

Food, New Age and Holistic Health

Virgínia Henriques Calado¹

¹ Instituto de Ciências Sociais da Universidade de Lisboa/Centro em Rede de Investigação em Antropologia. Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia (FCT). Lisboa, Portugal.

Financial support: Pesquisa participada por Fundos nacionais do Ministério da Educação e Ciência SFRH/BPD/97532/2013

Correspondence

Virgínia Henriques Calado
Instituto de Ciências Sociais
Av. Professor Aníbal de Bettencourt, 9
1600-189 Lisboa, Portugal
E-mail: vmcalado@ics.ul.pt

Abstract

Often presented as therapeutic route, the macrobiotic diet consists of a set of guiding principles that emphasize the interdependence of all phenomena, pointing to the need to understand the human body as a whole, as a microcosm in which the universe is reflected. We find, therefore, a narrative that seems to refer to this vast and increasingly global phenomenon that is the New Age. On the other hand, it can be noticed among the supporters of this type of diet a certain refusal to include macrobiotics in the New Age phenomenon. Therefore it will be discussed here, taking into account ethnographic data, the framework of the macrobiotic diet in the New Age movement of holistic health.

Key words: Anthropology of Food. Macrobiotics. New Age. Holistic Health.

Foods to avoid and instrumentalization of scientific knowledge

Can you imagine if everything you know about milk is wrong? Have you ever thought that everything you learned about milk since childhood may not be true? Do you know that there are people who argue that cow milk is one of the worst sources of calcium for the human species? And that “three glasses of milk per day against osteoporosis” is nothing but a media fallacy? You should also know that every year the American dairy industry spends hundreds of thousand dollars to ensure that Americans continue to drink milk and eat dairy products. And this is one of the main reasons why the United States is one of the four countries in the world with the highest rates of osteoporosis. (Author’s translation).*

This excerpt was taken from an article published in a journal specialized in macrobiotic food – *Magna Vita* – designed to elucidate readers on the harmful effects of milk. It could be a motto to be adopted in any information about macrobiotics, once it has as core theme of discussion clarification about the foods that we eat – in this case, milk from other species than human –, but could also be part of a session organized by the most critical nutritionists of the supposed benefits of milk. Milk avoidance, a recommendation that in recent years has been viewed as lacking foundation, became part of the agenda of researchers, bringing to discussion one of the most common products of the twentieth century.

It might be thought that this new viewpoint on milk has in fact corroborated dietary guidelines encountered in other less accepted approaches, such as macrobiotics, and that, by this route, such approaches have become mainstream approaches, as suggested by Lau.¹ In fact, practices such as macrobiotics are rarely placed in the center of discussions. However, I am convinced that even though scientific discourses on diet have not made relatively marginal dietary practices such as macrobiotics more prominent, such proposals end up influencing food perspectives produced within the scope of Nutrition Sciences.

Elsewhere,² I argued that by analyzing the evolution of food pyramids and the introduction of foods like those produced from soybean as well as a reduced intake of milk products have approximated the latest versions of these pyramids to the foods recommended by macrobiotics, showing a dynamic relationship among the most diverse conceptions on food. The “Healthy Eating Pyramid” developed by the Department of Nutrition at the Harvard School of Public Health,³ by restricting milk and red meat intake and encouraging consumption of plant-based proteins, such as soybean, seems to have been adapted to macrobiotics. Such relationship, of course, is not recognized, but a hypothesis is that the dietary practices of vegetarians and those who follow macrobiotics have influenced the scientific research on foods.

* Neves Estrela. Leite – bem-me-quer / mal-me-quer. *Magna Vita*. 2004; nº 0, Julho-Agosto: 10-11.

Specific health problems caused by vegetarian options as well as the health condition of those who eat differently have given rise to numerous researches. Based on these researches and many others led the Harvard School to define guidelines so powerful as the Healthy Eating Plate.³ As the consumption of soybean-based products have been largely promoted by macrobiotic food guidelines, observing the restrictions of the Healthy Eating Pyramid regarding meat or milk intake or the introduction of products such as soybean seem to show the importance of healthy diet movements in switching to the recommended food consumptions.²

Macrobiotics, as well as other dietary practices that came associated with what Belasco calls counter cuisine, were particularly valued in Euro-American societies.^{4,5} They have not influenced the production, distribution and consumption of foods, aspects that Goody⁶ emphasized, but seem to have also influenced the most institutionalized conceptions about how we should eat. A dynamic relationship, not always established and recognized, between different visions (scientific and non-scientific) about eating, in my view should therefore be invoked to understand different eating guidelines.

