

ENDNOTES

CHAPTER 1

- (1) Bynum, W. (2008). *The history of medicine: A very short introduction*. OUP Oxford.
- (2) An Asclepiad could refer either to a healer, a medical doctor or a descendant of Asclepius, the Greek God of medicine.
- (3) The 'Hippocratic Corpus', the 60 or so treatises cover medicine, surgery, diagnostics, therapeutics and disease prevention.
- (4) Bynum, W. (2008). *The history of medicine: A very short introduction*. OUP Oxford.
- (5) Hippocrates criticised previous doctors who attributed epilepsy to divine intervention, calling them magicians and charlatans, 'My own view is that those who first attributed a sacred character to this malady were like the magicians, purifiers, charlatans and quacks of our own day, men who claim great piety and superior knowledge. Being at a loss, and having no treatment which would help, they concealed and sheltered themselves behind superstition, and called this illness sacred, in order that their utter ignorance might not be manifest'. (1949). In E. Littré (Ed.), *Oeuvres complètes d' Hippocrate*, Baillièrè (p. 354). Paris.
- (6) Patwardhan, B., Warude, D., Pushpangadan, P., & Bhatt, N. (2005). Ayurveda and traditional Chinese

- medicine: A comparative overview. *Evidence-Based Complementary and Alternative Medicine*, 2(4), 465–473.
- (7) Xu, X. (2001). *Principles of traditional Chinese medicine: The essential guide to understanding the human body*. Boston, MA: YMAA Publication Center.
 - (8) Patwardhan, B., Warude, D., Pushpangadan, P., & Bhatt, N. (2005). Ayurveda and traditional Chinese medicine: A comparative overview. *Evidence-Based Complementary and Alternative Medicine*, 2(4), 465–473.
 - (9) Bynum, W. (2008). *The history of medicine: A very short introduction*. OUP Oxford.
 - (10) Patwardhan, B., Warude, D., Pushpangadan, P., & Bhatt, N. (2005). Ayurveda and traditional Chinese medicine: A comparative overview. *Evidence-Based Complementary and Alternative Medicine*, 2(4), 465–473.
 - (11) King, H. (2019). *Hippocrates now: The ‘father of medicine’ in the internet age*. Bloomsbury Academic.
 - (12) Cederström, C., & Spicer, A. (2015). *The wellness syndrome*. John Wiley & Sons.
 - (13) Porter, R. (1999). *The greatest benefit to mankind: A medical history of humanity (the Norton history of science)*. WW Norton & Company.
 - (14) Porter, R. (1999). *The greatest benefit to mankind: A medical history of humanity (the Norton history of science)*. WW Norton & Company.
 - (15) Baker, S. A., & Rojek, C. (2020). *Lifestyle Gurus: Constructing authority and influence online*. Polity.
 - (16) Lupton, D. (2012). *Medicine as culture: Illness, disease and the body*. Sage.
 - (17) Eleven European Spa Towns inscribed as UNESCO World Heritage Site. Retrieved from <https://unesco.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2021/07/Great-Spas-of-Europe-Press-Release.pdf>. Accessed on March 3, 2022.

- (18) United States. Public Health Service. Office of the Surgeon General, & United States. Office of the Assistant Secretary for Health. (1979). In *Healthy people: The surgeon general's report on health promotion and disease prevention* (Vol. 79, No. 55071). US Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Public Health Service, Office of the Assistant Secretary for Health and Surgeon General; Washington.
- (19) Travis, J. W., & Callander, M. G. (1990). *Wellness for helping professionals: Creating compassionate cultures*. Wellness Association.
- (20) WHO remains firmly committed to the principles set out in the preamble to the constitution. Retrieved from <https://www.who.int/about/governance/constitution>
- (21) The Oxford English Dictionary traces wellness to the 1650s. The dictionary's earliest published reference is from a 1654 entry in the diary of Sir Archibald Johnston, Lord Wariston: "I...blessed God...for my daughter's wealnesse." The first citation with the modern spelling is from a letter, written around 1655, by Dorothy Osborne to her husband, Sir William Temple: "You...never send me any of the new phrases of the town...Pray what is meant by wellness and unwellness?"
- (22) Dunn, H. L. (1959). High-level wellness for man and society. *American Journal of Public Health and the Nations Health*, 49(6), 786–792.
- (23) Chen, C. (2022). *Work pray code: When work becomes religion in Silicon Valley*. Princeton University Press.
- (24) Health & Wellness Industry Stats. Retrieved from <https://www.wellnesscreatives.com/wellness-industry-statistics/>. Accessed on March, 3 2022.

CHAPTER 2

- (1) Hall, J. D. (2007). The long civil rights movement and the political uses of the past. In *The best American history essays 2007* (pp. 235–271). New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- (2) Higginbotham, E. B. (1994). *Righteous discontent: The women's movement in the Black Baptist church, 1880–1920*. Harvard University Press.
- (3) See King in Nelson, A. (2011). *Body and soul: The Black Panther Party and the fight against medical discrimination* (p. 27). University of Minnesota Press.
- (4) Kurashige, S. (2012). From black power to a revolution of values: Grace Lee Boggs and the Legacy of Martin Luther King, Jr. In *Black power beyond borders* (pp. 169–190). New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- (5) The Medical Civil Rights Movement and Access to Health Care. (2016). Retrieved from <https://circulatingnow.nlm.nih.gov/2016/01/14/the-medical-civil-rights-movement-and-access-to-health-care/>. Accessed on August 21, 2021.
- (6) Nelson, A. (2011). *Body and soul: The Black Panther Party and the fight against medical discrimination*. University of Minnesota Press.
- (7) Washington, H. A. (2006). *Medical apartheid: The dark history of medical experimentation on Black Americans from colonial times to the present*. Doubleday Books.
- (8) Hall, J. D. (2007). The long civil rights movement and the political uses of the past. In *The best American history essays 2007* (pp. 235–271). New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- (9) 'This multifaceted community – the radical health movement – was a decentralized aggregate of groups, collectives, and organizations with distinct missions that sought to transform medicine, institutionally and interpersonally' – see Nelson, A. (2011). *Body and soul: The Black Panther Party and the fight against medical discrimination*. University of Minnesota Press.

