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Size and Structure of the Holistic Milieu

A Comparison of Local Mapping-Studies in Austria and Sweden¹

Liselotte Frisk, Franz Höllinger and Peter Åkerbäck

Abstract:

In this article, the results of two local mapping studies in Sweden and Austria that follow the methodological procedure of the British Kendal project are presented and compared with each other. All practitioners offering courses, therapies or counseling in the areas of holistic spirituality and complementary health methods (such as Yoga, Reiki, kinesiology, astrology and shamanism) were mapped. A subsample of the mapped practitioners was contacted personally and asked about their professional situation and the number of their clients. On the basis of these data, the proportion of persons participating in the holistic milieu was estimated. The article discusses the similarities and differences between the two regions in regard to the supply of specific types of holistic activities, the professional situation of the practitioners and the proportion of the population involved in holistic activities. The level of engagement in holistic activities in the Swedish, the Austrian and the British mapping areas is also compared with the level of church attendance in the three countries.

Introduction

In this paper, two local studies of the holistic milieu in Sweden and in Austria are compared. By “holistic milieu” we mean the field of phenomena that are commonly denominated in the social scientific literature as “New Age”, “alternative spirituality”, “modern esotericism” or

¹ A preliminary version of this article has been presented at the 12th Conference of the European Association for the Study of Religion (EASR) in Stockholm on Aug. 22, 2012. A more comprehensive account of the results of the Austrian study that form the basis for this article has been published by Franz Höllinger and Thomas Tripold in the book *Ganzheitliches Leben. Das holistische Milieu zwischen neuer Spiritualität und postmoderner Wellnesskultur* (2012). The results of the Swedish project will be published in 2013 with the title *Den mediterande dalahästen. Religion på nya arenor i samtidens Sverige*.

“spiritual marketplace”. We prefer “holistic” against the other terms, because today only few persons who practice alternative spiritual and therapeutic activities consider themselves as “New Agers”; as well, a considerable part of the actors in this field regard the methods and exercises which they practice neither as “esoteric” nor as “spiritual”. One principle that forms the basis of almost all these activities is the concept of “holism”, which is expressed by the actors with formulations such as “universal connectedness”, “balance of body, mind and spirit” or “energy-flow”. Therefore, it seems appropriate to use the term “holistic” as a common denominator for all these activities.

An important source of inspiration for our study is the Kendal project, conducted by Paul Heelas and his collaborators in the British town of Kendal in 2000-2002. Heelas et al. distinguish between two kinds of basic cultural attitudes: “life-as” which means that life is lived through external roles and duties in accordance with external expectations, and “subjective life” which means that life is lived through subjective experience, by listening inward to one’s unique needs and desires (2-4). These two attitudes also have a religious counterpart. According to Heelas and Woodhead, “life-as” stresses a transcendent authority which the individual has to adapt to, while the “subjective-life” emphasizes inner sources of authority and a sacralization of the unique self (6). In their study, Heelas and Woodhead wanted to test the assumption that a spiritual revolution is taking place, which means that the new type of “subjective life” spirituality is becoming increasingly common at the expense of the traditional type of church-community related religiosity.

In order to examine this question empirically, they carried out a local study in Kendal, a middle-sized town in the North-West of England. This study included a count of the number of persons attending church on a specific Sunday on the one hand, and on the other hand a mapping of all practitioners who offer alternative spiritual and holistic practices in the study area. By means of asking the mapped practitioners for the number of clients they attend during a

typical week they made an estimate of the proportion of the population involved in holistic activities. Heelas and Woodhead found that around 8% of the population in Kendal attended church on Sunday, while the proportion of persons who participated in holistic activities during a typical week amounted to 1.6%. However, assuming that the trend of a decline in traditional religious community-life and the parallel growth of the holistic market that could be observed during the last decades would continue also in the future, they expect that participation in holistic activities will be more widespread than regular church attendance within a period of 30 years (45).