Milk intake, as one can see, is a very controversial matter, and is little recommended in macrobiotics. There are so many reasons given to avoid this food that the Chinese, according to Contreras,⁷ have derogatorily classified milk as white blood. Among the diverse justifications given by macrobiotic supporters to avoid milk we can cite: difficulty in digesting milk particularly because of lactose processing; the fact that it contains traces of antibiotics and excess fat; it allegedly produces mucus and difficulties in the respiratory tract; causes diverse allergies; is associated with diabetes.**

However, this kind of recommendations, which have been usually associated with radical diets, as I mentioned before, have gained prominence and even a recognition not existing until now. One of the most notorious public acts of contempt for milk was the recommendations contained in the Healthy Eating Pyramid. From one moment to the next, what was *truth* for macrobiotics (milk as a food to avoid) became a suggested *truth* in scientific discussions also for Science, creating a legitimating effect of a concept that lacked scientific foundations. The Harvard School of Health certainly did not intend this effect, but macrobiotic supporters knew how to use this information to legitimate it in a process that has been viewed as instrumentalization of scientific knowledge. Given facts of this nature, it is natural that we question ourselves both regarding the independence of scientific activity as well as the supposed lack of foundation of proposals such as macrobiotics.

** Contreras reports that 95% of native Americans and 85% of Arabians have lactose intolerance. Also in various lectures promoted by macrobiotics supporters, it is claimed that most part of the world population would present such condition.

For Kaptchuk & Eisenberg,⁸ the convergence that may exist between some of the concepts of “healthy eating” movements and observations developed by the Nutrition Sciences should not represent an agreement between these two forms of foods approach. The fact that Nutrition Sciences belatedly realized the importance of whole grains does not mean agreement with these movements. How knowledge is constructed is not similar. While for the referred authors Nutrition Sciences are based on methodological procedures typical of the scientific activity, healthy eating movements pursue an ideology and various moral principles and intentions with potentially dangerous ethical purity.

Using as support scientific studies such as those conducted by Willet⁹ and Campbell & Campbell,¹⁰ some promoters of macrobiotics overcome the discursive barrier of the fundamentals of the macrobiotic approach and use such scientific knowledge to advocate that the *truth* of macrobiotics has an attainable foundation. Apparently emboldened by the desire of changing the world, they use the information available, particularly scientific information that is consistent with the macrobiotic principles, to reveal what they understand to be the *truth* about foods – *truth*, in this case, imprinted in the macrobiotic knowledge.

In this process of disclosure, the sense of mission and the share of responsibility to transform the world is often reiterated. To transform society, it is necessary to inform and change individuals, and this only happens if they change their eating habits. Thus, the act of eating, for being the most intimate and profound act of environmental incorporation, shows the body as an integral part of a social project to be achieved: a social project for better health, peace and harmony where man and nature are reconciled.

If macrobiotics, as cosmovision and proposed guideline for the world, can voice this social project, one should not think, however, that the practice of a macrobiotic diet always has as correlate more harmony in social and family terms. Commensality in a family where different elements have different food choices can mean, in fact, transforming the table into a battlefield, not only ideological but also physical.

During the fieldwork that I developed on food practices associated with macrobiotics, I had the opportunity to hear reports that mentioned the difficulty of acceptance of new eating habits and some refusal to exclude foods that were usually consumed, such as meat or milk. If the idea of conviviality, often associated with commensality, is a topic to be explored and analyzed because of the meaning and value it gives to social life, conflicts around the dining table can also be the result of this same commensality, as long as it is associated with the imposition of a strict diet and a specific view of foods. Putting food under the perspective of an ideological battlefield, as suggested by Mintz,¹¹ appears as a valuable resource in an analysis of commensality. Macrobiotics, considering its affinity with most of the New Age terms, which embrace a holistic and spiritual

conception of the universe, has a way of viewing the world that, according to the principles, values and meanings that it generates, can be identified as an ideology.

