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## "Because It's 2015!": Justin Trudeau's Yoga Body, Masculinity, and Canadian Nation-Building

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# “Because It’s 2015!:)” Justin Trudeau’s Yoga Body, Masculinity, and Canadian Nation-Building

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**Abstract:** In 2015, Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau told reporters he chose a gender-balanced cabinet “because it’s 2015,” a sentiment that resonated with Leftists and feminists. Trudeau showed he was a different kind of male politician through his yoga practice. Through candid yoga photographs, Trudeau represented himself as a sensitive new age guy who challenged hegemonic masculinity through wellness, playfulness, and a commitment to multiculturalism. Using discourse analysis, we examine visual, print, and social media texts that feature Trudeau’s connection to yoga, masculinity, and nation-building. We argue that Trudeau’s yoga body projects a “hybrid masculinity” (Bridges 2014; Demetriou 2001) that constructs Trudeau as a benevolent patriarch, which is mapped onto a fantasy of Canada as a multicultural nation with feelings.

**Keywords:** benevolent patriarch, Canada, Justin Trudeau, masculinity, yoga

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## Introduction

It was not a typical Parliamentary debate. Canadian politicians were discussing C-14, a bill that would allow physician-assisted death. Passions were high, time was running out, and some politicians refused to clear the aisle so others could sit down. Gord Brown (the Conservative<sup>1</sup> Chief Opposition Whip) could not get back to his seat so Prime Minister Leader Justin Trudeau tried to speed things up by grabbing Brown’s arm and escorting him through the sea of people. In the process, he accidentally elbowed Ruth Ellen Brosseau, a Member of Parliament, in the chest. The opposition press and rival politicians condemned Trudeau’s actions as abusive and disrespectful to women and he subsequently apologized multiple times. Canadian media nicknamed the incident “Elbowgate” within a few hours.

Less than one month later, Justin and First Lady Sophie Grégoire Trudeau made light of the incident at a Press Gallery dinner. During the Prime Minister’s speech, Grégoire Trudeau appeared on stage to remind her husband to be calm amidst the adversarial nature of federal politics. She brought a yoga mat on stage, hiked up her dress to her knees, and squatted on the floor to perform *Pārsva Bakāsana* (Twisted Side Crow pose) in stiletto heels in front of a Haida<sup>2</sup> artistic backdrop. She told Justin, “so, you should be doing more of this, ‘cause you’d be hitting less people, my love, right? And this is really good for anger management; Tom, you wanna try, Tom?” (CTV News 2016). Grégoire Trudeau teased not only her husband, but Tom Mulcair, then-leader of the New Democratic Party known for his fiery demeanor. The moment was designed to diffuse political tension but it also illustrated yoga’s potential to

discipline Trudeau into an even-tempered man that is the right kind of Prime Minister for Canada. Grégoire Trudeau's encouragement to her husband, and others, illustrated yoga's potential as a disciplinary tool for national politics.

In this article, we employ the interdisciplinary humanities methodology of discourse analysis to understand how Trudeau's yoga body – by which we mean a literal body that does yoga as well as a represented body captured in yoga poses – symbolizes and is produced by the intersections of masculinity and Canadian nation-building. We open with a short history of the coverage of Trudeau's yoga practice in news and social media for context. Then, we focus on two intertextual, co-reinforcing, and mutually constitutive interdiscursive analytics: 1) hybrid masculinity and the sensitive new age guy who does yoga; 2) the benevolent multicultural patriarch and Canadian nation-building. We argue that reaction to Trudeau's yoga body is influenced by a national fantasy that prefers politicians who are humble, friendly, and sufficiently masculine. Trudeau's hybrid masculinity vis-a-vis yoga produces him as a benevolent patriarch, which is mapped onto Canada as a healthy, kind, multicultural country. When this benevolent patriarch shows anything other than Canadian niceness, he requires his wife's reminder to do more yoga. Yoga neatly fits Canada's national fantasy because it is a physical wellness practice as well as a globalized import from South Asia. People who practice yoga thus envision themselves as multicultural, while earning cultural and color capital from engaging in an exotic practice (Kern 2012).

By practicing yoga (as well as being photographed bhangra dancing and wearing a kurta), Trudeau attempts to show how cosmopolitan he is and hence how inclusive Canada is. Canadian critical race theory scholars contend that most Canadians would prefer to enjoy the pleasant cultural aspects offered by migration like non-Western flavors, dances, and even yoga, but do not want to talk about how multiculturalism “does not adequately support the transfer of power to racialized Canadians” and does not “challenge the national myth of Canada as a white nation space or raceless state” (Walcott 2011, 26). Towards the end of this article, we propose that Trudeau's use of yoga is an incarnation of colonial behavior that lays claim to whatever practices suit the larger goal. In this case, the larger goal was to craft the image of a welcoming and disciplined world leader who was comfortable with racialized practices and peoples. As we will show with his more recent political scandals, it is unclear whether Trudeau knows the difference between appreciation, adoption, and appropriation.

## **Methodology**

Sophie Grégoire Trudeau's teasing of her husband at the Press Gallery dinner, accompanied by her performance of *Pārsva Bakāsana* (Twisted Side Crow pose), is the critical incident that frames our article. Beginning with this allows us to trace the “intertextual chain” (Fairclough 1995, 77) within the methodological tradition of discourse analysis wherein “the production and transformation of discourse across [various] domains can then be charted” (Jørgensen and Phillips 2002, 120). The Press Gallery dinner is an interdiscursive and intertextual moment. It is interdiscursive insofar as “different discourses and genres are articulated together in a communicative event” (73). In this case, masculinity and Canadian nationalism are bound together in a display that is simultaneously an intimate joke between partners and public admonishment in front of the world. The joke is intertextual, too, because it is only meaningful if one knows: about “Elbowgate,” that Grégoire Trudeau is a yoga teacher, that Justin Trudeau has a yoga practice, and that his photographed yoga poses are viral media.

We come to this inquiry as Canadian feminist scholars and yoga teachers who contribute to critical yoga studies as an interdisciplinary field. Previously, we (independent of each other) explored the influence of yoga on public life; yoga as a disciplining practice; how yoga intersects with neoliberalism,

yoga, consumerism, and the gig economy; yoga as a pedagogical tool; and, how yoga becomes the lens through which to experience wellness and health (Mintz 2018; Musial 2011; 2016). This is our collaborative effort to understand how yoga was interwoven into the feminist promise for Canada.