- (10) Nelson, J. (2015). *More than medicine*. New York University Press.
- (11) Lorde, A. (1970/2017). *A burst of light and other essays*. IXIA Press.
- (12) Nelson, J. (2015). *More than medicine* (p. 2). New York University Press.
- (13) Ehrenreich, B. (2018). *Natural causes: Life, death and the illusion of control*. Granta Books.
- (14) Ehrenreich, B., & English, D. (2011). *Complaints and disorders: The sexual politics of sickness* (pp. 35–36). Feminist Press at CUNY.
- (15) Ehrenreich, B., & English, D. (2011). *Complaints and disorders: The sexual politics of sickness* (pp. 32, 120). Feminist Press at CUNY.
- (16) Sundancer, E. (1973). *Celery Wine. Story of a country commune* (p. 125). Community Publications Cooperative.
- (17) Rorabaugh, W. J. (2015). *American hippies*. Cambridge University Press. Hippie politics was more a “politics of no politics,” Rorabaugh says. “One of the things hippies said was, ‘you should do your own thing, you should do whatever you feel like doing’”.
- (18) Rorabaugh, W. J. (2015). *American hippies* (pp. 11, 21). Cambridge University Press.
- (19) Leary, T. (2009). *Turn on, tune in, drop out*. Ronin Publishing.
- (20) Leary, T. (2009). *Turn on, tune in, drop out*. Ronin Publishing.
- (21) Leary, T. (1983). *Flashbacks, an autobiography* (p. 253). Tarcher.
- (22) Rorabaugh, W. J. (2015). *American hippies* (p. 65). Cambridge University Press.
- (23) Rorabaugh, W. J. (2015). *American hippies* (p. 208). Cambridge University Press.
- (24) Rorabaugh, W. J. (2015). *American hippies* (pp. 134–135). Cambridge University Press.

- (25) Ingram, M. (2020). *Retreat: How the counterculture invented wellness* (pp. 365–366). Watkins Media Limited.
- (26) Ingram, M. (2020). *Retreat: How the counterculture invented wellness* (pp. 366–367). Watkins Media Limited.
- (27) Wolfe, T. (1976). The me decade and the third great awakening. *New York Magazine*, 23(8), 26–40.
- (28) Lasch, C. (1979/2018). *The culture of narcissism: American life in an age of diminishing expectations*. WW Norton & Company.
- (29) This was followed in 1969 by Woodstock Music Festival where thousands of people participated in three days of ‘peace, music and love’.
- (30) Cooper, D. (2013). *Psychiatry and antipsychiatry*. Routledge.
- (31) Laing, R. (2010). *The divided self: An existential study in sanity and madness*. Penguin UK.
- (32) Laing, R. D. (2010). *The divided self: An existential study in sanity and madness*. Penguin Classics.
- (33) Goffman, E. (1961). *Asylums: Essays on the social situation of mental patients and other inmates* (p. 54). AldineTransaction.
- (34) Foucault explained, ‘What we call psychiatric practice is a certain moral tactic contemporary with the end of the 18th century, preserved in the rites of asylum life, and overlaid by the myths of positivism’ (1961: 262).
- (35) See Krippal, J. J. (2007). *Esalen: America and the religion of no religion*, p. 28.
- (36) Michael Murphy, ‘Life is a Festival’ podcast.
- (37) Esalen Team. (2020). Esalen statement on our present racial crisis. Esalen, 1 June. Retrieved from <https://www.esalen.org/post/esalen-statement-on-our-present-racial-crisis>
- (38) Esalen Archive. Terence McKenna. Retrieved from <https://archive.esalen.org/people/terence-mckenna-a>

CHAPTER 3

- (1) Rather, D. (1979). Wellness. *60 Minutes*. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LAorj2U7PR4&t=25s>
- (2) Dunn, H. L. (1959). What high-level wellness means. *Canadian Journal of Public Health/Revue Canadienne de Sante'e Publique*, 50(11), 447.
- (3) Dunn, H. L. (1959). What high-level wellness means. *Canadian Journal of Public Health/Revue Canadienne de Sante'e Publique*, 50(11), 447.
- (4) Dunn, H. L. (1959). High-level wellness for man and society. *American Journal of Public Health and the Nations Health*, 49(6), 789.
- (5) Dunn, H. L. (1959). High-level wellness for man and society. *American Journal of Public Health and the Nations Health*, 49(6), 787.
- (6) Dunn, H. L. (1959). High-level wellness for man and society. *American Journal of Public Health and the Nations Health*, 49(6), 787.
- (7) <https://www.wellnesslifestyle.com/wellnessinventory>
- (8) Travis, J. W., & Ryan, R. S. (2004). *Wellness workbook: How to achieve enduring health and vitality*. Random House Digital, Inc.
- (9) Travis, J. W. ([1981] 2004). *The wellness workbook: How to achieve enduring health and vitality* (p.xxiii). Celestial Arts.
- (10) Ardell, D. B. (1977). *High-level wellness: An alternative to doctors, drugs, and disease* (p. 3). Union Institute and University.
- (11) Ardell, D. B. (1977). *High-level wellness: An alternative to doctors, drugs, and disease*. Union Institute and University.
- (12) https://premierespeakers.com/donald_ardell/posts/the_ardell_wellness_stress_self-assessment
- (13) <https://ezinearticles.com/?Why-Goop-Is-to-Wellness-What-Trump-Is-to-America—An-Aberration-and-a-Disgrace&cid=10255742>

