.c-ville.com/yoga-u-is-the-contemplative-sciences-center-the-answer-to-uvas-reputation-gap-or-an-
6 ville.com/yoga-u-is-the-contemplative-sciences-center-the-answer-to-uvas-reputation-gap-or-an-
7 expensive-new-age-sideshow/#.UHNw0VFdATB](http://www.c-ville.com/yoga-u-is-the-contemplative-sciences-center-the-answer-to-uvas-reputation-gap-or-an-expensive-new-age-sideshow/#.UHNw0VFdATB) (accessed 1/22/13).

8
9 ²⁷ “Does Yoga have a Place in Public Schools?” *AirTalk* (December 17, 2012),
10 [www.scpr.org/programs/airtalk/2012/12/17/29724/does-yoga-have-a-place-in-public-schools/
11 \(accessed 1/30/13\).](http://www.scpr.org/programs/airtalk/2012/12/17/29724/does-yoga-have-a-place-in-public-schools/)

12 ²⁸ “3 Gurus, 48 Questions: Matching Interviews with Sri T.K.V. Desikachar, Sri B.K.S. Iyengar &
13 Sri K. Pattabhi Jois,” interview by R. Alexander Medin, Edited by Deidre Summerbell,”
14 *Namarupa* (fall 2004): 6-18,
15 www.namarupa.org/magazine/nr03/downloads>NamaRupa_03_02.pdf (accessed 1/22/13).

16
17 ²⁹ “Manju Jois: New York 2000,” interview by Guy Donahaye,
18 aysnyc.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=137&Itemid=161 (accessed 1/22/13);
19 “Manju Jois,” interview by Richard Clark, *Australian Yoga Life* (July 2005): 42-45,
20 www.ashtangayogashala.com.au/storage/documents/Manju_Jois.pdf (accessed 1/22/13); David
21 Kelman, “Interview with a Guru,” *FIT Yoga* (August 2005): 81,
22 www.kripalu.org/pdfs/manju_jois_article.pdf (accessed 1/30/13).

23
24 ³⁰ “Moon Days,” www.ashtangayogacenter.com/moon.html (accessed 1/23/13).

25 ³¹ “Ashtanga Yoga Background,” www.ashtanga.com/html/background.html (accessed 1/23/13);
26 “Does Yoga have a Place in Public Schools?” *AirTalk* (December 17, 2012),
27

1
2 www.scpr.org/programs/airtalk/2012/12/17/29724/does-yoga-have-a-place-in-public-schools/
3 (accessed 1/30/13).

4 ³² “The Alchemy of Yoga,” www.ashtangayogacenter.com/alchemy.html (accessed 1/23/13).

5 ³³ “A Brief History of Ashtanga Yoga in Encinitas,” www.ashtangayogacenter.com/history.html
6 (accessed 1/23/13).

7 ³⁴ Pete Hurley, “Ashtanga Yoga Start Practice 7 Standing Poses,”

8 www.ashtangayogavideos.com/video-gallery.php (accessed 1/22/13).; Shri K. Pattabhi Jois

9 Asthtanga Yoga Institute, “Opening Prayer,” kpjayi.org/the-practice/opening-prayer (accessed
10 1/22/13).

11 ³⁵ “Tim Miller,” interview by Deborah Crooks, www.ashtanga.com/html/article_miller_tim.html;

12 “Tim Miller: Taming the Mind, Enlightening the Body and Unveiling the Spirit,” interview by

13 Cara Jepsen, www.yogachicago.com/jul01/workshopreviews.shtml#tim; “Tim Miller - Mysore

14 1999 and Encinitas 2000,” interview by Guy Donahaye,

15 aysnyc.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=146&Itemid=161

16 ³⁶ Paul Dallaghan, “About Ashtanga,” www.centeredyoga.com/aboutash.html (accessed 1/23/13).

17 ³⁷ “Encinitas Union School District Yoga Program Frequently Asked Questions,” 1.

18 ³⁸ Fuller, *Spiritual*, 5; R. Wuthnow, *Boomers*, 134; Stark, *Believe*, 88.

19 ³⁹ David White, *Yoga*, 20; Blavatsky, *Secret*, 289-306; Yogananda, *Autobiography*; Yogananda,
20 “Yoga”; Eck, *New*, 105; J. Alter, *Yoga*, 32.

21 ⁴⁰ “Marcy,” interview, in Bender, *Metaphysicals*, 42; Zaidman, Goldstein-Gidoni, and Nehemya,
22 “Temples,” 605-606, 610, 614-616.

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28

⁴¹ Associated Press, “Controversy”; Tara Guber, qtd. in Havlen, “Yoga”; Frazier, “Religion”; Yogaed.com, “Action.”

⁴² “Tara’s Yoga.”

⁴³ “Brad,” interview, March 27, 2009, in Dolezal, “Yoga,” 14; Banuet-Alvers, *College*, 38-46, 77.

⁴⁴ Birch, qtd. in Isaacs, “Pumping”; Cadge and Bender, “Yoga,” 48; Catalfo, “Yoga”; Cushman, “Yoga,” 68-75; Parachin, *Wisdom*, 165.

⁴⁵ Arumugaswami, interview, in Owens, “Yoga”; Shukla, “Yoga”; “Julia,” interview, March 5, 2010, in Metroka, “Yoga,” appendix.

⁴⁶ Henrichsen-Schrembs and Versteeg, “Typology”; “Sharon,” interview, September 30, 2009, in Lennox, “Yoga,” 12; “Kristin,” interview, March 5, 2010, in Metroka, “Yoga,” appendix.