We focus primarily on Justin Trudeau's career between 2011-2016 as a five-year period book-ended by yoga moments and Trudeau's political rise from Liberal leader to Prime Minister. In 2011, Gregory Kolz photographed Justin Trudeau, then a relatively new Member of Parliament, in *Mayurāsana* (Peacock pose) on a desk in the House of Parliament. It gained moderate traction in 2013 when Trudeau was chosen to lead the Liberal Party of Canada. Later that year, cameras captured Trudeau posing with two local yoga teachers in *Vrksāsana* (Tree pose) after delivering a press conference on Parliament Hill. Trudeau ran for Prime Minister in 2015 on a populist, feminist, LGBTQ-supportive, and pro-diversity agenda that rejected Islamophobic fears. When he won the federal election, the *Mayurāsana* photograph resurfaced globally and virally. After winning the election, Trudeau's retort "because it's 2015," in response to a question about why a gender-balanced cabinet was essential, signaled he was a politician who knew how to appeal to the feminist Left. After eight months of national leadership, Trudeau was teased by his wife (and yoga teacher) Grégoire Trudeau for "Elbowgate" at the Press Gallery dinner.

It was important to draw texts from various communicative forms (e.g., newspapers, blogs, personal social media) made for diverse audiences (e.g., international readership to individual followers) to understand the interdiscursivity of hybrid masculinity and nation-building. To complete this study, we focus on photographs of Trudeau doing yoga poses (namely *Mayurāsana* (Peacock pose) and *Vrksāsana* (Tree pose) as simultaneously populist and official texts because they appeared to be candid moments that were later incorporated into Trudeau's brand. Additionally, we investigate how journalists, bloggers, and the public talk about Trudeau's yoga practice through Canadian national news websites (e.g., *Global News*, *Canadian Broadcasting Corporation [CBC] News*), international news networks websites (e.g., *CNN*, *The Huffington Post*), digital media websites (e.g., *Mashable*), and social media sites (e.g., Facebook, Twitter). A heterogeneous archive of primary sources is necessary to understand how meanings associated with Trudeau's yoga body travel across platforms, reinforcing and co-producing as they circulate. While we could have chosen one text (i.e., one newspaper story) or one genre of texts (i.e., only tweets), we chose material that was circulable via shares, URL links, retweets, likes/favorites, or embeds because we wanted to study what Norman Fairclough (1995) calls the "chain relationships" of discourse, which is when "texts are transformed along chains and embedded within subsequent texts in the chain" (77). For example, when a photograph of Trudeau doing yoga is posted on his official Twitter account, it will be re-posted to Canadian news media sites and/or digital media sites where it may be repackaged into a story about his masculinity or Canadian-ness, which will then be shared by individuals to their social media pages to make a statement about anything from yoga's popularity to Trudeau's attractiveness to their critique of the Liberal party – the chain is endless. Our focus is not on the origin of an image, or tracing the chain per se, but rather the ways in which these texts discursively reinforce one another to construct an idea about masculinity and Canada.

## Researching Justin Trudeau

There is surprisingly little research on Justin Trudeau compared to his United States contemporaries Barack Obama and Donald Trump. A few books were published by Canadian journalists that evaluated Trudeau's campaign promises, first term in office, scandals, and international relationships heading into the 2019 election cycle (Iverson 2019; Lukacs 2020; Wherry 2019) while just one academic collection analyzes the Trudeau's approach to foreign policy (Hillmer and Lagassé 2018). There is more scholarly

attention to his 2015 campaign where political advertisements and Canadian newspapers are studied to understand how Trudeau built a persona in opposition to his chief rival, Prime Minister Stephen Harper (Clarke et. al. 2017; Lalancette and Cormack 2018; Lalancette and Raynauld 2019; Maiolino 2015; Marland 2017; Meades 2015; Sabin and Kirkup 2016). This material focuses on three primary topics: Trudeau's political brand, Trudeau's use of celebrity and social media to engage voters, and media attention to Trudeau's masculinity. The latter is the most useful to our study.

Scholarly attention to masculinity in the 2015 election assists our analysis of how Trudeau used yoga to articulate his hybrid masculinity and national benevolence. In his analysis of attack advertisements, Sean Meades (2015) found that Trudeau's masculinity and physical appearance were used to critique his leadership capability when Conservatives proposed that Trudeau was just too vain to focus on important issues like the economy. Jerald Sabin and Kyle Kirkup (2016) corroborate Meades' analysis in their look at political campaigns, public appearances, and media representation. They posit the Canadian political landscape is increasingly shaped by competing masculinities vis-a-vis shifting definitions of hegemonic masculinity and attacks on perceived "weak" masculinity. In their work on Trudeau's use of social media for celebrity image-making, Mireille Lalancette and Patricia Cormack (2018) contend that Trudeau used a "new masculinity" to articulate his optimistic vision for Canada. They argue that Trudeau was successful at using Conservative attacks to his advantage: when Conservatives painted Trudeau as vapid, Trudeau countered by showing how lighthearted and fun he was.<sup>3</sup> Finally, Elise Maiolino (2015) looks at the news media coverage of a charity boxing match between Trudeau and Patrick Brazeau that took place before Trudeau ran for leadership of the Liberal Party. Maiolino shows how Trudeau went from "precariously masculine" to "sufficiently masculine" by defeating Brazeau. Maiolino's study is useful for understanding how media coverage of Trudeau's gender expression vacillated over time.

The existing scholarship on Trudeau's masculinity scratches the surface on how his body and affect contributed to his persona. Lalancette and Cormack (2018) and Maiolino (2015) offer the most extensive analysis of how varying political campaigns and the media attached meaning to his body, using it to signify vanity, youthfulness, and aggression among other things. While there is brief mention of yoga in Lalancette and Cormack (2018) within the context of other embodied practices, scholars have yet to examine how Trudeau's campaign incorporated yoga as a way to project a mindfully masculine, emotionally and physically fit leader. We draw from masculinity studies, but add insights from critical yoga studies and transnational feminism to articulate the ways in which yoga, as an imported practice from South Asia, was grafted onto a gender expression that Demetrakis Z. Demetriou (2001) and Tristan Bridges (2014) call "hybrid masculinity" wherein a focus on wellness and cosmopolitanism served Trudeau well during his leadership run.