The two mapping studies in Sweden and Austria were both integrated into more comprehensive research projects (which included also in-depth interviews, and, in the case of Austria, a quantitative population survey); the mapping part, however, was carried out in an almost identical way, following the methodological procedure of the Kendal study as closely as possible. In both projects, all holistic practitioners, i.e. all persons offering courses, workshops or individual therapies in the areas of holistic spirituality and complementary healing, such as yoga, reiki, kinesiology and astrology, were mapped and categorized according to the kind of activities they offer. For the calculation of the number of persons that are involved in holistic activities, a random sample of around one third of the mapped practitioners in Austria and one fourth of the practitioners in Sweden was drawn, and the selected practitioners were contacted personally or by telephone and asked how many clients - individual clients and participants of workshops - they have during a typical work-week.² In the Austrian study, the practitioners were also asked about their professional background.

By means of these data, we will examine the following three issues in this article:

² Differently from the studies in Dalarna and Graz, in the Kendal project all identified practitioners were contacted personally, and only included in the study if they expressed that the activities they offered had a spiritual dimension (Heelas et al. 36-40).

1. What kinds of holistic practices and therapies are offered, and how many practitioners offer specific types of activities? 2. Who are the people that offer holistic activities? Here, our interest focuses on the professional background of the practitioners. 3. What proportion of the population in the research areas is involved in holistic activities on a regular (weekly) basis? In the same way as in the Kendal-study we will also compare the proportion of holistic activists with the proportion of the population attending church.

The Austrian study was carried out in 2008-2009, and encompassed Klagenfurt, the capital of Bundesland Carinthia with 92,000 inhabitants, and the semi-rural district Leoben in Bundesland Styria with 68,000 inhabitants, including the district capital of Leoben with 26,000 inhabitants. The Swedish study was conducted between 2008 and 2011 in the district of Dalarna with about 277,000 inhabitants. Dalarna is situated in mid-Sweden. It has two bigger towns, Falun and Borlänge, with around 56,000 and 48,000 inhabitants respectively, the rest is composed of smaller towns and country side.

In both studies, practitioners were found by means of search in internet catalogues, websites, flyers and brochures, personal contacts and snowball method. For the delimitation of methods to be included into our mapping we referred to definitions of the principles of New Age and to categorizations and listings of New Age-activities which can be found in various studies on the New Age-Movement (e.g. Stenger; Heelas; Heelas et al; Corrywright; Possamai; Rose). Persons offering methods that are unanimously considered as "holistic" according to the relevant literature, such as yoga, ayurveda, channeling or astrology, were included into the list of holistic practitioners without further investigation. In the case of less known methods or therapies that could not be clearly identified as holistic by their name, descriptions of the method

in workshop-flyers or on the web-page of the respective practitioner were studied in order to decide whether or not this person should be included or not.³

The mapping in the two Austrian districts resulted in 348 practitioners, in the Swedish district 439 practitioners were found. Since many practitioners offer more than one holistic practice, the number of practices is considerably higher (564 in Austria and 738 in Sweden).

1. The structure of the holistic field in the mapping areas

In both studies, the methods offered by the practitioners were divided into eight categories. The comparison of the results for the mapped areas in the two countries shows great similarities in regard to the distribution of activities according to these categories (see table 1). Both in Sweden and in Austria a clear majority (between 70 and 80%) of the offered holistic practices are related to healing and the improvement of health by means of massages and physical exercises, such as shiatsu, reflexology and yoga. More than half of these practices have their origin in Eastern (Indian or Far-Eastern) health-methods and spiritual practices. In addition, also a considerable part of the techniques that were classified as “Western” healing methods, such as kinesiology or energy work, incorporate Eastern concepts of energy flow and energy points (chakra). Holistic psychotherapies form only a relatively small segment of around 10% in both countries. However, here one has to consider that in both countries only psychothera-