The citation with which I began this communication is enlightening as to a certain tone, which I noticed several times when I attended courses and lectures about this type of food, or when I talked to people who adhered to the macrobiotic diet. In fact, one can find a strong insistence on the idea that we need food education, that we are poorly informed about the foods we eat, that myths have been created around food that should be dismantled, and that there are studies that show that many of the discussions and findings on food and nutrition primarily serve the food industry. What these formations propose, based on these findings, is a new position, most critical, given the established truths; a narrative capable of conducting what we call the "awakening of consciousness", to use an emic expression. Thus, proponents of this approach emphasize the idea that intense educational outreach efforts are necessary to undo some of the fallacies upon which food knowledge has been built.

Macrobiotics: a new age proposal?

It is precisely in evoking this social project that macrobiotics seeks to divulge that I would like to discuss, because various aspects of the macrobiotic proposal converge to this vast universe of meanings that is the New Age and suggest the inclusion of macrobiotics in this field, although many of its supporters do not recognize themselves in it. In fact, I gathered statements where macrobiotics was stressed as not being a "New Age package" or "having nothing to do with grocery spirituality". Others even did not know what the term "New Age" meant. However, such ignorance or demarcation regarding the New Age does not prevent that many points of contact between macrobiotics and this movement might be indicated. I will try to point out, albeit very briefly, some of the characteristics that macrobiotics and New Age have in common, aiming to highlight any connection between macrobiotics and the New Age ethos.

Ethnographic data that support this work are related to a research work on macrobiotics developed in Portugal from 2001 to 2009, as part of a doctoral project that aimed to examine the practices and representations associated with macrobiotics in Portugal.⁴ The research was conducted mainly in two Portuguese cities, Braga and Lisbon, chosen because they were a justification to observe how people, information, meanings, products and practices circulated in different places: one more central (Lisbon) and another more peripheral (Braga).

Combining the record of observations with long informal conversations, interviews and participation in various events related to macrobiotics, I contacted about a hundred individuals who had affinities with it. Thus, I developed a qualitative and intensive analysis, typical of the

ethnographic approach, and adopted an understanding position rather than an explanatory one. Looking for information as thorough as possible, for about ten years I attended meetings and training sessions on macrobiotics. My observational contexts became quite diversified. Lectures, cooking courses, the Michio Kushi curricular course at the Macrobiotics Institute of Portugal (MIP), a *shiatsu* course in Braga (practice with affinities with macrobiotics), observations in the office of macrobiotic dietary guidance, participation in residential trainings in summer camps organized as part of activities related to macrobiotics, restaurants and commercial establishments constituted many of the places where I developed this research.

Inspired by Eastern philosophies such as Taoism and Zen Buddhism, macrobiotics is guided by a dualistic logic of foods classification that separates foods into *yin* and *yang*.¹² Although different degrees of *yin* and *yang* are accepted, this is effectively the symbolic matrix from which foods should be considered and selected. From a balanced intake of foods of these categories, a healthier body would result. A "balanced condition" would be visible in the quality of blood, which should be neither too acid nor too alkaline and with an appropriate level of sodium and potassium. So, foods that in this concept of nutrition are classified as having high levels of potassium, such as potato or banana, are seen as harmful and potentially disruptive. A harmonious diet should be based on the intake of whole grains and vegetables of good quality.

More than being concerned solely with body and food, macrobiotics presents itself as a vast program whose purpose is the regeneration of humanity and reconciliation of Man and Nature. This goal is pursued, of course, through intense work on the body and a careful selection of foods that best suit it. In this body, a far-reaching purpose is to accomplish a far-reaching purpose is built: the understanding of the "natural order of the universe." Social project for a regenerated mankind is thus pursued through an individual project that focuses on the body and on the foods that build it.

In macrobiotics, such as in discourses related to the New Age, we find the idea that the modern way of life, dominated by a science and technological materialistic matrix, is endangering human health and the planet. Pointed out as causing stress, suffering and frustration, this way of life is then viewed as a disorientation that requires urgent opposition. Man needs, as some of the specialists that I contacted said, to be redirected, "evolve in the biological as well as in the spiritual plan", and for this purpose man needs to know the laws of the universe.

In an attempt to establish a rapport with the world, the concept of "energy" is evoked as a fundamental topic to explain any reality – everything is a manifestation of energy – and the universe must be viewed as a single whole, under a monistic perspective, perceived through a holistic paradigm, where interdependence of all phenomena is recognized; where each part represents a universe microcosm. Thus, a planetary consciousness is developed, which leads to

the acknowledgement that all acts are inter-related and through individual action it is possible to contribute to the transformation of the planet.