### **#PoseLikeTrudeau: The Selfie King Does Yoga**

It is prudent to begin with a short history of how Trudeau's yoga body circulated through social media, national news, and official political narrative via an intertextual chain with each link becoming more politically useful. Trudeau's yoga practice was first documented in 2011 when Gregory Kolz photographed him in *Mayurāsana* (Peacock pose, a difficult arm balance) on a desk in the House of Parliament. Kolz recounted, "It is entirely possible that Mr. (Justin) Trudeau knew what he was doing when he saw me there with the camera ... but it struck me, quite frankly, as a very spontaneous thing ... I don't believe it was pre-planned – it certainly wasn't from my end" (Post Media News 2016). The photograph gained moderate traction when Kolz tweeted it two years later saying, "@JustinTrudeau is level-headed & able to

bring Canada to new heights. That's why he's my choice for #Liberal leader" (gregkolz 2013). At the time, Trudeau was running for leadership of the Liberal Party of Canada. Trudeau's Twitter account re-tweeted Kolz three minutes later. Subsequently, Trudeau included Kolz's photograph in his 2014 memoir *Common Ground* with the caption, "Here I am showing caucus colleagues that yoga can really be done anytime and anywhere" (185). This image became more famous in 2016 after Trudeau won the federal election when yoga teacher David Gellineau posted it on his Facebook page with the caption, "Canada's Prime Minister #justintrudeau – practicing #Mayurasana. Didn't we say #canadalovesyoga" (O'Neil 2016). The Facebook post spread through Canadian yoga circles,<sup>4</sup> then it was picked up by journalists who led with headlines like "Justin Trudeau's Impressive Core Strength Will Make you Say 'Namaste'" (Moore 2016) and "Photo of Justin Trudeau Doing Yoga Makes the Internet Freak Out" (O'Neil 2016).<sup>5</sup> News websites from *The National Post* to *Time* to *World Yoga News* compared Justin's *Mayurāsana* to his father former Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau's version of the pose captured in 1970 on a beach in the Northwest Territories to see which Trudeau executed the pose best.<sup>6</sup> Shortly thereafter, #PoseLikeTrudeau heightened public engagement with the photograph because it was a call for people to try doing their own *Mayurāsana* and post it to social media (bigsurfdon 2016).<sup>7</sup> Something that began as a spontaneous moment turned into a political campaign strategy, then a viral and interactive social media challenge.

Trudeau's yoga poses are international news, but often the context behind the pose is lost and the yoga pose becomes the story. Trudeau's *Vrksāsana* (Tree pose) on Parliament Hill is a good example of this. In June 2013, shortly after becoming the Liberal Party leader, Trudeau held an outdoor press conference on Parliament Hill to outline his plan to make Liberal Party spending more transparent. His audience included reporters, protestors, and a yoga class that was taking place off-camera. Trudeau jokes, "I'd rather be over there," referring to the yoga class as he is walking out to a podium. Afterwards, he stopped for photographs with the public, where he chided one person, "aren't you supposed to be doing yoga right now? You guys are about to do Pigeon [pose, *Eka Pāda Rājikapotāsana*]." Lululemon<sup>8</sup> representative Hannah Dean and yoga teacher Edith Piranhas approached Trudeau for a photograph. Dean teased, "we should do Tree [pose, *Vrksāsana*]!" and he complied, "okay let's do Tree" leading the three to stand in *Vrksāsana* while the cameras caught the pose. The image of Trudeau, Dean, and Piranhas was divorced from its context as the photograph was posted and re-posted without reference to his official remarks. In fact, even national television news outlet *Global News* featured the footage on its website with the headline, "Justin Trudeau strikes a yoga pose" (*Global News* 2013) indicating that Trudeau's candid yoga moment was more newsworthy than the content of a press conference or the small crowd of protestors who attended in critique. Not only is the original context for the event lost when the media focuses on Trudeau's yoga poses, but the depth of yoga as a practice is lost too. Mary Grace Anthony (2014) writes that yoga is an "empty and pliable signifier" when it is divorced from its religious roots (73). Trudeau's willingness to #stopdropandyoga (a social media trend marked by yoga posing in unexpected places) while dressed in a suit and conducting parliamentary business was an excellent political strategy because his postures became part of his public image and thus reinforced his brand as a youthful, good-looking, enigmatic politician. However, appropriating yoga poses for political capital is a form of colonial extraction – it is white men doing brown practices without brown bodies, a critique we develop later in this article.

Mainstream Western media fawned over Trudeau's yoga posing. For instance, *Mashable's* Heidi Moore felt Trudeau's *Mayurāsana* represented something larger than an off-handed capture of a goofy, fun-loving politician. Moore (2016) wrote, it "shows off the polymath abilities of Trudeau, a Renaissance Man ... on the right side of history." *The Cut's* Hilary Weaver (2016) concurred by running a story with the headline, "Justin Trudeau Continues Quest to be Known as the World's Most Enlightened Man." Does Trudeau's use of yoga showcase more than physical strength? Can yoga construct an enlightened man who

is on the right side of history or does yoga posing unfairly give Trudeau gender, cultural, and/or political capital?

### **Hybrid Masculinity and the Sensitive New Age (Yoga) Guy<sup>9</sup>**

In this section, we explore the claim that Trudeau was a “new” type of male leader – the sensitive new age guy – required for Canada’s future. To do this, we look at the gendering of yoga in the mid-twentieth century in Canada and the United States because Trudeau’s yoga poses were central to the media perception that Trudeau was an enlightened man with a progressive feminist agenda. We use the concept of hybrid masculinity to show how Trudeau’s yoga posing may have marked him as a departure from the Canadian political norm, but yoga alone is not enough to show that he is a feminist leader because even men who deviate from hegemonic masculinity can still uphold white settler patriarchy.

Generally, male politicians are expected to sustain hegemonic masculinity. Hegemonic masculinity is a normative social construct that dictates what men are supposed to think, feel, aspire to, and act like. Hegemonic masculinity requires continuous reinforcement as it re-shapes itself according to historical context, geographical location, and shifting social norms. Despite some fluctuation over time, hegemonic masculinity, as conceptualized by scholars such as R.W. Connell, remains predicated on dominance over women and gay men (Demetriou 2001). It responds to, but ultimately rejects, subordinate elements such as effeminacy and irrationality, which are associated with women, queer people, bodies of color, and the non-West (347).