³ In the three studies in Kendal, Graz and Dalarna different key terms (umbrella terms) were used for the demarcation of the field: The central term in Kendal was “spiritual”, in Graz it was “holistic”, in Dalarna it was the notion of “extra-empirical dimension”. However, in practice the spectrum of practitioners included in the mapping seems to be very similar in the three studies, all three accepting notions such as “energy”, “vibrational quality”, “inner source of power”, and “body-mind-spirit” as relevant markers. Nevertheless, the three different focal points - “spirituality”, “holistic” and “extra-empirical” - may have caused small differences between the studies. The delimitation of the relevant area could be problematized in many ways. It is, in fact, characteristic for the holistic milieu that the borders towards other phenomena are diffuse, and also that many activities are “open” in the sense that they can be interpreted in different ways according to individual choice. In doubtful cases, such as different kinds of massage, we chose to include the ones with references to, for example, energies, mental influence of scents, or releasing of suppressed memories, but excluded the ones referring to nothing else but physical dimensions and/or relaxation.

pies with an explicitly holistic approach (such as reincarnation therapy or family-constellations) were included in the mapping. Spiritualism/shamanism and related methods such as channeling or spirit healing, methods for divination and personality diagnosis such as astrology and card-reading, and methods for the harmonization of the environment (geomantics and Feng Shui) constitute an even smaller part of the market of holistic activities.

Table 1: Supply of holistic methods in selected regions of Austria and Sweden,

While this general pattern is similar for both countries, there are also some differences. In Austria, more complementary Western healing techniques were offered than in Sweden. However, it is one specific technique which accounts for much of this difference, kinesiology, which seems to be much more common in Austria than in Sweden. In Sweden there are more oriental mind-body techniques than in Austria. A particularly large difference was found for yoga, which is offered by 69 providers in Dalarna versus only 30 in Austria. Some methods seem to be quite common in one of the areas, but not to exist at all or to be almost unknown in the other. Examples of the first type are radionics, a therapy based on the combination of Eastern concepts of energy flow and the presumed effects of radio waves as transmitters of “health information”, singing bowls massage and shiatsu, which are offered by a considerable number of practitioners in Austria, but not at all or only very rarely in Sweden. On the other hand, reflexology and acupressure are offered much more frequently in Dalarna than in the two Austrian districts; also Vedic art⁴ is quite common in Dalarna, but does not seem to exist in Austria.

⁴ Vedic art was founded by the Swedish artist Curt Källman (1938-2010) who came into contact with Maharishi Mahesh Yogi (Transcendental Meditation) who taught him 17 vedic principles of art and creation. Vedic art can be summarized as an education and practice of art based on these principles (www.vedicart.com).

Most of these differences are probably due to accidental circumstances. A specific method may have been introduced to the region by one practitioner who then encourages some of his clients/students to attend professional trainings and to also offer this method. However, there is one notable difference which attracted our attention. The category spiritualism/shamanism (e.g. channeling, energy-work etc.) accounts for 9,6% of the holistic market in Dalarna as compared to only 3,0% in the two Austrian districts. More than half of these entries consisted of activities related to spiritualism, like mediums, séances and medial counseling. This is a strong trend in Sweden, related to a lot of popular TV serials like *The Unknown*, *Spirit Academy*, *Haunted Houses* and *Ghost Hunters*. In Austria there is no equivalent. There was also a “wave” of shamanism that swept through the Swedish holistic milieu during the 1980’s and 1990’s. In 1985 Mikael W. Gejel and Jörgen I. Eriksson published a guide on how to become a shaman, *Sejd – en vägledning i nordlig shamanism*. This book became extremely important and one reason for this is the very persuasive argument as to its credibility since the author constantly refers to academic research. This mix of neoshamanism and academia became characteristic for a new way of practicing shamanism, thoroughly explained by Jan Svanberg . This wave eventually wore out but it is possible that the results from Dalarna are remnants of this wave.⁵