- (14) Ardell proceeded to publish a series of books on the topic of wellness. These include *The Book of Wellness: A Secular Approach to Spirituality, Meaning and Purpose* (1996), *14 Days to Wellness: The Easy, Effective and Fun Way to Optimum Health and Total Well-being* (1982), *Aging Beyond Belief: 69 Tips for Real Wellness* (2007) and *Wellness Orgasms: The Fun Way to Live Well and Die Healthy* (2015). His latest book – *Not Dead Yet* (2019) – offers tips for thriving and flourishing later in life. These books function largely as practical manuals instructing readers how to manage stress and improve physical fitness and nutrition, offering step-by-step personal plans to facilitate well-being, physical health, emotional balance, mental peace and clarity of purpose. As such, they were a precursor to many of the wellness advice manuals that thrived in the late 20th century.
- (15) <http://www.donardell.com/nature-of-real-wellness>
- (16) Travis, J. W., & Ryan, R. S. (2004). *Wellness workbook: How to achieve enduring health and vitality*. Random House Digital, Inc.
- (17) Travis, J. W., & Ryan, R. S. (2004). *Wellness workbook: How to achieve enduring health and vitality* (p. xix). Random House Digital, Inc.
- (18) Reardon, J. (1998). The history and impact of worksite wellness. *Nursing Economics*, 16(3), 117–121.
- (19) Reardon, J. (1998). The history and impact of worksite wellness. *Nursing Economics*, 16(3), 117–121.
- (20) Reardon, J. (1998). The history and impact of worksite wellness. *Nursing Economics*, 16(3), 117–121.
- (21) McKenzie, S. (2013). *Getting physical: The rise of fitness culture in America*. Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas.
- (22) Ozminkowski, R. J., Ling, D., Goetzl, R. Z., Bruno, J. A., Rutter, K. R., Isaac, F., & Wang, S. (2002).

- Long-term impact of Johnson & Johnson's Health & Wellness Program on health care utilization and expenditures. *Journal of Occupational and Environmental Medicine*, 44(1), 21–29.
- (23) Call, C., Gerdes, R., & Robinson, K. (2009). Health and wellness research study: Corporate and worksite wellness programs: A research review focused on individuals with disabilities (Government Contract Number: DOLU089428186).
- (24) Haynes, R. B., Sackett, D. L., Taylor, D. W., Gibson, E. S., & Johnson, A. L. (1978). Increased absenteeism from work after detection and labeling of hypertensive patients. *New England Journal of Medicine*, 299(14), 741–744.
- (25) Donoghue, S. (1977). The correlation between physical fitness, absenteeism and work performance. *Canadian Journal of Public Health/Revue Canadienne de Sante'e Publique*, 68(3), 201–203.
- (26) DeJoy, D. M., & Southern, D. J. (1993). An integrative perspective on work-site health promotion. *Journal of Occupational Medicine*, 35(12), 1221–1230.
- (27) Wilbur, C. S. (1983). The Johnson & Johnson program. *Preventive Medicine*, 12(5), 672–681.
- (28) Ozminkowski, R. J., Ling, D., Goetzel, R. Z., Bruno, J. A., Rutter, K. R., Isaac, F., & Wang, S. (2002). Long-term impact of Johnson & Johnson's Health & Wellness Program on health care utilization and expenditures. *Journal of Occupational and Environmental Medicine*, 44(1), 21.
- (29) Ozminkowski, R. J., Ling, D., Goetzel, R. Z., Bruno, J. A., Rutter, K. R., Isaac, F., & Wang, S. (2002). Long-term impact of Johnson & Johnson's Health & Wellness Program on health care utilization and expenditures. *Journal of Occupational and Environmental Medicine*, 44(1), 21–29.
- (30) Chen, C. (2022). *Work pray code: When work becomes religion in Silicon Valley*. Princeton University Press.

- (31) Barbara, E. (2010). *Smile or die: How positive thinking fooled America and the world*. Granta Books.
- (32) Cabanas, E., & Illouz, E. (2019). *Manufacturing happy citizens: How the science and industry of happiness control our lives*. John Wiley & Sons.
- (33) Hochschild, A. R. (2012). *The Managed Heart*. University of California Press.
- (34) Davies, W. (2011). The political economy of unhappiness. *New Left Review*, 71, 65–80.
- (35) Latham, A. (2015). The history of a habit: Jogging as a palliative to sedentariness in 1960s America. *Cultural Geographies*, 22(1), 104.
- (36) Matelski, E. M. (2017). *Reducing bodies: Mass culture and the female figure in postwar America*. Routledge.
- (37) See McKenzie, S. (2013). *Getting physical: The rise of fitness culture in America*. Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas.
- (38) McKenzie, S. (2013). *Getting physical: The rise of fitness culture in America*. Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas.
- (39) <https://health.gov/our-work/nutrition-physical-activity/presidents-council/history-council>
- (40) <http://www.recreatingwithkids.com/news/read-it-here-kennedys-the-soft-american/>
- (41) <https://www.jfklibrary.org/sites/default/files/2020-03/PhysicalFitnessPamphlet.pdf>
- (42) “JFK Physical Fitness Statement”. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=E0WmpszjnN8>
- (43) Latham, A. (2015). The history of a habit: Jogging as a palliative to sedentariness in 1960s America. *Cultural Geographies*, 22(1), 103–126.
- (44) McKenzie, S. (2013). *Getting physical: The rise of fitness culture in America*. Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas.
- (45) Jung, F. T. (1961). Hypokinetic disease; diseases produced by lack of exercise. *JAMA*, 177(12), 883–883.