Effective political leadership remains defined by hegemonically masculine traits like aggression and competitiveness. While women are more critiqued in politics, men do not escape the evaluative gaze. In their study of Canadian leadership candidates between 1975-2012, Linda Trimble, Daisy Raphael, Shannon Sampert, Angelia Wagner, and Bailey Gerrits (2015) discovered male politicians were judged by how closely they fit a physical norm. A male politician’s height, weight, and physique were used to “determin[e] whether the men had the necessary physical bulk and gravitas to be considered solid leadership material” (7). A man’s leadership stamina was questioned if he was “overweight and out of shape” (7). In Canadian politics, men are derided if they “are perceived as effeminate, wimpish, and academically inclined” (Greig and Holloway 2012, 123). Trudeau faced similar overt attacks on his gender expression during his early political life when opponents continuously tried to discredit him by saying he was an image-obsessed pretty-boy that was too inexperienced to lead his party or the country (Lalancette and Cormack 2018).

Three moments are indicative of the masculinity policing aimed at Trudeau. First, during a period of rebuilding the Liberal Party circa 2012, Trudeau jumped at the chance to fight in a charity boxing match after training as an amateur boxer (Trudeau 2014). In the lead-up to the event, the media speculated on Trudeau’s preparedness for this hyper-masculine sport calling him “too pretty” and a “lightweight” that was “dangerously likely to fail” (Maiolinio 2015, 123) against Conservative Senator Patrick Brazeau who Trudeau described as “big and brawny and full of swagger” as well as “physically menacing” (Trudeau 2014, 246). Racialized and colonial language infused the coverage: a white man (Trudeau) enters the ring attempting to prove his masculinity while an Indigenous man (Brazeau) arrives as brutishly hypermasculine. Brazeau became the vehicle to prove Trudeau’s strength and competence (Stone 2017). When Trudeau won, reporters began referring to him as “tough,” “clever,” and “heroic” (Maiolinio 2015, 123-24). Boxing proved Trudeau was “man enough” for political life. However, this did not last long.

The second instance of masculinity policing arrived during the federal election in 2015. Stephen Harper, Prime Minister at the time and Trudeau's biggest challenger, was depicted as a clean-cut, asexual, suburban company-man (Sabin and Kirkup 2016, 2). News media used terms like "strength," "stoicism," and "aggressiveness" to describe Harper who took every (photo) opportunity to align himself with the Canadian military and ATV-riding, common signifiers of hegemonic masculinity (13-15). In contrast, the news media described Trudeau as "young" and "boyish" (10). Commentators seemed obsessed with his appearance (i.e., hair, style of dress, etc.) (Lalancette and Cormack 2018; Meades 2015; Sabin and Kirkup 2016). Even though the Conservative campaign tried to paint Trudeau as a "feminine, young, naive, [and] narcissistic", a "hollow celebrity" (Lalancette and Cormack 2018, 9), Trudeau was adept at pivoting to appear energetic, spontaneous, and charismatic.

Finally, Justin Trudeau's yoga posing became fodder for international humor that same year during public conversations about political spending. Canadian satirical site *The True North Times* ran a piece, accompanied by the photograph of Trudeau in *Vrksāsana* (Tree pose), that poked fun at his vanity. It said that an hour-long yoga class

is but one of Trudeau's many campaign-funded relaxation exercises. From January through to April 2013, he spent almost \$500 on private yoga lessons and an additional \$380 on spas and massages. No wonder he always looks so relaxed ... While this news might be nothing more than fuel for fantasies of a contorting, shirtless Trudeau (with all the possible implication of *hot yoga*), the fact that this receipt was found in a list of campaign expenses might cause some to reconsider their motivations for financially supporting Trudeau's bid for Liberal leadership. (*The True North Times* 2015)

Though played for humor, this satire strengthened the claim that Trudeau was a narcissist who was unfit for leadership. All told, these critiques were aimed at pointing out that Trudeau was not masculine enough to become Canada's next Prime Minister.

Unlike Heidi Moore (*Mashable*) or Hilary Weaver (*The Cut*), who celebrated Trudeau's challenge to hegemonic masculinity, we contend that Trudeau represents *hybrid masculinity*. Hybrid masculinity refers to the concretizing of hegemonic masculinity by incorporating non-hegemonic elements, in this case yoga and emotional sensitivity. Drawing on Homi Bhaba's concept of hybridity, Demetrakis Demetriou (2001) explains that masculinity works like a "hybrid bloc that unites various and diverse practices in order to construct the best possible strategy for the reproduction of patriarchy" (348). Patriarchy is preservationist – it works through "negotiation rather than negation" (348); this means formerly marginalized masculinities, typically associated with queer men, men of color, and/or femininities, can refashion masculinity in a way that shifts power but does not unseat it. An example of this can be seen in Tristan Bridges' (2014) "A Very 'Gay' Straight?: Hybrid Masculinities, Sexual Aesthetics, and the Changing Relationship between Masculinity and Homophobia" where he writes about how straight men use 'gay aesthetics' (taste, behavior, ideology) to generate cultural or political capital. For the feminist straight men in Bridges' study, deploying gay aesthetics made their heterosexuality more interesting and less like *other* straight men perceived to be regressive brutes.

Trudeau presented himself as a different type of male leader: a sensitive new age guy who could usher in a new age for Canada after Harper's austerity and regressive politics. Here it is important to briefly look at the intersections of gender and yoga because by yoga posing, Trudeau could draw on yoga as a feminized practice in the West to build his persona as a "new" man for the twenty-first century.



## **Feminizing Yoga and Alt-Masculinities**

Yoga has a gendered history in the Euro-West. When figures like Swami Vivekananda came to the United States in 1893 for the Parliament of Religions, he found a receptive audience in upper class white women to whom he delivered talks on Hindu spirituality and taught meditation. The transnational colonial exchange went the other way too. As early as the late nineteenth century, white women began travelling to colonized India seeking spiritual and intellectual fulfillment. Narin Hassan (2020) says that going to India represented freedom for women who did not have the same mobility in England or the US. While in India, they were invited into local communities by Indian men, who taught them the spiritual-physical practice of yoga, before proffering leadership roles in ashrams. These women became global ambassadors for yoga. Hassan found that some women, such as Margaret Noble, even became Vivekananda's devotees who went back to India with him to deepen their study before travelling the globe to spread his teachings. One of the earliest yoga teachers in Canada – Swami Sivananda Radha – followed a similar path. Radha, a white German ex-pat living in Canada, had a vision that told her to travel to India to seek the teachings of Swami Sivananda in 1955. Within one year, she was initiated as a sannyasin and Sivananda asked her to return to Canada to share his mission. She came back as a renunciate who eventually went on to establish the first ashram in Vancouver in 1957 (Melton 2020).<sup>10</sup>

If the late nineteenth and early twentieth century established white women as an audience for brown men teaching yoga, the 1960s further affixed yoga to white women. According to Amara Miller (2019), there are two reasons for this: 1) yoga was marketed to affluent white women post-World War II as a beauty-health practice; and, 2) some women who taught yoga within counter-cultural scenes (like San Francisco) promoted yoga as a form of women's empowerment (110). During the mid-twentieth century, white men who practiced yoga were doing so to express a rebellious "counter-culture" form of masculinity (136). Incidentally, Pierre Elliott Trudeau (Justin's father) extolled the benefits of yoga during this time too. Despite a few notable men openly embracing yoga, women still comprise over 70% of yoga practitioners in the United States (Ipsos Public Affairs 2016, 21).<sup>11</sup> Since this is a feminized practice in the United States and Canada, men who do yoga may negotiate the assumptions about their masculinity (Miller 2019; Purcell and Shaffer 2012; Tilin 2017).