The social phenomena that have been investigated in our studies have emerged as a development from several types of sources. In the first place, there are influences from the field which in recent years has come to be defined as Western Esotericism, which is based on Western and Eastern sources of ideas with deep roots in the mental legacy outside the Christian tradition. This includes, for example, 1800-century movements like Theosophy and Spiritualism, which had great influence on the more popular religious sector, but also homeopathy and other forms of healing such as Bach flower therapy. Second, we see the influence of other reli-

⁵ See also Lindquist), and Skånby whom both thoroughly investigates and explains this milieu.

gions and cultures outside the West, particularly the Eastern religions. This includes medical traditions from India and China, such as ayurveda and acupuncture. Thirdly, there is also a strong psychological and therapeutic approach, with roots in various schools of psychology, above all the American human potential movement, emerging from humanistic psychology in the 1960s. These different trends have interacted to varying degrees, and cannot be clearly separated.

A common denominator for many of the above categories is healing. Healing in this context means not only physical healing but has wider dimensions. The concept of health is associated not only with physical health or absence of disease, but health is also associated with personal growth, happiness, meaning, peace of mind, harmony, spirituality, love for one's self and divinity (Löwendahl 188). Meredith McGuire points out that the idea of religion and medicine as two different spheres is fairly new, not more than two hundred years (119). In her view both religion and health are social constructs, and both religion and medicine have gone through parallel processes in which powerful interest groups fought for control over definitions and boundaries. As an effect of the secularization process, religion became more restricted to the sacred sphere, while the body was connected to the profane. Competences that were "outsourced" from religion often survived in popular religion outside the boundaries of "real" religion. McGuire writes that these areas are essential in the contemporary New Age environment (129-136).

2. Gender and professional background of the practitioners

In accordance with many other studies of the alternative spiritual and holistic field (Frisk, Woodhead 115; Ahlin 57; Heelas et.al. 94), both mapping studies confirm that a clear majori-

ty of the practitioners, around two thirds in Austria and about four-fifths in Sweden, are females. The holistic milieu seems to be an attractive professional option for women because it offers them possibilities to perform their traditional role of healing and caring for social relationships, at the same time it provides them a space for religious expression and religious identity construction (McGuire 154-169; Woodhead 121-3).

In the Austrian study, practitioners that were interviewed by telephone were also asked about their professional situation. Table 2 presents the results of these questions concerning the original profession and the actual professional situation. A relatively high proportion of the interviewed practitioners (around 40%) have been working originally in the areas of health, education, counseling and psychotherapy. People working in these areas are more likely than others to come into contact with methods that (also) deal with health and personality development, as it is the case for practically all holistic practices. Many times they consider holistic methods as a complement to their original professional formation and as an extension of their professional skills. This is reflected also by the result, that many of these practitioners continue to work in their original profession and offer holistic practices only in a complementary way and as a secondary source of income.

Differently from that, holistic practitioners who have originally worked in professions that are not related to health, education and therapy (e.g. in commercial, technical and industrial jobs) are much more likely to give up their original job and try to earn their living exclusively through holistic activities. As we could see in the in-depth interviews that were conducted with a sub-sample of the mapped practitioners, the main reason for this decision is that jobs in the productive and commercial areas are shaped by working-conditions that are considered as incompatible with their new holistic field of work and the ideals of conduct of life related to these activities. Some of our interviewees expressed this experience in formulations such as “When I started to practice yoga more intensely, I simply could not stand the stress and the

constraints associated with my former job any more. Now I earn less money than before, but I prefer my present situation, because it allows me to lead the life I really want to live”.