- (46) McKenzie, S. (2013). *Getting physical: The rise of fitness culture in America*. Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas.
- (47) Latham, A. (2015). The history of a habit: Jogging as a palliative to sedentariness in 1960s America. *Cultural Geographies*, 22(1), 103–126.
- (48) See Petrzela, N. M. (2020). Jogging has always excluded black people. *New York Times*. Retrieved from <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/12/opinion/running-jogging-race-ahmaud-arbery.html>
- (49) McKenzie, S. (2013). *Getting physical: The rise of fitness culture in America*. Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas.
- (50) Stern, M. (2008). The fitness movement and the fitness center industry, 1960–2000. In *Business history conference. Business and economic history on-line: Papers presented at the BHC annual meeting* (Vol. 6, p. 1). Business History Conference.
- (51) Stern, M. (2008). The fitness movement and the fitness center industry, 1960–2000. In *Business history conference. Business and economic history on-line: Papers presented at the BHC annual meeting* (Vol. 6, p. 1). Business History Conference.
- (52) Stern, M. (2008). The fitness movement and the fitness center industry, 1960–2000. In *Business history conference. Business and economic history on-line: Papers presented at the BHC annual meeting* (Vol. 6, p. 1). Business History Conference.
- (53) Dr. Warren Guild, – Fitness Forever, Vogue (May 1971), 172.
- (54) McKenzie, S. (2013). *Getting physical: The rise of fitness culture in America*. Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas.
- (55) Stern, M. (2008). The fitness movement and the fitness center industry, 1960–2000. In *Business history conference. Business and economic history on-line: Papers presented at the BHC annual meeting* (Vol. 6, pp. 1, 11). Business History Conference.

- (56) In *Getting physical: The rise of fitness culture in America*, McKenzie highlights that in the 1960s weight loss and exercise functioned as separate concepts. Despite many lifestyle diseases being attributed to decreased physical exercise, dieting was often presented as the antidote, especially for women.
- (57) Stern, M. (2008). The fitness movement and the fitness center industry, 1960–2000. In *Business history conference. Business and economic history on-line: Papers presented at the BHC annual meeting* (Vol. 6, pp. 1, 9). Business History Conference.
- (58) McKenzie, S. (2013). *Getting physical: The rise of fitness culture in America*. Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas.
- (59) See Gillick, M. R. (1984, Fall). Health promotion, jogging, and pursuit of a moral life. *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law*, 9(3), 380–382.
- (60) Jain, A. R. (2020). *Peace love yoga: The politics of global spirituality*. Oxford University Press.
- (61) <http://www.recreatingwithkids.com/news/read-it-here-kennedys-the-soft-american/>
- (62) Devi, I. (2015). *Yoga for Americans*. Pickle Partners Publishing.

CHAPTER 4

- (1) Baker, S. A., & Rojek, C. (2020). *Lifestyle Gurus: Constructing authority and influence online*. Polity.
- (2) Baker, S. A., & Rojek, C. (2020). *Lifestyle Gurus: Constructing authority and influence online*. Polity.
- (3) Nichols, T. (2017). *The death of expertise: The campaign against established knowledge and why it matters*. Oxford University Press.
- (4) Nichols, T. (2017). *The death of expertise: The campaign against established knowledge and why it matters* (p. 5). Oxford University Press.

- (5) Nichols, T. (2017). *The death of expertise: The campaign against established knowledge and why it matters* (p. 24). Oxford University Press.
- (6) Baker, S. A., & Rojek, C. (2020). *Lifestyle Gurus: Constructing authority and influence online*. Polity.
- (7) See Baker, S. A., & Walsh, M. J. (2018). 'Good Morning Fitfam': Top posts, hashtags and gender display on Instagram. *New Media & Society*, 20(12), 4553–4570.
- (8) Baker, S. A. (2022). Alt. Health influencers: How wellness culture and web culture have been weaponised to promote conspiracy theories and far-right extremism during the COVID-19 pandemic. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 25(1), 2.
- (9) The gurus of the 1960s and 1970s tended to be artists and intellectuals.
- (10) Giddens, A. (1991). *Modernity and self-identity: Self and society in the late modern age*. Polity.
- (11) Giddens, A. (1991). *Modernity and self-identity: Self and society in the late modern age* (p. 28). Polity.
- (12) Giddens, A. (1992). *The transformation of intimacy: Sexuality, love and eroticism in modern societies*. Polity. See also, Beck, U., & Beck-Gernsheim, E. (1995). *The normal chaos of love*. Blackwell.
- (13) Giddens, A. (1991). *Modernity and self-identity: Self and society in the late modern age* (p. 3). Polity.
- (14) Giddens, A. (1991). *Modernity and self-identity: Self and society in the late modern age*. Polity. See also Beck, U. (1992). *Risk society: Towards a new modernity*. Sage.
- (15) Giddens, A. (1991). *Modernity and self-identity: Self and society in the late modern age* (p. 28). Polity.
- (16) Lupton, D. (2016). *The quantified self*. John Wiley & Sons.
- (17) Giddens, A. (1991). *Modernity and self-identity: Self and society in the late modern age*. Polity.
- (18) Giddens, A. (1991). *Modernity and self-identity: Self and society in the late modern age* (p. 5). Polity.