## **Care and the Benevolent Patriarch**

Men who engage in Eastern practices, such as meditation, yoga, or martial arts, may encounter an identity or role conflict when the practice challenges hegemonic masculinity in the West – for example, physical strength evidenced by muscular bulk, competition, and dominance over other participants (Channon 2012; Lomas et al. 2015; Purcell and Shaffer 2012). Instead of these normative values, men encounter the promotion of kindness, interpersonal reciprocity, emotional openness, vulnerability, reduced use of substances to cope with inner turmoil, humility, self-inquiry, and spirituality (Channon 2012; Lomas et al. 2013). Some men do yoga in secret to avoid emasculation or teasing by others (Purcell and Shaffer 2012; Tilin 2017), while others seize the opportunity to un-learn patriarchal masculinity by embracing the self-realization, non-competitive aspects of these practices (Channon 2012; Lomas et al. 2015).

Yoga was not the only thing that purportedly showed the media, bloggers, and many members of the public that Trudeau was a different kind of man – one who eschewed stereotypically masculine behavior – many lauded his displays of emotionality as evidence of "caring masculinity," a term theorized by Karla Elliott (2015) as a rejection of domination and embrace of positive emotion, interdependence, and relationality (241). After he was elected, the news media documented Trudeau's perceived kindness.

Whether it is was putting coats on Syrian refugee children and their families arriving at Pearson International Airport, gleefully cuddling two panda bear cubs at the Toronto Zoo, or joyously walking in Toronto's Pride Parade as the first Prime Minister to do so, Trudeau does not shy away from public displays of emotion. A recent example of Trudeau's emotionality occurred when Trudeau cried while delivering a statement after the death of Canadian musician Gord Downie. Trudeau's tearful public response, "I thought I would make it through this, but I'm not; it hurts" (Harris 2017), signifies the image of a modern man who is confident enough to share his authentic emotional response to what became a national sorrow for many Canadians. Since men are asked to conceal their emotional life if it manifests as anything other than competition or anger (Jeleniewski Seidler 2007), Trudeau's emotionality is a departure from hegemonic masculine norms because he allows for vulnerability that is typically attached to femininities.

A benevolent patriarch is a leader who appears kinder and gentler, and, at least superficially, invested in consensus-building over hierarchical decision-making and repressive enactments of power despite retaining complete control (Young 2003, 6). Nami Kim (2011) argues that benevolent patriarchy is marked not "by economic potency or by traditional masculine traits, like aggressiveness, physical force, austerity, or sexual prowess [but rather by] characteristics that have often been regarded as 'feminine,' such as care, affection, tenderness, and gentleness, replace traditional or stereotypical attributes of masculinity" (129). During his 2015 campaign, Trudeau's hybrid masculinity aligned with the benevolent patriarch because he presented himself as the leader who was going to "reintroduce 'sunny ways' and positivity in Canadian politics" (Lalancette and Raynauld 2019, 9). Trudeau represented a benevolent patriarch for the twenty-first century.

When analyzed through the lens of hybrid masculinity, Trudeau's use of yoga and caring masculinity appears less feminist and more like hegemonic white "soft patriarchy" or patriarchy-light. He appears to be a cosmopolitan "new" man because he does yoga and publicly emotes; however, Trudeau has been heavily critiqued as lacking care for marginalized peoples. Trudeau's unwillingness to communicate with Indigenous leaders and communities, those he promised a more reciprocal relationship with during his campaign, is one example of his care negligence leading many to claim Trudeau's caring feminist masculinity is a performance. Furthermore, the SNC-Lavalin affair of 2019 weakened Trudeau's image as a caring Prime Minister. An investigation was conducted to determine if Trudeau pressured Jody Wilson-Raybould, the Minister of Justice and Attorney General and Indigenous woman from the We Wai Kai Nation, to offer construction company SNC-Lavalin a deferred prosecution agreement to circumvent criminal proceedings. Trudeau leaned into the caring leader persona because Canadians were asked to trust that he was making the right economic and political decision for the nation to save Canadian jobs. While some agreed, others saw it as a bullying tactic that ended up ousting an Indigenous woman politician from his cabinet, a violation of his stated commitment to feminism and positive settler-Indigenous relations. Thus, rather than a model of non-patriarchal feminist masculinity, Trudeau recapitulates white settler patriarchy.

### **Color Capital and Cultural Appropriation**

Appropriating gay aesthetics (or practices/affect associated with femininities) and performing care are not the only ways to refashion hegemonic masculinity – proximity to bodies of color can also earn one gender and "color capital," a phrase used by Matthew Hughley (2012) to refer to the cultural capital white people accrue by their association with non-white actors and/or practices. Hughley's interviews reveal that white men use non-white material culture (objects or items) to show they are "knowledgeable and

worldly' people" (160). Trudeau has always presented himself as a cosmopolitan connoisseur who embraces racial, cultural, ethnic, spiritual, and linguistic diversity. Owing to the privilege of being a Prime Minister's son, Trudeau proudly talks about traveling with his father and spending a year abroad in his memoir *Common Ground* (2014). The experience, he says, made him more appreciative of Canadian diversity because Canada is the only country able to effectively operationalize multiculturalism (106-107). Trudeau's narrative is typical white settler ethnocentrist discourse of "finding yourself" through proximity to Other(ed) bodies and experiences. Trudeau's mobility and self-proclaimed understanding of global conflict were packaged to show he was a nationalist leader poised for international dialogue.