In this logic, the theme of individual responsibility gains more importance: the desire of transforming the world begins to materialize by transforming the individual himself through an inner work that leads to a personal change and, concurrently, to the planet transformation. By transforming its own consciousness and the lifestyle the individuals will be able to indirectly change society. To bring off the change that they claim to be necessary, individuals do not need to be supported by organized religious structures; furthermore, *non-credo* is one of the macrobiotic principles; the most diverse religions are just different ways to discover spirituality, like the wheel rays converging to the center. Above all, man must have an unconditional faith in the nature order”, know how to listen to it, “develop intuition, their perception of subtle” and “being their own master”.

As we can see, various aspects suggest the inclusion of macrobiotics in the New Age movement. First of all, the Eastern inspiration and some syncretism in philosophical terms, more precisely, monism, i.e. the belief in a single principle from which derives the conception of the universe as a single whole, the holistic paradigm, valuation of the energy concept, concern for spirituality, valuation of intuition and focus on the individual, all this allows authors as Heelas,¹³ Lacroix,¹⁴ or Vernette¹⁵ mention the sacredness of the self.

The New Age phenomenon presents itself as a new paradigm that seeks to construe the world based on the idea of connection and interdependence between all phenomena. Beliefs include the existence of a universal spirit that brings men and things to communion. The New Age perspectives often challenge modernity and the idols they have created, the “dictatorship” of reason, science and technology. They believe in a near advent of a renewed world, which will be always frantic and problematic, but will always be a new area, where every man will be recognized as a fragment of the cosmic consciousness.¹⁶

Beyond such specifics, the New Age also has as characteristics not being based on a dogma, text, central organization, or a particular geographic reference. Rather, it seeks to assert itself as a free spiritual movement, without relationship with a formally organized religion. It is a heterogeneous movement, a “nebula”, as Vernette calls it, having as sources astrology, Hinduism, Taoism, Gnostic traditions, spiritualism, occultism, theosophy, neo-pagan traditions, etc.*** Some use astrology, others tarot cards, others crystal energy, others channeling, others the healing source of cosmic energy or the human potential, and so on...

*** New Age, as an organized, demanding and active movement toward decision makers, seems to have little expression in Europe. This, of course, does not mean that the New Age “products” are “invisible”. On the contrary, they actually have been increasingly known. On the other hand, although it seems useful to speak in movement, this does not mean that there is an organized structure.

In phenomena so heteroclitic that easily blend new approaches with traditional systems or the recreation of the same, such heterogeneity does not constitute, however, a problem, once, as I already mentioned, you can choose the way that best suits you. In New Age, publicizing different ways to achieve spirituality is not through religious services or sermons, but seminars, courses, publications, workshops, spiritual retreats, etc.

So, let's see what is the sociographic profile of those who attend courses and workshops in the area of macrobiotics. I obtained this profile at the Institute of Microbiotics in Portugal, from the students' application forms to the IMP. In these records there were questions about age, education, profession and others of the interest of the macrobiotics area, reference to sicknesses that affected them, use of medications, etc. I could then have access to a systematized dataset on the individuals who attended courses at IMP (Course of Macrobiotics Cuisine and Michio Kushi Curricular Course) in three consecutive academic years: 2005-06; 2006-07 and 2007-08. A total of 181 records were used: 144 women and 37 men, aged between 17 and 61 years or over. The age most found was between 31-35 years (40 of 176 students), and the others were distributed as follows:

Table 1. Distribution according to the participant's age

Ages	17-25	26-30	31-35	36-40	41-45	46-50	51-60	≥ 61	Total
	28	30	40	22	25	14	10	7	176
	16%	17%	23%	13%	14%	8%	6%	4%	

It can be seen that it was mostly women who attended these courses. Of 171 records considered valid to determine the participants' educational background, it was found that 99 had a higher education degree and 72 studied until the 3rd cycle of primary and secondary education. Therefore, we can see the educational level of this group is quite high.

Among the reported professions (138 responses were considered valid), the most common category was of specialists in intellectual and scientific activities, and 64 individuals stated that they exercised professions in this area. Architects, teachers, actors, dancers, investigators, journalists and moviemakers were some of the professionals that were included in this category.¹⁶ One can easily see that the kind of persons who attend these courses have high education degree and belong to the middle/middle-high classes. As can be seen, the "sympathy" for this kind of proposal, sometimes referred to as less rationalized, is far from incorporating a population with low schooling.