- (19) Giddens, A. (1991). *Modernity and self-identity: Self and society in the late modern age* (p. 9). Polity.
- (20) Furedi, F. (2013). *Therapy culture: Cultivating vulnerability in an uncertain age*. Routledge. See also, Hochschild, A. R. (2012). *The outsourced self: What happens when we pay others to live our lives for us*. Metropolitan Books.
- (21) Baker, S. A., & Rojek, C. (2020). *Lifestyle Gurus: Constructing authority and influence online*. Polity.
- (22) Smiles, S. (1859/2002). *Self-help: With illustrations of character, conduct, and perseverance*. Oxford University Press. Some consider Benjamin Franklin's 1758 essay, 'The Way to Wealth', the first self-help text given that he shared life advice with readers. Many of his recommendations come in a series of short, pithy phrases, 'Early to bed, and early to rise, makes a man healthy, wealthy and wise', or 'There are no gains, without pains'.
- (23) Smiles, S. (1859/2002). *Self-help: With illustrations of character, conduct, and perseverance* (p. 4). Oxford University Press.
- (24) Smiles, S. (1859/2002). *Self-help: With illustrations of character, conduct, and perseverance* (p. 7). Oxford University Press.
- (25) Smiles, S. (1859/2002). *Self-help: With illustrations of character, conduct, and perseverance* (p. vii). Oxford University Press.
- (26) Beeton, M. (1888). *The book of household management*. Ward, Lock, & Company.
- (27) Smiles, S. (1859/2002). *Self-help: With illustrations of character, conduct, and perseverance* (p. xxiv). Oxford University Press.
- (28) Peale, N. V. (1953/2012). *The power of positive thinking* (p. v-vi). Vermilion.
- (29) Peale, N. V. (1953/2012). *The power of positive thinking*. Vermilion.
- (30) Peale, N. V. (1953/2012). *The power of positive thinking* (p. v). Vermilion.

- (31) Dresser, H. (1919). *A history of the new thought movement* (p. 11). Thomas Y. Crowell. Retrieved from <https://selfdefinition.org/new-thought/Horatio-W-Dresser-History-of-the-New-Thought-Movement.pdf>. Accessed on February 4, 2022.
- (32) Dresser, H. (1919). *A history of the new thought movement* (p. 19). Thomas Y. Crowell. Retrieved from <https://selfdefinition.org/new-thought/Horatio-W-Dresser-History-of-the-New-Thought-Movement.pdf>. Accessed on February 4, 2022.
- (33) Dresser, H. (1919). *A history of the new thought movement* (p. 8). Thomas Y. Crowell. Retrieved from <https://selfdefinition.org/new-thought/Horatio-W-Dresser-History-of-the-New-Thought-Movement.pdf>. Accessed on February 4, 2022.
- (34) Dresser, H. (1919). *A history of the new thought movement* (p. 21). Thomas Y. Crowell. Retrieved from <https://selfdefinition.org/new-thought/Horatio-W-Dresser-History-of-the-New-Thought-Movement.pdf>. Accessed on February 4, 2022.
- (35) Dresser, H. (1919). *A history of the new thought movement* (p. 2). Thomas Y. Crowell. Retrieved from <https://selfdefinition.org/new-thought/Horatio-W-Dresser-History-of-the-New-Thought-Movement.pdf>. Accessed on February 4, 2022.
- (36) <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2015/may/27/rhonda-byrne-the-secret-estate-montecito-sale>
- (37) Ehrenreich, B. (2010). *Smile or die: How positive thinking fooled America and the world*. Granta Books.
- (38) Discovering the secret. Retrieved from https://www.oprah.com/spirit/_75/all
- (39) Byrne, R. (2006). *The secret* (p. xi). Simon & Schuster.
- (40) How to use the law of attraction to get what you want in life. Retrieved from <https://www.tonyrobbins.com/business/law-of-attraction/>
- (41) <https://www.tonyrobbins.com/events/>

- (42) McGee, M. (2005). *Self-help, Inc.: Makeover culture in American life* (p. 60). Oxford University Press on Demand.
- (43) Baker, S. A. (2022). Alt. Health influencers: How wellness culture and web culture have been weaponised to promote conspiracy theories and far-right extremism during the COVID-19 pandemic. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*. doi:10.1177/13675494211062623
- (44) Byrne, R. (2006). *The secret* (p. 130). Simon & Schuster.
- (45) Sontag, S. (1978). *Illness as metaphor* (p. 16). Retrieved from https://buddhistuniversity.net/exclusive_01/Illness%20As%20Metaphor%20-%20Susan%20Sontag.pdf
- (46) Sontag, S. (1978). *Illness as metaphor* (p. 2). Retrieved from https://buddhistuniversity.net/exclusive_01/Illness%20As%20Metaphor%20-%20Susan%20Sontag.pdf
- (47) McKenzie, S. (2013). *Getting physical: The rise of fitness culture in America*. Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas.
- (48) Ehrenreich, B. (2010). *Smile or die: How positive thinking fooled America and the world*. Granta Books.
- (49) Cederström, C., & Spicer, A. (2015). *The wellness syndrome* (p. 81). John Wiley & Sons.
- (50) Witches and wine audio experience. New Thought movement and law of attraction – Interview with Marilyn Jean. 16:46.
- (51) Ehrenreich, B. (2010). *Smile or die: How positive thinking fooled America and the world*. Granta Books.
- (52) Adams, J. T. (1931/2017). *The epic of America*. Routledge.
- (53) Adams, J. T. (1931/2017). *The epic of America*. Routledge.