In addition to travel, Trudeau's body literally and symbolically furthers his color capital that was leveraged for political capital. Two instances demonstrate this. First, the aforementioned boxing match with Brazeau revealed Trudeau's bicep tattoo – the earth inside a Haida raven. Trudeau explained that he got the earth tattoo at age twenty three, and then added the raven designed by Haida artist Robert Davidson on his fortieth birthday (Macdonald 2016). Trudeau did not ask Davidson's permission, nor did he attend any Haida ceremonies associated with getting tattooed. At first, Davidson was pleasantly surprised to learn that Trudeau had the tattoo; however, when Trudeau's decisions concerning Indigenous peoples did not live up to his promises, Davidson, and other members of the Haida nation, expressed deep disappointment (Macdonald 2016). So while *GQ*'s Mike Hofman called the tattoo "badass" and posited that the tattoo sets Trudeau apart from other world leaders (Hofman 2015) – a comment that reveals the tattoo bestows color and political capital outside Canada – Delvina Lawrence of the Haida nation lambasted, "[Trudeau] 'presents himself as an ally . . . with our ink on his body. We feel he's stabbed us in the back'" due to Trudeau's decisions that negatively affect Haida life and livelihood (Macdonald 2016). Tristan Bridges and C.J. Pascoe argue that "cultural appropriation is a defining characteristic of hybrid identities ... men who occupy privileged social categories strategically borrow from Others in ways that work to reframe themselves as symbolically part of socially subordinated groups" (2014, 252). Trudeau's Haida tattoo is an example of cultural appropriation: despite campaigning on promises to rectify colonial violence against Indigenous peoples *and* showing his supposed respect through tattooing Indigenous art on his body, his actual practices harms the very communities he promised to support.

Trudeau's color and political capital is worn on his body in other ways that were designed to appeal to South Asians at home and abroad. Shortly before becoming Prime Minister, a video surfaced of Trudeau bhangra dancing at a 2009 community event sponsored by the Indo-Canadian Association of Montreal. Like his photographed yoga poses, Trudeau's bhangra was a playful attempt to participate in South Asian culture. Trudeau's earlier bhangra video circulated in 2015 at the height of Trudeau's use of yoga to brand himself as a sensitive, new age, benevolent patriarch. When Trudeau was once again filmed doing bhangra in 2018, during a trip to India, he and his family were critiqued as doing "too much" (Elliott 2018) to fit in by wearing *kurtas*, *sherwanis*, other traditional Indian garments, and continually clasping hands in *Namaskar* (sometimes called *Anjali Mudra*, prayer hands).<sup>12</sup> Now, Trudeau's adoption of South Asian cultural forms appeared more like a consumptive racial performance to build color and political capital. Indian-Canadians and Indians alike debated whether Trudeau's appearance was cultural observance or appropriation (Elliott 2018). Performing South Asia (e.g., yoga, bhangra) in 2015 made Trudeau appear cosmopolitan and multicultural, but doing the same in 2019 – when he was running against Jasmeet Singh, a brown, South Asian Sikh Canadian who leads the New Democratic Party – was a more sinister act.

If there was any doubt about cultural appropriation in the preceding events, a photograph of Trudeau in brownface confirmed his participation racial harm. In fall 2019, an old photograph depicting Trudeau in darkened skin for an Arabian Nights-themed event at the school where he taught was made public. The backlash that followed Trudeau's racist costume forced him to confront his ignorant past and

apologize for his poor choices. In his half hour interview with journalist Dawna Friesen, Trudeau was contrite and publicly recommitted himself to anti-racist praxis. He told Friesen,

I hurt a lot of people I care about deeply, it was a terrible mistake and I take full responsibility for it ... fighting anti-Black racism, fighting systemic discrimination, fighting unconscious bias, and putting real money and real initiatives and working hard to fight all this intolerance is something that I've done and am going to continue to do and am going to continue to do even more given that I have obviously not lived up to that in the past (*Global News* 2019).<sup>13</sup>

While some accepted his apology, Trudeau's response was disconcerting because he admitted he could not remember how many times he wore brown- or blackface in the past. Sure enough, more photographic evidence emerged showing Trudeau in darkened skin and a caricatured, racialized outfit at different events. Trudeau's remorse is expected of a sensitive, new age benevolent patriarch who values the feelings of the nation. Unlike his past emotional displays that were tied to external events, now Trudeau was made to account for his own actions. However, to many Canadians, Trudeau's black/brownface confirmed that he was no different than previous politicians.

### **Multiculturalism, Yoga, and the Canadian Dream**

In this final section, we look at how Trudeau's yoga body illustrates the dream of multiculturalism wherein yoga becomes as Canadian as hockey or maple syrup; however, we argue that it is a superficial performance that reinforces colonial relations. Trudeau's aforementioned scandals remind that Canadian nation-building reproduces and continues a historical colonial project through covert white male supremacist values of patriarchal entitlement masked as inherent benevolence.

Trudeau campaigned on the idea of a new Canada that was economically inventive and inclusively multicultural. Multiculturalism is a bedrock Canadian value that was legally encoded by Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau, Justin's father. In 1971, the elder Trudeau declared that Canada would enact an official policy on multiculturalism that recognizes the value of diversity in language, religion, custom, etcetera. The policy was designed to ease the growing tensions of Québécois nationalism; it was also introduced during the initial rise of Canadian immigration from non-English and non-French speaking countries.<sup>14</sup> Though it took until 1982 to actualize the Canadian Multiculturalism Act, Canada – as a nation-state – and Canadians pride themselves on this policy. It is central to the Canadian Dream.

Shameful moments in Canadian history remind that the country was not always been welcoming to immigrants. South Asians, for example, were legally excluded from Canada in the early 1900s. One of Canada's most pertinent examples of Indian exclusion came when a ship named the Komagata Maru was forced to dock in Burrard Inlet for two months in 1914 because the 376 (mostly male) Indian immigrants were not allowed into the country despite being fellow British imperial subjects.<sup>15</sup> They suffered deplorable conditions while awaiting admission to Canada. Ultimately, all but twenty people were refused entry and turned back to India; some were killed upon their return to Calcutta (Munshi 2015). In the spirit of multiculturalism, Justin Trudeau made a formal apology for Canadian government's "continuous journey policy" that led to this tragedy in 2016.<sup>16</sup> His apology enhanced his image as a sensitive, caring benevolent patriarch.