Typical of New Age is also the holistic health movement that considers Man as a whole – mind, body and spirit – and does not seek to focus only in the physical dimension of a disease, but recognizes its psychological, social and spiritual aspects. As Vernetta mentions, holistic health, rather than intervening primarily via chemistry and drugs, seeks for a minimum intervention

through appropriate technology based on a range of non-invasive techniques: psychotherapies, physical exercises, diets”.**** Healing systems such as acupuncture, reflexology, iridology, use of crystals, *shiatsu*, *reiki*, homeopathy and macrobiotics, as we will see, find in there a welcoming place. These therapeutic approaches are not supposed to operate only in the physical body but also in what is seen as energy systems and channels of the etheric body (subtle body), to replace what they call energy balance. It acts on the meridians and on *chakras*; *yin* and *yang* get harmonized.

Movements of the holistic health

Macrobiotics, as a therapeutic proposal, when seeking to harmonize the *yin* and *yang* energy, clearly finds, according to what I have been saying, a reference space in the New Age movement of holistic health. Changing eating habits, which the macrobiotic approach proposes, as observed by Ossipow,¹⁷ often triggers a redefinition of individual and family projects and a change in lifestyle. Macrobiotics does not aim at the physical subject only but also mental, spiritual and social. Individuals are seen as a *locus* of authority and are responsible for their health or disease.

Macrobiotic followers advocate that we effectively are what we eat and that diseases can be prevented and fought at the dining table. Inappropriate diets do not allow full human achievement and, as they say, hinders “the capacity of discernment” and “spiritual evolution”. Followers of this kind of diet thus undergo a body cleaning that begins with the intake of *purifying* foods, capable of improving the “quality of blood” and all “cellular structure”. On the other hand, foods considered toxic, dirty, polluting, such as meat, which “weakens blood” and, simultaneously, the immune system and the person’s overall structure should be avoided.

Major critiques of the New Age holistic health movement are frequent and, for this reason, many followers of macrobiotics do not like to review themselves in it. Hans Baer,¹⁸ for example, points out that in the United States the disenchantment of some New Age gurus in the light of biomedicine, rather than starting a movement for changing healthcare policies, ended up by focusing on the individuals and their lifestyles, leading to a dismissal under the social point of view. By adopting a moralistic attitude to health, the holistic health proposals eventually moved toward the richest, those who could afford non-shared healthcare services. On the other hand, Baer observed that numerous new agers who preached against materialism, like Andrew Weil and Deepak Chopra (spokesmen that Baer referred to), exhibited wealth ostensibly, thus contradicting the idea often advocated that New Age could help transform capitalist structures. It is in this same sense that Lau expressed¹ when he integrated macrobiotics in the capitalist spirit. New Age practices of holistic health are viewed by Baer as reinforcing agents of these structures, and the

**** Vernetta J. New Age. Mem Martins: Publicações Europa-América. s/d : 64.

appeal to a more personalized service in health care and the excessive individualization of this same care are perfectly in line with the capitalist structure. Furthermore, biomedicalization of the holistic health would be a signal of conformity with the capitalist system.

Despite these arguments, many of them apparently valid, Baer in fact underestimates some of the effects produced by holistic approaches of the body. Launching an attack to two of its representatives and promoters (Andrew Weil and Deepak Chopra), Baer fits the New Age marketing into the capitalist system and ignores those who seek this kind of care and the degree of satisfaction that they may have with it. Belittling the importance of personal transformations, he therefore gives little value to the sense of individual responsibility, choosing to eclipse the individual, in this case, the patient, from his analysis.

Returning to macrobiotics, it is worth underlining that, actually, various elements point to the inclusion of this practice into the New Age movement of holistic health. Based on the ethnographic data collected, I could see that many people solve health problems with this diet. I also noticed that they make little use of the national healthcare service and often distrust the services provided, but not excluding the possibility of using it. They consider the treatments in this service more aggressive and, therefore, should not constitute the first option. They suggest that, whenever possible and appropriate, one should first try less invasive therapies. Thus, I found that many people consider macrobiotics effective and leads to a change in life plans and should not be entirely rejected as an approach of holistic health, once one could run the risk of “throwing the baby out with the bathwater”. Critical exercise and mockery of these proposals are admissible, because there seems to be, as they say, much chaff mixed with wheat, and it is also certain that they are included in some modernity, in a certain capitalist structure, but this does not take out in many cases its effectiveness.