- (54) Hard, R., & Gill, C. (2014). *Epictetus: Discourses, fragments, handbook*. Oxford University Press.
- (55) Furedi, F. (2013). *Therapy culture: Cultivating vulnerability in an uncertain age*. Routledge.
- (56) Rose, N. (1990). *Governing the soul: The shaping of the private self*. Routledge.
- (57) Although self-actualization is often attributed to Maslow, the term was coined by Kurt Goldstein, who defined self-actualization as a process of becoming a “self”, that is holistic and acts as a primary driving force of behaviour in humans. See Goldstein, K. (1939/1995). *The organism: A holistic approach to biology derived from pathological data in man*. Zone Books.
- (58) McGee, M. (2005). *Self-help, Inc.: Makeover culture in American life* (p. 16). Oxford University Press on Demand.
- (59) Giddens, A. (1992). *The transformation of intimacy: Sexuality, love and eroticism in modern societies*. Polity.
- (60) Bauman, Z. (2005). *Liquid life*. Polity.
- (61) McGee, M. (2005). *Self-help, Inc.: Makeover culture in American life* (p. 24). Oxford University Press on Demand.
- (62) Illouz, E. (2007). *Cold intimacies: The making of emotional capitalism*. Polity.
- (63) McGee, M. (2005). *Self-help, Inc.: Makeover culture in American life* (p. 12). Oxford University Press on Demand.
- (64) Caulfield, T. (2015). *Is Gwyneth Paltrow wrong about everything? How the famous sell us elixirs of health, beauty & happiness*. Beacon Press. See also Jen Gunter’s blog posts dedicated to ‘Bad GOOP Advice’. Retrieved from <https://drjengunter.com/category/bad-goop-advice/>. Accessed on February 20, 2022.
- (65) Baker, S. A., & Rojek, C. (2020). *Lifestyle Gurus: Constructing authority and influence online*. Polity.

- (66) Nelson, J. (2015). *More than medicine* (p. 6). New York University Press.
- (67) Lofton, K. (2011). *Oprah: The gospel of an icon*. University of California Press.
- (68) <https://www.oprah.com/health/living-your-best-life/all>. Accessed on February 20, 2022.
- (69) Lofton, K. (2011). *Oprah: The gospel of an icon*. University of California Press.
- (70) <https://www.weightwatchers.com/us/ambassadors/oprah-2021>. Accessed on February 20, 2022.
- (71) <https://www.weightwatchers.com/us/ambassadors/oprah-2021>
- (72) Winfrey, O. (2018). Ask Oprah: How would you describe the Oprah Winfrey show? #WatchingOprah. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=o6pXgmPMuzw>. Accessed on February 2, 2019.
- (73) Haag, L. L. (1993). Oprah Winfrey: The construction of intimacy in the talk show setting. *The Journal of Popular Culture*, 26(4), 115–122.
- (74) Harpo Productions. (2018). *About SuperSoul Sunday*. Retrieved from <http://www.oprah.com/app/super-soul-sunday.html>. Accessed on February 3, 2019.
- (75) Harpo Productions. (2018). *About SuperSoul Sunday*. Retrieved from <http://www.oprah.com/app/super-soul-sunday.html>. Accessed on February 3, 2019.
- (76) Horton, D., & Richard Wohl, R. (1956). Mass communication and para-social interaction: Observations on intimacy at a distance. *Psychiatry*, 19(3), 215–229.
- (77) Baker, S. A., & Rojek, C. (2020). *Lifestyle Gurus: Constructing authority and influence online*. Polity.
- (78) Baker, S. A., & Rojek, C. (2020). *Lifestyle Gurus: Constructing authority and influence online*. Polity.

- (79) Senft, T. M. (2008). *Camgirls: Celebrity and community in the age of social networks* (Vol. 4, p. 25). Peter Lang.
- (80) Abidin, C. (2018). *Internet celebrity: Understanding fame online*. SocietyNow. Bingley: Emerald Publishing Limited.
- (81) Marwick, A. E. (2010). *Status update: Celebrity, publicity and self-branding in web 2.0*. Doctoral dissertation, New York University.
- (82) Baker, S. A., & Rojek, C. (2019). The Belle Gibson scandal: The rise of *Lifestyle Gurus* as micro-celebrities in low-trust societies. *Journal of Sociology*, 56(3), 388–404.
- (83) Usher, B. (2015). Twitter and the celebrity interview. *Celebrity Studies*, 6(3), 306–321. See also Abidin, C. (2018). *Internet celebrity: Understanding fame online* (pp. 14–15). SocietyNow. Bingley: Emerald Publishing Limited.
- (84) Baker, S. A. (2021). Written evidence: Influencer culture (INF0004).
- (85) Botsman, R. (2017). *Who can you trust? How technology brought us together—and why it could drive us apart*. Penguin UK.

CHAPTER 5

- (1) Popper, K. R. (1963). Science as falsification. *Conjectures and Refutations*, 1, 33–39.
- (2) Hahnemann, S. (1875). *Organon of the art of healing* (p. 17). Hahnemann Publishing House. Retrieved from <https://archive.org/details/organonofrationa00hahn/page/10/mode/2up>. Accessed February 1, 2022.
- (3) Hahnemann, S. (1875). *Organon of the art of healing* (p. 18). Hahnemann Publishing House. Retrieved from <https://archive.org/details/organon>