Canada has gone from excluding South Asians in the early 1900s to positioning yoga as a part of its national (multi)culture. In fact, one of the first yoga teacher training programs in North America was established in Montreal by Swami Vishnu Devananda, who founded the International Sivananda Yoga

Vedanta Centre in 1959. It was the first hub for Sivananda Yoga in North America.<sup>17</sup> When his father was photographed in *Mayurāsana*, yoga was still considered a “counter-culture” phenomenon in the West but today yoga is mainstream enough that Justin Trudeau’s yoga posing drives interest in the nation. Evidence of yoga’s integration into Canadian nation-building comes in the form of Parliament Hill yoga, a weekly yoga practice on the Hill lawn that began in 2007.<sup>18</sup> Parliament Hill yoga grew from a grassroots event with a handful of people to a Lululemon-sponsored event that regularly draws 2,000 participants (Ricardo 2015). Parliament Hill yoga is so popular that it appears on the official *Ottawa Tourism* (2019) webpage where visitors are told “Prime Minister Justin Trudeau – a yoga enthusiast himself – has been known to walk by the event and greet participants.” Trudeau’s candid yoga moment of posing in *Vkrsāsana* (Tree pose), described earlier in this article, has come full circle. Trudeau’s yoga body marked him as a sensitive new age guy who could lead with kindness and a commitment to multiculturalism; now, years later, Trudeau’s yoga body literally advertises Canada as a tourist destination to the world.

How can we account for the past exclusion of South Asian bodies and contemporary mark(et)ing of yoga (a South Asian embodied practice) as a form of Canadian multiculturalism? A critical look at multiculturalism generates the answer. Sunera Thobani (2007) argues that Canada’s international reputation is constituted by its public image as a civilized, morally superior, and compassionate nation, but despite its mythology of “niceness,” Canada is a white settler, capitalist nation that operationalizes racism against immigrants and citizens of color (112). Thobani, Himani Bannerji (2020), and others make clear that multiculturalism is not the same as anti-racism or decolonization. Trudeau’s own comments about multiculturalism reveal the distinction. In a section of *Common Ground* (2014) where he describes anti-immigrant (perniciously Islamophobic) sentiments in Quebec, Trudeau defines multiculturalism as

a presumption that society will accommodate forms of cultural expression that does not violate our society’s core values. These include the right of a Jew to wear his kippa, a Sikh to wear his turban, a Muslim to wear her headscarf, or a Christian to wear a cross pendant ... I believe our openness is at the heart of who we are as Canadians. (193-194, 195)

Trudeau says that multiculturalism is like a social contract: if newcomers<sup>19</sup> promise to obey the law and adopt Canadian social norms, “we respect aspects of *their* culture that may be precious to them and harmful to no one else” (195, emphasis added). Today, multiculturalism is centered around the (supposed) embrace of diversity that immigrants bring to Canada; however, the we/them divide that permeates Trudeau’s definition persists in how multiculturalism is experienced by Canadians of color. When a person of color critiques Canada, or tests the boundaries of multiculturalism, they are branded “disloyal” to the state and they encounter white supremacist thinking that maintains there is a “true” (i.e., white, European) Canada and an “Other”/ed (i.e., non-white) Canada (Thurairajah 2017, 143). This is decidedly *unwelcoming*; it is more like living on a “sharp” and “jagged edge” (142) where one “feels that the machinery of the state has us impaled against its spikes” (Bannerji 2020, 365).

Angela Davis contends that

[m]ulticulturalism has acquired a quality akin to spectacle. The metaphor that has displaced the melting pot is the salad. A salad consists of many ingredients, is colorful and beautiful, and it is to be consumed by someone. Who consumes multiculturalism is a question begging to be asked. (1996, 45)

Justin Trudeau is one who consumes multiculturalism – Trudeau can bear a Haida tattoo and pose in *Vkrsāsana* and *Mayurāsana* without credit or reciprocity. He can wear these symbols without attending

to the messiness of colonialism, whether it is the historical or on-going colonization of Indigenous peoples in Canada or the legacy of the British in South Asia. He can use this visual iconography to position himself as a sensitive new age yoga guy that is ready to take on Canadian empathy and soft power. This is how contemporary hybrid masculinity that is steeped in white settler colonialism continues to yield power rather than dismantle it.

## Conclusion

In this article, we argued that Justin Trudeau used yoga to craft his public image as a sensitive new age guy and benevolent patriarch, two co-constitutive discourses that produce Trudeau as a “new” type of leader who promised a revolutionary agenda for Canada. We opened this article with a critical incident: the Press Gallery dinner on the heels of Elbowgate, Trudeau’s first major scandal as Prime Minister. At the dinner, Sophie Grégoire Trudeau teased Justin and his colleagues to do more yoga to steady their emotions. An intriguing follow-up study should analyze Canada’s First Lady as a benevolent matriarch and yoga ambassador because she publicly advocates yoga as a wellness practice. The Trudeaus are not the only world leaders who yoke yoga onto their politics: Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi sutures yoga back to Hinduism through muscular nationalism that renders him, and by extension India, “strong,” capable, and militarized.<sup>20</sup> An article that compares Trudeau’s use of yoga to Modi’s would be a fascinating study in contrasts.

Grégoire Trudeau’s recommendation to do more yoga was designed to diffuse political tensions back in 2016, but would it work today to soothe over the scandals of 2019? Canadians re-elected Trudeau in 2019 by a much slimmer margin than in 2015; his brownface costume and ousting of an Indigenous woman whistleblower were not enough to disqualify him from leadership but have damaged his credibility amongst many Canadians. A simple reminder to do more yoga is insufficient to address the harm Trudeau has caused in Indigenous and racialized communities. Trudeau’s actions – his inability to work with Indigenous leadership, support for the TransCanada oil pipeline, ethics breach in the SNC-Lavalin affair, and brownface appearance – remind that benevolent patriarchs do not replace patriarchy, they *soften* it (Kim 2011; Young 2003). According to Bridges and Pascoe (2015), hybrid masculinity does not dismantle systems of oppression in and of itself; conversely, it can “fortify symbolic boundaries and social boundaries, perpetuating social hierarchies in new (and ‘softer’) ways” (255). Despite advocating a new vision for Canada using his yoga body, caring sensibilities, Leftist politics, physical- emotional-spiritual wellness, and embrace of inclusive multiculturalism, Trudeau’s leadership demonstrates a reconfiguration of power but not a dismantling of oppressive systems. The question remains whether the public will judge Trudeau’s political legacy as favorably as they did his *Mayurāsana* and *Vrksāsana*.