Table 2: Original profession and actual professional situation of holistic practitioners
in the two Austrian mapping areas (N=118)

The right column of table 2 shows that less than half of the interviewed practitioners live exclusively from the money they earn from their holistic practice. In some cases, the reason why holistic practitioners continue to work in their original job may be that they like this profession and therefore do not want to give it up. The results of Table 3 suggest that there exists another reason why many practitioners combine holistic and conventional professional activities. As we can see in this table, a rather high proportion of the contacted practitioners reports to have had less than 10 clients during the last week; in Sweden, an additional 12% had less than one client per week. Thus, we can assume that many practitioners are not able to live alone from the money they earn from their holistic practice and therefore are forced to continue to work in a breadwinning job. On the other hand, around 10% of the practitioners in both countries indicate that they have more than 50 clients per week. In almost all these cases, a large part of these clients are participants of group activities such as yoga or tai-chi groups.

Table 3: Number of individual clients and group participants per week

In view of these results, the assertion that “esoteric gurus make a lot of money” which can be found frequently both in the media and in the scientific reports seems to be true at best for a small segment of holistic practitioners. The in-depth interviews with holistic practitioners in

the Austrian mapping areas rather give the impression that most of them are not concerned to transform their holistic practice into a flourishing commercial enterprise.

3. Estimate of the proportion of the population engaged in holistic activities

The information of the practitioners on the number of their clients per week was subsequently used to estimate the proportion of the population participating in holistic activities on a regular (weekly) basis.⁶ This calculation is based on the following assumptions:

1) We assume that the remaining practitioners who were not contacted personally have the same average number of individual and group clients per week as those who were contacted personally or by telephone.⁷ Thus, the product of the number of practitioners with the average number of clients per week gives the number of participation acts in each mapping region.

2) Following the procedure of the Kendal study (Heelas et al. 25), we assume that around 30% of the clients participate in more than one holistic activity per week. Thus, the number of weekly participants corresponds to number of participation acts minus 30%.

3) The resulting numbers were set in relation to the total population aged 20 to 64 years in the three mapping regions, since holistic activities are practiced mostly by persons in this range of age (see Höllinger, Tripold).

⁶ In Kendal, the researchers participated in all groups with several participants and counted the participants themselves. All practitioners conducting individual sessions were interviewed (Heelas et al. 36-40). In the Austrian and Swedish studies, all information came from interviews with a sample of the practitioners.

⁷ In view of the fact, that 27% of the contacted practitioners in Austria did not answer the phone (see footnote 1) and 6% of the interviewed practitioners reported that they are no longer active (at least not in the area where the mapping took place), we assumed that around 15% of the total number of mapped practitioners are no longer active. Therefore, for the following calculation the total number of practitioners in the two Austrian districts was reduced from 348 to 295 (see Table 4). In the Swedish study, all practitioners that were active during any time of the three years of the mapping were included, not only the ones active at the time of the interviews.

Table 4: Estimate of the percentage of the population participating
in holistic activities on a weekly basis

According to this calculation 3.8% of the population aged 20 to 64 in Klagenfurt, 2.7% in Dalarna and 2.6% in Leoben are involved in holistic therapies and/or organized group activities on a weekly basis. The latter numbers correspond almost exactly to the participation rate calculated in the Kendal study (which is 2.7%, in relation to the same age cohort). The somewhat higher number of holistic activists in Klagenfurt compared to Dalarna, Leoben and Kendal probably can be explained by the fact that Klagenfurt is a medium sized town, while the other two regions are semi-rural.

We also compared the proportion of holistic activists with the proportion of regular (weekly) church worshippers in the same age cohort (20 to 64). The figures for church attendance in Austria and Britain were taken from the International Social Survey Programme 2010; in the Swedish case the data for 2010 were provided by the central church office of the Church of Sweden. The comparison shows that in Dalarna, Sweden, the proportion of regular church worshippers in this age interval is only slightly higher (around 3.4%) than the percentage of regular holistic activists. In Austria and Great Britain the percentage of persons attending church weekly is approximately three times higher (in both countries around 9%) than that of regular participants of holistic activities. Findings from other surveys presented by Heelas (1988) and the results of a comparative student survey carried out in 11 Western countries (see Höllinger, Smith) indicate that the proportion of holistic activists is rather similar in all Western countries. It is well known, however, that there exist considerable cross-national differences in regard to church attendance also among European societies. Thus, it seems to be

the case that the level of participation in holistic activities is largely independent from the level of church attendance in a given society.