- [ofrationa00hahn/page/10/mode/2up](#). Accessed on February 1, 2022.
- (4) Hahnemann, S. (1875). *Organon of the art of healing* (p. 10). Hahnemann Publishing House. Retrieved from <https://archive.org/details/organonofrationa00hahn/page/10/mode/2up>. Accessed February 1, 2022.
 - (5) <http://www.nhmrchomeopathy.com/>
 - (6) <https://www.nhmrc.gov.au/natural-therapies-review>
 - (7) <https://www.england.nhs.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/sps-homeopathy.pdf>
 - (8) <https://www.nhs.uk/conditions/homeopathy/>
 - (9) Baker, S. A., & Rojek, C. (2019). The Belle Gibson scandal: The rise of *Lifestyle Gurus* as micro-celebrities in low-trust societies. *Journal of Sociology*, 56(3), 388–404.
 - (10) Baker, S. A., & Rojek, C. (2019). The scandal that should force us to reconsider wellness advice from influencers. *The Conversation*.
 - (11) Gibson, B. (2015). *The whole pantry* (p. 2). Penguin Books.
 - (12) Baker, S. A., & Rojek, C. (2019). The Belle Gibson scandal: The rise of *Lifestyle Gurus* as micro-celebrities in low-trust societies. *Journal of Sociology*, 56(3), 388–404.
 - (13) Botsman, R. (2017). *Who can you trust? How technology brought us together – and why it could drive us apart*. Penguin UK.
 - (14) Gambetta, D. (1988). p. 217.
 - (15) Baker, S. A., & Maddox, A. (2022). From COVID-19 treatment to miracle cure: The role of influencers and public figures in amplifying the hydroxy-chloroquine and ivermectin conspiracy theories during the pandemic. *M/C Journal*, 25(1).
 - (16) Rittel, H. W., & Webber, M. M. (1973). Dilemmas in a general theory of planning. *Policy Sciences*, 4(2), 155–169.
 - (17) <https://annehelen.substack.com/p/other-countries-have-social-safety>

- (18) Gauchat, G. (2012). Politicization of science in the public sphere: A study of public trust in the United States, 1974 to 2010. *American Sociological Review*, 77(2), 167–187.
- (19) Mooney, C. (2005). *The republican war on science*. New York, NY: Basic Books.
- (20) Fancourt, D., Steptoe, A., & Wright, L. (2020). The cummings effect: Politics, trust, and behaviours during the COVID-19 pandemic. *The Lancet*, 396(10249), 464–465.
- (21) Baker, S. A., Wade, M., & Walsh, M. J. (2020). The challenges of responding to misinformation during a pandemic: Content moderation and the limitations of the concept of harm. *Media International Australia*, 177(1), 103–107.
- (22) Barkun, M. (2013). *A culture of conspiracy*. University of California Press.
- (23) Fenster, M. (1999). *Conspiracy theories: Secrecy and power in American culture*. University of Minnesota Press.
- (24) Baker, S. A. (2020, July). Tackling misinformation and disinformation in the context of COVID-19. In *Cabinet office C19 seminar series*. Cabinet Office.
- (25) Ward, C., & Voas, D. (2011). The emergence of conspiratorism. *Journal of Contemporary Religion*, 26(1), 103–121.
- (26) Ward, C., & Voas, D. (2011). The emergence of conspiratorism. *Journal of Contemporary Religion*, 26(1), 103–121.
- (27) Asprem, E., & Dyrendal, A. (2015). Conspiratorism reconsidered: How surprising and how new is the confluence of spirituality and conspiracy theory? *Journal of Contemporary Religion*, 30(3), 367–382.
- (28) Baker, S. A. (2022). Alt. Health influencers: How wellness culture and web culture have been weaponised to promote conspiracy theories and far-right extremism during the COVID-19 pandemic. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 25(1), 3–24.

- See also, Baker, S. A. (2020). Influencing the ‘infodemic’: How wellness became weaponised during the pandemic. *Lockdown: Mental Illness, Wellness, and COVID-19*.
- (29) Baker, S. A. (2022). Alt. Health influencers: How wellness culture and web culture have been weaponised to promote conspiracy theories and far-right extremism during the COVID-19 pandemic. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 25(1), 3–24.
- (30) Baker, S. A. (2022). Alt. Health influencers: How wellness culture and web culture have been weaponised to promote conspiracy theories and far-right extremism during the COVID-19 pandemic. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 25(1), 3–24.
- (31) Baker, S. A. (2022). Alt. Health influencers: How wellness culture and web culture have been weaponised to promote conspiracy theories and far-right extremism during the COVID-19 pandemic. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 25(1), 6.
- (32) Baker, S. A. (2022). Alt. Health influencers: How wellness culture and web culture have been weaponised to promote conspiracy theories and far-right extremism during the COVID-19 pandemic. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 25(1), 3–24.
- (33) See Baker, S. A., & Walsh, M. J. (2020). You are what you Instagram: Clean eating and the symbolic representation of food. And also Baker, S. A., & Walsh, M. J. (2018). ‘Good Morning Fitfam’: Top posts, hashtags and gender display on Instagram. *New Media & Society*, 20(12), 4553–4570.
- (34) Levinovitz, A. (2020). *Natural: How faith in nature’s goodness leads to harmful fads, unjust laws, and flawed science*. Beacon Press.

- (35) Douglas suggests that contemporary attitudes towards dirt, and ideas about defilement, differ from primitive cultures in two fundamental ways: First, dirt avoidance is perceived to be a matter of hygiene or aesthetics and not related to religion; second, these understandings of dirt are informed by 19th century discoveries of the bacterial transmission of disease and our knowledge of pathogenic organisms. However, while our own conceptions of dirt are the result of recent historical developments, the pollution beliefs that drive dirt avoidance are universal.
- (36) Douglas, M. (1966/2002). *Purity and danger: An analysis of concepts of pollution and taboo* (p. 44). London: Routledge.
- (37) Haidt, J. (2012). *The righteous mind: Why good people are divided by politics and religion*. New York, NY: Pantheon.
- (38) See Baker, S. A., & Walsh, M. J. (2022b). ‘Memes Save Lives’: Stigma and the production of anti-vaccine memes during the COVID-19 pandemic. *Social Media + Society*.
- (39) Kaufman, M. (1967). The American anti-vaccinationists and their arguments. *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 41(5), 463–478.
- (40) Kulenkampff, M., Schwartzman, J. S., & Wilson, J. (1974). Neurological complications of pertussis inoculation. *Archives of Disease in Childhood*, 49(1), 46–49.
- (41) Larson, H. J. (2020). *Stuck: How vaccine rumors start – and why they don’t go away* (p. xxi). Oxford University Press.
- (42) Baker, S. A., & Walsh, M. J. (2022a). ‘A mother’s intuition: It’s real and we have to believe in it’: How the maternal is used to promote vaccine refusal on Instagram. *Information, Communication & Society*, 1–18. doi:10.1080/1369118X.2021.2021269