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## Notes

1. Three parties dominate Canadian national politics: The Conservative Party of Canada (right-leaning), The Liberal Party of Canada (centrist), and the New Democratic Party of Canada (left-leaning). Trudeau represents the Liberal Party, but it is worth noting that he appealed to some voters who usually support the New Democratic Party or the Green Party due to his stance on social issues.

2. Haida are Indigenous people of Haida Gwaii, a group of islands that run from the north west coast of Canada to Southern Alaska.

3. The Press Gallery dinner incident is a good example of this: if the Trudeaus could turn Elbowgate into a joke, then the Conservative framing of his brutishness was weakened. Indeed, shortly after this moment at the Press Gallery dinner, Elbowgate faded into the background.

4. The Facebook post has been shared over 4500 times, as of the writing of this article.

5. The historical context is important. Trudeau's campaign briefly overlapped with Donald Trump's campaign in the United States. These leaders represented opposing futures: Trudeau promised a Leftist Canada based on social justice principles whereas Trump offered a return to a regressive US past. Trudeau received attention outside of North America too. For instance, a Turkish website joked "Canadian PM Trudeau gave morale to Turkey: Awww don't say that [i.e. negative things about Recep Tayyip Erdoğan], yours [Erdoğan] is sweet/adorable" ("Kanada" 2015). Here, the satirist fictionalizes Trudeau as consoling Turks who are increasingly disturbed by Erdoğan's right-wing perspective. One reason the media paid attention to Trudeau is because he was a political foil to increasing global conservatism.

6. Pierre Elliott Trudeau served as Canadian Prime Minister from 1968-1979 and 1980-1984. He is widely perceived to be one of the greatest Canadian politicians.

7. It is difficult to discern who began this social media challenge. Four days after Gellineau's Facebook post went viral, Emma Beals, an investigative journalist who covers Syria, tweeted the image of Trudeau in *Mayurāsana* with the caption, "At this point I think Canada is just trolling us" (2016). Her tweet got over 6400 likes and over 4700 retweets. Days later, Moore's *Mashable* article "'Justin Trudeau's Impressive Core Strength Will Make you Say 'Namaste'" came out. It appears the hashtag #PoseLikeTrudeau was created that day after Franci Kek tagged Beals in a photograph of Slovenian gymnast Miroslav Cerar doing the same pose; Beals retweeted the photograph with the hashtag #PoseLikeTrudeau. The hashtag seemed to explode when morning television news anchors tried the pose on-air the following day. One of the earliest instances was Rob Williams of CTV Morning Live-Edmonton who playfully attempted it (2021). After this, other news anchors, and notable public figures like Alberta's former Deputy Premier Thomas Lukaszuk, posted photographs of themselves trying *Mayurāsana*. They used #PoseLikeTrudeau and often tagged Williams to show they did the challenge too. The social media trend also circulates with #TrudeauChallenge but far less frequently than #PoseLikeTrudeau.

8. Lululemon is a multinational upscale athleisure company that was founded in Canada. Lululemon became a status symbol brand for yoga teachers and practitioners. The company is known for culturally appropriating Hindu and yoga iconography and mass-producing apparel such as bags stamped with *brahmacharya* (2013) or underwear that reads "namastay put" and "mula bandhwear" (2020); while headquartered in Canada, the company has manufacturing facilities around the world, including in India, which makes the appropriation particularly odious.

9. "Sensitive New Age Guy" is a 2013 song by John Grant; Jackson Whalan recorded "S.N.A.G." (Sensitive New Age Guy) in 2016 satirizing neo-hippie new age culture.

10. According to Melton (2020), Radha's yoga community preceded the first Hindu temple in Canada, which wasn't erected until 1967 on the east coast; therefore, she was one of the first Hindu figureheads in Canada.

11. This is not to sidestep the essential contributions of Indian men to Canadian or American yoga. In addition to Swami Vivekananda, figureheads such as Pattabhi Jois, B.K.S. Iyengar, Swami Sivananda, Bikram Choudhury, and others established their yoga schools in the Euro-West and have greatly shaped Modern Postural Yoga. Further, contemporary scholars are tracing Indian women's involvement in building Modern Postural Yoga in the nineteenth century (Hassan 2020), Black women's participation in yoga in the twentieth century (see Stephanie Evans [2021] and select articles in *Race and Yoga*), and Indigenous women's current yoga teaching (select articles in *Race and Yoga*). Our contention is not that *only* white women practice yoga, but rather that yoga has become synonymous with white women in Canada and the United States, which the aforementioned scholars work to disentangle.

12. During their trip to India, the Trudeaus were not filmed in any yoga poses beyond this hand gesture nor did they visit well-known yoga sites.

13. Trudeau's slippage is interesting: his brownface was designed to mimic, and hence harmed, South Asians and Arabs, but he locates his political commitments in being accountable to Black Canadians. In other words, he promises to rectify racism with one community but not address the harm he caused in other communities of color.

14. Himani Bannerji's (2020) makes a nuanced argument about the use of "visible minority" immigrants for defanging Québécois claims to difference under multiculturalism. Bannerji also makes the critical argument that Indigenous peoples are intentionally left out of the multicultural fantasy because their land and sovereignty claims undermine Canada as a nation-state.

15. Sherally Munshi (2015) says this incident galvanized Indian nationalists because it further demonstrated that Indians were second-class British subjects who did not have the privilege of movement to other imperial spaces (i.e. Canada) in the way that immigrants from the British metropole did. This must be historicized alongside the US Immigration Act of 1917, the "Asiatic Barred Zone Act," as a concretization of global settler supremacy and white nation-building.

16. Former Prime Minister Stephen Harper made similar public apologies when he attended local South Asian gatherings; Trudeau's apology was the first to be made in the House of Commons.

17. Laurah Klepinger reveals that the transnational exchanges continue within the organization because programs developed at Montreal's International Sivananda Yoga Vedanta Centre, the headquarters for Sivananda yoga, are transmitted back to India where they are taught by teachers who primarily trained outside of India (Klepinger-Mathew 2014). Klepinger's forthcoming work looks at how Indian teachers, employees, and volunteers navigate claims of authenticity within the organization.

18. Parliament Hill, located in Ottawa, is the term used to refer to the buildings, the space, and/or the people who make up the federal government.

19. "Newcomer" is a phrase institutionalized by the Canadian state to refer to new immigrants to Canada.

20. Sheena Sood (2020) and Anusha Lakshmi (2020) offer more analysis on Modi's use of yoga for Hindu nationalist purposes.

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