Macrobiotics and new age: convergences

In this paper I attempted to establish connections between macrobiotics and the New Age movement, referring to various topics that can be found in these proposals. I began by referring to issues related to nutrition and the convergence to some aspects related to food choices in macrobiotics and Nutrition Sciences. Reference to this convergence allowed me not only to observe some dynamism between these areas but also to highlight the rationalization and instrumentalization processes of scientific knowledge that take place in macrobiotics.

This data is relevant in that it allows us to detect procedures through which some areas, in this case, macrobiotics, seek to acquire authority and legitimacy. What we found is that approaches that challenge modernity and a very rational view of reality end up making selective use of science

to assert them. This procedure, more than a specific macrobiotic strategy, characterizes the New Age “nebula” and highlights its own rationalities.

To this extent, I believe that the reference that is made in this paper to the converging aspects between macrobiotics and the Nutrition Science is useful to understand the discursive construction processes that will give prominence to many of the topics that usually identify the New Age. Finally, I referred to the effects that adhesion to macrobiotics and other New Age trends may cause. Such proposals, known for their challenge to the system, integrate perfectly well with the current social-economic system and may not be mainstream but operate on it in a very agentialized, liberal form, focused on individual responsibility and forgetting collective responsibility.

References

1. Lau K. *New age capitalism, making money east of eden*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press; 2000.
2. Calado, V. “À Mesa com o Universo”, a proposta macrobiótica de experiência do mundo [dissertação]. Lisboa: Instituto de Ciências Sociais da Universidade de Lisboa; 2012.
3. Harvard School of Public Health. *Food pyramids and plates: what should you really eat?* [Internet] 2015. Disponível em: <http://www.hsph.harvard.edu/nutritionsource/what-should-you-eat/pyramid-full-story/index.html>
4. Belasco W. *Food and the counterculture: a story of bread and politics*. In: Watson J, Caldwell M, editores. *The cultural politics of food and eating, a reader*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing; 2005. p. 217-234.
5. Belasco W. *Appetite for change, how the counterculture took on the food Industry*. Ithaca e London: Cornell University Press; 2007.
6. Goody J. *Cozinha, culinária e classes*. Oeiras: Celta; 1998.
7. Contreras J. *Antropología de la alimentacion*. Salamanca: Eudema; 1993.
8. Kaptchuk T, Eisenberg D. *The health food movement*. *Nutrition* 1998; 14:5:471-73.
9. Willett W, Skernett P. *Eat, drink and be healthy: the Harvard Medical School Guide to healthy eating*. New York: Free Press; 2005.
10. Campbell C, Campbell T. *The China study: the most comprehensive Study of nutrition ever conducted and the startling implications for diet, weight loss and long-term health*. Dallas: Benbella Books; 2005.
11. Mintz S. *La comida como un campo de combate ideológico*. In *Conferencia de Clausura del VIII Congreso de Antropología. Homenaje a la Xeración Nós*. Santiago de Compostela: Federación de Asociaciones de Antropología del Estado Español; 1999. p. 1-17.
12. Kushi M, Jack A. *The book of macrobiotics, the universal way of health, happiness, and peace*. Tokio: Japan Publications; 1989.

13. Heelas P. *The new age movement, the celebration of the self and the sacralization of modernity*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers; 1999.
14. Lacroix M. *A ideologia do New Age*. Lisboa: Instituto Piaget; 2000.
15. Vernet J. *New Age*. Mem Martins: Publicações Europa-América; 1992.
16. Portugal. Instituto Nacional de Estatística. *Classificação Portuguesa das Profissões 2010*. Lisboa: INE; 2010.
17. Ossipow L. *La cuisine du corps et de l'âme, approche ethnologique du végétarisme, du crudivorisme et de la macrobiotique en Suisse*. Neuchâtel: Editora l'Institut d'Ethnologie; 1997.
18. Baer HA. The work of Andrew Weil and Deepak Chopra: the two holistic health/new age gurus: a critique of the holistic health: new age movements. *Medical Anthropology Quarterly* 2003; 17(2):233-250.

Received: April 15, 2015

Reviewed: June 02, 2015

Accepted: June 27, 2015