Finally we should mention that – unlike in the area of church religion - in the holistic milieu regular participation in one specific spiritual activity over longer periods of time is not a very common feature. The typical approach to holistic activities is to experiment with a number of different methods at the same time or one after another in the course of one's holistic biography (e.g. Possamai; Boehinger, Engelbrecht, Gebhardt). Only a part of the core group of the holistic milieu tries to follow one specific spiritual approach continuously. The proportion of people in Western countries who have some personal experience with holistic methods is therefore much higher than the number of regular participants. According to the representative population survey that was carried out parallel to the mapping study in Austria around 30% of the Austrian adult population have tried out two or more holistic methods (out of a list of around 40 methods asked for); around 7 % of the respondents report that they even have personal experience with ten or more different practices (Höllinger, Tripold115). A Swedish study from 2008 shows that about 30% had tried at least one of the ten suggested holistic methods (*Dagen*). Available figures of the proportion of the population having tried out or practiced specific methods for England (Bruce) and Germany (ALLBUS 2002), and the results of the international student survey mentioned above (Höllinger, Smith) suggest that the proportion of the population involved in the holistic milieu might be rather similar in different Western European countries.

Summary

In this article we have presented the findings of two regional mapping studies of holistic practitioners in Sweden and Austria that were inspired by the methodology of the British “Kendal

Study”. The comparison of these studies indicates that the structure as well as the size of the holistic field are rather similar in different parts of Central and North-Western Europe:

Both in Sweden and in Austria a clear majority (60 to 70%) of the methods offered by holistic practitioners are related to healing and health improvement, as it is the case for example with acupuncture, homeopathy, kinesiology and reflexology. Although orthodox scientists continue to contest the effects of such methods, an increasing part of the general public, including many medical doctors and health practitioners, accepts and uses them as complementary forms of medical treatment. Also body-mind-spirit exercises such as yoga, tai chi and zen-meditation constitute an important segment of the contemporary holistic field. Compared to the afore mentioned areas, therapies and methods for personality diagnosis and personality development that are more directly related to esoteric or spiritualist approaches such as shamanism, channeling, rebirthing and astrology are much less frequently offered and practiced. Another common feature of the holistic market in Sweden and in Austria is the high proportion of methods that have their origin in Eastern spiritual and health practices.

While the proportions between the principal categories of activities are relatively similar for the Swedish and the Austrian districts, we found significant differences between the two research areas in regard to the frequency of some single activities. Thus, for example, yoga and shamanic practices are offered much more frequently in Sweden, while kinesiology is more widespread in Austria. We assume that these differences are due in part to accidental circumstances, e.g. the existence or non-existence of training courses for practitioners in a given region or country; in part these differences may be related to country specific popular culture or national traditions. The spectrum of holistic activities ascertained in the Swedish and Austrian mapping studies cannot be directly compared with the results of the Kendal study, because in the latter the information was derived from a questionnaire administered to clients of holistic practitioners. However, by and large, the structure of holistic activities in Kendal seems to be

similar to that of Dalarna. The comparison of the three studies shows very clearly, that the spectrum of holistic methods offered in specific regions is determined much more strongly by global developments and trends than by regional peculiarities.

In the Austrian study it was shown that a large part of the holistic practitioners had started their professional career in the fields of health, education, and therapy; many of these practitioners continue to work in their original profession and offer holistic practices only as a secondary source of income. The findings from both studies indicate that more than half of the practitioners have less than 10 clients per week, which implies that they need a secondary source of income to live on.