- (43) Boyd, D. (2010). Social network sites as networked publics: Affordances, dynamics, and implications. In *A networked self* (pp. 47–66). Routledge.
- (44) Baker, S. A. (2020, July). Tackling misinformation and disinformation in the context of COVID-19. In *Cabinet office C19 seminar series*. Cabinet Office. See also Baker, S. A., & Maddox, A. (2022). From COVID-19 treatment to miracle cure: The role of influencers and public figures in amplifying the hydroxychloroquine and Ivermectin conspiracy theories during the pandemic. *M/C Journal*, 25(1).
- (45) Baker, S. A., & Walsh, M. J. (2022b). ‘Memes Save Lives’: Stigma and the production of anti-vaccine memes during the COVID-19 pandemic. *Social Media + Society*.
- (46) DiResta, R. (2018). Computational propaganda: If you make it trend, you make it true. *The Yale Review*, 106(4), 12–29.
- (47) Baker, S. A., & Walsh, M. J. (2022b). ‘Memes Save Lives’: Stigma and the production of anti-vaccine memes during the COVID-19 pandemic.
- (48) Phillips, W. (2015). *This is why we can’t have nice things: Mapping the relationship between online trolling and mainstream culture*. MIT Press.
- (49) Phillips, W. (2018). The oxygen of amplification. *Data & Society*, 22, 1–128.
- (50) Marwick, A., & Lewis, R. (2017). *Media manipulation and disinformation online* (pp. 7–19). New York, NY: *Data & Society Research Institute*.
- (51) Baker, S. A., & Walsh, M. J. (2022b). ‘Memes save lives’: Stigma and the production of anti-vaccine memes during the COVID-19 pandemic. *Social Media + Society*.
- (52) Abidin, C. (2021, January–March). From “Networked publics” to “Refracted publics”: A companion framework for researching “Below the radar” Studies. *Social Media + Society*, 7.

- (53) Baker, S. A. (2022). Supplementary Written Evidence-Policy Recommendations: Select Inquiry into Influencer Culture (INF0040).
- (54) <https://www.counterhate.com/disinformationdozen>
- (55) Baker, S. A., & Maddox, A. (2022). From COVID-19 Treatment to miracle cure: The role of influencers and public figures in amplifying the hydroxychloroquine and Ivermectin conspiracy theories during the pandemic. *M/C Journal*, 25(1).
- (56) Baker, S. A., & Walsh, M. J. (2022b). ‘Memes Save Lives’: Stigma and the production of anti-vaccine memes during the COVID-19 pandemic. *Social Media + Society*.
- (57) Baker, S. A., & Rojek, C. (2020). The online wellness industry: Why it’s so difficult to regulate. *The Conversation*.

CHAPTER 6

- (1) Lorde, A. (1970/2017). *A burst of light and other essays* (pp. 40–41). IXIA Press.
- (2) Lorde, A. (1970/2017). *A burst of light and other essays* (p. 116). IXIA Press.
- (3) Lorde, A. (1970/2017). *A burst of light and other essays* (p. 129). IXIA Press.
- (4) Lorde, A. (1970/2017). *A Burst of Light and Other Essays* (p. 78). IXIA Press.
- (5) Baker, S. A., & Walsh, M. J. (2022b). ‘Memes Save Lives’: Stigma and the production of anti-vaccine memes during the COVID-19 pandemic. *Social Media + Society*.
- (6) Wolfe, T. (1976). The me decade and the third great awakening. *New York Magazine*, 23(8), 26–40.
- (7) Lasch, C. (1976). The narcissist society. *New York Review of Books*, 30, 10–13.

- (8) Lasch, C. (1979/2018). *The culture of narcissism: American life in an age of diminishing expectations*. WW Norton & Company.
- (9) Cederström, C., & Spicer, A. (2015). *The wellness Syndrome* (p. 133). John Wiley & Sons.
- (10) Ehrenreich, B. (2018). *Natural causes: Life, death and the illusion of control*. Granta Books.
- (11) See Bauman, Z. (2013). *Liquid Love: On the frailty of human bonds*. John Wiley & Sons.
- (12) deGrasse Tyson, N. (2016). What science is, and how and why it works. Retrieved from <https://www.haydenplanetarium.org/tyson/commentary/2016-01-23-what-science-is.php>
- (13) McKay, B. (2021). *Fake medicine: Exposing the wellness crazes, cons and quacks costing us our health*. Hachette Australia.
- (14) Petrzela, N. M. (2020). Jogging Has Always Excluded Black People. *New York Times*. Retrieved from <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/12/opinion/running-jogging-race-ahmaud-arbery.html>
- (15) Baker, S. A. (2014). *Social tragedy: The role of myth, ritual and emotion in the new media ecology*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- (16) Lorde, A. (1970/2017). *A burst of light and other essays* (p. 4). IXIA Press.
- (17) Lorde, A. (1970/2017). *A burst of light and other essays* (p. 94). IXIA Press.