The estimate of the proportion of the population involved in holistic activities gives rather similar numbers for the different mapping areas. In the semi-rural districts of Dalarna (Sweden), Leoben (Austria) and Kendal (GB) somewhat less than 3 percent of the population aged 20 to 65 practice a holistic method regularly; in the medium-sized Austrian town of Klagenfurt this percentage is somewhat higher. While the rates of holistic activists are rather similar, the level of church attendance differs considerably between the three countries. In Austria and Great Britain weekly church attendance (in this age group) is three times as high as weekly participation in holistic activities; in Sweden the difference is much less. This result contradicts the assumption of a close relationship between the degree of decline of Christian religiousness and the growth of the holistic milieu. As can be seen from the comparison of the different countries of the Western World (e.g. Scandinavian countries versus USA and Italy), the level of Christian religiosity (church attendance, prayer, belief in a personal god) does not only depend on the degree of socio-economic modernization, but also on the historical role of the churches etc. in a specific country (Höllinger et al.). In the highly developed, post-modern Western societies, however, holistic health methods and self-awareness techniques seem to be

an attractive option for a certain part of the population, irrespective of the importance of traditional religion in this society.

Taken together, the comparison between the mapped districts in Sweden and Austria revealed many similarities, and although we expected similarities it was perhaps surprising to find them to such an extent. In spite of the large variety of holistic methods existing today, the basic structures and the size of this market are very similar across the two countries. Further studies are necessary to confirm whether the market of alternative spiritual and holistic therapies and self-awareness-techniques is in fact a global phenomenon in all highly industrialized Western (and maybe also Eastern) societies.

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**Table 1: Supply of holistic methods in selected regions of Austria and Sweden,
by type of method (%)**

	Klagenfurt/ Leoben, Austria	Dalarna, Sweden
Number of practitioners	N=348	N=441
Number of methods offered by them	N=564 %	N=738 %
Holistic massage-techniques (e.g shiatsu, singing-bowls, acupressure, reflexology)	22,7	21,0
Western healing methods (e.g. homeopathy, kinesiology, Bach-flowers, reconnective healing)	29,1	19,1
Eastern healing methods (e.g. acupuncture, ayurveda TCM, reiki)	18,3	15,7
Body-mind-spirit exercises (e.g. yoga, tai chi, pilates, zen)	11,2	17,2
Holistic psychotherapies (e.g. family constellations, rebirthing)	10,1	11,5
Spiritualist methods (e.g. shamanism, channeling, spiritual healing)	3,0	9,6
Divination / personality-diagnosis (e.g. as- trology, tarot, palm-reading)	4,8	3,9
Harmonization of environment (geomantics, feng shui)	3,7	1,9

Note: Percentages were calculated in regard to the total number of methods offered in the respective region.

Tabelle 2: Original profession and actual professional situation of holistic practitioners in the two Austrian mapping areas (N=118)

Original profession	%	Actual profession and income situation	%
Holistic practitioner	2	Income only from holistic activities	43
		<i>Income also from other professional activities/sources:</i>	
Medical doctor	16	Medical doctor	7
Other health-profession	12	Other health-profession	9
Education/social services	10	Education/social services	14
Psychotherapist	2	Psychotherapist	3
Other services, commerce, industry	52	Other services, commerce, industry	11
Other professions/jobs	6	Other sources (e.g. pension, financial support from partner)	12

Table 3: Number of individual clients and group participants per week

	Klagenfurt / Leoben, Austria	Dalarna, Sweden
Number of interviewed practitioners	N=118	N=100
None, less than 1	2%	12%
1 to 5	34%	38%
6 to 10	14%	16%
11 to 20	17%	16%
20 to 50	24%	9%
more than 50	9%	9%

mean number	20,5	16,6
median	11,7	14

Table 4: Estimate of the percentage of the population participating in holistic activities on a weekly basis

	Inhabi- tants	Number of practi- tioners	Number of participation acts per week	Weekly partici- pants among population aged 20 - 64
Dalarna	277.000	441	4.410	2.7%
Klagenfurt	92.000	190	2.130	3.8%
Leoben	65.000	105	1.030	2.6%
Kendal	37.000	95	600	2.7%